

ODISHA REVIEW

VOL. LXXVIII NO.1

AUGUST - 2021

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The *Odisha Review* aims at disseminating knowledge and information concerning Odisha's socio-economic development, art and culture. Views, records, statistics and information published in the *Odisha Review* are not necessarily those of the Government of Odisha.

Published by Information & Public Relations Department, Government of Odisha, Bhubaneswar - 751001 and Printed at Odisha Government Press, Cuttack - 753010.

For subscription and trade inquiry, please contact : **Manager, Publications, Information & Public Relations Department, Loksampark Bhawan, Bhubaneswar - 751001.**

Rs.5/- Five Rupees / Copy

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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. 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.

National Song

Vande Mataram !

Sujalam, suphalam, malayaja shitalam,

Shasyashyamalam, Mataram !

Shubhrajyotsna 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 ashisha mage,

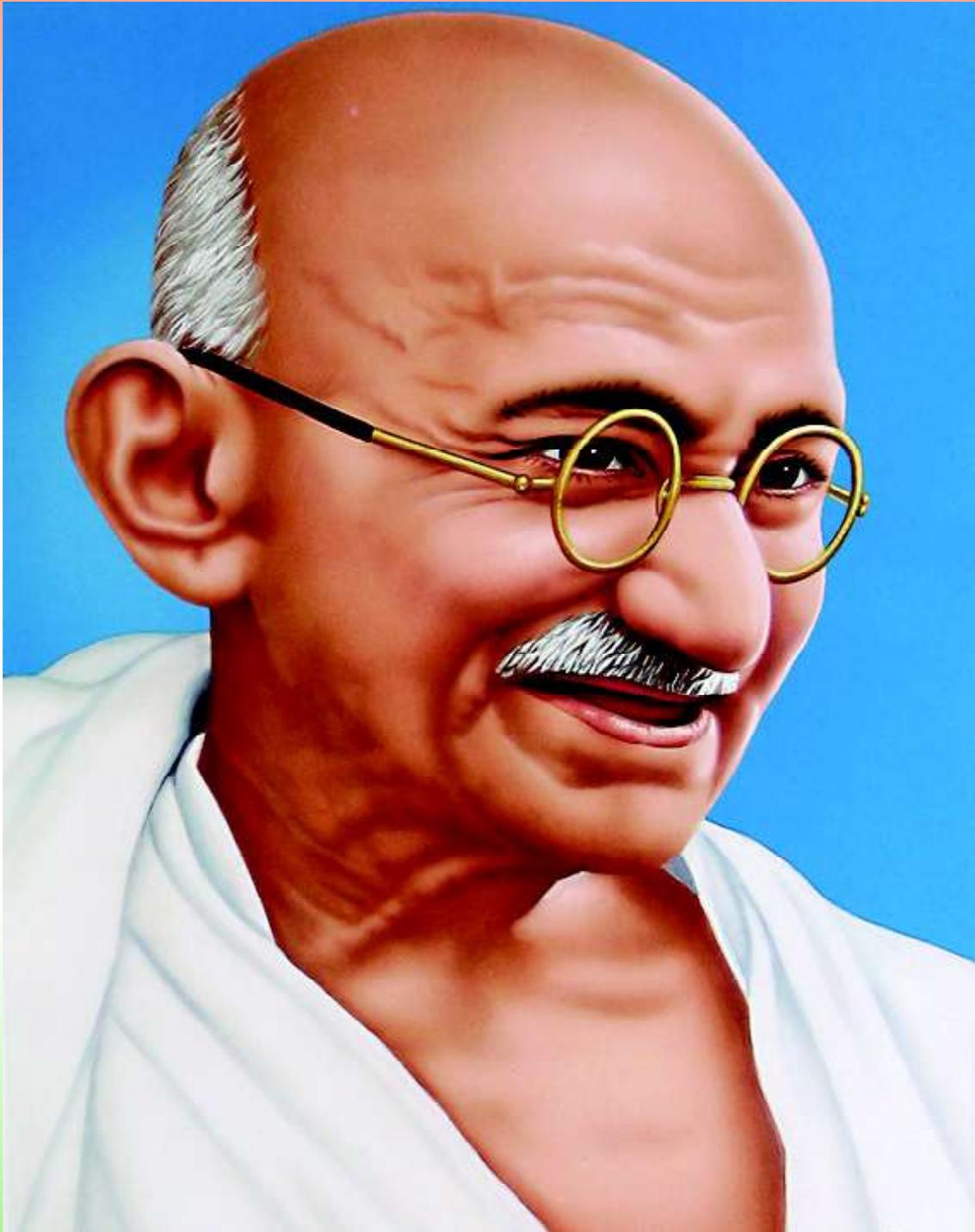
Gahe tava jaya gatha,

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

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

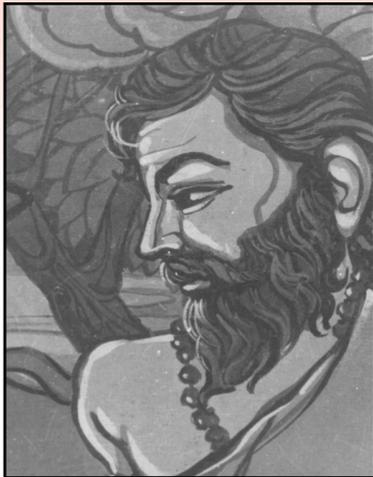
The playing time of the full version of the National Anthem is approximately 52 seconds. A short version consisting of first and last lines of the stanza (playing time approximately 20 seconds) is also played on certain occasions.

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.

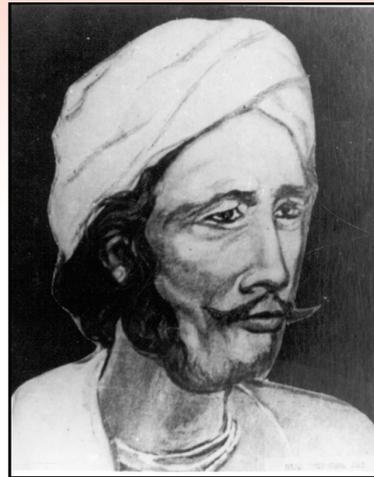


MAHATMA GANDHI, THE APOSTLE OF PEACE AND NON-VIOLENCE

THE SUPREME SACRIFICE



Jayee Rajguru
(1739-1805)



Veer Surendra Sai
(23.01.1809 - 28.02.1884)

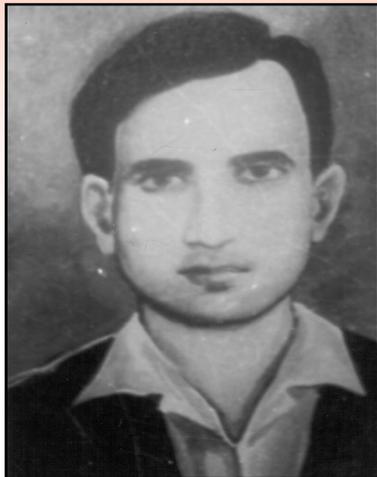


Birsa Munda
(Died in Ranchi jail in June 1900)

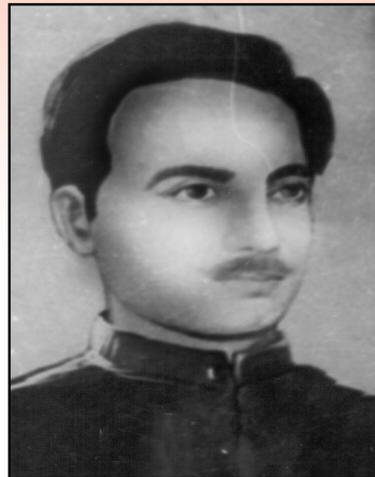


Baji Rout
(Shot dead on 11.10.1938)

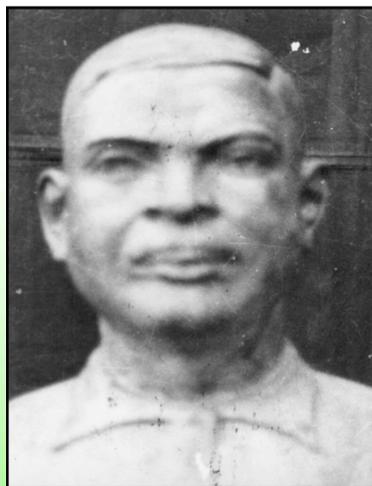
THE SUPREME SACRIFICE



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)

Games We Play and Weaves We Wear Motifs used in Handloom Sarees of Odisha

Roopa Roshan Sahoo

Ikat patterns were to continue through centuries, as endearing, widespread socio-cultural elements in the Indian society. The influence of trade and time cannot be overlooked. Patterns have been borrowed, explored and created.

The wall painting of Ajanta, dating from fifth to seventh century have warp – ikat design. From the “Yasasti – lakachampu”, written in AD 959 for the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, to the twelfth century, Manasollasa, fourteenth century, IbnBattutah, there is conclusive evidence of a tradition old and strong in the Deccan.

This Deccani Ikat tradition has extended south, south-east towards Andhra Pradesh and Odisha, the pattern of the SQUARE designs a testimony to this.

Saktapar /Bichitrapuri /Passapalli our weaves with the design of a board game. A celebration of the double ikat and an exception where blocks are predominant, whereas bandha sadhee is about motifs in nature, architecture, literature.

The “Saktapar” saris, with their “ikat checkerboard design and dark muted colors”, remind us of the telia rumals of neighboring Andhra Pradesh.

This connect with the neighbor also has been established as a major factor for the evolution of Odishan ikat weaves.

‘Saktapar’ is one of the few established design types and continues to be woven with very little variation from the traditional plate.

‘Saktapar’, “the Orissan name for the pan – Indian board game also called chaupar, which refers to the checkboard design that are placed throughout the field.”

CAUPAR and PACCISI are the two closely related games played on a board, indigenous to the country though the history of Paccissi may not be as precise as Caupar but it may be taken as a fact that they existed as versions alongside.

The derivation of the names chaupar (caupara) and chausar (causara) seems to be as follows. The Hindi Caupara is a compound of cau (from Sanskrit catur) “four” and para (from Sanskrit pata) “cloth”, the latter referring to the cloths (“board, table”) which form the four arms of the playing surface. The whole word means “that which is composed of four boards.” The Hindi causara is also a compound, of which the first element is again cau (from Sanskrit catur)

“four,” while the second, which is sara, is the Sanskrit sara meaning “act of going, means of going, way, road.” The whole compound, therefore, seems to mean “that which consists of four roads, a crossroad” and to refer to the crossroad-like form of the board.

The game of pachisi might be called the poor man’s chaupar. Instead of being played with stick dice, it is played with cowries (Hindi kaurii), a small shell.

Abul Fazl, in the “Ain-i-Akbari” around 1590 provides evidence of the game, in Mirgavati and Candayan, there are illustrations of the board game (Topsfield).

Handelman and Shulman too discuss Caupar as a game played between lord Vishnu and Ma Lakshmi.

Lest we miss on the paving stones forming a cruciform board in the courtyard at Fatehpur Sikri.

The Mahabharata, tells us a story of an internecine conflict between the Kauravas and the Pandavas.

Jan Heesterman, David Shulman and G.J. Held have mentioned of a cruciform game through Harrapan Age. The Aksasukta or dice hymn, in Rig-Veda also mentions of it.

Gautam Buddha, while laying down the rules of the monastic order in the text, Vinaypitika’ warns against playing a board game, Chaupar.

The earliest visual reference to the game is one of the Ellora Cave, between 6th -8th centuries, wherein in one wall is sculpted Shiva and Parvati enjoying the game.

Thomas Williamson in 1801 would note the Paccisi as one of the recreations of the “poorer class” Though I would like to keep the fact as Caupa, Paccisi as games we played and all Games are Sacred, the game has been used as a metaphor of life, always textured with meaning of innocence, addiction, craft.

Shimkhada would state, the purpose of the game is, to measure the Karma of a player by the rolls of the dice.

A verse from the Rsabhapancaasika written in Prakrit by Dhanapala in the 10th century states: “like pawns, the souls on the gameboard of cyclical existence, though carried away by the senses / dice are freed from captivity, slaughter and death at the sight of you/the Square, Oh Lord !”

Figure-1 (Shiva and Parvati in a game of Chausar/Chaupar)



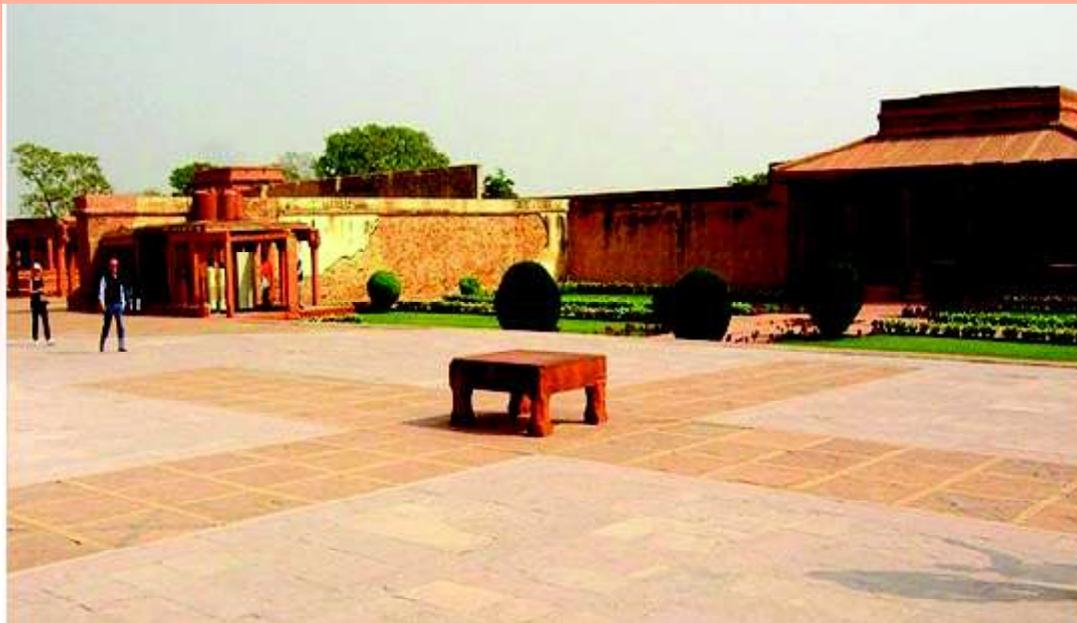
Figure -2 (From the Razmnameh)



Figure -3 (Royal Corridors)



Figure -4(Fatehpur - Sikri)



Edmund Gustav Albrecht Husserl

To make meaning into the use of saktapar and bicitrapuri so often associated with the game of Pasa, Chausar, Paccisi, I explore into the perspective of the weaver. The quest for reason to be arrived at through the phenomenological method.

The weaver continues to put the meaning outside of his existence, in a consciousness that has been handed over in which he/she takes pride but is not internalized. It is a meaning borrowed.

The I and the Us evolve as yarn being woven and as we move towards the perfect Square, It is but in the interactions that I could experience the 'Lebenswelt'.

A shared meaning, in the design, a collective celebration of expertise -Saktapar and Bichitrapuri.

I present here the Consciousness as elucidated by them,

Dayalu Meher

Started weaving the Saktapar since 1983. The Saktapar is traditional, rather the original Double Ikat. There are two Sakta designs in Bichitrapuri, whereas there is no specifics into the number of repeats in Sakta. The Machaphula border was popular ever since.

He would like to associate the design with Temple architecture especially the Konark as inspiration.

Ratha Meher

Saktapr is a Double ikat using both warp with weft square design. He has been weaving since last thirty-three years. To him the saree has immense market demand and serves the inquisitiveness of many across the globe.

Harishankar Meher

When a Square is placed adjacent to adjacent it is called a SAKTAPAR, having woven since the age of 15, to him this design is the Identity of Sambalpur (undivided). In a Sakta design the anchal and border may be same for the saree.

In Bichitrapuri saree apart from sakta warp tie and dye yarns, another tie and dye of other designs is present. Whereas in case of Saktaper only Sakta design in the body.

He would reminiscence it being woven initially in Jhiliminda, Kumbhari, Kardola.

Iswar Meher

A Double Ikat in both warp and weft design is called Sakta, he has been weaving the same since 30 years.

Those who have woven the yarn using Sakta designs, can able to weave all designs.

In Bichitrapuri sakta designs is available with border and anchala. Whereas the Border, Middle designs also include bandha like Gunjri, lahari, ghagra deuli motifs. He would continue to associate that since 50 years in Jhiliminda, Remanda, Kardola, Bheden the weave has taken cognizance.

Ramakrushna Meher

Square design made from both warp and weft Tie & Dye (double Ikat) joint at a particular place, is the saktapar.

It is a certification of a certain expertise, those who are able to weave sakta design they will be considered as skilled weavers.

Sukanti Meher

Would add that, Radheshyam Meher may have introduced the Bichitrapuri designs and

Padmashree Dr. Krutartha Acharya immensely popularized introducing it to the world.

Bhikari Meher

The traces of Sakta design originating from pasakhela of Mahabharat.

Bhaktaraj Meher

Sakta design is a way of transmitting the technique of weaving from earlier times, it is a symbol of forefathers and the clan.

Murali Meher

A Saree with the sakta design is most beautiful than any other. Having started since age 14, he would consider the design to be more than 300 years old. Sakta design is present in both ends of the saree.

And the Original Bichitrapuri sarees having repeat of sequence of 9 kothi-5 kuthi-9 kuthi-4 kuthi sakta designs.

Harilal Meher

Unnatipar saree was woven previously with sakta designs. A combination of five to seven squares would combine to make a beautiful design. And he would exclaim that the origins are definitely a century or older.

Figure -5 (Chaupar/Pachisi, Ludo)





Figure-6 (Saktapar, Bichitrapuri)



To each woven piece, it is a tribute to the lives that weave, and lives we live, the dice we roll, pawns we move to reach the final square.

Games we play, Weaves we wear.

‘However expressive, symbols can never be the things they stand for.’

Aldous Huxley

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Roopa Roshan Sahoo, Bhubaneswar.

5 Ts Impact :

Transformation of Sports Infrastructure

89 Indoor Stadiums to be constructed across Odisha

- State Cabinet took Sixteen Important Decisions
- Bid for Upper Indravati Right Canal renovation approved
- Land Given for permanent campus of IIM Sambalpur
- Annual Rent and Cess on Govt. Land waived for Bagchi-Sri Shankara Cancer and Karunashraya Care Centre
- Turnkey Tender for Shree MandiraParikrama Project approved

State Cabinet held under the chairmanship of Hon'ble Chief Minister Shri Naveen Patnaik took sixteen important decisions pertaining to the departments of Sports and Youth Services, Water Resources, Finance, General Administration and Public Grievances, Health and Family Welfare, Home, Labour and ESI, Revenue and Disaster Management and Works department.

Informing people about decisions of the Cabinet Chief Secretary Shri Suresh Chandra Mahapatra said the major decisions of Cabinet included approval of the tender bid for Renovation of Upper Indravati Right Main Canal; development of urban sports infrastructure; sanction of lease of 18.23 acre Govt. land in mouza-Kalamati under Sambalpur Tahasil in favour of IIM, Sambalpur for establishment of permanent campus; waiver of annual rent and Cess on Government land for establishment of Bagchi-Sri Shankara Cancer Centre and Research Institute and Bagchi Karunashraya Palliative Care Centre at Bhubaneswar; and approval of turnkey tender bid for Shree Mandira Parikramaa Project.





Chief Secretary and 5T Secretary Visit Bolangir to Review the Progress of On-going Projects

- 24 High Schools Set for Transformation Under 5T
- Effective Measures for Timely completion of 650 bedded Teaching Hospital
- Lower Suktel Project Spillway to be Completed by June 2022

As per the direction of Hon'ble Chief Minister Shri Naveen Patnaik, a high level team comprising Chief Secretary Suresh Chandra Mohapatra, Principal Secretary Water Resources Department Anu Garg, Secretary to Chief Minister (5T) V.K. Pandian and NHM Mission Director Shalini Pandit, today visited Bolangir district and reviewed various other developmental projects in the district and directed expeditious completion of the projects.

The team visited the Panchayat Samiti High School, Deogaon, P.P. Academy in Balangir and inspected various school up-gradation projects. They also interacted with the students, Teachers and Alumni.



It was revealed during the interaction that as many as 24 High Schools in Bolangir District will soon have modern facilities such as Smart Class Room, Science Laboratory, E- Library and other upgraded facilities. These schools have been taken up under School Transformation Programme of the

5T Initiative. The team also visited the Adarsh Vidyalay in Patharcepa and appreciated the brilliant performance of the school for last several years.

Visiting the Bhima Bhoi Medical College and Hospital, the officers asked to ensure the quality of work in all the projects of the MCH. They reviewed the progress of construction of Liquid Medical Oxygen Plant and PSA Plant and also visited the Attendant Rest Shed under construction, Ahaar centre, Covid Ward preparedness in ENT / Ortho Ward under WODC, Paediatric ICU facilities and Oxygen Supply Manifold System.

They also took stock of the COVID-19 situation and the District Administration's preparedness to tackle the possible third wave of COVID-19. They visited the construction of 650 bedded Teaching Hospital of BBMC & H, Balangir and reviewed progress of work and asked the officials to complete the project on time.



The team also reviewed the progress of construction of ESS Building, Service Block, Medical Gas Pipe Line System, Single Bed Room Non-teaching Residence and Nurses Hostel there.

The team also visited the important Lower Suktel Irrigation Project site and reviewed the progress of construction of Dam and spillway. They directed to complete the work for spillway by June 2022.

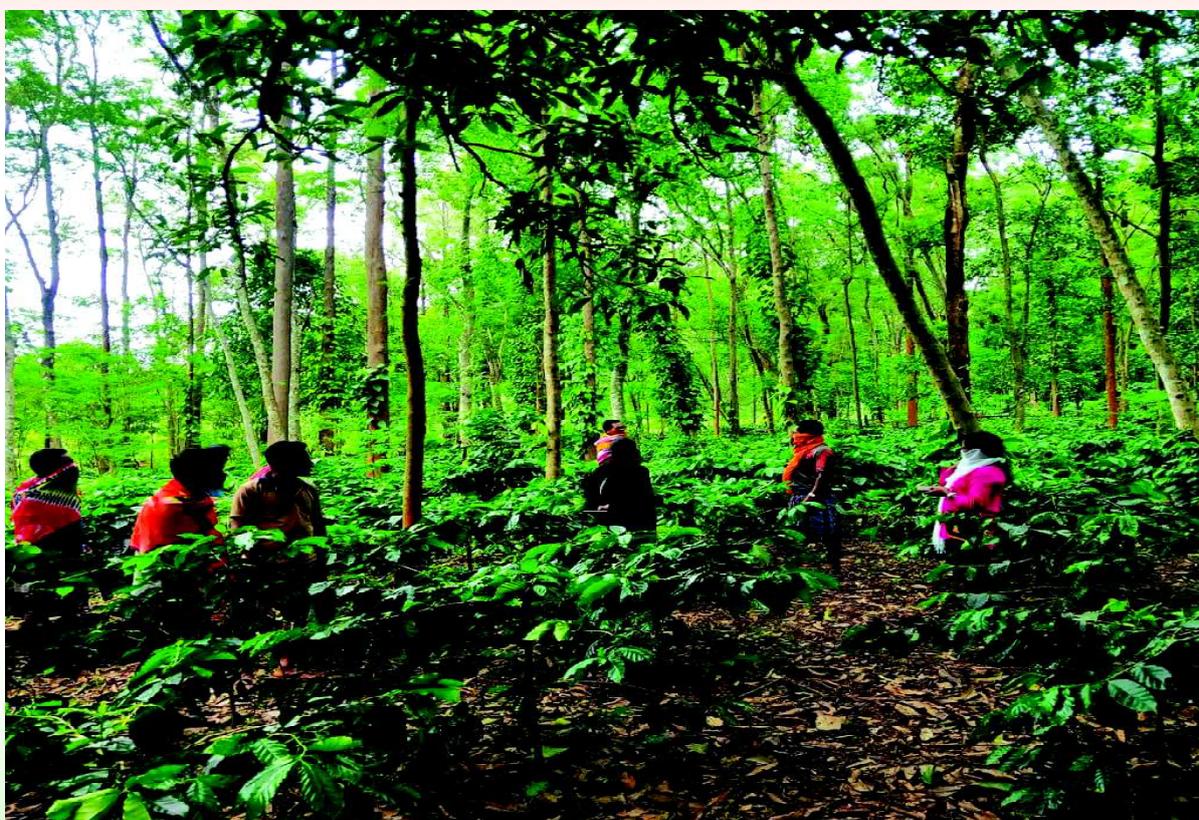
Besides, the High Level team reviewed the progress of Science Park and planetarium, New Bus terminal, SDH & MCH, Patnagarh, SDH & MCH, Titilagarh, Balangir By-pass, Maharani Sagar Tank and various drinking water, electricity and other Irrigation project of the district. The team directed to expedite the land acquisition process for the Bolangir bypass.

During the High Level Team's visit Collector, Balangir Chanchal Rana, Superintendent of Police Nitin Kushalkar and Senior Departmental Officers were present.

Tata Coffee, one of India's Largest Coffee Producers, is set to buy Coffee Beans grown by Tribals in Odisha's Koraput District

"Efforts to uplift socio-economic standard of coffee farmers will prove beneficial in their welfare"

- Shri Naveen Patnaik
Chief Minister, Odisha



Tata Coffee, one of India's largest coffee producers, is set to buy coffee beans grown by tribals in Odisha's Koraput district. The new purchase deal involving Tata Coffee is likely to give confidence to tribal coffee growers for continuing their beverage plantation.

Hon'ble Chief Minister Shri Naveen Patnaik has stated that "The cooperation of Tata Coffee in State government's efforts to uplift socio-economic standard of coffee farmers will prove beneficial in their welfare. It carries importance in protection of livelihood of tribals at critical juncture like COVID pandemic."

According to the Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation of Odisha Limited (TDCCOL), everything about the 100% Arabica coffee beans is sourced from the State itself.

Coffee is grown in the Laxmipur, Kashipur, Dasmantpur, Nandpur, Lamtaput, Koraput, Potangi and Nandpur blocks in Koraput. This year, around 28,790 kg of coffee cherries was procured from 193 tribals farmers, says TDCCOL.

“We had sent samples of the Koraput coffee to Tata Coffee. The company found its quality to be very good,” said TDCCOL Managing Director Mansi Nimbhal. TDCCOL started selling Koraput coffee in 2019 through Adisha, its retail outlets.

Koraput Agro Products Producer Company Limited (KAPPCO), a producer company of the Odisha Rural Development and Marketing Society in Koraput, had approached TDCCOL to facilitate marketing of the coffee. KAPPCO said it was happy that Tata Coffee had shown interest in buying Koraput coffee from tribal farmers.



The beverage crop was introduced about 90 years ago in Koraput, situated in Eastern Ghats hillranges at a height of 2,000-3,000 ft above sea level.

According to a 10-year plan, an area of 46,500 ha will be brought under shade plantation and 22,570 ha under coffee in Koraput district. About 25,000 families of mostly tribals will be provided with a record of rights for coffee plants for their long-term livelihood.



A Golden Throw

Congratulations Neeraj Chopra on historic first-ever track & field Gold medal for India in Javelin throw at Tokyo Olympics. The country is so proud of you. With this, you took India to its highest ever medal tally at the Olympics. You will inspire generations.

- Shri Naveen Patnaik,
Chief Minister, Odisha



The Inspiration ...



The Golden Performance



The Inspiration ...



The Rise of Indian Hockey



As Odisha Prepares to Host World Cup Hockey 2023 the 5T Impact is Perceptible



Hon'ble Chief Minister Shri Naveen Patnaik felicitating Hockey Players from Odisha for outstanding performance in Tokyo Olympics.



**Message of
Prof. Ganeshi Lal,
Hon'ble Governor of Odisha,
on the occasion of the
Independence Day -2021**



On the auspicious occasion of 75th Independence Day, I extend my heartiest greetings and good wishes to the brothers and sisters of Odisha. Today, on this historic day, we attained freedom for our country following the path of Ahimsa, pioneered by the father of our Nation Mahatma Gandhi. Our struggle for freedom through the path of Ahimsa is unique in the history of mankind.

We need to observe this day to renew our pledge for the preservation of Independence along with keeping the National honour untarnished.

On this occasion we recall with pride the heroic struggle of our freedom fighters and nationalist leaders, whose relentless sacrifices brought us the most valuable gift of Independence. Let us together pay our respectful homage to Mahatma Gandhi as well as other great leaders Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and great patriots like Saheed Bhagat Singh, Chandra Sekhar Azad and many others who had made invaluable contribution with dedication and sacrifice for achieving this glorious feat.

Odisha had played a significant role in our struggle for Independence. History bears the testimony of the priceless contribution made by Buxi Jagabandhu, Veer Surendra Sai, Chakhi Khuntia, Saheed Laxman Naik, Baji Rout, Birsa Munda, Raghu-Dibakar, Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Utkal Gourab Madhusudan Das, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Maa Rama Devi, Malati Choudhury, Parbati Giri, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, legendary Biju Patnaik and other prominent freedom fighters and nationalist leaders of our State in the freedom struggle.

COVID-19 pandemic has severely impacted life and livelihood across the globe. Severe strains in our social, economic, educational, agricultural and health-care sector have been noticed and the whole world is witnessing unprecedented challenges to humanity.

Our State Odisha has a track record of efficiently handling natural disasters be it floods or cyclones or any other natural calamities. The State has successfully contained the spread of the pandemics strategically preparing and following effective governance measures in active participation with Panchayati Raj institutions and community-based-response systems enabling the resilient State to handle the pandemic. The State was the first in the country to initiate and implement appropriate COVID related measures. Setting up of COVID care facilities, effective monitoring systems and successful vaccination programmes are some of the most significant initiatives taken by the State Government to combat the pandemic. Due to the effective measures taken by the State Government in early tracking, testing and treatment of COVID cases, COVID related deaths in the State could be minimized, spread of the pandemic effectively controlled and maximum number of affected cases could be cured in record time. So far more than 1.7 Crore people have been successfully vaccinated in different vaccination centres across the State and now Bhubaneswar has become the first city in administering one hundred percent vaccination. The State has now a strategy in place along with appropriate preparedness to fight the anticipated 3rd COVID wave, we now need to be more and more careful and follow COVID appropriate behaviour issued by the Government from time to time in this regard.

Despite challenges posed by the COVID pandemic, our State has registered significant growth in different sectors. During the 2nd wave of COVID pandemic, my Government had administered special packages for street vendors, marginal farmers, migrant workers, MGNREGA labourers, construction workers, primitive tribal families, SC & ST students and above all Mission Shakti members.

My Government took commendable measures at the time of acute shortage of medical Oxygen for treatment of critical COVID cases in the country and besides providing medical Oxygen to its own patients; my Government also supported other States of the country by supplying this life saving medical Oxygen. About 31,039 MT of medical oxygen have been supplied to 17 Medical Oxygen deficit States. 'Ashirbad' scheme, recently launched by my

Government has come to the rescue of children orphaned during the pandemic and can ensure them a secured future.

Now, my Government has rolled out 'One Nation One Ration' Scheme throughout the State along with launching the fortified rice scheme on a pilot basis in Malkangiri district ensuring enhanced and assured food security to it's people. Our 'KALIA' scheme meant for livelihood support and income augmentation of farmers and landless agricultural workers of the State has been a saving grace during the pandemic times.

My Government is committed to transform Odisha by making all out efforts for bringing changes. In order to effect appropriate changes in the administration, my Government implemented 5-T initiatives. This initiative, coupled with the people feedback monitoring governance mechanism "Mo Sarkar" has opened up the positive aspects of work culture in the Government functioning. Recently through the implementation of 5-T initiative, Puri became the 1st Indian city to have 24X7 Drink-from-tap facility to provide quality drinking water to every household. This mission is soon set to cover 16 more towns with more than 40 lakh population. Similarly transformative development initiatives at Puri Srimandir, Konark Sun temple, Maa' Samaleswari temple, Sambalpur, SCB Medical College & Hospital and Taladanda Canal, Cuttack are going on in full swing following the 5-T spirit of total transformation.

Women empowerment is at the core of all initiatives of the State. Recently the State Government has created a separate administrative department for "Mission Shakti", to make our women more self-reliant. Our Mission Shakti Programme has given livelihood support to around 70 lakh women across the State. Under the Biju Swasthya Kalyan Yojana, free medical care is being provided to all, in all the Government healthcare institutions in order to assure quality health care to people. Biju Swasthya Kalyan Yojana also ensures health assurance up to Rupees 5 Lakh for all members of a family and additional 5 lakh Rupees for women members of a family in a year for treatment of critical ailments in identified private hospitals inside and outside the State.

With a mission to empower the youth of the State, my Government has instituted Odisha Skill Development Authority and World Skill Centre is a milestone in this direction that adds a new chapter to the " Skilled in Odisha" brand initiatives .

Odisha is investing more than 1000 Crore on sports infrastructure. Along with Kalinga Stadium in Bhubaneswar and with the construction of the country's largest Hockey Stadium at Rourkela, the State is preparing itself in a big way to successfully host the 2023 edition of the Hockey World Cup in both the venues. Work is in full swing to complete this Mega Sports Project within the stipulated time. Odisha's sponsorship, support, co-operation and encouragement to the Men's and Women's National Hockey Teams has resulted in the spectacular performance of both the teams at 2020 Tokyo Olympics and medals and acclaims won by both the teams hailed worldwide.

My Government's endeavour to make the State one of the most attractive tourist destinations include effective programmes like promotion of eco tourism through Eco-retreats that aims to boost the tourism sector and attract more tourists to the State and consequently bolster the State's economy.

Despite challenges posed by the pandemic, my State has achieved a remarkable growth in revenue generation from its own sources. My State has been fostering growth and development by achieving success in different sectors. State's march on the track of development is all set to make it an ambitious and vibrant New Odisha.

On this auspicious occasion, let us join hands together to resolve and rededicate ourselves to the cause of all-round progress and development of the State.

Jay Hind.

**Message of
Shri Naveen Patnaik,
Hon'ble Chief Minister of Odisha
on the occasion of
Independence Day- 2021**



On the auspicious occasion of 75th Independence Day, I extend my heartiest greetings and good wishes to the brothers and sisters of Odisha.

On this occasion, I pay my deep respect to the great patriots and freedom fighters like the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Netajee Subhas Chandra Bose, Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Utkal Gourab Madhusudan Das, Buxi Jagabandhu, Veer Surendra Sai, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Maa Rama Devi, Malati Choudhury, Parbati Giri, Saheed Laxman Naik, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab and Biju Patnaik.

On this occasion, my tributes to the brave Jawans of our nation who laid down their lives in the struggle for peace and security of the country. I also pay my deep respect to the COVID warriors who were martyred during the COVID pandemic.

A period of 75 years after independence of our country is not enough, however, it carries much significance. A democratic India is in itself the greatest achievement. It is our pride as well. India is a country of many religion, castes, languages and beliefs. In reality, our democracy has paved the way for country's development. It has also strengthened the country.

Investment in youth is investment in future. Today, this has been proved to be true again. The Indian Hockey team has made the country proud by winning Olympic medal after 40 years. At the time when Odisha shouldered the responsibility of sponsoring Indian

Hockey, our only aim was to popularise the 'Hockey' again and to extend all support for elevating Indian Hockey to a new height. The medal won by Indians in Tokyo Olympics has created an atmosphere of celebrations in the entire country. It is also noteworthy that the Indian Women's Hockey team played the Semi-finals in Olympics and made a concerted effort for a medal. Odisha would extend all support to take the Indian Hockey team to the number one position in the world. You all know that we have taken a number of initiatives for strengthening the sports infrastructure. Kalinga Stadium has become the hub of world hockey today. We are also constructing the best ever Stadium of the country at Rourkela. We have recently taken a decision to construct 89 Multipurpose Indoor Stadiums. These will have the modern amenities for various Indoor games and can also be utilised as Health Centre and Cyclone Shelter.

Odisha has witnessed a great transformation in the academic sphere. Government Schools are being modernised. Under the 5 T initiatives, works have already started for playgrounds, libraries, laboratories and smart classrooms in Government schools. 1072 schools are now witnessing transformations at the first phase of 5 T initiative. There is an increase in the enrolment in Government schools. Likewise, 'Mo School' programme has become the most popular one and over 5 lakh alumni have come forward for development of more than 32 thousand schools.

COVID pandemic has created a deep impact on the lives and livelihoods of our people since last 16 months. Odisha, in comparison to other states, is in a much better position for the facilitation made by Odisha Government for free COVID treatment. During COVID pandemic, we have continuously supplied Oxygen to 17 states thereby saving many lives. The pandemic has deep impact on the earnings of poor people. To lessen their burden, we have provided financial assistance amounting to more than Rs.2000 crore to street vendors, farmers, labourers, ST brothers and sisters, mothers of Mission Shakti and others. "Ashirbad Yojana" is being implemented by the Odisha Government for the children who have lost their parents during COVID pandemic.

I have been reiterating time and again that Odisha is my family. Every life is important to me. You know that economy and health are interlinked. It is my aim to facilitate better health services to all the people of Odisha. Healthy Odisha- Happy Odisha is our mission.

Today, Odisha has further created a niche for itself and brightened its identity in various spheres. Our economy is in a better position. Investment in Odisha has increased even during the period of COVID pandemic. Odisha, today, is providing its surplus food-grains to other states. Odisha model starting from the welfare of the poor people to Disaster Management has showed the path to the entire country. In supply of drinking water to the people of Odisha we have created a milestone. Drink from Tap programme in Puri is a pioneering measure in the entire country.

Mission Shakti is one of the major factors for our State's development. Within the last two decades, there has been a major transformation observed in the social status of our mothers. Mothers are not dependent on anyone today. They have become able to shoulder other's responsibility besides taking care of their own. The transformation of 70 lakh mothers in our State is an indication of a new Odisha, an empowered Odisha.

Today, Odisha is witnessing new milestones of development in various fields. In 2036, we will celebrate completion of hundred years of formation of a separate Odisha province. I am confident that with your support and cooperation, we would be able to be the best State of our country and write a new history for Odisha.

Jay Hind.

**Message of
Shri Raghunandan Das,
Hon'ble Minister, Water Resources,
Information & Public Relations
on the occasion of
Independence Day- 2021**



I extend my warm greetings and best wishes to the people of Odisha on the sacred and auspicious occasion of the 75th Independence Day.

Seventy four years ago, on this day, India achieved Freedom from British rule through non-violence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Nation. While we enjoy the benefits of Independence, we should not forget the invaluable sacrifices of our Freedom Fighters and Martyrs, whose contribution brought the long cherished Independence. Netajee Subhas Chandra Bose, Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Chakrabarti Rajgopalchari, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Saheed Bhagat Singh, Khudiram Bose, Prafulla Chaki, Aruna Asaf Ali and many other national leaders had struggled hard to achieve the Independence.

The people of Odisha also took active part in this struggle for Freedom. The sacrifices of Jayee Rajguru, Veer Surendra Sai, Birsa Munda, Baji Rout, Raghunath Mohanty, Dibakar Parida, Laxman Naik, Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Utkal Gourab Madhusudan Das, Acharya Harihar Das, Maa Ramadevi, Malati Choudhury, Parbati Giri, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, Biju Patnaik and many others had played a significant role in this National Movement. We take this opportunity to pay our humble tribute to them on this auspicious day.

India has emerged as a developing nation by achieving remarkable progress in almost all spheres in the post independence era. Our State Government is also working consistently

for all-round development of our people. The innovative measures taken under the dynamic leadership of our beloved Chief Minister have brought transformational change in the lives of people ensuring an inclusive growth.

Our Government is functioning on 5-T Mantra (Transparency, Technology, Teamwork, Time & Transformation) with an aim to ensure accountability for citizen centric governance. Various welfare initiatives for Farmers, Women, Construction workers and weaker sections etc. proved to be most effective in its pattern of implementation.

Odisha has earned applause and accolades in national and international level for managing natural calamities. Much of the credit attributed to an early action plan put in place by our popular Chief Minister. Starting from steps taken to contain the spread of Corona virus to successful vaccination, the State Government has been working relentlessly to save the lives and to provide livelihood support to the people affected during the corona pandemic.

On this auspicious occasion, let us join hands together for all-round development of the State.

Jay Hind.

Editor's Note



On the historic occasion of the 75th Independence Day of our country, I convey my warmest greetings to one and all. 75 years ago, our country became free from British rule and new nation was born. Our struggle for independence is unique in the history of mankind. It was inspired by the ideals of Mahatma Gandhiji, the greatest leader ever known. Our freedom was achieved through Ahimsa and Satyagraha. In a world, riven with conflict, intolerance and violence we have to pursue our destiny with a faith on these very same values, cherished by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation.

This is an occasion when I am reminded of and pay my sincere obeisance to numerable freedom fighters who laid down their lives for the nation's freedom. The people of Odisha too had a significant role in this great national movement. History will always bear witness to the invaluable contribution made by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Netajee Subhas Bose, Sardar Patel, Moulana Azad, Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Utkalgourab Madhusudan Das, Veer Surendra Sai, Saheed Laxman Naik, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Maa Rama Devi, Malati Choudhury, Parbati Giri, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab and Biju Patnaik in the freedom struggle and reawakening of our country. Let us salute all the great martyrs in all humility and reverence. On this occasion, I also pay my humble tribute to those who were martyred while discharging their duties during COVID-19 pandemic.

Our State Odisha is rich in resources and skill. The human resources are just fabulous. Under the dynamic leadership of our Chief Minister Shri Naveen Patnaik, Odisha is now transformed and is leading the tally in all aspects of human development and human rights amongst States of our great country. Amidst the COVID challenges with everyone's cooperation we are gradually coming back to normalcy.

People of Odisha would always remember how, as a State under the dynamic and loved leadership of Naveen Patnaik, we have contributed to the national cause. When the country needed the Oxygen it was our Chief Minister who had made it available and still continues to.

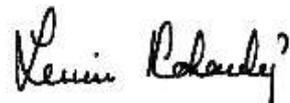
When the country needs nonviolence and discusses development, it is our Chief Minister who is continuously endeavouring that, non-violence be made a part of our preamble. When even now there is a disaster in any part of our country it is our brave men with expertise who reach the place within hours.

Now when women and men in blue playing marvelous Hockey at the Olympics, the nation appreciates the efforts of our Chief Minister. Without much fuss, pomp and show, he has made Odisha the sports capital with infrastructure never thought of. I am also elated and very happy that our Government has taken a number of social and economic measures which has brought about a significant change in the lives of common man.

The task of building a strong nation based on social justice, equity and harmony is not an easy one. We need to rekindle our minds, the determination and resolve which characterized those who fought for our freedom. We need to be wise in acknowledging the pitfalls of bigotry and intolerance. We have to be compassionate and sensitive to needs of those who are underprivileged and deprived.

Jay Hind.

Bande Utkal Janani.



Editor, Odisha Review



Independence Day at a Glance

Girija Shankar Das

August 15 this year comes at a time when the country is facing one of the worst crises since independence. The economy is in deep trouble, social and communal tensions have intensified, Constitutional values and democracy are on retreat, health sector has collapsed due to the onslaught of COVID 19 and relations with neighbouring countries have worsened. How the country will confront these multiple challenges and what role the working class plays will determine the future of our country.

Independence came to India both with hope and pain. Pain as the country was partitioned resulting into slaughtering of tens of thousands of innocent people. The British India descended into barbarism of unimaginable magnitude. Partition forced perhaps the single largest migration in human history. This pain overshadowed the celebrations of independence. Yet independence brought new hopes and aspirations. Unlike Pakistan which became a theocratic State, the leaders of the national liberation movement chose to build India as a modern nation State on the foundations of democracy, secularism, justice, equality and fraternity.

Pandit Nehru addressing the nation on 15th August said that ‘the achievements we celebrate today is but a step, an opportunity, to

greater triumphs and achievements that await us’. These words inspired millions of poor and the working class and hopes soared of a glorious future in independent India. The people were convinced that the promises made to eradicate poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance will be redeemed soon.

FAILED TO DELIVER ON ECONOMIC FRONT

Seventy four years after independence we find that many of the promises made remain unfulfilled. The capitalist path of development, the newly liberated country chose and the total embracing of neo-liberalism in 1991, led to a situation where we find an India within an India. There is an India with around 10 percent of the top population whose life standards are comparable to the best in the world. This India which controls the politics and economy feel that their nation is a global super power, remain reluctant and indifferent to acknowledge the plight of the under-privileged. As against this, there is another India comprising of the vast majority of the population that continues to live on the margins and their life standards are as worst as those in Sub-Saharan Africa. While the Indian rulers are jubilant that the Indian economy ranks 5th in the world, it bothers them little that the country’s



global ranking in terms of human development is a pathetic 129. The United Nations estimates that India is home to 28 percent of the world's poor. The manner in which the issue of migrant workers were handled after the announcement of lockdown to combat COVID 19 demonstrated the apathy of the State towards this vast under-privileged section of our population. This lopsided development has made India one of the most unequal societies in the world. The country failed its under-privileged by not keeping up the promise of an economic development that would benefit every single citizen.

DEMOCRACY ON RETREAT

Democracy does not mean just periodical holding of elections. It also means justice and freedoms. In a country which is predominantly feudal, it was felt that democracy would not survive. But democracy survived in India when in most of the newly liberated countries it failed and yielded place to authoritarianism and military dictatorship. The country held periodical elections and transition of power has always remained smooth. However, in the last few years, there are clear signs of degeneration. The idea of construction of a just society no longer drives politics. Politics has become a business and career. The Parliament and Legislatures are loaded with people with vested interests. More, than 40 percent of the elected representatives have criminal records. Increasingly it appears that the criminals have found a safe haven in the Parliament and Legislatures. In the last few years, we see a new developing trend where a Political party need not win elections to come to power. It can come to power even after losing the elections as elected representatives have become commodities for sale and purchase.

For a democracy to succeed, the independence of judiciary, other democratic and

constitutional institutions and a free press are absolutely necessary. The judiciary has failed to protect the fundamental rights of the citizens and from the excesses of the executive. Most of the democratic institutions have lost their spine. The so called free press has become the propaganda machine of the government. These developments have eroded faith of the people in democracy.

SOCIAL AND COMMUNAL TENSIONS ARE INTENSIFYING

The people desired not just freedom from British rule but also freedoms to speak, think, criticise and break the stranglehold of prejudices. The Constitution promised these freedoms but in reality such freedoms are elusive and judiciary is reluctant to protect such freedoms. Today one who speaks and thinks differently or criticises the government or its leader is branded as an enemy of the State. The manner in which the human right activists who dared to speak on behalf of the marginalised are treated is a sufficient proof of the State's vengeance. Eminent intellectuals like Anand Teltumbde/Gautam Navalka, Sudha Bharadwaj and many others are forced to languish in jail. They are accused of treason but despite the grave charge of conspiring to assassinate the Prime Minister, they are not put to trial for nearly two years now. The idea is to silence these voices which speak for the marginalised. Students who stood up to the polarising policies of the government are arrested under draconian laws. The same draconian laws are invoked in dealing with journalists who speak the truth. It looks more likely that India has degenerated into a police State.

Dr. Ambedkar had hoped and worked for the annihilation of caste but caste is further entrenched in independent India. Indian society remains a deeply caste based society. In such a society, the lower castes are on the margins and



there is no end to the atrocities on them. The caste based society is necessary for bourgeois politics for its survival and the State lacks commitment to attack casteism, forcing Dr Anand Telumbde to say that India has become the Republic of Caste. The rise of political right has further marginalised the minorities. Democracy is not just about the will of the majority but also about ensuring a fair treatment to the minorities. The political right has been 'othering' the minorities to consolidate the majority support. The actions of the State in the last one year have further alienated the minorities. Such a situation is neither good for democracy, nor unity of the people.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Even before the COVID pandemic, Indian economy was floundering and the pandemic has aggravated the crisis. Millions are out of jobs and consequently suffered huge income losses. The failure to handle the COVID 19 pandemic is a reflection on the crumbling and neglected public health system. Even a pandemic was utilised to create further religious divisions and polarisation of society. The relations with long standing friends in the neighbourhood are strained as never before due to failure of the foreign policy. Every sector of the economy is opened up for private capital both Indian and foreign. The rights of the workers earned through decades of struggles are under attack. Today across the world a consensus is emerging that neo-liberalism has failed. The communal polarisation is continuing for electoral gains. The caste system is further entrenched and social discrimination continues unabated. This is the situation as India celebrates its 75th Independence Day.

RECLAIM THE REPUBLIC

Who can stop this rot but for the working class? It is the working class which is the most

capable and well equipped force to present an alternative to the present economic and political system. It is again the working class which is capable of protecting democracy and reclaiming the Republican values as laid down in the Constitution. We decided to construct a society based on Justice, Equality, Liberty and Fraternity. The social contract in the form of Constitution firmly asserts that religious and linguistic pluralism are the cornerstones of the foundation of Indian Republic. Today all these foundational principles are under tremendous attack.

It must be understood that unity and pluralism are inseparable. If the population is divided, the country cannot remain united. It has become the responsibility of working class to defeat all attempts to create divisions in its rank. Not only it must unite but also become a binding force to unite all the marginalised sections to force a change in the economic and political direction of the country. Today we see attempts to build a myth of invincibility and infallibility of a leader and create space for messiah politics. This situation will lead to authoritarianism and we are already seeing such trends in India. Dr Ambedkar had warned that hero worship and bhakti in politics will lead to a sure disaster. The working class cannot afford to ignore this warning.

The 75th Independence Day is an opportunity for marginalised, deprived and working class to come together and place before the nation an alternative vision of economic and social development. The vision of constructing a just fair and equal society must be the guiding force for the struggles of the working class. The working class must make a determined bid to reclaim the Constitutional and Republican values. This should be the task and pledge while we celebrate the 75th Independence Day of India.

Girija Shankar Das, Senior Columnist, Bhubaneswar.



Baji Rout : The Contribution of a Little Hero to India's Freedom Struggle

Dr. Kamalakanta Roul

Introduction:

Rewriting India's Colonial History

India's Swaraj movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was intended not only to politically liberate the nation from the colonial forces but also to make human community socio-economically free from colonial-feudal exploitation. Gandhi had the only dream to see Sarvodaya India (welfare of all) and he instrumentalized Swaraj movement to make that dream true. However, decolonization from the below was the most challenging political agenda of the modern nationalists participated in this Swaraj movement. The most crucial work was mobilizing the hinterland society and lower classes of these societies which were affected by modern political systems in colonial period (Duara, 2004: 5). In the twentieth century Asia and Africa, nationalist movements had different ways of protests and mobilizations against colonialism such as violent and peaceful methods. Nationalist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) and Mahatma Gandhi (India) were relatively successful in peaceful mobilization of rural masses and societies in their respective countries. On the other hand, Mao Zedong (China) and Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam) led aggressive revolutionary movement in very violent way with huge casualties.

Gandhi's strategy of peaceful mobilization (Ahimsha) specifically fascinated school children and rural masses. The school students reposed faith over Gandhi and believed that Ahimsha was the only tool to emancipate India. School children played very significant role in India's freedom struggle particularly in the "no tax campaign" of non-cooperation movement, Swadeshi movement, Civil Disobedience movement, Dandi Satyagraha and Praja Mandal movement against the colonial-feudatory chiefs.

Gandhi had huge impact over the freedom struggle of Odisha. Some young men of the princely states left their schools and colleges to join the non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi (Pradhan, 1985: 338). Gandhian movement was widespread in the whole country which inspired these educated young men to take leadership of the tenant uprising in the princely states (Gadajata) of Odisha. Baji Rout (1926-1938) was an active member of "Banar Sena" and participated in Praja Mandal movement in Dhenkanal district of Odisha against the misrule of colonial sponsored Gadajata rulers. He courageously fought to make his village free from colonial exploitation and wanted to uproot their political agents. The terrible killing of Baji Rout fueled the fire of India's freedom struggle and the



movement was intensified in princely states of India. At the tender age of twelve, the boat boy Baji Rout bravely faced imperialist bullets and probably became the first child martyr of India. Alas! The role of child freedom fighters who laid down their lives for the Independence of India has gone unnoticed and unaccounted. Baji Rout is a forgotten chapter in India today.

In this context, two significant political questions need to be answered: Have the child martyrs of Indian freedom struggle been adequately incorporated in Indian history? Has Indian history been fair and inclusive enough to represent the provincial history? The article argues that the Indian state should initiate the process of rewriting colonial history to make Indian history more representative and should also go beyond the regional centrism in writing the history.

Role of Banar Sena in India's Freedom Struggle

Indian students became integral part of freedom struggle during the protest against Bengal Partition (1905). They emerged as a formidable force under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The massive participation of students in India's freedom struggle formed "Banar Sena" (monkey brigade of children groups) to spy on police and also to convey messages to nationalist leaders. One such group was formed by child freedom fighter Indira Gandhi which "grew to include 60,000 young revolutionaries who addressed envelopes, made and distributed flags, and put-up notices about demonstrations". Many Banar Senas were also constituted in different districts of Odisha including Dhenkanal. In 1938, Baji Rout, a twelve-year-old poor ferry boy became an active member of the Banar Sena in Praja Mandal at Bhuban of Dhenkanal district, Odisha.

Large number of students participated in non-cooperation movement. Gandhi asked students "to withdraw from schools and colleges and students of all over the country responded promptly and they in big number boycotted schools and colleges". It was for the first time that the student community was massively mobilised against the British colonialism in India. Students were also active in Gandhi's campaign for the use of Swadeshi materials, Charkha, and Khadi. They also campaigned for village sanitation, adult education, communal unity and created awareness against untouchability-caste system. The contribution of students in 'Quit India movement' was truly significant which proved the student power of India. Students from all parts of India "boycotted the schools and colleges in large number. They organized mass processions and rallies in the towns and cities all over the country". They were also very instrumental in picketing and boycotting kinds of Satyagraha. Students had also organised bonfire of foreign clothes. "Thereby they brought the government machinery to a standstill. Several students had been imprisoned and faced physical harassment and some of them were killed in police firings also".

On the occasion of celebrating 76th year of Quit India Movement, the then child freedom fighter Arun Bhatia (2019) remembers that "when kids said quit India" the impact of child satyagrahis was so deep that even the "cops supported anti-British activity but they had to maintain order". He further writes, "As a seven-year-old in August 1942, I was wearing a white khadi cap most of the time, even when going to school where we would be in the school uniform. Why, even girls were wearing this homespun cloth cap. It had become a solidarity icon of the freedom movement, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi. Bapu had



indeed mobilised the whole country to oust the Gora Sahibs in a unique non-violent action”.

Nature of Feudatory State in Colonial Odisha

Since the Mughal period, Odisha was divided into two administrative revenue units: Mughalbandi and Gadajata (feudatory states). Mughalbandi was comprised with the regions of coastal Odisha and Gadajata was consisted with hilly terrains. Gadajatas were headed by Odia chiefs who paid annual tributes to the Emperors and “were recognised as the feudatories of Imperial Mughals”. The Maratha rulers (1751-1803) followed the same administrative structures made by the Mughals. In fact, the British colonial rulers somehow continued with the same old administrative arrangements from 1803-1947 and divided Odisha into two parts: British Odisha and Princely Odisha (Gadajata). The British Odisha was distributed among three Presidencies or the administrative divisions of British India. The coastal Odisha was placed under Bengal Presidency, Southern Odisha came under Madras Presidency and Western Odisha was administered by Central Province. In contrary, the Princely Odisha was “comprised with 26 feudatory states which was ruled by native rulers under British paramount power” (Patra, 1971). In medieval period, the princely states were ruled by Samanta Rajas (tributary chiefs) of the Gajapatis of Odisha. The colonial administration didn’t integrate Mughalbandi and Gadajatas regions for the purpose of administrative convenience and also decided not to intervene in the internal matter of the Gadajatas. The Kings of Gadajatas enjoyed absolute freedom in the internal administration of their respective Gadajata and were not bound by the General Regulation System of the Bengal Presidency. But the Kings were very loyal submission to the British authority and were bound

to pay the annual tribute or Peshkas decided by the British administration. H.K. Mahtab rightly said that “The Odishan princes had no fear of external aggression or internal risings so long as they were loyal to the British Crown. The role of the princes was the cornerstone of the federation constitution projected by the Act of 1935” (Mahtab, 1957: 15). Regular payment of tribute in installments was the only administrative relationship of Gadajat Kings with the British Government (Mishra, 2008: 543).

The people in princely states were subject to various types of repression such as payment of forced contribution, free and unpaid labour for the construction of royal palaces and beating of the drums in the jungles when the rulers were going on hunting and were denied ordinary civil rights. The peasants enjoyed no security of the tenure and they had no full land rights. The tax system was also very unjust and oppressive. Land was heavily taxed without regard to the capacity of the peasants to pay (Pradhan, 1985: 337). The monopoly of tax collection over salt, kerosene, pan, coconut hits the life of common people very hard. The Gadajatas were “marred by illegal taxation, excessive land revenue and cruel feudal claims and practices of *Bethi*” (forced labour), “*Beggary*” (unpaid labour), “*Rasad*” (free ration), “*Magan*” (free contribution) and “*Bheti*” (tributes)” (Pradhan, 1986). The state of lawlessness, unprecedented feudal oppression and undemocratic rule of the native Odia princes were supported by the British administration. The autocratic misrule in Gadajatas were called as “*Andhari Mulaka*” or pocket of darkness.

Praja Mandal Movement in Dhenkanal Feudatory State

In 1938, a popular nationalist movement gained momentum in Gadajatas against the



“unprecedented feudal oppression and undemocratic rule of the native Odia princes”. The Haripura Congress session in February, 1938 extended support and sympathy to the movements of people in feudatory states and demanded responsible government and civil liberty. The Congress also advised every individual Congressmen to render assistance to such movements in their personal capacity. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Balwant Ray Mehta went to Cuttack to organise the Praja Mandal activities and addressed the gatherings. Meanwhile, Praja Mandal was formed in various princely states in 1931 to peacefully organise Satyagraha against the Gadajata rulers (Mahtab, 1957: 16). The princely states of Odisha came under the influence of Gandhian nationalist movement. The students of Dhenkanal High School (1896) were in regular contact with the Odisha Congress leaders living in Cuttack. It helped them to form Praja Mandal in Dhenkanal in 1931. The Praja Mandal movement in Dhenkanal was carried out in the name of Mahatma Gandhi and his principle of Ahimsa.

Praja Mandal mobilised popular support for establishment of democratic government and civil liberties. It firmly stood against the oppressive feudal rule in princely Odisha. In Dhenkanal, agitators were arrested by the King Sankar Pratap Singhdeo. The King adopted brutal measures to suppress the Praja Mandal agitation. Consequently, discontent arose against the Dhenkanal King Sankar Pratap. More than fifty thousand people gathered in Dhenkanal Garh and surrounded the royal palace on 12 September, 1938. The Praja Mandal leaders convinced the agitating people and sent them back to their respective villages and advised them to organize the movement in a discipline way. In the

meantime, the King Sankar Pratap collected two hundred armed forces from neighbouring states - Bouda, Saraikala, Kalahandi, Patna, Keonjhar, Bastar, Khairagarh and Jashpur to suppress the movement. Looking at the growing popularity of the movement, Kings of other feudatory states offered their cooperation to the King of Dhenkanal. They sent their armed troops and reinforcement to Dhenkanal. The British administration also sent a platoon of armed soldiers from Calcutta Presidency to support the tyrannical King of Dhenkanal. On September 20, 1938, a contingent of 200 European soldiers from King's Own Scottish Borders regiment arrived at Dhenkanal (Pradhan, 2011: 177).

Only in three months starting from September to November, 1938, more than sixty villages were raided by the armed police. During the raids, houses were raged to ground by elephants, food stock was scattered, property was looted, women were raped, and people were forced to sign declaration of loyalty at gun point. “When the tragic and ghostly story of this legalised barbarism narrated in person to the British Commissioner CF Andrew at Cuttack by two actually raped women rescued by the protesters, Mr. Andrew simply burst into tears and even could not utter a single word of consolation as he was much to overcome by emotion and agony” (Routray, 1954: 10). Mahatma Gandhi advised the feudatory rulers of Odisha to work with the ministers of Odisha Congress government to end the misrule in the Gadajata (Harijan, December 3, 1938).

The Political Context of Baji Rout

Baji Rout was born on October 5, 1926 in Nilakanthapur village, Dhenkanal. He lost his father soon after his birth and was brought up by his mother. “He had none to look after him except



his poor old mother. His mother was earning a living by grinding and husking paddy at a quern in neighbourhood” (Routray, 1954:11). In his poetic expression, Jnanpith awardee Sachi Routray writes, “Baji, the turbulent child of Nature whistled away the hours by playing upon a pipe while ferrying his little boat across the foaming river Brahmani under the blue sky” (Routray, 1954: 11). Baji was ferrying his boat on the Brahmani river for a living. He came to know about the colonial-feudal exploitation from his mother. While eating rice-water (pakhala), one day Baji asked his mother to give little bit of salt. His mother replied that she had not bought salt due to the heavy tax imposed over it by the King. Excessive taxes on essential commodities were levied and collected by the King which had also affected Baji’s mother and her earnings. The oppressive rule of the King induced poverty in Dhenkanal Gadajata. “Millions and millions of half-fed and half-clad people were living in the state of abject poverty and utter destitution whereas a few ruling Chiefs and their minions were at their expense leading lives of utmost luxury and plentitude” (Routray, 1954:7-8). During this time, the popular Praja Mandal movement arose against the tyrannical King of Dhenkanal Shankar Pratap Singhdeo.

Baishnav Charan Patnaik was one of the local leaders of the Praja Mandal movement in Dhenkanal. He was popularly called as Veer Baishnav and was in charge of Nilakanthapur. Many villagers of Baji Rout had also joined the movement and were having regular meetings and discussions. Under the guidance of Baishnav Patnaik, Praja Mandal founded Banar Sena with the membership of young children in Bhuban and Nilakanthapur villages. Mr. Patnaik addressed the members of Banar Sena and emphasized over

the misrule of the King. He also told them about the objective of Praja Mandal to establish a democratic government and to grant civil rights. Members of Banar Sena including Baji were inspired by the speeches of Baishnav Patnaik and voluntarily undertook the responsibility to work for the Praja Mandal movement. Baji Rout voluntarily joined the Banar Sena and undertook the responsibility of spying over British Police, to convey messages about the movement of British troops in his locality and also he promised to stop the ferry of British police over the Brahmani river to enter into his village. Baji Rout and his friends of Banar Sena used to sing the following song against the political agents of feudal-colonial rulers: “ebe mana dei suna thare dalal dala, bela aasilani chapi deba praja mandala” (hey, brokers gang of imperialists, now listen to us in rapt attention, your time has come to end, Praja Mandal will destroy you all).

The Heroic Contribution of Baji Rout to India’s Freedom Struggle

Like other days, on October 10, 1938, Baji Rout was also posted at the bank of the Brahmani river “by the Praja Mandal as a sentinel to watch over the ‘ghat’ and to see that the boat was not used by the British police to cross the river for carrying out their murderous game of killing and looting people and burning down the houses of peaceful villagers across the river who were found sympathising with the Praja Mandal workers” (Routray, 1954: 11).

On October 10, 1938, late night, a magistrate and a police sub-inspector with an armed force of forty men entered Bhuban village with warrant of arrest against eighteen persons. The police arrested eighteen persons and shot two persons dead. When the police came out with



the arrested men, villagers were gathered in massive numbers and requested the police with folded hands to stop firing and to release these innocent people. It was raining and pitch dark. Some policemen flashed their torch and fired. Forty to fifty people were killed and several injured in the firing. In the same night, six persons were killed in police firing including Baji Rout at Nilakanthapur village. The police left the village at a running pace, without caring to count the dead and the wounded, not to speak of rendering first aid (AICC file G 35, Part II, 1938, f 23; quoted in Pradhan, 2011: 180). The British police “immediately started a pursuit and were met by blockade of simple villagers, who refused to give up their local hero. The authorities then opened indiscriminate fire at the villagers”. On September 22, 1938, “a surprise raid was planned where Hara Mohan Pattanayak and other leaders were arrested. Pattanayak was wiler than they thought, and he escaped”. On October 10, 1938, the police were searching for the Praja Mandal leader Har Mohan Pattanayak and went to Bhuban to arrest him. During the raid, “Pattanaik had escaped by jumping into the Brahmani river to swim to safety to Nilakanthapur village on the other side and meeting other revolutionary there”. With some other arrested persons, the policemen reached at the Nilakanthapur Ghat two miles away from Bhuban to ferry across the river Brahmani in the midnight (Rath, 1993: 184). “Incidentally, Baji Rout had been asked by senior Praja Mandal activists to keep an eye on the Ghat, to ensure that cops didn’t get ferried across the river. Baji Rout was sleeping at the time when these troops approached him to ferry them across the river”. They roused Baji and demanded his boat to be taken across. The state boats had been sunk earlier (Rath, 1993: 184). “The news of the brutality carried out by the British police had already

reached Baji by this time”. Baji looked at the troops with drowsy eyes still moist with fleeting dreams. The troops pointed their guns at his chest and repeated their demand in a still coarser voice. “The winds were howling and thunder-clouds clapped across the distant sky. But the little hero stood undaunted and an inspired voice rang out—this boat of mine belongs to Praja Mandal. This cannot be hired out to you—the enemy of the people” (Routray, 1954: 12). With rage and ire, “one of the policemen shook his tiny body violently while another struck his head with the heavy butt of his gun. The pale body of the little hero collapsed like a young Sal struck down by a sharp gust of wind. His skull was fractured and blood was oozing profusely” (Routray, 1954: 12). However, he did not succumb immediately. He got up and jumped to the river bank from the boat tied ashore and called out to the workers of Praja Mandal in a loud and resonant voice. His voice was heard by the villagers who were asleep in their homes and like a siren it warned them of an approaching storm. Soon after, other workers of Praja Mandal appeared on the scene. “They fastened the rope of the boat tightly to their waists and stood on the bank like trees deeply rooted in the soil. The police cut the rope that fastened the boat and rowed away. After rowing away the boat a few yards the troops loaded their guns and fired a volley at the silent crowd standing on the bank. A few were killed instantly and many were wounded fatally” (Routray, 1954: 12-13).

The dark lonely night of a still darker land witnessed the martyrdom of seven tall fighters of our land. Baji Rout along with his friends Hurushi Pradhan, Laxman Mullick, Raghu Nayak, Guri Nayak, Nata Mullick, and Fagu Sahu were killed and fell martyrs to imperialist bullets (Routray, 1954: 13). Seven dead bodies which were in a



state of putrefaction were brought by boat to Jenapur and from there to Cuttack by rail and were placed in a separate bullock carts and were marched through the streets of Cuttack in a grand procession before post-mortem (Banerji, 1938: 12). Socialist leaders Sachi Routray, Ananta Patnaik, Rabi Ghosh, Motilal Tripathy, and Gobinda Tripathy cremated these seven martyrs at Khan Nagar, Cuttack near the Kathajodi river, on October 13, 1938. The funeral fire roused the poetic emotion of Sachi Routray who wrote his famous poem titled “Baji Rout” in 1938. Sachidananda Routray, famously wrote,

“This is not a funeral flame, O’ friends!

When the country is in dark despair,

It is the light of our liberty,

It is our freedom-fire”.

Conclusion: Towards Inclusive Indian History

Freedom struggle contemplates the vastness of human conditions and makes a new beginning for the realization of human capacities. Leaping flames of India’s freedom struggle deeply sucked the blood of millions. Indian Independence was possible with the popular participation of masses from every community- children, youth, and old. From non-cooperation movement to quit India movement, “banar sena” (monkey brigade) of children groups played significant role to make India free from British imperialism. But Baji Rout, the youngest freedom fighter and child martyr of India has not been discussed in Indian history and politics. He was inspired by Praja Mandal against the oppressive British rule and atrocities of the then King. He gave the clarion call against the feudal-colonial misrule. Only twelve years old poor boat boy fearlessly stood up to face British

imperialist bullets in his soft chest. “His soft skull was fractured with the heavy butt of British gun and head was severely bleeding. Baji collapsed but continued raising his voice, warning villagers regarding the presence of the troop”. His struggle at the Brahmani river Ghat stopped British police entering into his village and prevented in nabbing the revolutionaries of Praja Mandal. However, the cruelty of British police in the fateful night on October 10, 1938 not only shook up the conscience of the entire nation but provided fuel to the fire which was burning for freedom. “His life is an epic of sacrifice-saga of patriotism and a heroic struggle against all forms of exploitation of oppression of man by man” (Routray, 1954: 7).

The inhuman killing of a twelve years old ferry boy for refusing to ferry British police in his boat on the Brahmani river also created ruckus in British Parliament at that time. The heartrending incident was strongly condemned and it had tarnished the image of British imperialism. The heroic sacrifice and struggle for the freedom of motherland made him “brave heart revolutionary” of India. He has been the symbol of sacrifice and inspiration of patriotism.

Indian history has not recognised and remembered Baji Rout. Writing history is not always fair and inclusive in India. It has been regional centrist and biased. In the process of writing national history, significant provincial history and historical contribution of a particular region have been ignored and overlooked by historians. It is the history which makes account of the past politics. History is not just an account of the past; it also politics of the past. History includes how people shaped their ideas and belief which unite them (Roul, 2017: 2). John Seeley rightly argued that “history is past politics; and politics present history”. The study of history has



been always a contested space. The politics of the past has multiple interpretations and incorporation to establish the fact. It requires a rigorous methodology, historiography, scholarly rigorous, and academic acceptance. It is also observed that regionalism gets reflected in Indian historiography. Indian history is dominated by the contribution of few regions and other regions are ignored and neglected. It creates problem for other provincial people to connect themselves with the common Indian identity.

The sacrifices and struggles of Bajji Rout have been lost in the dusts and sands of time. In the similar vein, the role of many child freedom fighters of other provinces who laid down their lives for the Independence of India have been forgotten. At this time, India needs a rigorous historiography to study and recognise the unsung heroes of India's freedom struggle. It will help to broadly study the contribution and sacrifices of the unsung heroes who played significant role in combating British imperialism in their respective localities and provinces. As a result, people from every Indian province can easily connect themselves with the glorious past of India and civilisational hubris. Moreover, the inclusiveness of Indian history will bridge the regional divides to generate a sense of civic nationalism among the people of various regions and provinces. Finally, the untold story of Bajji Rout should be incorporated in CBSE school syllabi not only to inspire our children but also to make Indian history more representative and inclusive.

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Ecosystem Restoration : Learning from Vedic Literature

Dr. Avanjali Satpathy

Considering the ramifications of the ecological imbalances, the UN General Assembly declared this decade as ‘Decade on ecosystem restoration’ on World Environment Day (2021). Preventing, halting and reversing the degradation of ecosystems are primary objectives. International agencies, nation states, and private sectors all lend their support for various initiatives in designing and implementing the best practices for ecosystem restoration. However, all these initiatives will remain as rhetoric if the sense of environmental sensibility is ignored. One must not undermine the very fact that the lack of environmental ethics distort the delicate balance between organisms and ecology. Thus, education of environmental ethics is need of the hour. In this context scriptural evidences show that environmental ethics had been the key components of Vedic society, which perhaps we lack at present.

Vedic literature repeatedly introduced topics focussing on nurturance and protection of ecosystem, preservation of the culture and fortification of delicate ecological balance. Various methodologies were administered to inculcate these values in the people. Ancient scriptures such as *Veda*, *Upanishad*, *Bhagvat Geeta*, *Purans*, *Ramayana*, *Mahabharat* articulate the very

concept either in the form of mythological stories, rituals or through sacred incantations. In *Atharva Veda* Earth is personified as a mother. The evocative environmental invocation *Bhumisukta* is dedicated to her. A Legend from Vishnu Purana depicts the incarnation of Lord Vishnu as ‘*varaha avtar*’ who protected mother Earth from the demon Hiranyaksha. Here the demon symbolises the lower attributes or the unethical actions of human beings. The anthropomorphic *vahara* was depicted as the eternal upholder of the earth symbolising *satvik* mind or the higher attributes of human beings that brings order amidst imbalance, indiscipline and chaos in the world and takes responsibility to persevere and protect the environment for the plenary and peaceful coexistence of all the organisms. Environmental ethical sensibility is a substantial topic of the doctrine of Buddhism too. Buddhism advocates that human beings cannot survive in nature without accepting and respecting consciousness of nature with the very belief that the human life and other forms of life have a continuum of existence.

Environmental security in the spirit of *Panchamahayajna*

In the vision of our ancient scripture, ethical sensibility is vital for both the aspects of environment: internal and external. The external



aspects include '*pancha mahabhuta*': earth, water, air, fire and space and the internal aspects include the cognitive components that help in lifting him higher. In other words, the internal aspects deal with the purification of mind called *Chitasuddhi* in the word of spiritualism. Both the aspects are inextricably webbed together bringing to light the concept of - 'the nexus of cultural ethics and ecology' which is instrumental for a harmonious existence. To address those aspects the doctrine of '*Pancha mahayajna*' (five sacred /sattvik action) was promulgated in the spirit of *satvik karma* by our Shastras. Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, Bhagavat Gita elaborately talk about its impact on one's inner growth leading to ecological balance. The act of cosmic piety reflected in the form of *panchamahayajna* - the reverence to different elements, objects, power, beings or organism. On the lines of the Vedanta, it is the reverence towards the higher invoking the sense of gratitude for having the gamut of blessings to hold higher attributes. These five *mahayajna* includes: *Deva yajna* (reverence to Lord), *Pitruyajna* (reverance to ancestors), *Brahmayajna* (reverence to scriptures), *Manusya yajna* (reverance to humanity), *Bhuta yajna* (reverence to other organisms). Respect towards life and protector of existence are the tenets of *Bhutayajna*. The maxim that no action during the entire process of food consumption must be such that it creates imbalance and disharmony to anyone is a part of this yajna. Though these five *mahayajna* seems to be a separate entity but these are interconnected and complementary to other. The dichotomy between ecology and organisms is a resultant of the avoidance of *Bhutayajna* as well as *panchamayajna*. An introspective mind can find that the connotation of 'Sustainable Development, an universal jargon today, which

focuses on ecology, development and environment is in the true spirit of *panchamahayajna*.

Call for introspection

Reflecting on the various studies one can draw inference that ecological imbalances are the resultant of human avarice, race for power, and extensive devastation of natural resources and loss of ethical sensitivity. Animals and birds are brutally killed for the sake of their ivories, horns and skin or simply merrymaking. Most of the environmental problems of the present day are essentially man-made. All the communicable diseases such as AIDS, Flue, SARS becomes pandemic due to the miscommunication or interaction of animals. One should not undermine the truth that nature is very delicately balanced. If we tamper with any part of nature, it will lead to different kinds of problems. So moral values at the individual level is therefore important to shape the environment in perfect harmony.

A tranquil introspection will be valid to reflect upon these fundamental questions. Is it not high time to address the art of transformation: transformations of narcissistic consumption to a more empathetic preservation, of anthropocentrism to environmental philosophy?

Is it not high time to contemplate, revive and practice the environmental ethics prescribed by *Vedic literatures - apauruasheya granth* (divine words) to bring a new ray of hope for a peaceful coexistence and for a blissful world?

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Anti-Colonial Resistance in Odisha: 1767-1857

Prof. Pritysh Acharya

Introduction

The anti-colonial movement in India could be divided into two broad phases. The first phase began soon after the British conquest of Bengal after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and continued till the Revolt of 1857, while the second phase began in the late 19th century and continued till the achievement of independence in 1947. Here our focus is on the first phase. The first phase with the sole objective of overthrowing the colonial rule was marked by a series of civil rebellions, both major and minor, wherever the British reached for consolidating their rule. These rebellions were led by the rajas, zamindars, and the ex-retainers and the officials of the conquered Indian states. The main participants included the rack-rented peasants, ruined artisans, demobilized soldiers and the tribals, who had been the victims of the drastic colonial changes both in the socio-economic and political spheres. The changes brought by the British had disrupted the agrarian society and had caused prolonged and widespread suffering among the people. The traditional ruling class comprising the rajas and zamindars, etc., had been displaced and the peasants, artisans and tribals had been enraged by the intensifying colonial demands. The traditional intelligentsia and priestly class had been upset by the foreign character of the British and

incited the people against the British. They feared that their religions and their customs and traditions were in danger, because of the British. The leadership of these resistance movements remained in the hands of the traditional feudal class, which presided over the polity then. These rebellions were massive in their totality, but were wholly local in their spread and isolated from one another. They were due to the local causes and grievances, and were localized in their effects. They represented common conditions though separated in time and space. They suffered suppression in the hands of the colonial power, which had the backing of most modern arms and most sophisticated technology of the time. It was an asymmetrical battle between the traditional arms and modern arms. The suppression of the civilian rebellions was a foregone conclusion. However, these resistance struggles set a strong tradition of defiance, which thwarted overt racialism in India in the days to come. Secondly, though the traditional arms had conceded defeat, the British realized that modern arms alone would not sustain their rule in a colony. This led them to evolve the colonial ideology, which supplemented their arms for perpetuating the colonial rule. Since then the colonial ideology and the arms together were used to create the myth of invincibility of the colonial rule. The rebels, despite being



ruthlessly suppressed, inspired their countrymen to fight the injustice unleashed by the colonial rule. They made the supreme sacrifice of their life and property to live up to their belief. It is true that these rebellions did not bear a national ethos and lacked a broad all India vision. The rebels fought for un-setting the colonial rule super-imposed on their land and tried for replicating the pre-British feudal frame in its place. However, they had helped in the evolution of a nationalist struggle in the subsequent period. If the early phase of resistance was not truly nationalist in nature, it was also not averse to nationalism, which was yet to set in India. Since it facilitated nationalism to evolve, it could be explained in terms of proto-nationalism. In other words, these anti-colonial resistance movements could be seen as the forerunners of the second phase of the anti-colonial movement, which evolved from an embryonic form into a concrete shape over a period of time. The great Revolt of 1857, popularly called the Sepoy Mutiny, though it was much more than that, symbolized the climax of the early phase by its spread as well as by its massiveness. There were hundreds of such revolts, though their spread and volume was limited to their respective localities.

The Scene in Odisha

Our focus here is on the anti-colonial resistance in Odisha during this early phase of 1757 and 1857. The resistance is to be examined in the background of the tradition discussed above. Secondly, it had its own uniqueness highlighting which would familiarize us with the specific setting of the development during the period under study. For example, there was no 'Odisha' then; what was meant by it was a broad tract inhabited by Odia (Oriya) speaking people. This was known as Odisha state in popular parlance. So, mentioning it as a state is only notional and only for convenience; Odisha

became a separate linguistic state in April 1936. Before that, it had been divided into three main parts: the western part comprising Sambalpur and the adjoining areas formed a part of Central Provinces; the southern part, known as the Ganjam Agency, was with the Madras Presidency; and the Odisha Division comprising Cuttack, Puri and Balasore and the adjoining areas had been attached to the Bengal Presidency. Further, the three parts together did not form a single kingdom then and the British East India Company conquered them not in one go, but in a piecemeal manner in three different points of time. They took possession of south Odisha in 1765; conquered Cuttack, Puri and Balasore and their adjoining areas from the Marathas in 1803; and western Odisha with its main centre at Sambalpur in 1817. The south Odisha, which formed the Ganjam Agency after British consolidation, belonged to the Nizam state of Hyderabad; the western Odisha with Sambalpur as its main centre and the coastal Odisha with its main centre at Cuttack had been under the possession of the Bhonsles of the Maratha confederation before coming under the Company rule. The three parts, even after the British consolidation, were not amalgamated, because of which the nationalist movement in Odisha began as a movement for amalgamation of all Odia speaking tracts under one political administration. It was followed by a movement for an Odia linguistic state in the late 19th and early 20th century. Its outcome was the coming up of Odisha as a separate state in April 1936. However, that is not our focus here.

A chronological sequence of the different anti-colonial struggles in Odisha needs a mention here.

1. Resistance in Parlakhemundi:1767-68

The Northern Circar comprising Ganjam, Parlakhemundi and the adjoining areas of Odisha



was under the occupation of the Nizam of Hyderabad in the 1760's. The Nizam handed over it to the East India Company, for the latter had helped him against the French. However, the prince of Paralakhemundi Raja Jagannath Narayan Dev, who was the most important zamindar there, objected to it. He revolted against the British with the help of neighbouring princes of Vijayanagram and Badkhemundi. He obstructed Mr Scotford, who was coming to take possession of Ganjam in 1767. Col. Pitch defeated him at Jelmur in May 1768. Jagannath Narayan's son Gajapati Dev continued the fight after his father's death in 1770. What made this dynastic struggle to a tribal and civilian rebellion was the intense involvement of the tribals as the ally of the prince. The Doras and Bisoyis (tribal sardars) backed him fully. In 1799 the prince Gajapati Dev and his son were arrested and sent to Masulipattam jail. The revolt suppressed for the time being erupted once again in 1830. G. Edward Russell was sent in 1836 to suppress the revolt: a number of Bisoyi *sardars* were caught and executed. However, after a few years the revolt erupted once again in 1856-1857 under the active support of the *sabaras*, a local tribe. It was led by Radhakrishna Dandsena. Captain Wilson was sent to control the situation. Wilson set fire on many *sabara* villages and destroyed their crop. Finally Radhakrishna Dandasena and some of his rebel friends were arrested and executed in 1857.

2. Khurda Resistance : 1804

Nearly 40 years after the occupation of the Northern Circar, which later on formed the Ganjam Agency of the Madras Presidency, the Company eyed on central and coastal Odisha in 1803. This brought Khurda under the British control. Jayi Rajguru, the Dewan of Khurda close to the pilgrim town of Puri, with the active support of the displaced paika soldiers (peasant militia)

of the kingdom revolted in March 1804, barely six months after the British occupation of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore in September – October 1803.

Jayi was the Dewan and the Rajguru (chief adviser) of Khurda ruled by Mukund Dev II, who was a minor then. The issue in Khurda was: who would have control over Puri and the Jagannath temple there. The Marathas controlled it and Khurda contested the Maratha claim. Khurda agreed to support the British, when they invaded the Maratha Odisha with the hope of retrieving the pilgrim city and a few parganas (revenue villages) attached to the temple. The non-Hindu Company Government would not have any interest in a temple, which was known for image worship, the Khurda prince and the dewan calculated. However, very soon their hopes were belied; the British had no intension of leaving the control of any conquered territory to the Indian princes. Moreover, the temple was a major source of revenue for them. Jayi mobilized the traditional paika soldiers to recover Puri and the adjacent areas. In this revolt the dewan could get the support of the local princes of Kujang, Kanika, Marichpur and Kishanpur. He had tried to contact the Maratha Bhonsles for help. On 22 November 1804, there was a skirmish between the paik soldiers of Jayi and the British armed contingent led by Captain Hickland. On 5 December 1804 Col. George Harcourt, who headed the Company administration of Odisha since its occupation in 1803, sent a bigger contingent to Khurda and occupied it. Jayi and the Prince Mukund Dev-II escaped to Barunei hills, from where they were caught on 3 January 1805. They were arrested and sent to Medinipur jail. In 1807 the prince was released and was compelled to live as a pensioner in Puri, away from his capital town Khurda; Jayi Rajguru, the stubborn dewan, was executed on 6 December 1806. After the fall of



Khurda, The prince of Kujanga, Chandra Dhawja Sendha was arrested in May 1805. Around the same time the Prince of Kanika was also arrested. Soon after that Khurda, Kujanga and Kanika were brought under the direct administration of the British.

3. The Paik Revolt in Khurda: 1817

Barely after a decade of Khurda's annexation, Buxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhar Mahapatra led a major revolt there against the British. This is called the Paik Revolt, because the Paiks (derived from *Padatik* or foot soldiers), who had been deprived of their military positions and of their hereditary free holding rights over land, were the main stay of it. The paiks were peasant militia, who looked after the defence and security and got free land from the state in lieu. The Company administration withdrew the paiks' rights over land. This enraged them. The tribal khonds discontented with the stern changes brought by the British in different spheres were also the principal participants in the revolt. Jagabandhu Vidyadhar had lost his position of Buxi (army general) after the annexation of Khurda. He was also evicted from his zamindari for non-payment of revenue. In fact, he had been a victim of the complex land revenue system. He took the lead in the revolt. The revolt began, when nearly 400 Khonds from Ghumusar reached Khurda and attacked the British officials in end of March 1817. The Paik joined them soon. The revolt spread to Banapur, Pipili, Lembai, Kothdesh and Puri. The British officials were attacked, treasury looted and government buildings set on fire. For nearly two months, the revolt remained beyond control. Finally by May 1817 the British could suppress it. However, Buxi Jagabandhu could not be traced and arrested till 1825, which shows the wide sympathy and support he had from the local people. The British

suspected the complicity of the princes of Ghumusar, Ranapur and Nayagarh with the Buxi. The Buxi's main associates included Krushna Chandra Bhramarbar Ray, Gopal Chhotray, Padmanav Chhotray, Pinaki Bahubalendra, Bishnu Paikray, Ram Singh Nath Pradhan, Parashuram Patnaik and Sachidananda Patnaik.

The Khurda Paik revolt was a major revolt in Odisha, which is claimed to be the 'First War of Independence', because it occurred four decades earlier than the Revolt of 1857. Before the revolt of Khurda many minor and major civil rebellions had been witnessed in and out of Odisha. Any discussion on the anti-colonial resistance ought to be in the broader context of India without losing the sight of contemporary developments. The fact is that the region that was conquered earlier than others was also quick to resist the conquest. This was the general nature of the resistance movement all over the country.

In 1827, the ryots (peasants) of Tapang Garh in the vicinity of Khurda had withdrawn payment of rent in protest against the undue revenue demands. Samant Madhab Chandra Samantaray had been their leader. The Khonds and Paiks had renewed their fight in 1836 in Banapur. Following the suppression of the revolt, Saran Singh and Krutibas Patsani had been arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment.

4. The Khonds and the Ghumsar Uprising: 1834-36

The zamindar, locally called raja (prince) of Ghumusar Dhananjay Bhanja was arrested for non-payment of revenue and disobedience to the Company government. He was kept in Ganjam Fort jail in 1818. His father Srikar Bhanja, who had handed over the estate to his son and had gone on Pilgrimage, protested it. He was also put in jail. Srikar Bhanja escaped from Berhampur



jail with the help of others and mobilized people to fight the British. The Khond tribals supported the prince, because they hoped only the prince could halt the rapid changes brought by the British. This forced the British to reach an agreement with Srikar, who was re-instated in May 1819. In the year 1832 Srikar wished to retire from this position and handed over the zamindari to Dhananjay, who defaulted the payment of revenue and prohibited the company officials from Ghumusar. The Khonds continued their support to him. What had enraged the Khonds against the British the most was the ban on their age old custom of *meriah* or human sacrifice. Whereas the British considered the practice of *meriah* out and out inhuman and non-negotiable, the Khonds took it to be an undue infringement on their age old social system. The over-zealous British officials banned it on gunpoint before convincing the tribals about its in-humanness. The basic difference between the traditional prince rule and the British rule was that whereas the former believed in minimum state interference in the tribal land, the later chased for over-administration with the twin objectives of maximizing their revenue demand and carrying their reformatory mission. This had brought the tribals, including the Khonds and *sabaras*, to the prince side. They hoped to un-set the new colonial policies with the help of the displaced rajas and zamindars, who tolerated the tribal social practices and often cajoled their subjects for payment of state dues. This, however, does not mean that the pre-British prince rule was un-exploitative and un-repressive in nature. Unlike in the pre-colonial time, now the colonial demand for appropriating the resources had been unending. This necessitated over-administration in the hitherto inaccessible tribal tracts, which resulted in incessant tribal (and civilian) uprisings during the period.

5. In November 1835 Col Hudson occupied Ghumusar. After this the Khonds revolted intensely in Ghumusar, which continued for many years. Dora Bisoi (Bisoi was a leadership position among the Khonds) led it. His main associates were Buxi Ranasingh, Sankha Bisoi, Nanda Bisoi, Indrajit, Nathguru, Bana Patra, Bikram Sundara, Bhadendar, Madhu Behera, Bangar Behera, Jadu Behera, Bhunkar Bania, Sardar Godidas Naik, Abhay Baliar Singh, Sunia Singh, Punia Naik, Brundaban Bhanja, Madhu Bhanja and Hari Bhanja. In 1836 G.E Russell was sent to suppress the revolt, which was becoming uncontrollable. Finally in 1837 Dora Bisoi was arrested and sent to jail, where he died in 1846. However, the khonds could not be silenced. After Dora Bisoi, his nephew Chakra Bisoi led them. The British Agent S.C. Mcpherson and successor Jon Campbell finally suppressed the Khonds ruthlessly, though Chakra Bisoi could not be arrested despite all efforts. This also shows the large scale tribal support the rebel leader had and the hostility the British faced in the tribal khond territory. Both the tribals and the non-tribals had joined hands against the British.

Surendra Sai and the Revolt in Sambalpur : 1827-64

Sambalpur witnessed a major anti-colonial resistance under the leadership of Surendra Sai between 1827 and 1864. Before elaborating it, we need to discuss about the British occupation of the western Odisha in 1817. After the occupation of Bengal in the east in 1757 and the Nizam's territory in the south subsequently, the Company considered it imperative to conquer the territory lying in between the two parts. Thus, there began the second phase of Odisha occupation in 1803. The Bhonsles of the Marathas with their H/Q at Nagpur ruled over the coastal and western Odisha then. In the later part of 1803



the British defeated the Marathas and conquered Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. The Bhonsles signed the Deogaon Treaty with the Company in December 1803 and conceded their defeat. In the third phase, Sambalpur and the adjoining areas, known as western Odisha, was brought under the Company rule between 1804 and 1817. The third phase of occupation unusually took long 13 years (1804-1817) to complete. However, its reason need not be traced to any local resistance or any stiff Maratha opposition. The Marathas were too weak to check the British. Even in 1803 instead of resisting the Company forces they had fled away. The princes of Sambalpur, Sonapur and Baud in western Odisha had been in the Maratha custody for defaulting the annual revenue payment and their queens readily agreed to accept the Company rule, for they had been assured by Col George Harcourt, the general of the Company's troops occupying Odisha, that they would be exempted from any payment to the Marathas, except a token *peshkus* of five gold coins to the Company. Soon after, the princes of Raigarh, Sarangarh, Reirakhhol, Gangpur, Bamanda, Bonai, Bargarh and Shakti agreed to sign treaties with Major Brouton, who headed the Company forces at Sambalpur. They all were eager to take the Company's help to be free from the Maratha control. Still, the occupation of western Odisha was halted half way till 1817. The Company had incurred heavy loan for pursuing its expansionist policy in India in the preceding years. This was severely criticized in England and in 1805; Governor General Lord Wellesley was withdrawn from India. By then the Company's total loan amount had crossed over 31 million pounds from only 17 million pounds in 1799. The Napoleonic War in Europe threatening the independence of England had been a bigger worry for Britain. All this had forced England to temporarily suspend the policy of colonial

expansion in India. Its immediate beneficiaries were the Bhonsles, who got back Sambalpur, etc. However, by 1817, after the defeat of Napoleon, the expansionist policy was once again revived and Sambalpur meaning the whole of western Odisha was conquered following the Third Anglo-Maratha battle of 1817. With this the occupation of Odisha was complete.

Further, it needs to be emphasized here that neither the local princes and zamindars of south Odisha in 1765, nor their counterparts in coastal Odisha in 1803, or in western Odisha in 1817 had offered any resistance to the British forces at the time of their occupation. Their resistance began only after they experienced the colonial aggression both in political and social spheres. Initially they had welcomed the Company's rule in place of the Nizam or the Marathas. To them, the British rule was considerably a better alternative to the prevailing native Maratha rule. Even the priests of Puri Jagannath temple had been pursued by the Company officials to appeal to the *Gadjet* princes to welcome the British, for Lord Jagannath was said to be wishing to remain in the Company's care and supervision. The prince of Khurdha, Mukunda Dev II, had signed a pact with the Company to let his traditional *paik* soldiers assist the British army against the Marathas in lieu of a payment of one lac rupees.

Further, Khurdha also expected to get back its hold over Puri and its Jagannath temple lost to the Marathas in the 18th century, for the British as Christian iconoclasts would not like to deal with the Hindu temple affairs. When this was proved to be a misconception the Khurdha prince on the advice of his Dewan Jayi Rajguru resisted the British in early 1804. The paiks, who formed the peasant militia, and many other sections of civilian population joined the revolt. This was one



of the early signs of resistance in the state. While the pliable prince Mukunda Dev II was given a pension and was rehabilitated in Puri, the astute, stubborn and determined Dewan was hanged by the British in the Medinapur jail in 1806. Though the general mass of people was not involved in politics until then, the *paiks*, who were the traditional peasant militia, took part in this resistance movement, for they had been loyal to their employer prince and had materially suffered due to willful non-compliance of the pact by the British after the Maratha defeat in 1803. If the money had been paid to Khurdha, the *paiks* would have had their share. This exemplified that there was a general absence of nationalistic spirit at the time. The local princes and the nobility considered the native Marathas to be a bigger enemy than the alien British and had offered to assist the later against the former. This was the nature of politics in the state then, as in elsewhere. Resistance to the British in the name of nationalism had not yet been a vogue at this point of time. Their resistance had been largely due to their personal sufferings backed by local pride and local patriotism.

6. Coming to the revolt in Sambalpur, Surendra Sai with the help of local zamindars, tribal people and *Gauntias* (village heads) had led it. The revolt had two main phases, the first phase was from 1827 to 1840, when Surendra Sai, a claimant to the throne of Sambalpur, targeted the zamindars loyal to the British and was sent to jail for killing a loyal zamindar in 1840. In the second phase, he came out of the Hazaribag in 1857 and revived the struggle till 1864. The revolt spread over many parts of western Odisha. Surendra Sai was arrested in 1864 and he died in jail in 1884.

7. In 1827 the prince of Sambalpur Maharaja Sai died and the throne was handed

over to one Narayan Singh by the British. Narayan Singh was very old and weak enough to withstand the pressure of the Company. The local people saw it as a ploy to annex Sambalpur with the British administration. Until then, though Sambalpur had been under the overall dominance of the Company rule, there prevailed a façade of independence. The people were against the annexation, because it hurt their local pride. Due to British intervention, changes were brought in land revenue settlement. The local landed gentry lost the rent-free land which it enjoyed earlier. The people resented the British move. When Surendra Sai from the zamindar family of Khinda emerged as a claimant to the throne of Sambalpur, support poured in for him. In 1840, Surendra Sai and his six brothers Udant Sai, Dhruv Sai, Ujjwal Sai and Medini Sai and uncle Balaram Sai were accused of killing a zamindar, loyal to Narayan Singh and British. They were sentenced to jail in Hajaribagh jail. With this the resentment in Sambalpur was suppressed for the time being.

8. Resistance in Angul : 1848

The prince of Angul, Somanath Singh, had secretly sheltered the tribal leaders, who rebelled against the British. This was his way of defiance to the authoritative colonial regime. While reacting to the British interference in his internal administration, he often punished the 'poor' natives to ascertain his power and position. He also defied the government order. In 1831, he occupied some villages of Daspalla. In 1846, a village of Hindol was also occupied by him. These were acts to ascertain his independence and to challenge the British. However, he was portrayed in the colonial narrative as an oppressive ruler. On the pretext of mal-administration and excessive oppression the British annexed Angul and deposed Somnath Singh from the throne in 1848. It was a ploy which suited the aggressive



annexation policy of the Company. Somnath Singh revolted and was arrested on 1 February 1848. Along with him some other rebels were also sent to jail. On 23 November 1848, 17 of these rebels escaped from the Cuttack jail after attacking the jail staff and looting their arms. In the resultant clash five jail staff and 15 rebels were killed. The Company government suspected Somnath Singh as the man behind this attack. Due to this Somnath Singh remained in jail in Cuttack and then in Hazaribag till his death. Angul had been brought under direct British administration on 16 September 1848.

9. Rendo Majhi : 1855

Rendo Majhi led the Khonds in Madanpur under the princely state of Kalahandi . The British suspected that rebel Chakra Bisoi of Ghumsar fame had been sheltered by the local Khonds. As mentioned earlier, the Khonds had been strongly resenting the ban on the *meriah* (human sacrifices) system. The British in their efforts to abolish it encountered the Khonds of Madanpur. It is true that *meriah* was an inhuman practice, but the Khonds had their own arguments for sustaining the age old traditional practice to legitimize it. The *meriah*, human scapegoat, was bought and well nurtured for a long time before sacrifice, which notionally absolved the tribals of any guilt in practicing the custom. The British did not make any effort to understand the tribal beliefs. Probably the Company officials were not aware that such a belief ever existed among the Khonds. On their zeal for uprooting the practice, they vilified it as inhuman, which was not so in the tribal belief. If the tribal ‘misgiving’ had been removed, probably any attempt at abolishing the practice would not have been so bloody. The Khonds reacted by resorting to revolts. Rendo Majhi and his son Palaso Majhi were arrested and sentenced to two years of rigorous imprisonment. This

angered the khonds who revolted in December 1855. They attacked the British camp at Araladhoni. The *barikiya khonds*, to which Rendo belonged and *kutia khonds* joined hands and attacked the British camp more than once. In 1856, the zamindar of Madanpur was deposed for his failure to control the khonds and the estate brought under the direct rule of Kalahandi state.

10. Odisha in 1857:

The great Revolt of 1857, which began in the army cantonment of Meerut on 10 May 1857, spread all over India on some form or other. Odisha had also been impacted by it. The second phase of Surendra Sai’s revolt had been witnessed in western Odisha during the period. Along with his colleagues (brothers) Surendra Sai was in Hazaribag jail since 1840. In 1849 Sambalpur was brought under direct administration of the British, as per the Doctrine of Lapse, since Narayan Singh died in that year without a natural heir. The direct administration led to unusual hike in land revenue demand. The village headmen, priests and many others were dispossessed of their rights over free land holdings. The resentment become intense and people waited for a leader to lead it. In 1857 the great Revolt of 1857 broke out in Meerut and spread to other parts of the country, especially in northern India. Following this the rebel sepoys broke open the jail of Hajaribagh. Surendra Sai and his brothers came out of jail and marched towards Sambalpur. In October 1857 Surendra Sai and his brothers reached Sambalpur and led the revolt. Balaram Sai, their uncle and guide had died in jail. The zamindars of Gness, Kolabira, Pahadsrigida, Machida, Laida, Luisingha, Lakhanpur and Bheden joined the revolt. In the revolt the Gness zamindar Madho Singh and son Kunjal Singh were arrested and executed in Sambalpur jail. Another son Hate singh (Hathi Singh) was



deported to Andaman. On 23 January 1864 Surendra Sai along with his son Mitrabhanu Sai and many other rebels were arrested and sent to the Asirgarh jail in Nagpur. Surendra Sai breathed his last in the jail on 28 February 1884. He was twice in jail, i.e., 1840-1857 and 1864-1884. The total duration of his jail term was over 37 years. People of the region especially the village headmen, local peasants; zamindars and tribals had joined the revolt, because they felt that the colonial demand was unjustifiable and the British rule was oppressive and unbearable. Their local pride had been hurt due to British intervention. They all had fought for local pride at a time when nationalism was yet to take roots and the general mass of people was yet to take possession of politics.

It is true that Surendra Sai and his rebel friends had not been in any direct contact with the main leaders of the revolt. However, they had witnessed the rebel sepoys breaking upon the jail in Hazaribagh. They had also been convinced that the British rule was not invincible. They had been the direct beneficiaries of the revolt, which had set them free from the jail. Further, Sambalpur had been annexed with the British Empire as per the Doctrine of Lapse in 1849. It was this Doctrine, which had brought Laxmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi and Nana Sahib of Kanpur and many others to the forefront of the revolt. Surprisingly, the revolt in Sambalpur continued till 1864, though the great revolt had been suppressed within a year, by 1858. In one word, whether it was the Khurda revolt of 1817 or the Sambalpur revolt of 1857, these were the miniatures of the great Revolt of 1857.

(a) The Zamindar of Balia

Ramakrishna Samantsinghar, the zamindar of Balia in Jajpur and his two associates

Dinabandhu Mahapatra and Upendra Jena were arrested for planning to wage a war against the Company government in August 1857. Ramakrishna was a wreck-rented zamindar, who had been evicted for non-payment of revenue due to the Sunset law. He mobilized the native Khandayats (a specific agricultural community) to fight the British in August 1857. He had also collected some arms for it. The news of the Revolt of 1857 had inspired him to execute the plan. However, their arrest and seizure of arms frustrated the plan, whereas Ramakrushna and Dinabandhu were sentenced to five years of imprisonment. Upendra Jena was acquitted. Ramakrushna's property was seized and auctioned. Besides these, the deposed prince of Kujang was suspected to be mobilizing people and collecting arms for fighting the British. The Government imposed a monetary fine of Rs. 500 on him and averted the attempt.

(b) The story of Chakhi Khuntia, also known as Chandan Hajuri, a Puri *panda* (temple priest) was also suspected to be inciting people to revolt during the period. As a Puri *panda*, Chakhi Khuntia used to visit the military cantonments and facilitate the Hindu sepoys pilgrimage to the Jagannath temple. He also used to visit the palace of Jhansi. In the process, as stated, he had been instrumental in passing the message of revolt to different people. Since some rebel sepoys had visited Puri, the suspicion was not baseless. In March 1858, the Puri Magistrate seized the panda's property. Later on he was arrested in Puri. It was also rumored that he had been executed for his complicity with the rebels. However, after investigation, Chakhi Khuntia was surprisingly declared to be innocent and released from jail, when the British Government declared general amnesty to the suspected rebels. He was



released from jail on 15 November 1858; his property was also returned to him.

(c) Conclusion

To conclude, the anti-colonial resistance in Odisha began with the advent of the British in 1767 and continued incessantly till the departure of the British in the 1947. Its first phase from 1767 to 1857 had witnessed several tribal and civilian rebellions, which were separated by time and space, despite having a common objective, i.e., overthrow of the alien British rule. The tribals and the peasants, especially the peasant militia paiks formed the mainstay of these rebellions. This was so, because in armed struggle, these people specialized in the use of traditional arms. These were more or less a spontaneous reaction to the rapid changes brought by colonial government. The traditional feudal leaders such as the princes and zamindars led these rebellions. In the late 19th century, the British persuaded the feudal leadership to join them (the British) with the presumption that the anti-colonial rising would be over after this. They did not address the real issues which had given rise to these rebellions. In fact, the colonial rule could not possibly address them, for that would have nullified the very basis of colonialism which primarily aimed at subjugating the people by political and cultural means and by appropriating the resources of the colony. The British could not give up their policy of over-administration, because that would have grossly constrained their revenue drive. Their zeal for abolishing certain tribal practices, such as *the meriah* system, also could not be wished away, because that would have subjected the colonial rule to severe criticism at home (Britain) and elsewhere. They hardly cared to convince the people about the evilness of the custom, which had been so dearly nurtured by certain sections. Probably it is the arrogance of arms and the general

racial misgiving about the colonial belief that guided the British to ignore the real issues. The tribal and civilian rebellions on a continual basis, despite their ruthless suppression, were a lesson to the Colonial regime not to over-depend on its arms and to look for ideological means for its sustenance in the colony. Further, it is a fact that the resistance movements survived even after the withdrawal of the feudal forces in the late 19th century. Finally they merged with the nationalist struggle in the 1940's. Why they took so long to integrate with the modern intelligentsia led nationalist struggle, despite being conspicuously anti-colonial and anti-feudal throughout, is a point to ponder over. However, their integration smoothed the merger of the princely states in Odisha and with India after independence, because the peasants and tribals mainly formed the population of the Princely states in Odisha. Here it needs a mention that the modern intelligentsia led nationalist struggle since the late 19th century initially veered towards the tribal and civilian uprisings, for the later had been conspicuously anti-feudal, but gradually the two did come together. In other words, the anti-colonial resistance movements of the late 18th and early 19th century, despite being ruthlessly suppressed by the British and deserted by the feudal classes half way since the late 19th century, ultimately facilitated and advanced the process of an united and integrated India in the mid-20th century.

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Impact of Gandhi's Visit to Odisha (1921-31)

Dr. B.K. Pradhan

One of the main factors responsible for widening the Non-cooperation Movement in Odisha was Gandhi's first visit to Odisha in March 1921. The objectives of his tour were to propagate the Congress ideal of non-violent non-cooperation, exhort the people to take active part in the national movement and find out ways for the amelioration of the economic condition of the people¹. During his visit, most of the people expected more help from Gandhi who had sent for them their immediate needs during the period of famine in 1919². Some people also shouted before him, "we want food", some asked him "when the price will fall?" and many people thought "swaraj means food and cloth."³ In reply to all the queries, Gandhi promised amelioration of the masses by means of swaraj.

In the public meetings held at Cuttack, Bhadrak, Satyabadi, Puri and Berhampur, Gandhi appealed to the people to join the Congress movement⁴ and contribute money to 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' for the management of national institutions, Panchayat systems, khadi and such other constructive works⁵. Gandhi asserted that swaraj would be achieved by 31 December 1921. His remarks gave rise to a belief in Odisha that Gandhi was an incarnation of God and existing British Raj would soon be replaced by a new

Gandhi Raj where in there would be no sorrows and sufferings of the people⁶. Such stories were by no means confined to Odisha, but they seemed to have more effect in this part than elsewhere⁷. It might be due to the fact that the people of Odisha were very religious-minded and credulous.

As a result of Gandhi's visit, the people were inspired to follow the non-cooperation programmes in a non-violent way and Gopabandhu's influence was raised to such an extent that his activities were paid careful attention to in the Government circle. But Gandhi's appeal for enrolment of three lakhs of Congress workers, introduction of one lakh spinning wheels and collection of three lakhs of rupees for 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' by 30 June, could not be fulfilled. Instead, only 39,000 Congress members were enrolled, 16,000 spinning wheels made and 21,000 rupees collected⁸.

Gandhi acknowledged the legitimate demand of the Odias on the grounds of a common race, a common language and a common culture for the amalgamation of all Odia-speaking tracts lying scattered in different neighbouring provinces. The group led by Brajasundar Das desired Gandhi to take active part in the Utkal Union Movement or to include clearly the issues of their movement into the national movement led by him. This group



also had the majority support of the people of Odisha as the people wanted at the same time a separate statehood to the amalgamated Odia-speaking tracts as well as the independence of India. It meant while they took part in the national movement they also desired to see intensification of their Utkal Union Movement. So two political problems were there in Odisha- firstly, separate statehood to the united Odia-speaking areas and secondly, the full cooperation of Odisha to be drawn to the national movement.

While the group led by Brajasundar Das was hankering for a separate Odisha province,⁹ the group headed by Gopabandhu was trying to get the full and active participation of the Odias in the national movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. The two problems were interrelated and required to be resolved by a leadership at both national and state level. Gandhiji emphasized on non-cooperation movement while he extended verbal acknowledgement to Odisha's problem of statehood.

As a result of his visit, Non-cooperation Movement recorded great progress in Odisha, Gopabandhu tried to synthesize the Utkal Union Movement into the national movement. The two movements went parallel to each other, never to meet, rather to confront and collide time and again. So the visit of Gandhi in 1921 to Odisha brought Odias close to non-cooperation with the British Government on the one hand and simultaneously fueled the non-cooperation of Odias with the Congress leadership on the other. The later non-cooperation found its classic manifestation when the Odias welcomed Simon Commission vis-à-vis Congress call for its boycott in 1928, only 7 years after Gandhi's visit. Gandhi was not opposed to the Odia demand for the amalgamation of all the Odia-speaking tracts and

gave assurances that he would take the matter into account.

In 1931 Nilakantha Das requested Gandhi to place the demand of Utkal before the Boundary Commission. At the Karachi Congress of 1931, Gandhi promised the Odia representatives that he would raise the Odia issue at the second Round Table Conference. He assured Gopabandhu Choudhury, the then leader of Odisha that he would convince the Congress to form a committee to look into the boundary question but it did not materialize. He preferred to remain silent over the amalgamation question of the Odias probably because he apprehended that his siding with the Odia issue might dissatisfy the people of other provinces who were opposed to the transfer of Odia tracts from their provinces and that might hamper the course of the national movement.

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Iron Pillars of India

Er. Mayadhar Swain

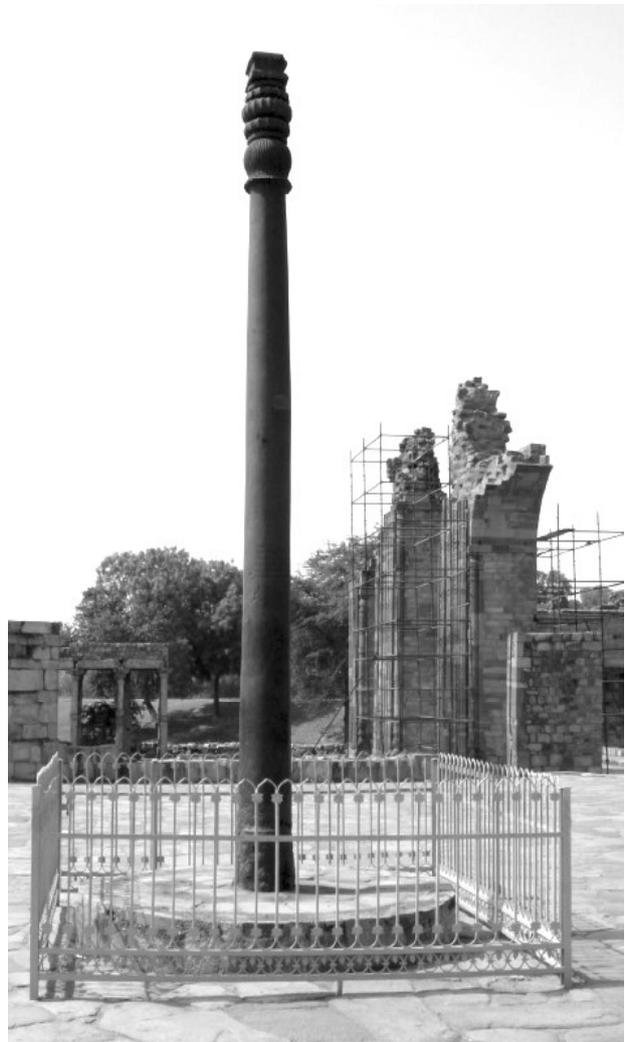
Metallurgy was developed in ancient India. Many bronze figurines or humans and animals have been discovered from Indus Valley Civilization sites. There are many Buddha statues of copper and bronze made between first century AD and sixth century AD spread over north India. In first millennium BCE, iron was used in North India. The iron making skill was improved tremendously and iron was exported to the Middle East. The first 'wootz steel' was produced in South India and it was iron mixed with carbon in controlled conditions. From Indian steel, the famous 'Damascus Sword' was manufactured in Syria. The swords were famous for their sharpness and toughness.

The craftsmanship of Indian ironsmiths is well demonstrated in some iron pillars. Three such pillars have been described here.

Iron Pillar of Delhi

The Iron Pillar of Delhi stands in the Qutb complex of Delhi and it is one of the most curious metal objects in the world. The height of the pillar, from the top to the bottom of its base, is 7.67 m, 1.12 m of which is below ground. It weighs more than 6 tons.

According to a six-line Sanskrit inscription in Brahmi script on the surface of the



Delhi Iron Pillar



pillar, it was erected by “*Chandra as a standard of Vishnu at Vishnupadagiri*”. Vishnupadagiri has been identified with modern day Udayagiri near Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh and Chandra with the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II Vikramaditya (r.375 – 414 CE). The pillar was brought to its current location in New Delhi’s Qutb Complex in 1233. It is believed that it was made to honour one of the most important Hindu gods – Vishnu.

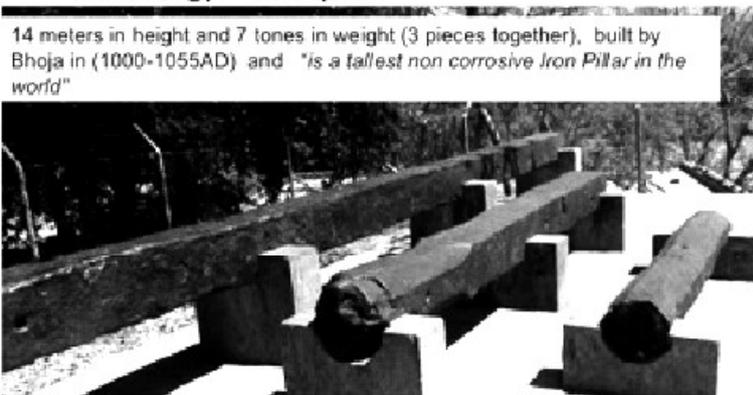
The pillar has avoided corrosion from the rains, winds and temperature fluctuations over the last 1600 years. Made up of with ninety eight percent of pure wrought iron, the pillar is an absolute testament to the high level of skill achieved by ancient Indian ironsmiths. Its non-resistant properties are mainly due to the presence of phosphorus in the iron. Phosphorus together with iron and oxygen from the air, contributes to the formation of a thin protective passive coating on the surface. It was made using a coal heated furnace to create a heat hot enough to achieve forge welding, where two or more pieces of metal were hammered together. It goes to the credit of Indian blacksmiths that through patient trial and error they were able to select the right type of iron ore and process it in the right way for such wonderful and monumental pillar which now attracts thousands of tourists.

Dhar Iron Pillar

The Dhar iron pillar is located in the Dhar town of Madhya Pradesh. Dhar is a small

town near Indore and was the capital of the Malwa region, which comprised what is west-central Madhya Pradesh and south-eastern Rajasthan today. The city is believed to have been founded by Raja Bhoja, the most prominent ruler of the Paramara Dynasty who ruled over the Malwa

Metallurgy – Dhar pillar



14 meters in height and 7 tones in weight (3 pieces together), built by Bhoja in (1000-1055AD) and “is a tallest non corrosive Iron Pillar in the world”

Historian Vincent Smith writes

“While we marveled at the skill shown by ancient artificers in forging the great mass of Delhi pillar, we must give a still greater measure of admiration to the forgotten craftsmen, who dealt so successfully in producing the still more ponderous iron mass of the Dhar pillar monument”.

Dhar Iron Pillar

region in the first half of the 11th century CE. The Iron Pillar of Dhar, originally almost twice as tall as its counterpart in Delhi, is preserved in the compound of the Lat Masjid (‘lat’ means ‘pillar’).

The Dhar pillar is in three pieces, placed horizontally on a platform in the mosque compound. When standing vertically, the pillar would have soared 14 meters high. It would have tapered from top to bottom, changing shape at different points. While the bottom fragment has a square cross-section, the middle fragment has square and octagonal cross-sections, and the top fragment has an octagonal cross-section with a small circular portion at the top. It is believed that



this circular part was the base of a fourth, missing piece, which was probably a *trishul* (trident) or a *garuda* (a mythical bird) that crowned the pillar. Today the 3 existing fragments of the pillar are approximately 24, 11 and 7 ft in length respectively. The pillar has small, irregular holes at intervals on all sides. These holes range from 1.75 inches to 3 inches in depth, and 1.25 inches in diameter, and they may have been created by welders to help them manipulate and manoeuvre it.

Very little is known about the pillar, including who built it. The pillar has no inscription or other markings to suggest its purpose or who its donor was. According to local lore, it was a victory pillar erected to commemorate a conquest by Raja Bhoja (r. 1010 - 1055 CE). Vincent Smith, an Irish Indologist and art historian of the late 19th and early 20th century believes the pillar dates to the Gupta period (mid-3rd to 6th CE), like the Iron Pillar of Delhi.

On the other hand, Henry Cousens, an archaeologist with the Archaeological Survey of India in the early 20th century and who studied the pillar in 1902-03, says the pillar was erected in 1210 CE by Paramara ruler Raja Arjunavarma Deva (r. 1210 - 1218), with the molten implements of war left by his enemies during his attack on Gujarat. Even as experts differ on who built it, no one really knows where the pillar originally stood.

Astonishingly, the Pillar, just like the one in Delhi, is rust-resistant, which means the craftsmen had used advanced metallurgical techniques. Dr R. Balasubramaniam, Professor of Metallurgy in Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur who studied the composition of the pillar in great detail in 2002, believes it was made by 'forge welding', a technique in which pieces of metal are joined by heating them to very high

temperatures and hammering them together. If this was indeed true, the Iron Pillar of Dhar would have been the largest ancient forge-welded pillar in the world. He also states that the pillar shows superior resistance to corrosion due to its chemical composition. Analysis has revealed the chemical composition as carbon 0.013%, silicon 0.06%, phosphorus 0.072%, sulfur 0.003%, copper 0.057%, nickel 0.268% and the rest as iron. Significantly, there is no manganese in it.

In 1598 CE, Emperor Akbar engraved an inscription on the pillar. He was camped in Dhar while directing his Deccan campaign, and left an inscription on the pillar, in which he had recorded his presence in Dhar for 7 days. The position of the inscription suggests that the pillar was no longer upright at this time. Later, in his autobiography, Mughal Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605 - 1627 CE) says he had ordered that the larger pillar be taken to Agra, to be erected in his father Emperor Akbar's tomb complex, as a lamppost. However, this too never happened.

Historian Vincent Smith writes,

"While we marveled at the skill shown by ancient artificers in forging the great mass of Delhi pillar, we must give a still greater measure of admiration to the forgotten craftsmen who dealt so successively in producing the still more ponderous iron mass of the Dhar pillar monument."

Kodachadri Iron Pillar

The 8.7-metre-tall Kodachadri iron pillar popularly known as the *Dwajasthamba* (flag staff) and weighing 500 kg, is located at the Adi-Mookambika temple at Kodachadri in Karnataka. It is one of the oldest examples of ancient Indian metallurgy, which culminated in key achievements between the second and sixth



century AD. The iron pillar has not rusted in over 2000 years. When the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research (IGCAR) team carried out several non-destructive tests on the pillar and observed a small sample under a scanning tunneling microscope, they found the pillar was starkly different from the Delhi iron pillar in one key aspect, it had less phosphorus than the one on the Qutb Minar complex. Moreover, it contained less carbon. The presence of iron oxide particles in the pillar and other scientific analysis demonstrated the iron pillar at Kodachadri was produced using solid-state reduction process.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, ancient Indians were masters in iron metallurgy. There are many other

evidences. The same technology as was used for the iron pillars was also used to manufacture huge iron beams, such as at Puri Jagannath temple (12th century). The iron beams at Konark's famous Sun temple are even larger dimensions. Chemical analysis done in one of the beams shows that it is wrought iron mixed with phosphorus (99.64% iron, 0.15% phosphorus, traces of carbon and sulfur and no manganese).

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Trading Dreams

Dr. Sonali Mohapatra

I try so hard to tell in words
but all i seem to do is cry
i try so hard to write in prose
but all i write comes mixed up.

I am standing here, my wares on offer
my blessings for your story
a penny for your laughter
i want to trade dreams.

Your past for my future
and a coal for my matchstick
i am cold this night,
maybe the sparkle in your eyes
will warm my night.

I try so hard to find a path
but all i do is get lost in the trees
i try so hard to sing my fears
but all i do is silently scream.

I am standing here
with my empty eyes
my soul for your heartbeat
a smile for your sorrow
i want to trade dreams.

Your past for my future
and a charcoal for your white
i am cold this night,
maybe the sparkle in your eyes
will warm my night.

Dr. Sonali Mohapatra, Space Quantum Technologies Developer, Craft Prospect and University of Strathclyde, Author of Leaking Ink Founder of carved voices.com, Glasgow, UK, E-mail : sonali.mpt@gmail.com.



2-Deoxy D-Glucose, the New Drug to Fight COVID-19

*Dr. Ramesh Chandra Parida
Dr. Pranab Kumar Ghosh*

As COVID-19 has been taking its toll, 2-Deoxy D-Glucose (2DG), a cancer drug has come to the limelight with a new hope of acting against the pandemic to save life. It is an analog of D-Glucose we are very much familiar with. Chemists call glucose as an aldohexose, indicating that it is made up of six carbon atoms, one of which is an aldehyde group and the rest contain hydrogen atoms and hydroxyl groups. Glucose can be of two types: one which turns the plane of the polarized light, when passed through its solution in water, towards right is called Dextrorotatory or D-Glucose and the other which turns it towards left is called Levorotatory or L-Glucose. The molecular structure of 2-Deoxy D-Glucose is exactly like D-Glucose except for the fact that the former has no hydroxyl group on the carbon atom at the position 2 but instead has a hydrogen atom. In other words, it has one oxygen atom less than D-Glucose and therefore, is called 2-Deoxy-D-Glucose.

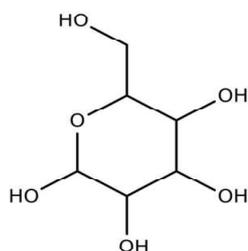


FIG 1: MOLECULAR STRUCTURE OF D-Glucose

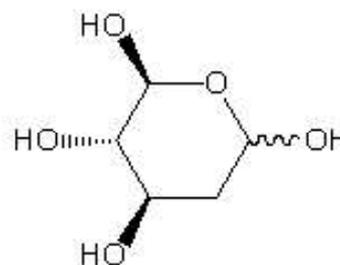


FIG 2: MOLECULAR STRUCTURE OF 2-Deoxy D-Glucose

The glucose (D-Glucose) metabolism in our body can be broadly divided into two parts: glycogenesis, in which it is converted into glycogen to be stored in our body, especially in liver and kidney and glycogenolysis, in which the stored glycogen is converted back into glucose to be used for energy production.

The first step of glycogenesis process is phosphorylated (activated) by ATP (Adenosine Tri Phosphate) in presence of enzymes hexokinase and glycokinase and Mg^{++} (activator) to form glucose-6-phosphate, which is then reversibly converted into glucose-1-phosphate in a reaction catalysed by the enzyme phosphoglucomutase. Thereafter, glucose-1-phosphate combines with uridine triphosphate (UTP) in presence of uridine diphosphate glucose pyrophosphorylase (UDPG-pyrophosphorylase) to form the active nucleotide uridine diphosphate glucose (UDPG) with the elimination of inorganic pyrophosphate. In the next



step, UDPG is converted into glycogen under the influence of the enzyme glycogen synthetase (glycogen transferase) and a number of other biochemical processes.

When 2-Deoxy D-Glucose is administered, it inhibits the production of the glucose-6-phosphate. On the other hand in most cells hexokinase phosphorylates 2-Deoxy D-Glucose trapping the product 2-Deoxy D-Glucose-6-phosphate intracellularly (except in liver & kidney). Thus a labelled form of 2-Deoxy D-Glucose serves as a good marker for tissue glucose uptake and hexokinase activity. In many types of cancer, there is an elevated glucose uptake and hexokinase levels. So, 2-Deoxy D-Glucose labelled with tritium and C-14 has been popularly used for the purpose.

Again since 2-Deoxy D-Glucose inhibits glycolysis, competing with glucose to bind with hexokinase (the first rate limiting enzyme of glycolysis) in cells, it inhibits metabolism of tumor cell and stops cell proliferation. It also decreases the viability of tumor cell, which are primarily dependent on the glycolytic pathway for ATP generation.

At present, COVID-19 has become the number one killer disease in the world. A number of drugs are now in use for its treatment. Those include two antivirals, Remdesivir and Favipiravir and Tocilizumab injections alongwith some antibiotics and antifungals. Even blood plasma drawn from the persons recovered from the disease is also used for the purpose. Now, 2-Deoxy D-Glucose has been added to the list and many researchers are hopeful that it can be more effective than the others. Besides, it can be manufactured in large scale in our country and therefore, can be cheap.

The drug has been jointly developed by the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) - the Institute of Nuclear Medicine and Allied Sciences (INMAS) and Dr Reddy's Lab. It is the first-ever "home grown"

anti COVID medicine which has been developed in India. Accordingly to the researchers, it is one of the first therapeutic COVID 19 drug which works to stop viral growth in the body, reduce the need for external oxygen.

It is a repurposed drug but more effective than any other medicine. Since it is an analogue of glucose (not true glucose), it works by stopping the viral growth in the body. Any virus needs glucose to survive and thrive. When 2 DG is injected, it attaches itself to the virus and stops its multiplication and energy synthesis. Therefore, it virtually cheats the organism. It also works in altering body's oxygen need when severe infection strikes. Since oxygen deprivation and demand increases when there is high viral spread in the body, the 2DG drug inhibits its growth and reduces body's need of further oxygen as well.

The Drugs Controller General of India granted approval (May 17 2021) for use of 2 DG drug after it went through too extensive successful clinical trials. These trials were done on 110 patients across the country in many states including Maharashtra, Gujarat, Delhi, Rajasthan and West Bengal. It showed that the drug was able to reduce oxygen dependency by the third day and reduce the hospital stay considerably. It was also found to work against all mutant and variant strains responsible for the surge of COVID -19 in our country. Now, the drug has been recommended to be used in moderate cases which have to be taken orally mixed with water, 2 times a day for 5-7 days. It is believed that it may provide an effective weapon to fight the dreadful COVID-19.

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World Environment Day 2021

Dr. Manas Ranjan Senapati

World Environment Day is an opportunity to raise awareness and promote action on environmental issues and mitigating priorities. World Environment Day is observed every year since 1972 in more than 100 countries, and is one of the most popular days on the United Nations calendar. Through World Environment Day, the United Nations Environment Programme

is able to personalize environmental issues and enable everyone to realize not only their responsibility, but also their power to become agents for change in support of sustainable and equitable development. The day is being observed on 5th June since 1987 by the host cities throughout the world (TABLE). -1

TABLE-1

YEAR	Host City/country	Theme
1987	Nairobi, Kenya	Environment and Shelter : More than a Roof
1988	Bangkok, Thailand	When People put the Environment First, Development will last
1989	Brussels, Belgium	Global Warming : Global Warning
1990	Mexico City, Mexico	Children and the Environment
1991	Stockholm, Sweden	Climate Change, Need for Global Partnership
1992	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Only One Earth, Care and Share
1993	Beijing, People's Republic of China	Poverty and the Environment- Breaking the Vicious Circle
1994	London, United Kingdom	One Earth One Family
1995	Pretoria, South Africa	We the Peoples; United for the Global Environment
1996	Istanbul, Turkey	Our Earth, Our Habitat, Our Home
1997	Seoul, Republic of Korea	For Life ON Earth



1998	Moscow, Russian Federation	For Life on Earth- Save Our Seas
1999	Tokyo, Japan	Our Earth- Our Future- Just Save It!
2000	Adelaide, Australia	The Environment Millennium- Time to Act
2001	Torino, Italy and Havana, Cuba	Connect with the World Wide Web of Life
2002	Shenzhen, Peoples Republic of China	Give Earth a Chance
2003	Beirut, Lebanon	Water- Two Billion People are Dyeing for It
2004	Barcelona, Spain	Wanted! Seas and Oceans- Dead or Alive?
2005	Sanfrancisco, U.S	Green Cities- Plan for the Planet!
2006	Algiers, Algeria	Deserts and Desertification- Don't Desert Dry lands!
2007	Tromso, Norway	Melting Ice- a Hot Topic?
2008	Wellington, New Zealand	Climate Change with a Focus on Moving Towards a Low Carbon Economy and Lifestyle
2009	Mexico	Your Planet Needs You- Unite to Combat Climate Change
2010	Pittsburgh	Biodiversity-Ecosystems Management and the Green Economy
2011	India	Forests: Nature at your service
2012	Brazil	Green Economy: Does it include you ?
2013	Mongolia	Think. Eat, Save
2014	Barbados	Raise your voice, not the sea level
2015	Italy	Seven Billion Dreams; One planet; Consume with care
2016	Angola	Go Wild for Life
2017	Canada	Connecting People to Nature- In the City and on the Land, from the Poles to the Equator.
2018	India	Beat Plastic Pollution
2019	China	Air Pollution
2020	Colombia	Time for Nature
2021	Pakistan	Ecosystem Restoration



Humanity is now being forced to investigate the environmental consequences and challenges of its development actions, on a local, national and global scale. In the short span of time since the industrial revolution, the face of this planet has been changed. The theme for 2021 is “Ecosystem Restoration”, and will be hosted by Pakistan. On this occasion UN Decade of Ecosystem Restoration will also be launched.

Ecosystems are defined as the interaction between living organisms - plants, animals, people - with their surroundings. This includes nature, but also human-made systems such as cities or farms. We all depend upon healthy ecosystems for our survival. Global greenhouse gas emissions have grown for three consecutive years. Over 4.7 million hectares of forests – an area larger than Denmark – are lost every year. One football pitch size of forest is being lost in every three seconds.

Climate disasters are on the rise as a consequence of imbalanced ecosystem. Around 70 percent of disasters are now climate related – up from around 50 percent from two decades ago. These disasters take a heavier human toll and come with a higher price tag. In the last decade, 2.4 billion people were affected by climate related disasters, compared to 1.7 billion in the previous decade. The cost of responding to disasters has risen tenfold between 1992 and 2008. Destructive sudden heavy rains, intense tropical storms (like Phailin, Hudhud, Fani, Yaas etc.), repeated flooding and droughts are likely to increase.

The Odisha government has decided to include disaster and pandemic management in high school and college curriculum with the aim to build a resilient state.

Variety of activities are planned to celebrate this great event in different countries to encourage more people towards the celebration. Various news channels take part very actively in the celebration to cover the news and distribute messages about the celebration among common public through their news publications to bring effective and positive changes towards the environment to solve all the environmental issues. Some of the national and international level activities include street rallies, tree plantation, garbage recycling, surrounding areas clean-up, parades and so many activities in order to draw people attention towards wide range of environmental issues as well as bring difference.

People of all age groups actively involve during the celebration to save their planet in original form as gifted by the nature. Especially modern day youths hugely take part in the celebration through many activities such as clean up campaigns, art exhibitions, motivating people for tree-planting, dance activities, recycling garbage, film festivals, community events, essays writing, poster competitions, social media campaigns and lot more. Many awareness campaigns are also run at schools, colleges and other educational institutions to motivate students towards their environmental safety. The celebration takes place at national and international level by organizing various activities in the public places to aware common public about the real causes of environment status degradation as well as let them know what steps should be taken to solve such environmental issues.

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Homage to Jayee Rajguru, the Freedom Fighter

Er. Raghunath Patra

Who prefers other's dominance ?
Who does not desire freedom, say
A conscious man fights for freedom,
For wealth, glory, honour, Nay.

Jayee Rajguru was first Martyr
could not accept British dominance
Inspired all to fight out enemy
with cost of life, gallant excellence.

Jay Krushna Rajguru Mahapatra
called Jayee Rajguru, in short
He was born on Kartik, Amla Navami
29th October 1739 remote.

Comes from Bira Harekrushnapur, Puri
Chand Rajguru, Haramani Devi parents
Forefathers spiritual teachers of king, Khurda
Rajguru is 'family title' of prominence.

Jayee was scholar in Sanskrit and Tantra
Commander in chief, Royal priest
Gajapati Mukund Dev II, was the King
After expiry of father, Jayee came to list.

British attacked Odisha, captured lands
asked Kings of Odisha to accept dominance
Jayee Rajguru advised Khordha King
'not to accept subjugation sequence.'

He instigated other kings nearly
Mobilized his Odia Paikas, soldiers
Organised village youths with military practice
started guerilla warfare against British.

With his army occupied four praganas
In October 1804, Paikas drew swords

King Kujang, Kanika, Harispur joined
with Khordha to drive out Britishers.

Barunei Battle started in Dec. 1804
On the fort hills of Barunei
Between Britishers and Odisha Paikas
Paikas were few but British soldiers many.

Britishers tempted locals, offering money
Jayee Rajguru was arrested
taken to Barabati fort but the king
writing a petition of promise escaped.

Trial was conducted at Bhagitota,
Medinapur by British court.
Jayee was awarded capital punishment
Accepted death-sentence without retreat.

On 6 Dec. 1809 Jayee was made Martyr
Executioners tied legs in two branches
Of banyan tree and branches let off
His body was splitted into two parts.

Thus ends life of valiant freedom fighter
Bold hearted Jayee made all spellbound
The real son of the mother land, Odisha
exhibited his bravery which never found.

I hail you oh, gallant freedom fighter !
Ardent lover of freedom of mother land
Without surrender, were brutally executed
which forgets not, the annals of mankind.

Er. Raghunath Patra, Brundaban Dham, Lokanath Road,
Patana Hat Sahi Chhak, Puri-752001.



Baji Rout : A Tale Of Martyrdom

Prabhudutt Dash

The youngest Indian martyr,
who sounded the deathknell of the British empire,
A born patriot, who never compromised with His core principles,
A true Odia, who loved His Motherland more than anything else,
A bravest child, who engineered the emancipation of Odisha
from the yoke of the British rule,
A torchbearer, who laid the foundation of Freedom movement in Odisha,
An eternal worshipper of justice,
liberty, equality and fraternity of the Odia people,
A rebel, who revolted against the British dominion and
it's monstrous cruelty and oppression,
A pioneer, who showed us the path of purity and moral uprightness,
A nationalist to the core, who 'lived in deeds and not in years',
A jewel in the galaxy of our immortal freedom fighters,
A "Saheed" in the truest sense of the term,
Odisha salutes Your bravery, exceptional heroism and
unparalleled courage of conviction,
Your remarkable feat of patriotism is praiseworthy and everlasting.

Prabhudutt Dash, Plot No : 307, Haladipadia, Sarala Nagar
Laxmisagar, Bhubaneswar: 751006.



Paika Vidroha of 1817 - The First War of Indian Independence

Dr. Mrutyunjaya Rath

Since time immemorial, Odisha has witnessed its people's courageous stand and skillful warfare against the enemy. Be it their victory or defeat, the people of Odisha have always exhibited their strength in the bivouac of life. However, the powerful Kalinga Empire lost its sovereignty and independence in 1568. In different times the 'Afghans', the 'Mughals' and the 'Marhattas' have attacked Odisha. But the occupation of Odisha by East India Company in 1803 AD was eventful. In three phases Odisha came under British hegemony which took about 50 years of time. That shows how difficult it was for the East India Company to occupy Odisha.

With the establishment of Bhoi dynasty in Khurda by Ram Chandra Dev-I, a fort was constructed at the foothill of Barunei. Earlier Jayee Rajguru, the chief priest and the Regent of minor king Mukunda Dev II was promised of one lakh rupees and restoration of four 'praganas' by the British to remain neutral to the conquest of Odisha from the marhattas. However, the British declined to honour the promise after the conquest of the Marhattas. Such a betrayal made Jayee Rajguru shocked and insulted and he decided to drive out the British at the cost of life. Accordingly, he reorganized the paikas, made strategy and declared war against the British in 1804. Defending the fort for twenty one days, he got defeated at last. Both the king Mukunda Deva II and Jayee Rajguru were arrested. Jayee Rajguru

took all responsibility onto himself for which the king Mukunda Dev II was proved innocent and Rajguru was executed in a brutal manner. The armed resistance in 1804 is looked upon as the precursor to the great revolt of 1817.

After the death of Jayee Rajguru, Khurda came under the East India Company as the last independent fort of the country. The common people enjoying rent free land were asked to pay tax to the Govt. New revenue settlements were made which affected the people. Various impositions made their lives miserable. Thus, there was discontentment against the oppressive rule of the British. The Zamidars (Land lords) were also affected and the estates of some zamidars were auctioned for non-payment of taxes. Again Cowrie (shell) was the medium of exchange since ancient times. But the British demonetized Cowrie and introduced silver coins. This led to the sufferings of the people. Further, a defective Salt Policy was introduced which affected the rights of the salt producers in the coastal areas. The common people could not accept hike in salt price. That ignited the people at large to free themselves from the colonial rule.

Meanwhile, Buxi Jagabandhu, the commander in chief (General) of the king of Khordha who was a victim of British colonial rule came forward to give leadership to the common people in protecting their rights. As a visionary and strategist, he decided to take people



of all categories to his confidence irrespective of caste, creed and social status. The tribal 'Kandhas' and 'panas', the 'Dalais', 'Dalabeheras' 'Khandayats' and even the 'Brahmins' reposed faith in Buxi to have a successful protest. Thus, the revolt against the British was organized under the banner of Gajapati, the former Raja of Khurda to muster support from all walks of life. Buxi sent letters on palm leaf to the Rajas of 'Ghumusar', 'Keonjhar' 'Mayurbhanj' and other 'Gadayatas' to support the revolt. Thus, in the last week of March 1817, hundreds of 'Kandha' rebels with arms assembled at Khurda. They joined with the forces of Buxi and an organized armed revolt against the British started in the first week of April, 1817.

The police station of Banpur was burnt, government quarters were ransacked and hundreds of British officials and their supporters were killed. The government treasury was looted. The rebels were joined by hundreds of people on their march to Khurda. The Tehesildar's office and the Govt. Treasury in Khurda were attacked. The insurgents also moved to different 'praganas' and caused devastation. The collector of Cuttack rushed to Khurda with some sepoy. But on their way at Gangapada, the Paika rebels intercepted them with grenade attack. The collector had to flee to save his life.

The main contingent of rebels marched towards Pipili and looted the Police Station. Under the Stewardship of Buxi, the Paikas entered Puri through Lokanath Ghat and were engaged in retaliating against the British officials. The Paikas instigated the people to avenge and the revolt spread into Gop, Kujanga, Kanika, Asureswar, Pattamundai and to other far off places. It also spread to Baripada and Balasore. Many parts of Western Odisha also joined the movement and the British army became more revengeful to crush it boldly using Machine Guns and Gun Powder. By April 1818, the British could take the situation under control. However Buxi

with his aides moved to forest to start Guerrilla warfare. He moved from jungle to jungle and fought from the jungle. But the British announced rewards, arrested Buxi's family members to pressurize him to surrender. However, Buxi was lured by the cunning British to surrender in the larger interest of the people of Odisha which would facilitate amendment in law with ensuring beneficiary measures. Thus, Buxi Jagabandhu gave in and was exempted from all punishment. Buxi surrendered in the larger interest of his people and his defeat was as dignified as the victory. The British Govt. accepted most of the demands of the Paika leader, Buxi. Buxi's leadership gave Paika Vidroha a new momentum for a period of eight years. Jayee Rajguru, Buxi, Pindiki Bahubalendra, Krutibasa Pattasani and Madhab Chandra Rautaray, the five valiant Paika leaders along with their trusted soldiers shall shine in the saga of Odisha's freedom movement for their invaluable contribution.

Paika Vidroha of 1817 was the first great political upheaval in India. The revolt with its objective to oust the alien rule and the involvement of the mass from all sections of life, deserves to be termed as the first war of India's independence.

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August Revolution in Koraput

Dr. Janmejy Choudhury

The All India Congress Committee, in their meeting in Wardha, adopted a long resolution popularly known as the 'August Revolution' in mass scale, if British did not withdraw from India. It began a new phase of the freedom struggle in country. In the meantime Central and local Governments adopted all possible measures to forestall such a revolt. In Odisha, the Publicity Officer of the Government started intensive propaganda against the proposed Civil Disobedience of the Congress through loyalist association, All Odisha People's Association, Odia Muhammadan Association, All Odisha Bengali Settlers' Association, Domiciled Bengalis' Association, Women's League of Service, Odisha mill owners' Association, Ganjam Land-holder's Association, Odisha National Association, Andhra Mandali and Odia Samaj of Ganjam. The final decision to launch a new movement was to be taken in the meeting of the All India Congress Committee scheduled to meet at Bombay on 7 August 1942. Such a move alarmed the British authorities. They made elaborate plans to nip it in bud. The provincial governments were immediately consulted on this matter. The Governor of Odisha, in his secret report to the Viceroy, outlined his plan to suppress the possible Congress rebellion. He believed that the Congress

might give Odisha a prominent place in their campaign. The situation of Odisha in a potential war zone, absence of communal problems and the existence of a coalition ministry were some of the reasons for his conjecture. In his report, Lewis made another very important observation regarding the working of the coalition ministry. Such was the situation in Odisha before the outbreak of the historic rebellion in August 1942.

The historic resolution on 'Quit India' was adopted by the All India Congress Committee in the night of 8 August 1942 at Bombay. In Odisha, as in other parts of the country, early in the morning of 9 August 1942 all important Congress leaders were taken to custody. The following prominent Congress leaders of Odisha who had attended the Bombay All India Congress Committee Session were arrested- H.K. Mahtab, Radhakrushna Biswas Roy, Malati Choudhury, Sardar Surendra Das and Surendra Nath Dwivedi. At the same time, in Odisha, the Government by gazette notification declared all Congress institutions in the province as illegal. All the Congress Offices in the province were seized by the Police by 10 August 1942. All the district level prominent Congress Workers were arrested by the Police.



The resolution seemed to be normal and quiet after these arrests. But this was a lull before the tempest. Within two weeks, cases of revolutionary activities were reported from the far-off villages where the police were not prepared to tackle the law and order problem. The students of the Ravenshaw College started revolutionary agitation. In spite of the absence of leaders, there were spontaneous popular outbursts in a number of places. The anti-war propaganda which had already been conducted by the Congressmen and Socialists and the sufferings of the people caused by the war had prepared the ground for the spontaneous outburst of the masses, even among the hill tribes of the Koraput district.

The Civil Disobedience assumed serious character towards the later part of August 1942. Thinking that the Government machinery had collapsed, the people defied the Government authorities in the far-off villages. Devoid of proper guidance of the leaders who were in jail, they indulged in violent acts. They attacked the Government institutions like Post-offices, Revenue offices, P.W.D. Bungalow and police stations and burnt some of them. In some places, the telegraph lines were disconnected.

The Quit India movement assumed the character of a formidable mass uprising in the backward district of Koraput which is mostly inhabited by the Adibasi or aborigines. The Adibasi became so furious against the British authorities that they threatened to demolish all Government institution. After the suppression of movement by the arrest of leaders, the movement was started at Jeypore by two boys. On 13 August 1942 these two boys, carrying Congress flag, preached the message of revolution. This was followed by *hartals* and campaign for non-payment of taxes. On 16 August 1942 the

Congress workers organized big gatherings in various important places of the Koraput district and some workers were arrested. On the day a mob consisting of 1000 persons, invaded a taluka office. The mob was dispersed by the police with lathi charges.

Meanwhile the Congress workers started picketing before the excise shop, courts and the Government institutions in Gunupur. At the Lakshmipur police-station some records were burnt by the furious mob.

Greatest bravery was exhibited in the Koraput district during the Quit India Movement by Lakshman Naik, an ordinary illiterate four-anna member of the Congress. Gifted with qualities of leadership he could mobilize public opinion in favour of the Congress and against the British Government. He had been arrested in 1936 for organizing no-tax campaign in the Mathili area. For taking part in the Individual Civil Disobedience of 1940-41, he had been twice arrested and sentenced to nine months rigorous imprisonment. He had attended the meeting of Congress workers at Jeypore on 31 July 1942 where instructions had been issued to the Congress workers about the impending Quit India Movement.

Lakshman Naik organized an army of 200 men, armed with saplings, cudgels and lathis. Wearing Khadar, and carrying Congress flags and Gandhiji's portrait, the followers of Naik marched through the dense forests, destroyed the liquor shops on the way and attacked the Mathili police station on 21 August 1942. The revolutionary mob did not care for the warning of the police and assaulted the policemen. As a result some policemen were injured. The policemen then opened firing. As a result four persons were killed and four others injured. Lakshman Naik himself



was injured. He shouted, while leading the mob: “We are warriors. British Government is gone. Mahatma Gandhi is our king. Maharaja of Jeypore is dead. The British king is dead. The country is ours. We have got independence. Rise brethren, all of you take part in this war; Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai.” He was arrested, kept confined in the Berhampur Jail and subsequently he was hanged in the Berhampur jail on 29 August 1943. He was the only freedom fighter of Odisha who was hanged in the jail in August Revolution. Like a true martyr he declared his innocence and went to the gallows with cheerful face. Lakshman Naik was not only a flamboyant revolutionary but also a constructive worker. With the help of his followers he had constructed a road, a bridge and a school.

The situation in the Papadahandi area of the Nawarangapur Taluka became quite serious in the last week of August 1942. On 24 August 1942, a mob of four to five thousand persons marched towards the Papadahandi police station. The police party asked the mob to disperse. Instead of dispersing the mob attacked the police. A Subedar and a Constable were injured. The

Police then opened firing. Twelve persons died on the spot, fourteen were injured and three persons died in hospital.

The Quit India Revolution is an important landmark in the freedom movement of India, in which Odisha played a very significant role. It assumed the character of a mass movement in many places of Odisha; even the Adivasi in the backward district like Koraput were inspired by revolutionary ideas. By the beginning of 1943, the political situation of Odisha had become quiet. The end of the Second World War and the victory of the Labour Party in the post-war election of England almost made it certain that the British would give independence to India in near future. Though, the country attained independence on 15 August 1947, for the country in general and Odisha in particular the vital problem of merger of princely states remained to be solved.

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Bhu-Satyagraha Movement and Biswanath Pattanaik

Dr. Chittaranjan Mishra

A social movement is a movement organized by a large group of people under an able leadership to promote or resist some social change. This movement can also occur at the individual level or at the societal level and can advocate for either minor or radical changes.¹ In the year 1966 cultural anthropologist David F. Aberle identified four kinds of social movements (i) Alternative (ii) Redemptive (iii) Reformative and (iv) Revolutionary.²

According to Tilly there are three major elements to a social movement (i) Campaign (ii) Repertoire and (iii) WUNC displays. Participants concerted public representation of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitments on the part of themselves and / or their constituencies.³

Biswanath Pattanaik, popularly known as Aajnya was a freedom fighter, a Sarvodaya leader, a constructional worker, a leader of the Bhu- Satyagraha movement, Bhu-Dana Movement and Grama-Dana Movement. He was born on 11th November 1916 in a small village 'Kumarada' near 'Digapahandi' of Ganjam district. He was the 8th son of his parents, father Upendra Pattanaik and mother Indumati. After he passed out class three from his village Chatsala,

he was admitted in the High school at Ichhapuram of Andhra Pradesh. From there he successfully passed out class 8th, popularly known as Third Forum. In the year 1933 he returned back to his village and joined as a teacher in his village Chatasala with a salary of Rs. 7/- per month. But he was not satisfied with the job as he was a heir apparent of a freedom fighters family and from the very childhood he was inspired by his elder brother Ghanashyam Pattanaik and Tarinicharana Pattanaik, who were imprisoned for their active participation in the civil disobedience movement. He had a strong desire to be a social worker to serve the needy. His mother Indumati was a religious and spiritual minded lady, being inspired by her, once Biswanath decided to be a monk and left home for Puri then to Allahabad. Again he became dissatisfied with this life and returned back to his home and joined on his duty. When he attained the age of eighteen a number of pressure was imposed on him to get marry but he strictly denied for this and decided to remain unmarried throughout his life.⁴

JOURNEY OF SOCIAL SERVICE

In the year 1937 he came in contact with Gopabandhu Choudhury, Ramadevi and Acharya Harihara during their visit to Berhampur for



collection of Congress fund. Ramadevi's motherly love and affection and Gopabandhu Choudhury's simple and pious life influenced him a lot. They were just like the 'parasha mani' in his life. From that day both of them became ideals for him. Biswanath respected them as his parent, teacher, philosopher and guide. He joined in the Congress as a four ana (chari ana) member and learnt the art of spinning and weaving. With the invitation of Gopabandhu Choudhury he went 'Delanga' in the year 1938 to attend a conference of 'Gandhi Seva Sangha'. There he came in contact with 'Gandhiji' and got knowledge about constructive work. He realized the truth of 'service to mankind is service to God'. Then he went to 'Bari Ashram' and stayed in the 'Seva Ghar' from 1938 to 1940 and got training of different constructive works like spinning, weaving, cooking, sweeping, gardening, farming, mat making, agriculture, dairy farming, washing and cleaning etc. Apart from this he also got the knowledge of love, affection, charity, humanity, morality, fraternity, selflessness, simplicity and truth. Biswanath became the most favourite disciple of Gopabandhu Choudhury by dint of his discipline, dutifulness and punctuality. He went Patua of Paradeep to provide training of spinning and weaving to Sevasangha workers. In the beginning of 1940 he was given the charge of Office Assistant of Bari Ashram. He performed his duty perfectly. In the meanwhile Gandhiji advised to the workers of Gandhi Sevasangha through the different magazines published by him to work for the socio-economic upliftment of poor and downtrodden of interior pockets in the rural areas, as Gandhiji realized the truth that 'the soul of India lives in the villages' and without the development of the village people's development of India cannot be imagined. As a result Gopabandhu Choudhury decided to send the workers of Bari Ashram to different village areas

of Odisha. For this purpose Biswanath Pattanaik was sent to 'Gunpur' of Jeyapur estate (present Koraput district) with a letter of Gopabandhu Choudhury to Prahllad Panigrahi.⁵

In January last of the year 1941 he reached at Gunpur. Prahllad Babu made necessary arrangements of his stay in a Dharmasala. From there he visited to different villages around Gunpur to establish cordial relation with the villagers and to know the problems of the people. But they were so fearful to the outsiders that they did not dare to speak of their problems. They were socially neglected and boycotted and economically exploited by the Zamindars, Sahukars, administrators, police and the outsiders. Biswanath tried to stay in some villages but he was not supported and taken in to faith by the villagers. Biswanath was not a man to remain aloof from his failure but his principle was to try again and again to achieve success. So he took the help of Prahllad Panigrahi. Prahllad Panigrahi requested Bairu Gamango, the village headman of the Saura village 'Kujendri' to provide shelter to Biswanath Babu, who would speak about Gandhi and train the people the art of spinning and weaving. Bairu Gamango agreed with the proposal and provided shelter to Biswanath Babu in a verandah by covering a date palm leaves mat. It was the first week of February, biting cold of winter was ruling over the whole region. In this climate he spent his night after night only with two khadder cloths. First of all he observed the condition of the village and the living standard of the people. He saw the people were living in a single room with their domestic animals by burning wooden stumps inside the house to protect them from the cold and mosquito bite. The village street was very dirty and full of excreta of pigs. All male members of the family were habitual drunkards.



Practice of untouchability also prevailed there. They were totally ignorant about health and hygiene and fully dependent on witchcraft.⁶ Biswanath Babu first started his service through cleaning of Village Street. Every morning his first duty was to sweep the street before taking bath. Then after spinning for an hour he went to the forest or agricultural land to work with the people. In the evening he taught the people Odia script and language. Within a short span he became familiar among the villagers. He prohibited alcohol, abolished untouchability and became able to motivate the villagers for entry of Dalits in to the temple and to use water of the common well of the village. People began to obey him just like a friend, philosopher and guide. The major problems of the region was the Gadam i.e. muthadar system to collect taxes from the people three times in a year, Bethi system (forced labour), Veti (presentation of gift on the occasion of Dasahara and other festivals), Doli Buha (shouldering of the lift of the officers), the money lending and forcibly acquisition of the lands by the Sahukars and exploitation of distillers by providing wine.⁷

Biswanath Babu deeply enquired about the causes of these problems and found out that landlessness is the main cause of the poverty of these adivasi (Saura) people and the cause of their landlessness is due to the unlawful acquisition of lands by the Sahukars. The problem would be solved if Adivasis were returned their lands. In between 1940 to 1941 he visited hundreds of villages around Kujendri, Gunpur and Rayagada and came to know that out of each hundred population 90 to 95 were adivasis and only 5 to 10 were non-tribals. All landed properties of these regions were owned by the non-tribal sahlukars and Muthadars, royal employees and

other influential personalities. Biswanath Babu sent a letter to his Guru Gopabandhu Choudhury, (whom he respected as his parent) seeking advice to work for this problem. In the meanwhile Binoba Bhave started his Bhoodan Movement in the neighbouring district Andhra Pradesh on 18th April 1951. Few days after Biswanath Babu started a new movement i.e. Bhu-Satyagraha Movement based on non- violence.⁸

BHU-SATYAGRAHI SAMAJ:-

It was on 22.11.1951 a meeting was organized to solve the post famine problems with the presence of the relief committee members named Iswarlal Das, Biswanath Pattanaik and Radharatan Das. After a long discussion with the villagers they found out the real cause of the famine and food shortage. People have no lands to cultivate so they had to work in the lands of the Sahukars as tenants of share croppers to get a very negligible share from them, which is not sufficient for them to mitigate their hunger for a year. Sahukars were not in a mood to return the lands or provide adequate share of the crop. So Biswanath Babu decided to form an organization to fight against this injustice. On that very day 'Bhu-Satyagrahee Samaj', an organization of Adivasis was formed with its headquarter at Kujendri under the able leadership of Biswanath Pattanaik. The organisation invented two ways to solve the problem.

1. The non-used lands of that area should be handed over to the landless Adivasis.

Or

2. Necessary steps should be taken by the district administration to return the ancestral lands to the Adivasis from the Sahukars.



Biswanath Pattanaik and Radharatan Das were authorized to lead the organization with the advice of Gopabandhu Choudhury and Nabakrishna Choudhury. As per the decision of the meeting Biswanath Babu wrote a letter to Gopabandhu Choudhury narrating the aims and objectives of the organization on 24.11.1951. In the first step the Samaj will have to collect oaths and declarations from the Satyagrahies to follow strictly the principles of Gandhi viz. (1) truth, non-violence and justice (2) to keep away themselves from any type of alluring (3) to disapprove untouchability and addiction (4) to wear Khadi (Cotton cloth) (5) always ready to accept imprisonment for the cause of truth (6) will not demand any compensation from the Samaj for family during imprisonment with a self-declaration of their age proof of more than 18 years and voluntarily acceptance of Satyagrahi membership. At last a leaflet demanding the return of lands from the Sahukars will be prepared and distributed among them.

Expecting an early reply of Gopabandhu Choudhury, Biswanath Babu waited for some days but failed to get the reply. Again he wrote another letter to Gopabandhu Choudhury on 08.12.51 and sent it by a special messenger named Bulubabu because he respected Gopabandhu Choudhury. At last they prepared leaflet justifying their demand and gave warning to the Sahukars that if they failed to return the lands unjustly occupied from the ancestors of Saura tribes, the Satyagrahies would bound to forcibly occupy the lands. These leaflets were distributed in 50 villages of Rayagada and Gunpur taluq and a training camp for Satyagrahies was organized from 15.01.52 to 29.01.52 at Kujendri, in which following 41 Satyagrahies voluntarily attended to decide the further course of action.⁹

Name of the Satyagrahi	Village	Taluq
Pitambara Charisa	Mariguda	Rayagada
Polo Dora	Paikapada	Rayagada
Lachhaman Dora	Dimberiguda	Rayagada
Mana Sing	Sankahala	Rayagada Padara
Nauka Nayak	Bali Khamari	Rayagada
Malati Biswal	Dumberiguda	Rayagada
Sunu Gamanga	Gudiabandha	Gunpur
Nilakantha Gamanga	Kujendri	Gunpur
Guindu Gamanga	Kujendri	Gunpur
Nimalla Jani	Kenduguda	Gunpur
Kalpa Gamanga	Mariguda	Gunpur
Kukaya Dora	Salibu	Rayagada
Manding Lasumeya	Salibu	Rayagada
Kandagare Nishu	Pandaratala	Rayagada
Biswambar Dora	Sinabadi	Rayagada
Baraja Sundara Dora	Joradi	Rayagada
Nilambara Dora	Tumbakana	Rayagada etc. ¹⁰

Gopabandhu Choudhury and Rama Devi started their Sarvodaya Yatra from Puri on 14th Feb. 1952 and entered into Koraput district on 5th March 1952 via Ramgiri of Ganjam district (present Gajapati district) to look after the matter of economic exploitation by the Sahukars in the shape of land mortgage from the Adivasis. But the rich Sahukars exploited the opportunity and met Gopabandhu Choudhury. They described



aims and objectives, adverse impact and everything about the Bhu-Satyagraha movement under the leadership of Biswanath Pattanaik. Till date the letters sent by Biswanath Pattanaik regarding this Satyagraha were out of reach of Gopabandhu Choudhury. He was totally ignorant about this movement. He reached at Kujendri on 8th March 1952 and came to know about this movement. It created a misunderstanding between Gopabandhu Choudhury and Biswanath Pattanaik. He expressed his own view to the public and Biswanath Pattanaik that Government will take necessary steps to solve the problem otherwise it will create a feeling of Adivasi and Ana-Adivasi (non-tribal) in the society. Some local royal servants, village heads, Nayaks and public servants also illegally occupied some lands of Adavasies. It will create another problem for the people. We should not fight against the riches but against the Government to create a pressure for amicable settlement of the problem.

In the meanwhile the landless tribes of Bodibali, Kutusuru, Patanagudi and Jorangi village intimated the district administration and Government of Odisha on 01.05.52 for future action. The tribals appointed Sri Nilakantha Gamanga, Sri Nimaicharana Sahu and Biswanath Pattanaik as their representatives to discuss with the Government. It was on 16.04.1951 the landless cultivators of Kujendri forcibly cultivated the lands of Sahukars and with the interference of Gunpur police it was temporarily compromised.

As a fallow up steps Biswanath Babu wrote letters to the District Magistrate, Superintendent of police, Sub agent of Rayagada, Taluq Officer of Gunpur and the police inspector of Gunpur on 29.04.51 for amicable solution of the problem but nothing happened. Again a

meeting of Satyagrahies was held on 01.05.52 and 24.03.52 for further follow up action and as per the decision of the meeting a letter dated 16.05.52 was sent to Nabakrishna Choudhury, the then Chief Minister of Odisha to interfere and solve the problem. Another meeting of the Satyagrahies was organized at Kujendri on 25.05.52, in which 45 Satyagrahies of 26 villages attended and it was decided that a last letter for the Sahukars and Government will be prepared and distributed to them. Distribution of last letter was started on 01.06.52 and completed on 20.06.52. In the meanwhile a letter dated 01.06.52 from Nabakrishna Choudhury, the then Chief Minister of Odisha, reached on 05.06.52 with a suggestion that it will not possible to distribute the lands of Sahukars among the landless farmers, it will be illegal as per the present law but give me 2 to 4 months of time to identify new uncultivated lands for distribution among the tribal people.

In the meantime some Sahukars lodged robbery cases against some Satyagrahies and their supporters. Police arrested some of the Satyagrahies and they were severely beaten. The Samaja, the Odia daily newspaper also published news on 10.06.1952 with its headline “Koraputre Savar gandagola, Dustalokanka prarochanare emane arajakata srusti karuchhanti”, meaning, Sabar disturbance in Koraput, They are creating anarchy with the instigation of some disturbing elements. Again ‘Visal Andhra Vani-vol-xi, no-15’ also published news on 2nd July 1952 with a title “Savar trouble in Gunpur area”as:

Savar trouble in Gunpur Area

(Shree Sanyasi Raju)

Orissa Government’s Revenue and Police Officers having camped for twenty five days at



Gudari, Gunpur Taluk watched the events leading to Savar trouble in the surrounding villages.

However, Savaras achieved their goal in criminally trespassing, occupying, ploughing and seeding others' lands capriciously in the name of 'Bhu-Satyagrahi'.

Public workers in Gunpur and its taluk with Kujendri Adivasis had ably piloted these tumultuous Savaras to infringe existing land laws.

Now land holders are challenging anybody to prove that they have confiscated Savaras' lands under dishonest or uncertain illegal means fifty or more years ago. And further they are demanding sufficient proof to say that they are constantly removing and keeping down Savaras from cultivation when they are cultivating their lands since three or more years.

Land holders say that these are manipulating stories simply to speculate that this Savara trouble is due to such reasons. They say that the Government attentively conceded savaras to go too far, even to injure them.

Reading this news from 'Visal Andhra Vani' the then Member of Parliament from Orissa, T. Sanganna countered the news on 01.07.52 in the Odia daily "the Prajatantra" and blamed the Bhu-Satyagrahi Samaja as the cause of all the disturbances and requested them to remain away from such type of movements.¹¹

Satyagrahies also sent a protest letter to the M.P. T. Sanganna and published a clarification in the newspaper. Biswanath Pattanaik also sent a protest letter against the news published in the Samaja on 17.06.52 saying that if a non-violent movement like Bhu-Satyagraha to achieve the legitimate demand by the Savaras is blamed as a

disturbance, anarchy and illegal, it proofs as if a support to the injustice and falsity.

The news war between the supporters and opponents of Satyagrahies echoed in the assembly hall of Odisha on 18.06.1952 (published on 20.06.52) Sri Harihara Mishra (Ganatantra), Sri Ramakrishna Mishra, Sraddhakar Supakar and the king of Kalahandi asked questions on this movement and wanted to know the view of the government. The then Chief Minister Hon'ble Nabakrishna Choudhury answered that very shortly a special officer would be sent to this region to find out the way to solve the problem and direction had been given to the members of the Revenue Board for conciliation and with the order of the Government, S.J.V.Ramnathan, the Revenue Commissioner, special Sub-agent District Magistrate and the Dewan of Jeyapur Samastanam visited Kujendri and discussed with Biswanath Pattanaik and 45 number of Satyagrahies and assured them to solve the problem very shortly. So they are requested to remain silent for 4 months. Immediately Gopinath Mohanty was sent as the Special Officer to this region to make an inquiry and produce a report before the Government for amicable solution of the problem as per the declaration of Government in the Assembly on 18.09.52.

Gopinath Mohanty and his employees worked hard and brought a number of changes in the system and Adivasies were given a lot of facilities. They visited a lot of villages, discussed with a lot of people and found out the real cause of their poverty. They undertook a number of development works like construction of roads, establishment of schools, digging of ponds and wells, took necessary steps to protect them from the economic exploitation of landlords, money lenders, Sahukars and local royal and government



officials, they were freed from the court fees, distributed un-cultivated lands, fixed the rate of different necessary commodities and overall they created a faith on government in the mind of the people by different activities.

In the meantime Binoba Bhave started his Bhoodan movement and got a lot of land donations from the landlords of Andhra Pradesh and distributed among the landless poor people. With the call of Binobaji, Biswanath Pattanaik joined in this movement and tried to motivate the excess landholders to donate lands for the sake of poor Adivasies. Simultaneously with the rise of Bhoodan movement the Bhu-Satyagraha movement came to an end.

Likewise under the aid, advice, able leadership and guidance of Biswanath Pattanaik, Adivasi Savaras got a number of facilities and benefits from the government and non-government sources. They became aware of their rights and duties and got inspiration to fight against the exploitation and injustice. Throughout the life Biswanath Pattanaik worked for the upliftment of the neglected, humiliated and exploited poor, downtrodden and imbecile Adivasies of south Odisha.¹²

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Patriotic History Written by Blood of Lunia

Pandit Akshaya Kumar Pati

Sweet, very sweet; freedom is sweeter than honey. The intoxication of honey provides divine pleasure to the senses; However, freedom keeps one's independence and self-respect alive and kicking. As a result, human-animal-bird all experience harmonic vibrations and absolute bliss in their minds. He does not bother about the obstructions, borders, limitations or bondages. He is maddened by the intoxication of a drunkard.

A brief note on India's Freedom Struggle :

The beginning of freedom struggle in India was successfully carried out against the British Rule in different phases. For example, The 'Paika Bidroha' in the year 1817; The 'Sepoy Mutiny' raised its head in 1857 and the Non-Cooperation movement held in 1920-21. The Civil Disobedience movement or the Salt Satyagraha was carried out between 1930 and 1933. The Quit India movement was started in 1942 and it culminated in full independence granted to India on 15th August 1947. Prior to this, from 1st April 1936, separate state of Odisha had been formed. The following essay of Indian independence remains written in golden letters.

Quit India Movement :

The Quit India movement or revolution started on 9th August 1942. Revolution alludes





to mutiny or action. The History of India recognises 9th August as the 'Kranti Divas' as on this day the people of India, starting from cities and towns to distant villages, inculcated the spirit of 'Do or Die' and flared up the agitation at many places. They took aggressive steps against the British Government without caring a fig for their oppressive measures over the years. The main roads were reverberating with the protester's voice-anguish-agitation. The awareness, anxiety and eagerness to achieve independence for the pious land of India had charged the people's mind to cross the volcanic state. All were saying in unison, "British Government - Quit India". The expression, 'Quit India' coming out from the voice of Yusuf Meherali really afflicted Churchill with worries; but, it agitated the India's life force vigorously to reach its emotional peak. The 'Quit India' was the only word in every mouth putting them in an exhilarated state of mind. The British Government arrested all top leaders of Indian Congress Committee including Mahatma Gandhi in the city of Bombay on 8th August, 1942. On 9th August, 1942 after Gandhiji was arrested, a letter from his Home Secretary was received by Surendra Nath Dwivedy. In that letter, it was written "Paralyse the Government. Be your own leader, We are independent from today. For attaining independence, 'Do or Die'. From here begins the Freedom Movement."

The student's agitation in Ravenshaw College began from 11th August. On 17th August 1942, the police station at Bhandaripokhari was attacked by a group of people led by Baishnab Nayak. It is learnt that this agitation was also inspired by Muralidhar Panda. On 22nd September, 1942, there was an intense battle between the police and an angry mob at Lunia under Dhamnagar police station.

In that month of September on 14th, first public rally was organized in the field at Lunia meant for 'Melana', convention of gods. The struggle of Tudigadia started under the leadership of Baidyanath Rout. He was then a student at Ravenshaw College. The intoxicating nature of freedom started building him into a fighter after pulling out from his studies.

Another public rally was organized under the stewardship of Gaurang Mohanty in the 'Melana' field at Eram / Basudevapur. In that struggle, Pari Bewa sacrificed her life and became the first woman martyr.

Now, let us throw some light on the facts and figures of Lunia struggle.

The Lunia Revolution – An overview:-

The local young man, Mr. Muralidhar Panda led the Lunia revolution. His colleagues were :- Nishakar Panda from Lunia, 2. Gananath Padhi – Torabantia, 3. Bansidhar Panda – Lunia. The man pride of the kshatriya dynasty, Radhashyam Roy Mohapatra of Rajmukundapur was in the role of the President. The agitation was first rolled out in the Madagadia 'Melana' field of Lunia on 14th September, 1942. Prior to that, Gandhiji's mantra of freedom struggle had already been disseminated in the coastal belt of the river Salandi. It is true that hundreds of freedom lovers joined the Lunia agitation; however, as this agitation was directed against the British Government, there was a need for a strong leader to preside over the same. At that juncture, Radhashyam Roy Mohapara, the man pride of the kshatriya dynasty, came forward on his own. He did not have any luxurious dressing. A five-yard stick in hand and a turban on his head were the symbols of his nobility. He was an able orator



in Hindi, Odia and Sanskrit. His deep knowledge of the Puranas and intense essence of the Ramayan formed the main attractive art and significance of his speech. Therefore, he could preside over each and every public meeting fearlessly.

As a nationalist, patriot and independent person he participated in the Salt Satyagraha movement and was honoured as a satyagrahi. His specialty was his popularity among people. The then Harijan and 'Swaraj' were his most readable regular journals. Because, these were the only transparent communication media against the Government. He could recite Gopabandhu's 'Kara Kabita' (the poem from the prison) and poems of Gangadhar Meher instantly.

Contemporary Social Scenario :

Anxiety is the root cause of mental disease. It is true that the moment of attaining bliss is pleasurable, but the mental burnings before and after this moment makes one anxious. It is based on an analysis of psychology. Thus, mental burnings welcome an inevitable decision of life. When this goes beyond a limit, then the person becomes confused about what to do and what not to. Only one thing makes him anxious and that is "Do or Die." The same anxiety of attaining freedom surfaced in the futuristic thought process of every Indian worker. Not a single intelligentsia, poet, writer or leader escaped from that thinking of independence. Prominent among the respected poets of Odisha at that time were Godabarish Mishra, 'Kanta Kabi' – Laxmikanta Mohapatra and 'Jatiya Kabi' – Banchhanidhi Mohanty.

They, through their writings, filled the heart and soul of Odias with the rage of independence. The poem by Godabarish Mishra was at the top of the inaugural songs in each and every public meeting. In each public meeting, this song was recited in chorus :-

"Utha Kankala, Chhidu Shrunthal, Jaga
Durbala Aji, Uthu Gata Gaurav, Hrutagaurav,
Mruta Gaurav Raji " etc.

(Meaning in English – O skeleton rise, break the chain, O weak arise; let past glories, robbed glories and silent glories shine again"....)

While the farmers and workers were shouting in hunger, misery and distress; the rich class and the landlords did not stop from employing them without providing their dues. The government had no provision of grants or subsidy. Rather, the government administration tortured



the innocent and oppressed by using the rich class as its weapon. As a result, the hungry resorted to all sorts of ill-doings. The freedom loving fighters did not stop from assembling people with the blowing of conch shells, and then resorting to snatching and looting. During that period, the women society of Utkal also came out on streets with resolve to achieve independence. The freedom mantra of Gandhiji won the hearts of people so that all, whether child, lady or old and students leaving their studies, turned crazy to suck the honey of freedom.

The local leaders, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab and his following brother Gopinath Das served Gandhiji's hypnotizing freedom mantra as pure nectar using lucid language. As a result, the public sang 'Bande Mataram' or 'Bande Utkal Janani' and got intoxicated with the mesmerizing tunes of the freedom mantra.

Overview of the Problem :

A king rules his subjects in a strange way. However, if a subject protests, he is given bloody treatment. That's what happened in the last stage of Lunia's mass agitation. The Lunia mass movement began symbolically on 14th September, 1942, got organized in several places and started getting recognition in an exponential manner. On the other hand, in order to prevent the looting and fight by the mass agitators and to safeguard their own interest, the money lender – police – zamindar, officials took a prohibitory order from the Sub Divisional Officer, Purna Chandra Mohanty and met and prayed before In-charge, Dhamnagar Police Station, Balaram Behera, to take preventive action. Subsequently, Police Station In-charge (Balaram Behera) proceeded along with twelve armed policemen, two havildars, twelve chowkidars and one dafadar.

But the overflowing river Kapali stood as an obstacle on their way. The British soldiers reached Srirangpatna ferry ghat and lured the ghat person, Dibakar Jena, to take them across the river. However, Dibakar, supporting the mass movement, refused to do so.

Consequently, they spent the night of 21st September at the ghat. On the 22nd morning, the armed forces skillfully crossed the Hatiapada barrage over the Kapali river and reached Kharpapada. The symbolic conch shells of mass agitation were blown from village to village on observing the presence of armed forces.

The forces gheraoed the house of Muralidhar Panda on reaching Katasahi at 6.30 AM in the morning. The villagers started attacking the forces with bamboo and palm sticks in their hands, ran after them and forced them out of Katasahi. The forces became disheartened in their mind and consciousness seeing the mass uprising gaining from strength to strength as time passed. Sensing the opportunity, the angry mob snatched away the rifle and other weapons from their shoulders.

“Mahat Yashare Irsha Kale Nija
Hrudadaha Matra Sara
Rabinki Je Dekhe Kathor Drushtire
Chakshu Teja Nase Sara”

(Mahima - Gangadhar Meher)”

Meaning :- The police officer and the forces were totally flabbergasted seeing the great famous sea of people. Their jealous view of the sea of masses stirred their body and soul. As the intense look at the sun leads to the destruction of sighting prowess of the eyes, they were similarly dumb founded by seeing the swelling crowd. Taking advantage of



their puzzled state, the angry mob snatched away weapons from them.

The above usurping of weapons from the forces happened near the field at Dosamali as the forces were returning after their failed attempt to gherao the house of Muralidhar Panda of Katasahi. That was around 7 AM on 22nd September (Tuesday).

Under these circumstances, the police forces took the shelter of fake love. They, in strong voice, iterated that they were also desperate for the freedom of the country. The police forces urged the public not to put blemish on the non-violence principle of Gandhiji by beating the police. In fact, they promised to run away once their guns were returned. They even bowed with obeisance towards the people's resolve and struggle for freedom. They uttered that they were only serving for their lives and livelihood. So, they appealed to show kindness and forgiveness and return their arms and ammunitions.

The simple minded agitators utterly failed to understand the acts of pretension by the police force. Jagabandhu Panda, resident of Kharagadi and Ramakanta Panda of Katasahi appealed to the angry public to return the arms of the police. He reiterated that the victory achieved through non-violence preached by Gandhiji was the greatest victory.

But the leader Muralidhar Panda did not like the aforesaid decision. He warned the people not to believe the police at all and urged them not to return their guns in any case.

But alas! What happened? At last, the agitators returned the seized arms. The British police force took this opportunity and spoke with

pretension, "Brothers, please give us easy passage and we will surely return back."

Then the flow of the sea of agitators started receding. A few persons praised the mass movement by shouting together the slogans – "British Force, Go Back. Principle of non-violence will win. Bande Utkal Janani (Hail Mother Utkal)."

A few brave members showed the way to the police force. At that time, the returning forces reached near the graveyard ground towards the canopy head of Khaparpada. That day was 22nd September, 1942 (Tuesday) and the timing was morning 8.05 AM.

The wheel of time came a full circle. The joy and happiness of the people's movement played 'Holi' with the blood of the agitators. In a few minutes, it took the shape of a devastating battle.

The police force, reaching the road after crossing the pond near the graveyard ground having many chakunda-sirisa-osta trees, did not hear any shouting or noisy voices. The police force seized the opportunity, turned back while hiding behind the trees, became bloodthirsty and started firing aiming at the innocent people.

The innocent public was stunned by the sudden firing by the cruel and treacherous police force.

35 rounds of firing took place in that instance. In this massacre, nine were martyred and fourteen innocent persons were injured.

As the first offering at the altar of the principle of non-violence, Nidhi Mahalik of Mukundpur became a martyr. His blood stained



body dropped down there to satisfy the soil of his motherland.

Ridden with bullets, he told, "I am dying by the bullet of the treacherous police. Take care of my family." These were his last words.

As the second martyr, Shyam Mahalik of Rajualibindha breathed his last. Gopinath Jena, resident of Pathardiha, sacrificed his life for the motherland and became the third martyr.

As the fourth martyr, Krushna Mahalik of Mukundapur fell down on the soil bed and breathed his last.

Chintamani Das of Pathardiha was the fifth martyr who made a loud noise before falling down. Sixth and seventh offerings to this cause were Shankar Behera and fighter Agani Sahu. Both were brave sons of Lunia.

As the eighth martyr, Gauri Jena (Hagara) breathed his last ridden with bullets. Nabakishore Nayak of Kasimpur was the ninth martyr who succumbed to his bullet injury.

Moreover, fourteen persons including Chandra Mahalik and Bansidhar Panda (friend of Muralidhar Panda) received bullet injuries and were taken to Bhadrak hospital for treatment. Krushna Mahalik (Mukundapur) and Chintamani Das (Patharadiha) were carried to their respective homes where on reaching, they breathed their last.

It is learnt that Gaura (Susua) and Nabakishore Das died at Bhadrak hospital as the treatment was not successful. In total, the nine names were etched in the martyr's commemorative plaque. Other fourteen members recovered fully after treatment. After the firing event, the local people were enraged became

blood thirsty and wanted to attack. However, the leaders advised them to bring back normalcy and peaceful environment in the pretext of non-violence.

But, Lunia's top leader, Muralidhar Panda in an unstable condition, started his journey to Bhadrak for overseeing the treatment of the injured. At that time, the only road to Bhadrak required crossing of Salandi river at Garadpur. Consequently, he was caught and arrested by police in the ferry ghat at Garadpur. Even a week had not passed, the police S.I. handcuffed Radhashyam Roy Mohapatra while he was offering his prayers to God and took him away by walking on his village road. Even he was not allowed to wear a dhoti in place of a towel worn by him during worshipping.

Sri Mohapatra was kept in the Mahatab Kothi sub-jail at Bhadrak as an undertrial. The police S.I. was astonished to see his undaunted bravery and fearless demeanor. He repented as he felt he had committed a crime against his country. He advised Roy Mohapatra to beg pardon before the judge and get acquitted. However, Sri Roy Mohapatra answered in a determined voice:-

"Maha Sankatanku Mane Nagananti
Mahat Ashrita Jana

Mahodadhigarve Bicharai Pota
Ashraya Kari Pabana"

(Kabi Gangadhar)"

Meaning:- A person who lives for greater work, never fears any catastrophe. The way a ship or boat sails in the deep sea with the help of wind; similarly, great men live without any fear.



So, he replied in the court of the Magistrate in a resounding voice—He would even sacrifice his head for his motherland; but, not beg pardon.

As per the order of the Magistrate, for chairing the Lunia meeting, he was sent to jail for six months and also, he was fined one kodi rupee for providing shelter to the leaders of congress. He, after listening to the case order, laughingly addressed the public and told:-

“Pachha Ghuncha Nahin Birara Jatake
Na Mare Se Kebe Parana Atanke”

Meaning – A brave man never retreats. He does not die fearing for his life.

This episode provides proper evidence for Sri Roy Mohapatra’s fearlessness. Muralidhar Panda was convicted and sentenced to six months of rigorous imprisonment.

Present Position :

After independence, a martyr column has been erected in memory of the martyrs. September 22 is being observed as the Martyrs’ Day every year.

A market namely, Sahidnagar has come up for remembering the martyrs. That place has

been recognized as a tourist place by the efforts of the Government of Odisha. However, those who have laid their lives, have not received proper recognition from the country.

Mother and Motherland are superior even to Heaven.

Collections :

1. Startling facts from the mouth of Lunia leader, Muralidhar Panda
2. Suresh Chandra Roy Mohapatra’s (Rajmukundapur) description of facts on his family history and Lunia firing incident. Suresh Chandra Roy Mohapatra is the son of Radhashyam Mohapatra.
3. The inaugural song by Godabarish Mishra.
4. ‘Mahima’, poem by Gangadhar Meher
5. ‘Kara Kabita’ – Gopabandhu Das
6. ‘Rakta Swakshara’ – Naresh Chandra Roy Mohapatra. He is the grandson of Radhashyam Roy Mohapatra.

Pandit Akshaya Kumar Pati, Jeevan Darshan Parishad, Sarapur, Ananda Bazaar, Arnawal, Bhadrak – 756116.



Peasant Movements in India Then and Now

Dr. S. Kumar Swami

India is an agricultural country. Agricultural production has been the means of the live of the Indian people since ages. In ancient and medieval India, states formed and abolished because of agricultural production. The rich agricultural production situation attracted many invaders to attack on India. Agricultural revenue was the main source of income for the states in India. In ancient and medieval India, states became powerful due to the revenue collection. But, during medieval period, tax revenue collection was not oppressive. Therefore, peasants' movement did not appear till medieval period. But, the arrival of European companies, brought new revenue collecting pattern. Their objective was to get more benefits because the foundation of those companies was done for doing business. The British East India Company of England conquered India by politically as well as economically. It imposed high taxes on the peasants and interfered in their social, political, economic and religious matters. Because of these reasons, the peasant movements emerged in India.

INTRODUCTION

Peasant movements are the movements which are done by the peasants because of agrarian reasons. Ideology of class conflict also plays an important role in peasant movements. *Karl Marx* considers the peasantry to be passive, while *Lenin*, *Fanon* and *Mao* have placed

peasantry at the centre of the revolution. *Dipankar Gupta* argues about the two kinds of agrarian movements in independence.

First, those agrarian movements which are done by the poor agriculture labourers and marginal farmers, and these kinds of movements are known as peasants movement. Second, those agrarian movements which are done by the owners of the land and these are known as farmers movement. The first type of agrarian movements are led by political parties and farmers' associations such as Kisan Sabha, Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI- M), Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML) etc. The second type of agrarian movements are led by farmers' groups such as, Bharatiya Kisan Union which is active in west UP, Punjab, Haryana; the Shetkari Shangathan in Maharashtra and Rajya Ryota Sangha in Karnataka. The basic difference between these two groups of parties is that the first group of party works for the poor peasants, and the second group of the party, works for the landholders.

IDEOLOGY OF PEASANT MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Peasant movement is a kind of social movement, therefore, by and large, peasant



movements have same reasons and ideologies which play their role in other social movements.

There is a phenomenal difference between peasant movements then and now. In colonial India, peasant movements were largely against the British Empire or the states under princely rule often involving often some combination of “zamindar, sahuakar, sarkar (landlord, usurer and state)”. The protests would be against the rise in revenue rates and other kinds of obligations that elites might demand, such as begar or forced labour without remuneration in cash or kind, oppressive cesses and repayment of loans with high-interest rates.

Peasant mobilisations were not uncommon in Mughal India but they had greatly escalated in British India, particularly against the sophisticated colonial apparatus, including revenue settlement and forest reports and their respective bureaucracies.

The colonial bureaucracy was primarily a revenue bureaucracy, hence the appellation “collector” who was then tagged with other roles. The institution of the Indian railways facilitated the deep penetration of the state and market, the extraction and movement of agrarian produce would become a mode of colonial control over the “wild”.

At present the unprecedented protests by the Indian peasantry against the three new laws that allegedly is favouring the interests of big business in agriculture win support and solidarity from across the country and take on a historically new dimension.

The winter of discontent descended on Delhi in late November. Braving water cannons in the dead of winter, and abuses, taunts, trolls, blatant misinformation and even the outright condescension of a patronising government, they

marched on until they were stopped at the gates of the national capital.

The protests by peasants across the country, which have escalated gradually since June, when the Central Government invoked a set of ordinances that were later legislated. These have snowballed into a massive tidal wave of anger. Along the way the scope of the movement widened, pulling in support from an ever-growing range of Indian citizens. Retired bureaucrats, youths, scientists, workers in both organised and unorganised sectors, and even sportspersons have expressed solidarity with the agitating farmers and provided material support to the agitation that has captured the imagination and the hearts and minds of Indians in a manner not seen in decades.

It is beyond doubt that the ongoing protests are the largest-ever mobilisation of the peasantry in independent India. Properly understood, one must count not just those peasants at Delhi’s borders but also those who have been on the streets in villages, towns and State capitals across the country—from solidarity protests in Kerala to the mobilisation of peasants in many other States. Indeed, comparisons have been made with the siege of Delhi 32 years ago by peasants led by Mahendra Singh Tikait’s Bharatiya Kisan Union. That comparison is not valid for several reasons.

The ongoing protests are very different from that of 1988; the only common factor between then and now is that this time the government desperately tried to rope in Mahendra Singh’s son, Rakesh Tikait, in a ham-handed attempt to split the ranks of the agitating peasants. It failed because even the younger Tikait did not wish to be seen as a backstabber.

The first striking difference between then and now is that the earlier movement, unlike the ongoing one, was mainly confined to farmers from



western Uttar Pradesh. Tikait's own base was in and around Muzaffarnagar district in the region. More specifically, the protests then were mainly by Jat farmers growing sugarcane, whose primary demand was higher prices for the cane, loan waivers and concessions on the newly levied electricity and water charges.

There is an attempt to portray the ongoing movement as exclusively the concern of rich farmers and traders and as being confined to farmers from Punjab. There is little doubt that it has much wider support and solidarity from across the country. Although all sections of the peasants and agricultural workers may not be present at the Delhi borders, the agitation has been joined by different sections of the peasantry, including workers. Of course, these sections have joined for different reasons—the workers primarily because the new laws threaten livelihoods and access to foodgrains at reasonable prices and the other sections because the new laws threaten the very basis for farming as it has existed for decades. This wider representation was absent in the protests three decades ago.

Second, the protests of the 1980s did not draw popular support on a scale that the ongoing protests have. Third, the protests of that period did not draw the kind of brutal might of the state apparatus as they have done now. It is certain that the use of force by the government in Haryana has prevented a much larger mobilisation of peasants from reaching Delhi; but even that is proving to be insufficient against the surge. Indeed, the larger mobilisation of peasants from across India—Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and parts of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh—indicate that the Tikait episode pales into insignificance compared with what is happening now.

The fourth striking difference between then and now is the presence of women. Strikingly,

Tikait's later casteist slur against a Dalit Chief Minister of his time and his obvious fondness of the khap (caste panchayat) and its traditions reflected a limited role for his mobilisation, one that was severely circumscribed by the appeals of caste and a severely limited role for women—a feudal mindset, if you will. It is not as if the feudal prejudice has disappeared, it is just that the widened base of the movement and its democratisation have imposed limits on the open articulation of such rabidly sectarian views.

It is not as if these limitations, imposed by the differentiation of the peasantry, have evaporated. Instead, it is obvious that different sections of the peasants—and landless workers in the countryside, especially in Punjab—have been mobilised in waves, particularly since the disastrous demonetisation of the Indian currency, which triggered a precipitous decline in prices from which the Indian peasant has still not recovered. The incorporation of these sections—and of their specific ordering of the priority of the demands—makes the ongoing agitation stand out from peasant mobilisations in the past several decades.

A fifth standout feature of the ongoing protests—one that probably draws from all the other features mentioned earlier—is that, unlike in the past, there is no single messiah of the peasants as they have mobilised in waves since June. Recall Tikait's obviously overstated title of a messiah of the peasantry, conferred by clueless media pundits of his time, or the earlier rounds of peasant protests led by leaders such as M.D. Nanjundaswamy in Karnataka or Sharad Joshi in Maharashtra, and the difference between then and now is striking. But it would be a mistake to take the absence of a single charismatic leader as a sign of weakness. In fact, that is its strength for two reasons. First, it reflects the strong bonds of a coalition, which draws strength from an array



of protesting sections within the ranks of the peasantry. The fact that they are represented in a wide platform that has conducted the agitation is what has given it resilience. The second reason why it has turned out to be durable, much to the bewilderment of those in power, is that this kind of structured leadership in a broad coalition offers few avenues to buy off vacillating sections within the ranks of the movement.

Lastly, in terms of effect, the ongoing protests, even if prevented from reaching their intended destination in Delhi, is much bigger. For one, the Delhi of the 1980s was much smaller, nowhere near the sprawl it is today. Choking the city was a much easier task then compared with now. The widening reach of the protests now threatens to blockade the road to Jaipur.

The farce of negotiations

The stubbornness of the government, reflected in the farcical manner in which it treated the negotiations with farmers' groups, was based on its flawed reading of the agitation. It assumed that the protesting groups would not be able to sustain the movement for long, especially if it could exploit the fissures in the ranks of the peasantry. Of course, the Narendra Modi government's obstinate position was also dictated by its firm resolve to use the three farm laws to embed big business in Indian agriculture like never before. But the peasant organisations too were unbending in their resolve. They have, with imagination and vigour, reached out to newer sections of the Indian polity.

The government has indicated that it is willing to introduce the notion of a minimum support price (MSP) into the laws, but this obviously just will not do for the agitating peasants. It is not difficult to see why the government's offer has no takers on this side of the divide. First, the promise of an MSP without an agricultural

produce market committee (APMC) where farmers can sell their produce under "neutral" conditions is totally meaningless.

The second aspect of the "offer" of the continuation of the MSP is neither here nor there. As with most things under the present dispensation the devil is all in the intent.

Another reason why the offer to incorporate an MSP-like feature into the legislation lacks credibility arises from this dispensation's track record. It may well be that the MSP would be mentioned in the Acts, but who will implement it? What if the Centre reins in the Food Corporation of India (FCI), thereby preventing procurement operations? It is quite likely that the States, especially in the aftermath of COVID-19, lack the resources to undertake procurement operations on the scale the FCI now does. In effect, the Centre seems to have cynically passed on the burden to the States, knowing full well what is in store. This is like rubbing salt into the wounds of the States; after legislating on agriculture—clearly lying within the legislative domain of the States—the Centre would now be passing on the additional burden as well.

Three interconnected factors needed to be achieved if big business had to overcome this hurdle, all of which hinge on the implementation of the three new farm laws across the country. The first is that large-scale investments—much larger than Indian corporates had dared to imagine in the earlier, ill-fated, round—were needed in order to establish separate supply chains. Secondly, however, if this was to happen, investors needed iron-clad assurances that they would enjoy oligopolistic control over procurement channels. Obviously, the large investments in building scaled-up supply channels would not happen without protection of profits. There is also a palpable fear among the peasantry that the new



law on contract farming may lead to greater direct forays by corporate entities into agriculture and that it would open the floodgates for new lease laws that would result in the dispossession of the peasantry.

The third feature of the new farm laws—and one that directly connects the ongoing agitation to the interests of Indians at large—is that all these arrangements on the supply side would be futile without big retail having total control over the distribution chain. This is why the fear that the abandonment of the MSP regime and the emasculation of the APMC mandi system would directly affect Indian food security is not an idle one. “What is the point of controlling the procurement channels if final profits at the retail end are not available?” is the reasoning of big business.

If the intentions of the present dispensation are any indicator, one can imagine what may happen to the PDS over time, if not immediately. Under the sway of thinking that goes in the name of Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT), and the wondrous possibilities offered by the use of Aadhaar, it is likely that the entire business of actually delivering foodstuffs to people might be abandoned.

It is quite possible that this segment of the rural elite fears losing social and economic control that flows from its possession of land. The insecurity among even these sections possibly explains why the ongoing protest movement has—despite the vacillations within the ranks of the more well-endowed—incorporated some of the concerns and demands of those lower down the socio-economic hierarchy.

The remarkable resolve with which these protests have happened, against huge odds, is the defining feature of the ongoing protests. Sections of the intelligentsia ask: what if this movement fails? What would they have achieved in that case? Such a line of questioning approaches the notion of success or failure in binary terms: that one can only win or lose, not seeing such battles as a continuum of struggles in which one may lose a particular battle, but still achieve “success” in the process.

CONCLUSION

Now, during the second wave of pandemic, the entire nation and the world is following Covid-19 protocols. Even protesting farmers should follow the protocols. Their life is important for us “Union Agriculture Minister Narendra Singh Tomar said- in the current Covid-19 situation. He urged them to call off their protest. In the recent discussion, the Govt. had identified their concerns and offered them a proposal to suspend the laws for 1.5 years and setup a committee to examine them. This proposal was welcomed across the Country but the protesting farmers rejected it.

Ours is a democratic country, be it farmers or citizens, if they have any doubt, the Govt. believes it is its responsibility to clear doubts and find a solution.

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