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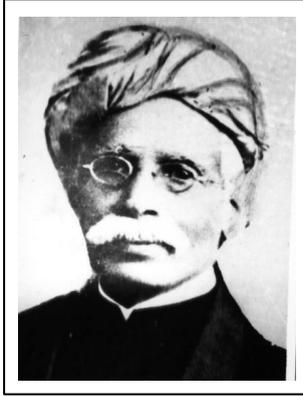
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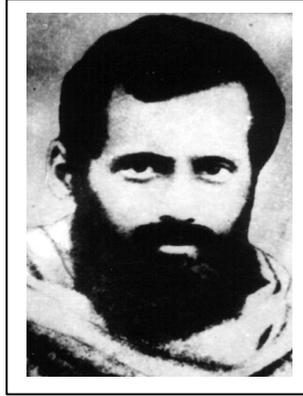
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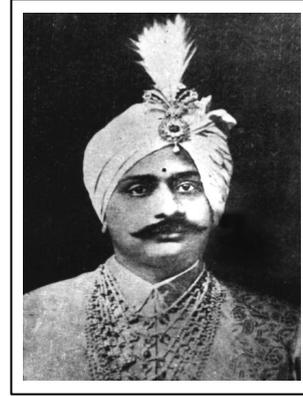
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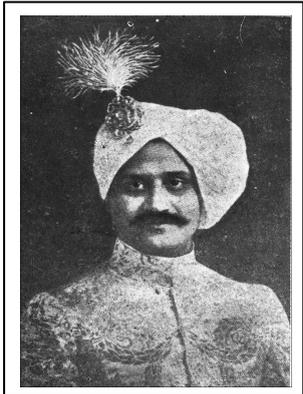
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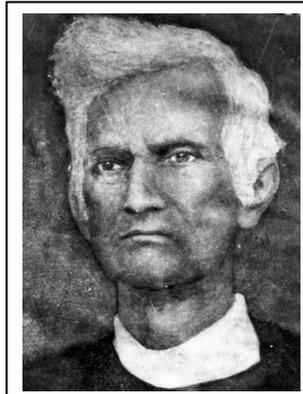
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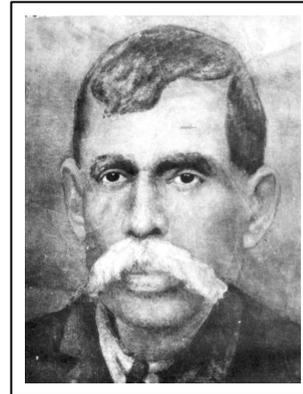
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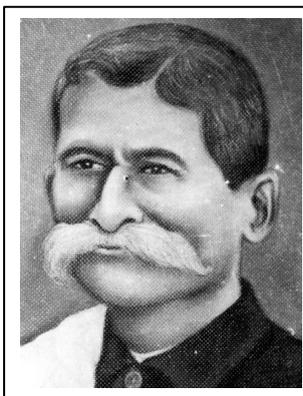
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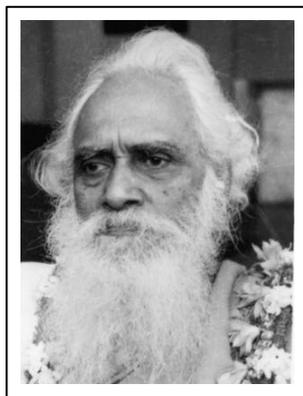
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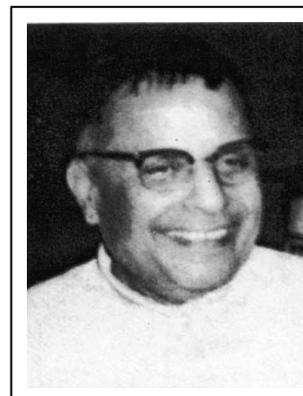
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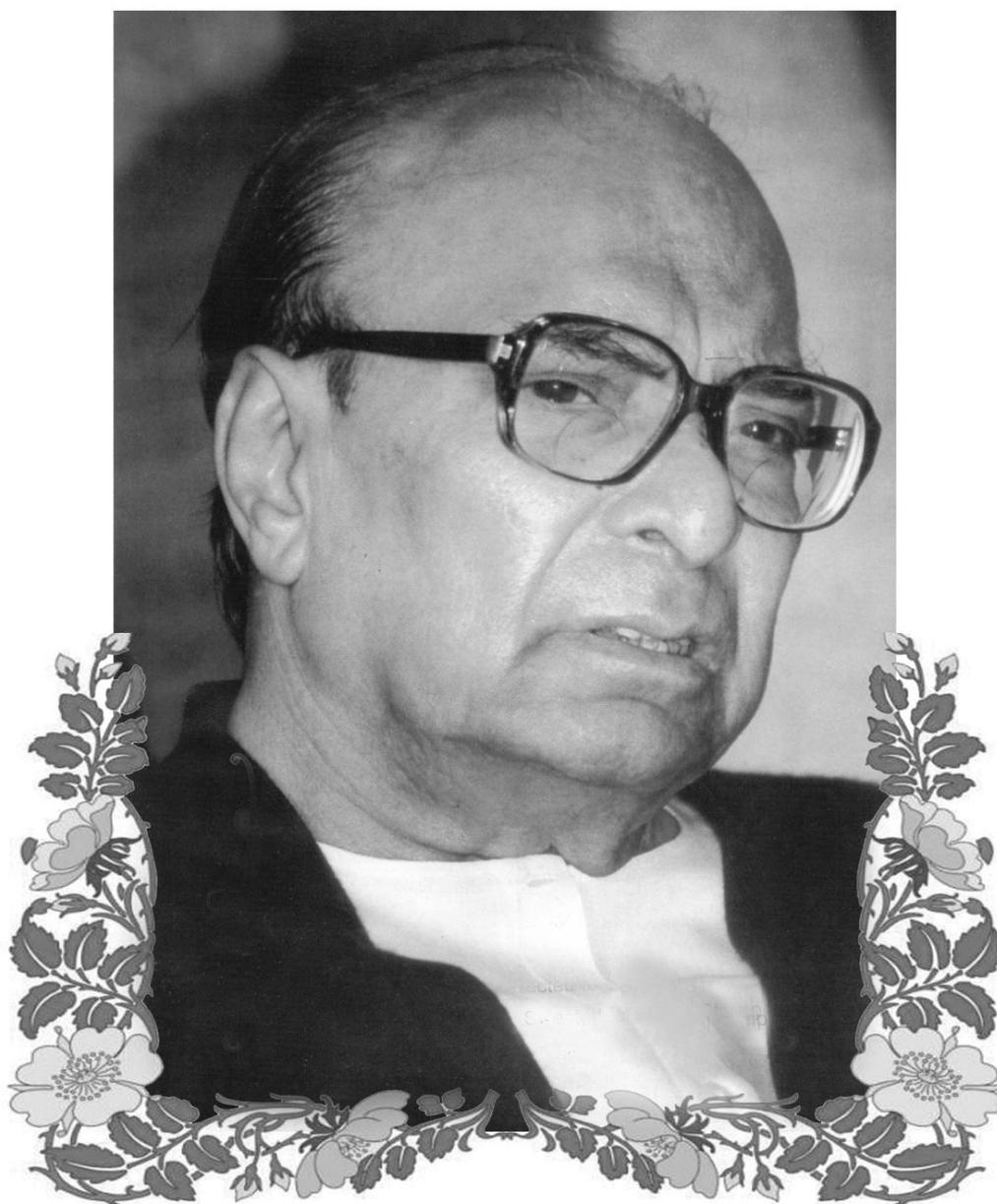


Pandit Neelakantha Das



Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab

Our Sincere Obeisance....



Legendary leader and visionary Biju Patnaik

Our Sincere Obeisance....



Sarat Pujari (1934-2014)



Odishan Breakfast for the Trinity

Pramod Chandra Pattnayak

Legends and Legends. There is no dearth of legends on the Trinity and the great temple complex. Every activity of the temple is legendary and every structure bears some sort of Legend. As such if compiled these legends may become volumes. However, some legends are widely known and found their place of pride in different scriptures. Yet some others exist as folklores passing from generation to generation. I present, hereunder, a legend which is probably less known in comparison to other



legends on Lord Jagannath. This is known as legend of “Mother Manika”, not the popular legend of Milkmaid Manika who offered curd to the Lord Brethren while they were on their way to the war front of the famous Kanchi Battle in order to take part in support of the their ardent devotee, Maharaja of Puri.

In the long past there was a poor girl named Manika, the only daughter of a poor parentage. She was living near about the west

gate of the great temple. She used to visit the temple often with her friends. While taste of different items of Anand Bazar was the attraction for her friends, Manika developed an affinity towards the Trinity with a sincere devotion and

derived happiness on their Darshan. But her happiness did not last long as her parents passed away one after the other within a short span of period. As such she became a destitute and her condition became precarious without basic necessities.

At this point I am tempted to quote a line of the great poet, Stephan Spenders. “A tall girl with her weighed down head”. Such was her conditions. Her condition became bad to worst when she passed from her tender girlhood to youthful virgin and she reached the point of dead end. There was no way out for her survival. In despondency the impecunious and impeccant Manika had to accept the business of harlot as her last resort. There was no reason to blame her

for such an act as the adage goes “A man to thrive must keep alive”. Her business was not dull one as nature bestowed on her all the assets of a damsel for the attraction of the so called dignitaries and respectable persons of the town. Thus Manika managed to carry on her life accepting her job as her destiny. After all even Gods are said to be the Slaves of destiny as goes the saying :

*“All fated happenings drawn from former state,
must changeless stand, the very god
Endured poor Blossom’s fate”.*

Thus, Manika’s life tossed between the smiles of the customers in the darkness of the night and spiteful eyes of her folks in the day Light. But Manika was unperturbed for others looks or lips. She was confident on her life and knew the "Nitishastra"

*“No Character moves up and down,
at others smile or others frown.
But honour or contempt on earth,
will follow conducts inner worth”.*

As such Manika thrived on her business. After bidding goodbye to her last customer, usually at the wee hours of the night she never forgot to pray Lord Jagannath before going to her bed. This was her routine life. No body, whatsoever, visited her in the day time.

Days passed on. By and by Manika grew restless with her melancholic life when she used to see her floks women with their children. This was nothing but motherly instinct of women which haunted her. At such circumstances she started blaming her destiny which caused the death of her parents closing the door of her marriage and family life. Otherwise she could have been blessed with children to take care of with motherly love and affection. But Alas! It was not to be. She often begged pardon to Lord Jagannath for taking up the dirty job. But then she had no other go.

However, motherly instinct gradually pinched her heart painfully. The thought that looking after the children as a mother would have been a pleasure even within many griefs of life, pinched more and more to Manika and she longed for the life which was not to be. Again she consoled herself leaving everything to the Lord Jagannath, one night and went to sleep. The day was yet to break, Manika was in deep sleep. She felt as if somebody was knocking at her door and calling “ Manika Ma”! “Open the door”. This was an unusual event for Manika. She was astonished even within the inertia of her sleep. Because she had never heard the address of “Ma” in her life. Again from the sound it appeared that the voice was childish and not of one child but of two. Manika could not believe it and taking it to be a nightmare tried to sleep again. But again she heard the knocking at the door and calling of the children with the same address. Now she was puzzled. She got up and tried to ascertain the call and proceeded towards the door in hesitation. She opened the door but no body was found. Now Manika was sure that it was nothing but hallucination. She sat for a while in her front verandah looking this side and that to find if any such children were there near about. Manika saw in a distance two boys were in joyful mood and talking something which was not audible from that distance. But the boys were most probably two brothers, she thought. Now the boys somehow attracted the attention of Manika and she looked at them intently. Both the boys were quite healthy and handsome. The very sight of the boys stimulated her motherly instinct which was very painful for her. She desired to bring them to her lap lovingly and to embrace. At such an acute emotional state of mind of Manika both the boys cried out from that distance “Ma! Have you prepared Khechudi ! (An Odishan preparation of *Pilau*). Manika being dumfounded at their calling, looked left and right

in order to be sure the address was meant for her and none else. When she did not find any other women near about she was sure that the boys asked her only. It was a regular practice for Manika to take Khechudi as her morning breakfast. But she was there right from her bed and expressed negatively. The boys did not mind for the helplessness of Manika and indented Khechudi for the next day so that they would come and have their breakfast. Manika was so excited at the indent of the boys, she immediately told them “ Yes, Yes. I would prepare tasty Khechudi for both of you. Please do come tomorrow to have a taste of it”. “Oh Yes! Both of us will come tomorrow without fail”. With these words both the boys, hand in hand went and vanished in the twinkle of an eye, Manika being overwhelmed to see the boys and their loving indent that she became spellbound for a moment. She became restless the entire day and did not attend any customer at the night also. She went to bed early after her usual prayer to Lords and got up early to prepare the Khechudi as promised to the boys, without knowing who are they and wherefrom they had come. As soon as the preparation of the Khechudi was finished, she heard the knocking at the door with that childish voice of the boys which she was already acquainted with previous day. Manika rushed to the door breathlessly and opened the door to find the boys right at her door. She lovingly welcomed the boys and served the hot Khechudi on a clean banana leaf. While the boys were enjoying the Khechudi, Manika was enjoying an unusual feeling which was thrilling for her and was a satisfaction par excellence in the core of her heart. She was looking towards the boys and their activities, rarity for her. At this moment the seemingly younger of the two wanted to know whether she would serve this Khechudi next day. Manika was so happy to hear the indent of the affectionate boy that she

immediately answered “Why tomorrow ? Everyday I can serve you with this Khechudi. The boys after taking the Khechudi washed their hands and wiped them in the Saree which was worn by Manika. This practice usually followed by the Children mostly in rural families. The boys went away after their morning breakfast. Manika went to the door to see them off but could not see to which direction they went. After their departure Manika stood like a statue at her door quite sometime as if she had achieved something without knowing what it was. This affair of entreating the boys with Khechudi continued not only next day but there after uninterrupted without knowing that the boys were none other than the brothers Lord Jagannath and Lord Balabhadra visiting Manika in order to fulfill the desire of Their devotee, a mother to tender her children which she was deprived of under a compelling circumstance beyond her control.

Time rolled on. The Lords continued taking the Khechudi in the house of Manika. Now the Lords did not want to keep their action secret. They wanted to publicize this so that the stigma which was faced by Their true devotee, Manika in her society should be removed. This would give a relief to Manika from her melancholy as she had attained a stage of enlightenment which the people should know.

One day Manika was waiting for the boys after preparing the Khechudi, which had become the usual practice for her. She became restless when the usual time passed. However the usual knock with the acquainted childish address “Manika Ma”! “Manika Ma” was heard and Manika as if a magnetic attraction took no time to open the door to find the boys. Indeed there was a magnetic effect of her Atma with the Paramatma in the meantime. As soon as Manika saw the boys she asked thousand questions to

the boys while ushering them into the house, as a true mother asks her children for their delay in returning. She served the Khechudi on the banana leaf, as usual, and sat beside them, with a hand fan to cool the Khechudi which was hot till then, looking intensely to the boys and their activities. As usually the boys after taking the Khechudi washed their hands and wiped them in one portion of the Saree worn by Manika. While the boys were leaving the house of Manika, they were seen by one of the Sevakas of the Temple, namely Talicchu Mohapatra. Before he could recognize who the boys were, they soon mingled with the people mysteriously. He took them to be boys of nearby lane and wanted to reprimand them. Moreover he had a glimpse of the sight of wiping their hands with the Saree which was worn by Manika. This meant they were eating something in the house of the whore. This was an additional factor for Mohapatra to be enraged. If the boys were hungry they could have gone to Anand Bazaar to fill their Tummy, Sevak thought while proceeding towards the temple. On the way he met the senior Sevak (Bada Panda) at the south gate of the temple. Bada Panda found Talicchu Mohapatra in a pensive mood and wanted to know the problem if any. Mahapatra narrated the event he observed a few minutes back and said that the boys must be from this lane. Again they appeared to have been treated with some food. He wanted to reprimand Manika too for encouraging the young boys to visit her house but did not as it was time for him to go to the temple. After hearing the narration of Mohapatra, Bada Panda became little thoughtful and told him that were they not Lord Jagannath and Lord Balabhadra ! Mohapatra laughed away his assumption telling it as a vague imagination. His argument was that why the Lords would visit a whore's house leaving the variety of tasty dishes served daily. They must be boys of this lane and

he would find them out. But Bada Panda wanted to justify his argument citing the example of Krishna who used to steal the butter and curd from others house while these were plenty in his own house. The question of scarcity or abundance never was a matter for them. The matter of love and affection and sincerity in devotion, like Gopis of Brundaban, was the attraction. Again Lord Jagannath and Lord Balabhadra were the incarnation of Krishna and Balaram. With this argument Bada Panda advised Mohapatra to keep a guard and also to engage some people in the vicinity to keep the eyes on such affair. But the argument of Bada Panda did not satisfy him and he was in a hurry to the temple for his morning duty. On opening the door of the Gambhira, (The place where the Ratnasimhasana is situated) Mahapatra was stunned to find both the boys, whom he had seen at Manika's house a few minutes back, in place of the deity of Lord Jagannath and Lord Balabhadra. Mohapatra could not believe his own eyes and stood like a statue being dumfounded looking towards the boys. After a while he moved slowly towards the boys. After a while he moved slowly towards the Ratnasinghasana and found no trace of the boys, but the deities as usual. Mohapatra returned to his previous position pensively being puzzled about the situation and wanted to know whether the sight of the boys was real or a seer hallucination. At this moment he found Bada Panda behind him. He wanted to reveal what he had seen on opening the door of Ghambhira but had to wait till his services for the deities were finished. Bada Panda finished his scheduled services for the deities. Then Mohapatra revealed everything which he had witnessed on opening the door of Gambhira. Bada Panda on listening from Mohapatra advised him to keep this fact within himself. Lest there would be hue and cry and people would throng at the door of Manika,

giving unwarranted publicity. Further, he asked him to go to Manika to advise her to observe the utmost austerity in treating the boys with whichever dish she has been serving there. Might be this conversation between them was probably heard by some others present near them and as such Manika got it from different sources before she was informed by Mohapatra who advised and cautioned her to observe strict austerity in treating the boys with whatsoever she has been serving to the boys.

Now Manika became confirmed about the rumor she had heard from hearsay that the boys were only Jagannath and Balabhadra. She became so happy that tears rolled down her cheeks and next moment she repented for her negligence in observing austerity and treating them as ordinary boys. They should have been treated with utmost care and respect, she thought. Now she realized that her prayer was granted by the Lords and they took the pain of coming in the guise of ordinary boys in order to satiate the desire of a mother to cherish her Children.

That day Manika cleaned herself by taking bath and with utmost care she prepared the Khechudi. Collected two tender Banana leaves, instead of one and cleaned them properly. Now she was ready to welcome the boys with respect. She also wanted to fall prostrate before the boys and to beg pardon for her negligence in treating them in befitting manner and to forgive her for accepting an ill-famed business which she decided to give up the very day. Time passed on. The soft and soothing morning hardened with the rays of rising sun. Yet there was no knock at the door

with which she became so familiar for last so many days. The soft voice of the boys addressing "Manika Ma" used to give her immense pleasure for which she had been longing and praying for.

As the time rolled on and time of arrival of the boys got delayed Manika lost her patience and cried aloud cursing herself and blaming the Lords as it was not proper for them to come in disguise which deprived her to pay due respect. At such a state of high emotional moment she heard the knocking at the door. She ran to make open the door for the boys to welcome but found Talicchu Mohapatra instead. Mahapatra stood with a pot of Avada in one hand and a garland in the other. Handing over the Avada and the garland to Manika, Mahapatra informed her that she had attained a high level of enlightenment. The Lords would not visit as they need cleanliness of heart rather than the cleanliness of the cooking process or any material things in that respect. This was order of the Lords to him last night. Being speechless Manika taking the Avada and the garland from Mahapatra pressed them against her bosom and felt like her Atma mingled with Paramatma.

Since then the tradition of serving Khechudi as morning breakfast has been in practice for the Trinity as the legend goes. As such there is some worth in the saying 'lily grows in the mud' brightness of lightening appears in the dark cloud and fine tune comes of a Black bird'.

Pramod Chandra Pattnayak, 678, Laxmisagar, Bhubaneswar-6.

Government of India Act, 1935 and His Majesty's Order-in-Council for Formation of Modern Odisha

Dr. Janmejaya Choudhury

Odisha covered a vast area in the historical geography of ancient India. In the medieval times, the territories of Odisha are said to have extended roughly from the Ganges to the Godavari and from the Amarkantak to the Bay of Bengal. In the second half of the 15th century, the rulers of the Surya Dynasty extended their empires as far as the river Cauvery (Kaveri). It was the apogee of territorial expansion of the medieval dynasties of Odisha. But the decline followed all too soon. From the beginning of the 16th century aggression became virulent and when the Surya rule came to an end, Odisha entered into a confused period of internecine struggle. The last independent king of Odisha, Mukunda Deva, was killed by one of his feudatory chief while engaged in a prolonged struggle with the Afghan rulers of Bengal. In 1568, medieval Odisha lost her independence. It was one of the last Hindu kingdoms of India to fall to the Muslims. Before the Afghan could consolidate their power, the Mughals entered the field and in 1592 Mansingh annexed Odisha to Akbar's empire.

The territorial dismemberment of Odisha had begun even before the fall of the Hindu Kingdom. By the time of Akbar, the territories of Odisha were apportioned into five Sarkars such as Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga, Dandapat and Raj Mahendri. Those Sarkars

were included in the Subah of Bengal and were generally known as Mughalbandi. The hill territories were kept under a separate head in the revenue accounts of the empire. Those areas were known as Gadjats whose rulers were recognized as the Mughal feudatories and paid annual tribute to the Emperor. Soon after the settlement of Akbar, the Sarkar of Raj Mahendri and a portion on the Sarkar of Kalinga Dandapat were occupied by the Qutb Shahi kings of Golkonda. By the time of Jahangiri, territories to the south of the lake Chilika had been separated from the Mughal dominion and as such from the rest of Odisha. Those areas were known as Northern Sarkars under the Muslim rulers of the South. Following the death of Aurangzeb when the Mughal Empire began to disintegrate, Odisha passed under the rule of the virtually independent Nawabs of Bengal. The Nawabs, however, could not rule for long. Frequent Maratha attack on the dominion of Alivardi Khan, the Subahdar of Bengal, Bihar and Odisha, finally forced him to surrender Odisha to Raghuji Bhonsla I of Nagpur in 1751. The river Subarnarekha became the new boundary between the Maratha dominion of Odisha and the Alivardi's Subah of Bengal, Bihar and Odisha. The northern territories of Odisha beyond the river Subarnarekha thus remained with the Nawab of Bengal. The territories which were ceded by

Alivardi extended from the river Subarnarekha in the north to the lake Chilika in south. The truncated Odisha was under the Maratha possession when the British conquered it in 1803.

In the meantime Lord Clive got the Diwan of Bengal, Bihar and Odisha in 1765. Odisha in the said grant was nothing more than the area beyond the river Subarnarekha, especially the district of Midnapur. The titular Mughal Emperor used the term Bengal, Bihar and Odisha as those territories had long formed one administrative unit in the days of the Great Mughals. At the same time the emperor gave the Northern Sarkar as Inam or free gift to the English. It was not, however, until another treaty had been concluded between the English and the Nizam in November 1766, that the former decided to take actual possession of the Northern Sarkars. The southern territories of Odisha including Ganjam came under the British possession by the end of 1766. Thus in 1765-66, the East India Company was at both the ends of Odisha, but those territories remained under two different administrations-the southern areas under the Madras Presidency and the northern areas under the Bengal administrators from Clive to Cornwallis to take possession of the coastal Odisha from the Marathas, but without any success. It was left for Lord Wellesley finally to conquer Odisha during the second Maratha war. By the treaty of Deogaon which was concluded on 17 December 1803, Raghuji Bhonsla II ceded to the East India Company 'in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the Port and district of Balasore'. Subsequently, 18 Garjat states also came under their control. Thus, only three districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri in the coastal region and 18 Garjats in the hill tract constituted the British Odisha in the 19th century and were under the Bengal Presidency. The rest of the Odisha Garjats

including Sambalpur were placed under the Central provinces. The dismembered Odia-speaking territories remained under different jurisdiction for considerable period. Then the process for formation of separate province began.

The Indian Statutory Commission was constituted by seven British Members of the Parliament including Sir John Simon, the Chairman. The Bihar-Odisha Legislative Council elected seven members to co-operate with the Simon Commission. The primary purpose of such a Commission was to evaluate the working of the Government of India Act, 1919 with a view to determining the future course of constitutional development. Two legislators from Odisha, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo and Laxmidhar Mohanty, were including in that team of legislators and they helped the Simon Commission to understand the boundary problem of Odisha. They arranged a delegation of Odia gentlemen who met the Commission in Patna and pleaded for the formation of a separate province. In fact, those leaders of Odisha explored all avenues to convince the British Government that the creation of separate province was an imperative necessity. The people of Odisha showed two-fold reaction to the Simon Commission. The Congress members from Odisha shared the reaction of the Indian National Congress. But many leading men outside the national mainstream took it an opportunity to focus the long-standing demand of the people of Odisha for the formation of separate province by amalgamation of the Odia-speaking tracts. The two streams of Public opinion in Odisha moved in two different channels and created an interesting scene. Both groups focused their views in the press and platform and also clashed in the Council Chamber.

The Simon Commission was convinced that it was 'an urgent case for consideration and

treatment'. While surveying the problem, it observed as follows;

“The Province of Bihar and Odisha, which was constituted in 1912, is the most artificial unit of all the Indian provinces. It was formed by bringing under a single administration three areas which differ markedly, not only in physical features, but in many social, linguistic and cultural characteristics.” (Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol.I Calcutta, 1930 p.68)

A sub-committee was appointed with Major Attlee as the Chairman to investigate the matter in details. It rightly felt that the grievances were well founded, the demand substantially supported by the people and the case deserved sympathy. Therefore, they recommended the amalgamation of the Odia-speaking tracts of the Central Provinces and Madras with the Odisha Division of Bihar and Odisha. There was also the possibility of minor adjustments of boundary with Bengal. In the conclusion they said; “After consideration of the alternatives of transfer of the territory as a whole to a particular province and the creation of a sub-province, the sub-committee was in favour of the creation of an Odisha province, although it recognized that the decision involved the larger question of sub-division of existing province.”(Report of Indian Statutory Commission, Vol.II London.1930 p.51) The report of Attlee sub-committee gave much encouragement to the people of Odisha to pursue the matter at the highest level. Such an opportunity came in 1930 when Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo, the Raja of Parlakhemundi, was included among the Indian delegates to the first Round Table Conference. He presented a memorandum to the British authorities for creation of a separate province of Odisha. It was also circulated to all delegates at the request of the Raja. His forceful advocacy of the cause, no

doubt, created a sense of awareness in the minds of British statesmen for solving the long-standing grievances of the people of Odisha. He circulated among the delegates of the first session of the Round Table Conference a pamphlet, titled, “The Oriya, Their Need and Reasons for a Separate province.”

In March 1931, the Odisha Congress delegates raised the amalgamation question in the Karachi session of the Congress. At Karachi, Mahatma Gandhi was reported to have promised the Odisha Congressmen that he would raise their problem in the second session of Round Table Conference. On 3 May 1931 the ‘Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee’ unanimously passed a resolution for the establishment of the separate province of Odisha. The UPCC appointed a Committee, consisting of Pandit Nilakantha Das (Chairman), Gopabandhu Choudhury, Lingaraja Panigrahi, Sashibhusan Rath, Niranjan Pattnaik, Mukunda Prasad Das, Bichitrananda Das and Lakshmi Narayan Mishra to deal with the question of formation of separate province. The UPCC even authorized the Committee to cooperate in this regard with the British authorities without deviating from the Congress principles. After the conclusion of the Third Round Table Conference, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, declared on 24 December 1932 that a separate province of Odisha would be formed in the constitutional set-up for India. The White Paper, published in March 1933, mentioned Odisha as a governor’s province along with ten other provinces of British India. The White Paper proposals regarding the boundary of the new Province of Odisha evoked so much criticism that the Secretary of State had to reopen the question once again. The Government of India immediately informed the Secretary that the suggested new announcement would be a ‘grave mistake’.

In the meantime, the Government of India constitutes a Committee known as the Odisha Administrative Committee under the Chairmanship of John Austin Hubback. The notification was issued from Simla on 24 June 1933. The Committee was asked to investigate the administrative problems which would arise in case of the formation of a new province. Besides the Chairman, there were 9 members in the Committee including Madhu Sudan Das, the Grand Old Man of Odisha. The Committee circulated a general questionnaire to selected officials, non-officials and public bodies and a special circular to the heads of departments and other special officials in Bihar. In October 1933, the committee toured Odisha and examined a number of witnesses. Its report, published on 20 December 1933, made important recommendations regarding administrative problems of Odisha. But Parlakhemundi was excluded in this proposal. So in this crucial stage, Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo, the Raja of Parlakhemundi, took the bold step in deciding to divide his estate. The Raja of Parlakhemundi, in his memorial to the Governor of Madras, conveyed his decision regarding the partition of his estate. The Viceroy, however, was not prepared to change his views. In spite of such categorical objections by the Government of India the insistent demands of the people of Odisha ably represented by the Raja of Parla before the Secretary of State were finally crowned with

success. The Joint Parliamentary Committee, in their report in November 1934, added to the new province of Odisha as defined in the White Paper, the following areas: (a) That portion of the Jeypore Estate which the Odisha Boundary Committee of 1932 recommended for transfer to Odisha, (b) Parlakhemindi and Jalantar Maliahs; (c) A small portion of the Parlakhemindi Estate including Parlakhemundi town.

On the basis of Joint Select Committee's report, provision was made in the Government of India Act, 1935 for the creation of the new state of Odisha. According to His Majesty, The King Emperor's Order-in-Council, dated 3 March 1936, the province was inaugurated on 1 April 1936. The same day, Sir John Austin Hubback took oath as the first governor of Odisha in a ceremonial function held in the Ravenshaw College Hall. In whatever truncated form, the new province marked the end of the era of dismemberment, and beginning of the era of consolidation and achievements in the years to come. (Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, Vol.I, London, 1934, p.36).

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Stipulation through Socio-Eco-Political Fortitude: Stature of Separate Odisha Province

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The foremost intension of this essay is to analyze the sufferings of the Odias, the vivisection of the Odia region and Odia race through frequent vicissitudes due to their annexation to three different provinces, viz., Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces. Thus, always the Odias formed a minority under the above governments which affected their cultural, linguistic and economic developments. The piecemeal territorial acquisition by the British government resulted in the political dismemberment of Odisha. As a result they lost their territorial, political and administrative identity. After becoming conscious of their miserable condition under the above governments, with the educated intelligentsia class the Odias started a movement which is better known as the Odia movement for the unification of the scattered Odia tracts. So that we can rightly said as it was the realisation of the economic plight, suffering due to lack of cultural and political identity. Thus relied upon the above basis it can be said that the Odia's demand for the separate Odisha province was purely an economic, cultural and political demand.

Odisha due to lack of political, administrative unity, suitable land revenue system, communication, education on socio-political or cultural forum had been treated either as an

administrative appendage of Bengal or just a territorial link between Bengal and Madras.¹ They became linguistic and ethnic minorities in the neighbouring provinces where the majority communities tried to impose their language and culture on the Odias. Being outlying regions the Odia-speaking tracts could not get proper attention of the Government and remained socially, economically backward. The non-Odias who had a different language and different customs, gradually acquired importance. The Bengalees who replaced the Odias in the revenue administration took recourse to trickery aimed at acquiring landed property. This led to the economic exploitation and social degradation of the common people. The people of Odisha on their parted mat have the required consciousness to demand territorial readjustment in the perspective of racial, social and cultural considerations till the later part of the nineteenth century.

The East India Company's rule over Odisha for more than a century treated it as only a source of revenue.² Continuous misrule of the outsiders had put the vast population of the Odias to the lowest level of economic depression. However in Odisha the colonial group did not always consist of the Britishers, but the Bengalees and Telugus were also included in it. The Odias

with their barren socio-economic and political sphere hardly made any progress. In this regard we can take what Traveyan has said in the 'introduction' to his 'English Social History' long book. According to him, "the social scene grows out of economic conditions, without social history economic history is barren and political history unintelligible." The socio-cultural life of the people owing to the apathy of the rulers to introduce transformation yielded no change. Rather it helped its continuity. The indifference attitude of the rulers, the attitude of the tradition bound people of the upper strata and the narrow mindedness of the so-called gentlemen failed to bring any transformation in the social relationship.

In Odisha, no uniform land revenue system could be introduced due to geographical dismemberment. The age-old agrarian-cum rural industrial economy faced gradual decline and extinction under the alien government. In the words of O.P. Kotwal, the British rule produced multi structuralism or made arrangement for many structure which produced poverty, mass unemployment and helpless economic dependence. A number of experiments were made in land revenue which constituted the chief part of public resource. The neighbouring Bengali Zamindars, their agents and the non-Odia *amalas* taking the advantage of faulty land revenue administration tried to maximize the profits by economic deterioration and social exploitation of the common people.³ Again the interest of the peasants completely ignored under the Permanent Settlement. The peasant even failed to remit the land revenue fixed at exorbitant rate. Hence, there increased poverty and indebtedness. The oppressive salt policy of the British in the nineteenth century had destroyed the native salt industry and salt trade in Odisha. It spelt the economic ruin and disaster for the thousand of

salt-manufacturers of Odisha known as *Molunghees*. Being thrown out from their traditional profession they joined the ranks of agricultural labourers.⁴

The economic wreck was matched by a neglect of education and the corresponding shrinkage of job opportunities for Odias. Before the famine of 1866, there were only 24 government schools in Odisha and 20 grant-in-aid schools. However the Odias showed no interest for English education. Most of the pupils were the children of the Bengalee officials stationed in Orissa and the teacher, text books and medium of instruction were Bengalee.⁵ Coupled with the poverty and conservatism of Odias, the scarcity and high price of Odia text books also contributed to the slow progress of education. The unavoidable result was the systematic exclusion of the Odias from the government jobs which were filled up by the outsiders like the Bengalees and Telugus. In this situation the Odias were threatened economically and culturally in their own land.

In the shape of a dreadful famine of 1866, which resulted from both natural causes and the carelessness of the British authorities exposed the true nature of the British administration. All the high sounding benefits of peace and good governance, rule of law, development of education and communication bestowed upon Odisha seemed to be based on mere theory. Their sense of injustice and improvement was best revealed by the famine. Again the Odia language crisis of 1868-70 was also the result of the official apathy and neglect. However the famine awakened the Odias from their deep slumber and the language controversy made them aware of their miserable socio-economic and political conditions. The famine forced the government to go into the deficiencies of the administration and review their

policies towards the people who had long been neglected. A petition signed by more than one lakh Odias was presented to the Secretary of State for India asking for the protection of the Odias and their reunification under any of the existing administrative provinces.⁶ They now became aware of the disadvantages of the territorial dismemberment. Their territorial dismemberment now came to be realised by the Odias as a 'historic wrong inflicted on them'. Living under three different governments they could not get prompt relief not only because of the absence of any concerted and uniform policy but also due to lack of sufficient political will on the part of the authorities to help the Odia minority in their jurisdiction. The public as well as the administrative set up desired to render Odisha a separate province-hood. They realised that had Odisha been a separate province the misery of the famine of Odisha would not have been to that extent.⁷ The consciousness ultimately assumed the shape of a language movement which in the long run prepared a favourable ground for the growth of political consciousness. Both the famine of 1866 and the language controversy of 1868-70 initiated the process of change in government policies and in Odia society. It was realised by the people that the territorial dismemberment of the Odia-speaking areas was the main cause for their general backwardness under the British rule. The feelings of negligence was aggravated and they became aware of the Odias vulnerability as linguistic minorities in large administrative zones, i.e., Madras, Bengal and Central Provinces where they were forced to adopt major languages as Bengali, Telugu and Hindi. This sort of consciousness produced its political manifestation in the Odia movement which aimed at ameliorating the miseries of the peripheralised Odias and for the unification of the Odia-speaking region, a panacea for all the misfortune, economic-cultural

domination by the outsiders, their linguistic subordination and so on. As a result, a separate Odisha province became a political, economic and cultural demand.

Instead of the measures of the government to provide suitable jobs to the educated Odias, there was a good deal of competition from their neighbours. In this regard it was taken into considerations the report of the Collector of Cuttack who stated : "It may be doubted whether the Odia is holding his own in the struggle for existence. The Bengali is ousting him from the land and from service, the Bengali, the Marwari and the European from the trade, the Telugus from the rougher kind of labour. Perhaps, this movement may cause a reaction. The Odias are possibly less successful in the struggle, because he has long been isolated from the parts of India where it has been most severe and the competition now introduced may have the effect of rendering him in the future a more formidable competitor⁸." The interest of those outsiders stood in the way of progress of the Odias. The Odias had special wants and disabilities which required special measures of protection and which were justified on political grounds.⁹

Gradually the feelings of the Odias towards their neighbours became pointedly clear. Sentiment of hatred, defiance and hostility overtook the majority of the people, out of the mental state a new consciousness emerged that Odisha for the Odias. Toynbee, the Commissioner stated on 18th July 1892: "The appointment of a native of Bengal to any post in Odisha is generally the occasion of an outburst of complaints in the newspapers by which the cry of 'Orissa for the Oriyas' is consistently upheld¹⁰."

The government took keen interest in the promotion of vernacular education and the Odia

language. Ravenshaw drawn the attention of the education department to the 'utmost entire neglect of Odia and urged the introduction of Odia text books in schools to the entire exclusion of Bengali books. He also proposed that the government first appoint a separate Inspector of Schools for Odisha and secondly take prompt action to provide a translation from other languages into Odia.¹¹

The material and intellectual upliftment of the people, development of communication and transport provided enough facilities. Now the Odias were enabled by themselves to go for higher studies and business outside the province, which greater helped for the achievement of political unity. The general improvement both economic and intellectual caused by the growth of education and transport was reported by the Commissioner of Odisha in 1874 as follows: "There is more knowledge and education among the masses, more trade and money in circulation, more employment at high wages for the labourer, more moving to and fro in the country, less stagnation, and a divide tendency to enlightenment and progress. There are more market, more shops and growing export and import of trade, all these items indicate undoubtedly general improvement in the people's condition with which we ought to be satisfied. The progress of civilization may be slow, but it is nevertheless, sure and safe because it is not rapid and revolutionary¹²."

Those Bengalis who perceived a threat to their interest from the introduction of Odia formed a group and were in forefront of the anti-Odia campaign. They rejected the government decision and tried to prove that Odia was not a separate language. In order to champion the Bengali in Odisha, two periodicals, the *Utkal Hiteisini* (1869) and the *Cuttack Star* (1869) were published by the domiciled Bengalis.¹³ On

the other hand, the cause of Odia was strongly taken by *Utkal Dipika*, the first Odia periodical published from August 1866. There began the pro-Odia and anti-Odia lobbies clashed in the press. In July 1869, the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Uma Charan Haldar suggested that the Odia language should be written in Bengali script. He argued that if the Odia script was written on Bengali paper with Bengali pen and ink, why then it should not be written in the Bengali script.¹⁴ Haldar's argument was strongly refuted by *Utkal Dipika*. Again in 1870, Kantichandra Bhattacharya of Balasore District School published his controversial book 'Oriya Ekta Swatantra bhasa Nae' (Oriya is not a separate language). However, the book was immediately dismissed not only by the government but also by scholars and philologists of the time, on the ground of fallacious arguments and contentions. In this respect¹⁵, Gaurishankar Ray, a Bengali completely identified with Odia literature and culture carried an article titled 'Odia Mane Swabhabata Nirbodha Ki?' (Are Odias Idiot by Nature?). The write up could have been response to the stereotyping of the colonial people by the colonisers and neo-colonisers, in the case of the British and the Bengalis.

The language controversy manifested the existing tension in a colonial society Odisha, arising out of the clash of interest between the colonial dominant and the colonised groups. In Ganjam and Sambalpur the same type of language controversy arose. In Ganjam under the Madras presidency, Odia came under the dominating Telugus who wanted to replace it by the Telugu language. The Director of Public Instructions dismissed Odia as a semi-barbarous language and availability of Odia text books as useless¹⁶. To ventilate the grievances of the Odias, William Mohanty started an Odia weekly *Swadeshi*

in 1876. After a long conflict in 1876 Madras University recognised Odia as the official language of Ganjam¹⁷. In Sambalpur, which was then in the Central Provinces, it was declared by John Woodburn, the Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces in 1895 to introduce Hindi in place of Odia in order to facilitate the transfer of officials within the province. This decision was resisted throughout Odisha. *Utkal Dipika* wrote, nothing could be more atrocious than to try to smother one's mothertongue and to kill a language.¹⁸ The mammoth protest organised in Sambalpur under Dharanidhar Mishra. M.S. Das sent a memorandum to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy on 15th September 1902. Being urged by the memorialists, Andrew Fraser came to Odisha and ordered the restoration of Odia as a court language of Sambalpur in 1902¹⁹. He also opined that Sambalpur should be transferred to Odisha and finally the government ordered the restoration of Odia in Sambalpur in 1903.

However the language controversy brought to the surface the negative impact of colonialism on their culture and their vulnerability as linguistic minorities in large administrative zones. Their economic sufferings combined with linguistic and cultural subordination convinced them of the necessity of protecting their interests, their language and their culture. The economic dimension of the language controversy was also emphasised by F.M. Senapati the forerunner of modern Odia prose. After the publication of Kanticharan Bhattacharya's book, he warned the Oriya *amalas* (petty officials) of the Balasore Collectorate in a meeting that if Odia was abolished from schools, the sons, brothers and relatives of Bengalees would become *amalas*, Odia would be dismissed and the Odias would not get government jobs.²⁰

The linguistic and cultural consciousness of the educated middle class led to the formation of many associations in Odisha. Many associations such as *Utkal Bhasaunnati Sabha* (1866) at Balasore, *Utkal Bhasouddipani Sabha* (1873) at Cuttack and *Utkal Hiteisini Samaj* (1889) at Ganjam. The most important organization of the time the *Oriya Association* (1882) had the objectives of discussing political and other matter affecting Odisha. This association also demanded the unification of the Odia-speaking regions. The *Utkal Sammilani (Utkal Union Conference)* established in 1903 spearheaded the movement with its main objective of amalgamating the Odia-speaking regions and working for the all-round development of Odias. The *U.U.C.* came to symbolize the collective protest of the Odias against the wrong and injustices inflicted on them by the British in collaboration with some Bengalis and Telugus. It represented the hopes and aspirations of the educated middleclass to obtain their due share of economic, cultural and political opportunities. The *U.U.C.* successively led the Odia movement under the leadership of Madhusudan Das, F.M. Senapati, Madhusudan Rao, Gopabandhu Das, Maharaja Krishna Chandra. Gajapati and Chandrasekhar Behera. The movement could be sustained because of the growing number of educated and enlightened Odia middleclass. Though small in number, the educated class became increasingly aware of their due share in their motherland. The *U.U.C.* submitted a petition to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, in 1917 in which it was clearly pointed out how the Odias had long suffered under different governments trying to destroy their solidarity as a community.²¹ It was presented how the economic, educational and other disadvantages due to the

administrative dismemberment of the Odias, which had produced opportunities for the advanced races, like the Bengalis and the Telugus.

Thus, the Odia movement and the Odias demand for a separate Odisha province grew out of Odia consciousness was arguably the concerted search for political identity. The territorial dismemberment, the economic misery, poor job opportunities and the cultural subordination of Odias, all put them in a disadvantaged position in their home-land. The demand for their political unification also contained its cultural manifestation in the quest for their unique cultural roots. Ultimately, the dream and demand of the Odias got its shape when Odisha became a separate province in April 1936 comprising the Odia-speaking regions. The formation of a separate Odisha on linguistic basis came to be largely seen as realization of their political and cultural identity coupled with their economic plight.

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Contribution of Ramchandra Mardaraj for the Formation of New Odisha

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The Khallikote Raj Family was mind and spirit of the Odia nationalist movement which aimed at linguistic, literary, cultural and territorial integration of Odia-speaking people with a separate identity of their own. Ramachandra Mardaraj was the worthy son of Harihara Mardraj.¹ Harihara Mardaraj married Rani Kanakamanjari Devi, a princess of the House of Bhanjas of Mayurbhanja of which the illustrious Sri Ramchandra Bhanja Deo was well known as a great and bright Ruler. Rani Kanakamanjari was an accomplished lady with liberal ideas and was in touch with the spirit of the times. This celebrated couple gave birth to Ramachandra Mardaraj Deo on 13th January 1900 endowed with all the virtues of his parents. In the days that came, this Prince was destined to sufficiently contribute to shape the fate of which he loved more than anything else in this world.

As a child, the prince was nick named Eric and was in the best of health and spirits. He was brought up under the care and guidance of Governess Mrs. F. Harvey Dunn. Sri Nilamani Vidyaratna, a prominent Odia nationalist and journalist was working in the Badakhemundi Raj Darabar in Ganjam. On one occasion he advised to Shri Sashi Bhusan Rath of Surada village and advised him to publish an Odia Weekly. Soon after, Sashibhusan Rath started his Odia Weekly "Asha" which was published from Brahmapur. During that time Vidyaratna was very close to

poet Radhanath Ray because earlier he was a primary teacher where Roy was the school inspector. Roy introduced Nilamani Vidyaratna to the Raja of Bamanda, Sri Sudhala Dev for the purpose of publication of an Odia journal. Raja of Bamanda started an Odia Journal named "Sambalpur Hitaisini" and Vidyaratna was appointed as the editor. When Vidyaratna came to know about the Odia nationalist movement and patriotic activities of Harihara Mardaraj he soon left Bamanda and joined hands with the Raja of Khallikote. Very soon Raja Harihara Mardraj purchased a press and he published a weekly journal "Prajabandhu". Nilamani Vidyaratna took the editorship of Prajabandhu. The press was set up at Rambha Palace and it was soon after named as "Mardaraj Press." 'Prajabandhu' all through its career focused the grievances of the Odias.

On the second birth anniversary of the prince, Raja Harihara Mardaraj, with the sound counseling of Pandit Neelamani Vidyaratna, invited some distinguished nationalists from all over Odisha to a conference at Snodgrass House, Rambha. Many dignitaries who were at the time in the forefront of national and cultural life of Odisha like Mr. Madhusudan Das, Sri Ramchandra Bhanja Deo, Fakirmohan Senapati, Gopalchandra Praharaj, Gopabandhu Das were present. Four prominent persons of the time- Harihara Mardraj Dev-the Raja of Khallikote,

Nilamani Vidyaratna-an eminent litterateur, Narasingh Das-a subregistrar of Bhanjanagar and Harihara Panda - the first Odia pleader of Ganjam, and native of Asika-also were present. The Rambha Palace discussed the future of the Odias under the leadership of Madhusudan Das.²

It was in this conference and under the auspices of an occasion, as this that the assembled leaders decided to give unto themselves an Odia national body and work united for formation of State. This grand move took a concrete shape in the Ganjam National Conference which held its first session in April 1903 at Brahmapur under the Presidentship of the great nationalist Syamasundar Rajguru. This Conference paved the way for formation of 'Utkal Sammilani' or 'Utkal Union Conference' under the able leadership of Mr. Madhusudan Das which held its first session at Cuttack on 30th December 1903. Maharaja Sri Ramchandra Bhanja Deo presided over the Utkal Union Conference.

But to the misfortune of Odias when the Odia nationalist Movement was getting a boost, Raja Harihara Mardraj met with an untimely death on 20th July 1909 bereaving the people and the young prince of precious parental care and upbringing. The Prince being minor, the Estate of Khallikote was kept under the Madras Court of Wards. Prince Ramachandra was sent for schooling at Newington, Madras. He studied at Christian College up to the age of his eligibility to take charge of his own Estate.

In 1918 and 1919 the district of Ganjam, Puri and Visakhapatnam were afflicted by a terrible famine due to short of monsoon. The Government servants remained apathetic to this utter situation. They did not inform the Madras Government in time. Neglecting his studies, Prince Ramachandra Mardaraj moved around in the villages of his estate, met with famine stricken people, stood at their door steps as one of their

own and worked hard in organizing relief and other assistance. At last he informed it to the Madras Governor, Lord Willingdon. Lord Willingdon personally visited the drought affected areas and took steps for the construction of roads and canals. People of these areas realized that their grievances are neglected by the Madras government which was situated far away from Odia-speaking areas.³ He worked for spread of education and joined with his mother for encouraging Girls' Education. He laid the foundation of the Secondary School at Khallikote. On 14th January 1921, Raja Ramachandra Mardraj Deo came to the throne with entry, gentry and poor peasantry. He was loved by the elites in all corners of the estate and admired by the British at the helm of state affairs.⁴ His benevolent activities created a niche for himself in the hearts of people in Khallikote and beyond. He was married to Rani Chandrapriya Devi of Saraikala Raj family in 1918. The new queen was pious and was a true partner in the life of Raja Sahib during all the dilemmas and deliberations of his life.⁵

The dream of his father, the formation of separate province, took the proper shape during his time. The Odia tracts of South Odisha belonging to Madras Presidency were Khallikote, Athagarh, Palur, Birudi, Huma, Dharakote, Badagada, Katimga, Sheragada, Sankhemundi, Badakhemundi, Chikiti, Surangi, Jarada, Jalantara, Gudarsingi, Manjusa, Terela, Parlakhemundi, Aska, Barua etc. The Zamindars of Parlakhemundi and Khallikote paid more than fifty thousand rupees as *pesh-kush*. Besides these tracts, thousands of Odias were living in the Visakhapatnam district and Jeypore Agency. The growth of political consciousness gave birth to a movement for the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts. The movement was not very effective in its early stage. But handful of British Officers made some contributions towards this cause. The birth

of Utkal Sammilani in 1903 A.D gave a new impetus to the movement. The transfer of the district of Sambalpur to Odisha further strengthened the Odia Movement.⁶

It was half measure towards the amalgamation of Odia-speaking areas. Some leading people of Ganjam in a memorial to the Viceroy demanded for the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts into Odisha Division. But the Viceroy opposed the resolution which abandoned the transfer of the district of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam to Odisha. They demanded a non-official Commission to enquire about the matter.⁷ A subsequent memorial dated 30th November 1905 to Lord Amphil stated: "the Collector of the district did not pay even the slightest attention to the crisis of the Odias embodied in their several petitions containing thousands of signatures for their union with Odisha."⁸ In 1909 A.D., a deputation of Odia Samaj of Ganjam waited on his Excellency, Sir Aurthur Lawly, the Governor of Madras, for the transfer of Odia-speaking areas of Madras. But the Government did not pay any attention to their prayer, Partition of Bengal did not satisfy the Bengalis who were divided under two administrative units since 1905 A.D. A great agitation took place in Bengal-Speaking areas for their re-union. At the same time Biharis were dissatisfied for their separation from Bengal. These movements created problems for the government.⁹

At last the Government of India realized that the existing state of territorial distribution was far from being satisfactory and that for the administrative efficiency and economic development of people, the country has to be distributed into several principalities, each homogenous in itself. On 25th August 1911 Lord Hardinge suggested the announcement of the partition of Bengal and they recommended to the secretary to state and to be administered by a Governor-in-Council. The new province

consisting of Bihar and Odisha including Chhotnagpur was to be created with a legislative council and capital at Patna.

In view of the above reasons the Government decided to separate Bihar from Bengal. At the same time it was decided to add Odisha to Bihar, as the former had no common interest with Bengal. Secondly, Odisha, for her geographical position provided a sea-board to the province. At first Biharis opposed the Union of Odisha with Bihar. But at last they agreed to proposal in consideration of the value of the sea port. Thirdly, the addition of Odisha provided sufficient territorial area and population for Bihar to deserve a Lieutenant-Governorship.

When the above suggestions were being debated in the House of Lords on in February 1912 Lord Curzon opposed the decision. According to him the new province of Bihar and Odisha was an unnatural union of the people of different races and languages. It was created without the slightest regard to the views of the inhabitants. After the creation of the province of Bihar and Odisha on 1st August 1912, a few Odia-Speaking people in Midnapore remained under Bengal.

The question of amalgamation of Odia-Speaking areas was raised by McCollum Scott in the House of Commons on 20th February 1912. But S.S. Montague, the Under Secretary of State for India in his reply stated that the proposed transfer of Ganjam to Odisha as to be made at any time if, "accumulated evidence be forthcoming". In the Indian Patriot, it was stated, "Provinces were united but the Odias were forgotten. Therefore, it was for the Odias to see they were no more forgotten".¹⁰ The formation of new province of Bihar and Odisha was very much regretted by the Odias.¹¹

In 1912 A.D., the Utkal Sammilani held its 8th Annual Session at Brahmapur and resolved to make Ganjam the centre of national activity for the ensuing year. Among other resolutions the amalgamation question was given priority.¹² Consequent upon this decision, the Odias of Ganjam waited in deputation on successive Governors of Madras, Lord Carmichel and Mr. Pentland. In the course of a reply to a civic address at Berhampur in December 1913, Mr. Pentland said: "Unless conditions change and unless new arguments of weight are produced, I can hold out no hope to you of the question being reopened. This statement was nothing but a repetition of what the Under Secretary of state had said in Parliament earlier."¹³

The Odias of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam Agency submitted a representation to the Government of India retaking all the grievances and arguments. They asked for the union of Odia-Speaking tracts of Madras with the new province of Bihar and Odisha, on the main ground that they were subjected to adverse influence under the Madras administration, involving to a great extent the practical abolition of their language and sacrifice of their national aspiration and characteristics. The Odias of Ganjam sent another memorial to Lord Hardinge praying for the inclusion of Ganjam in the new province.¹⁴ They continued their agitation but his Excellency Lord Hardinge expressed his inability to regard the transfer of the Odia-Speaking areas of the Madras Presidency as "desirable and necessary".

In December 1913 the Governor Lord Pentland visited Ganjam but did not make any commitment. In 1914 A.D. the Raja of Dharakote, Sri Madan Mohan Singh Deo delivered a speech in Madras Legislative Council to separate Jeypore from Visakhapatnam district. The amalgamation was much opposed by Telugus of Ganjam district.¹⁵ They started counter movement and

persuaded the Odias to remain with Madras where they would enjoy better privileges.¹⁶

A memorandum submitted to Lord Pentland at Brahmapur for a special electorate for the Odias of Madras Presidency was rejected.¹⁷ The Odias of Ganjam district demanded to get at least five seats in proportion to their number and pleaded for the reservation of seats for the Odias.¹⁸ A public meeting was held at Brahmapur on 28th January 1920 on behalf of "Ganjam District Odia Association" with the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi in the chair. It demanded an administrative union of Odia tracts and more seats in Madras Legislative Council. It was decided in the meeting to send a deputation to the Governor of Madras to redress their grievances.¹⁹ During this period the Telugus made a counter organization to oppose the amalgamation of Ganjam district with Odisha. Thus from 1906 A.D to 1916 A.D the Odia Movement was very active under the aegis of Utkal Sammilani and gave a patriotic sense to the young Raja Ramachandra Mardaraj of Khallikote.

On 20th February 1920 Sachidananda Sinha moved a resolution in the Imperial Council.²⁰ In the same year resolutions were tabled in the Legislative Councils of Bihar-Odisha and Madras to effect unification of Odia-speaking areas and bringing them under the administration. Sri Sashibhusan Rath moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council to transfer the Odia-Speaking areas of Madras to Bihar and Odisha Province.²¹ The Government of Madras opposed the transfer of Odia-speaking areas on the plea that such transfer involved administrative and financial complications. Other Governments also reported haphazardly. So the Government of India through their independent agency sought to further ascertain the popular opinion of the Odia-speaking tracts. It was proposed to depute two

officers to Ganjam and Visakhapatnam Agency for enquiry.²²

Ramachandra Mardaraj was also a true nationalist. He was working sincerely for both the independence of India and amalgamation of Odia speaking areas. When the peasant movement was gaining ground in Odisha under the leadership of Biswanath Das in 1927 against the land revenue and atrocities met by the managers, Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the Rambha palace during his visit to Odisha. He did not hesitate to invite Mahatma Gandhi to his palace in December 1927 knowing fully well that Gandhiji was the enemy of British Government. Gandhi stayed at Rambha Royal Palace from 29 December 1927 to 1st January 1928.²³ The sympathetic attitude of Gandhiji towards Odias attracted the attention of Ramachandra Mardaraj. Earlier in 1921 A.D Gandhiji told in a public meeting on Odia-Telugu dispute: "Before the sun rises tomorrow the Odia-Telugu dispute should be settled and strong Andhras must yield to the weak Odias."²⁴

In 1922, he was nominated as president of the Ganjam District Board. As President of Ganjam District Board, he laid stress on two very important items: the Communication and Education. Under his leadership, Bridges over all the Rivers and Rivulets of the district were constructed, Roads were upgraded. Ganjam was the only district where communication became smooth and remote corners became accessible. The District Board opened Primary, Middle English Modern Vernacular and High Schools in all corners for the education of the rural poor.

Then came the challenge to meet with and convince the Philip-Duff Committee which was set up in 1924 to ascertain the attitude of the Odias under the Madras Presidency towards merger with Odisha. According to the decision of Government of India, C.L. Philip and A.C Duff, two officers were appointed in 1924 A.D to make

detailed enquiry on the spot regarding the attitude of the Odia inhabitants of the Madras Presidency towards the question of amalgamation of the tracts inhabited by them with Odisha. The appointment of the Committee brought a ray of hope and Raja Ramachandra was sincerely seized with the work of organizing people for meeting with the committee and registering their positive consent.²⁵

The commission also visited Visakhapatnam district whereas the Maharaja of Jeypore gave his opinion against the amalgamation, the Odia inhabitants of the district strongly supported the proposed union. The Utkal Samaj of Visakhapatnam met on 2nd October 1924 with Sri Vikram Dev Verma in chair and passed a resolution for merger.²⁶ But the Commission followed the census report of 1921 A.D for their enquiry and stated in their report that excepting Koraput, Jeypore and Nabarangpur Taluks nowhere the Odias formed majority in the Visakhapatnam agency. The Commission visited Ganjam district next. All the Zamindars of the district assembled on 22nd November 1924 and resolved in favour of amalgamation. In their evidence to the Commission, the Zamindars of Parlakhemundi, Khalilikote, Athagarh, Dharakote, Manujsa, Chikiti, Badagda, Sheragarh, Tekkali, Surangi, Nadigram, Tarala, Bobbili and Jalantara etc. expressed desire to be transferred to Odisha. Mr. C.L. Philip and Mr. A.C. Duff came to Rambha, stayed in the palace from 17th to 21st December 1924 as guests of the Rajasahib, Ramchandra Mardaraj. A well attended public meeting was organized at Khallikote garh and the Committee was greatly impressed to observe the eagerness of the people for merger of Ganjam with Odisha.²⁷ Ramachandra Mardraj convinced the Commission giving all the logical arguments for the amalgamation of Odia-Speaking areas.²⁸

The meeting was first of its kind at Khallikote. Everywhere in Ganjam the

Commission got the positive response for the amalgamation of Odia-Speaking areas. As regards the opinion of the people of these areas the Commission wrote, "Very little comment is needed for whenever any opinion was expressed at all, it was distinctly in favour of amalgamation". The amalgamation of entire Ganjam district excepting Chicacole and Narsanapetta Talukas were considered desirable. The report of the Committee was in favour of amalgamation. In a significant opinion, the Committee stated that Odia influence was prevailed to the north of Narsanapeta and Ganjam, and from Tekkali to Khallikote should go to Odisha. Before that, Mr. Lassen had placed the linguistic boundary of Odisha at Chicacole while W.W. Hunter fixed the Odia boundary line at Ichapur. The movement for unification of Odisha was relentlessly carried on. Other stalwarts of Ganjam like Sri Krishnachandra Gajapati, Raja Gourachandra Deb, Sashibhusan Rath, Niranjana Patnaik were at the fore front. In such an august movement, Raja Ramachandra Mardraj carved out a special place for him and was immediately recognized as the most resourceful leader.²⁹ While recommending amalgamation of several areas, the Commission never did full justice to the people of Odisha. Anyway the Commission gave the following concluding views, "our enquiry has shown that there is a genuine long standing and deep seated desire on the part of educated Odia classes of the Odia Speaking tracts of Madras for amalgamation of these tracts with Odisha under one administration of the Odia province on the basis of language."

The Simon Commission was appointed to review the functioning of India Act 1919. Sir John Simon came to India with an open mind. But the Congress decided to boycott the Royal Commission. The leaders of Utkal Union Conference saw in the Commission a golden

opportunity. A high delegation of the body welcomed the Commission at Patna Railway Station when others were showing black flags.³⁰ The delegation met the Commission and placed before them the just demands of the Odias. The Members of the Commission were well pleased and fully convinced and expressed favourable opinion for the formation of the new state of Odisha. As recommended by them a Boundary Commission under the Chairmanship of S.P. O'Donnell was constituted with T.R. Phukan of Assam and H.P. Meheta of Bombay as its Members. The Commission visited different places and came to Gopalpur on 15th December 1931. Raja Ramachandra Mardraj helped the Commission with full support. But perhaps due to contrivance of forces at Madras, there came unfortunately a dismal report for the Odias. They, most injudiciously, recommended for exclusion of areas south to Brahmapur, Parlakhemundi and Jeypore Estates from the proposed Odisha State. At this, the hopes of the Odias were greatly shattered. The Maharaja of Paralakhemuni and Raja Ramachandra Mardraj were taken aback. There arose a strong public opinion against this senseless report throughout Odisha.³¹ The Commission fixed the boundary in such a strange and impractical manner that the line passed through villages dividing streets, houses and water sources and even to-day, disputes over the boundary problem in 63 boarder villages are waiting disposal in the Supreme Court of India. The decisions of the Commission were so partial and superfluous and unwanted that one can never dream of full fledged Odisha.

When the O'Donnell Commission report was debated in the Madras Legislative Council, Raja Ramachandra Mardraj as a prominent member of the body strongly opposed to its recommendations placing figures and evidences. But nothing just was to be expected from the

Government at Madras as they were known to be standing tooth and nail against the formation of Odisha from the days of Rishley. On 2nd August, 1932, when the Raja of Bobbili stated in the Madras Council that the case of Odisha would be taken up later, Raja Ramachandra Mardaraj of Khallikote protested and alleged that the Madras Council had been opposing the creation of Odisha. Ramchandra Mardaraj further stated that there were only three Odia members among the total members of 132 in the Madras Council, and hence, it would be better if the vote was not taken on the question of Odisha. He said: "We do not have a University of our own. The Madras University situated 700 miles away has done nothing for Odisha."

On 11th August, 1932, the Secretary, Utkal Samaj Vizagpatnam wrote to Satyanarayan Rajguru, and the members of Amalgamation Committee of Parlakhemundi stating the malicious propaganda carried on by the Telugu against the formation of a United Odisha through Press and Platform. On 21st August, 1932, there was an emergency meeting of Utkal Union Conference at Berhampur. The meeting was inaugurated by the Raja of Khallikote, Sri Ramchandra Mardraj and presided over by Lakshmidhar Mahanty, the then member of Bihar-Odisha Legislative Assembly. In this conference discussions were held on the O' Donnel Report. Raja Ramachandra Mardraj while inaugurating the Conference forcefully emphasized on the merger of entire Odia tracts in Madras Presidency with Odisha.³²

The meeting passed the following important proposals: (1) Odisha should be created as a separate state as soon as possible (2) Ichapur, Mandasa, Budharsingh, Jalantara, Tarala, Tekkeli, Sompeta Taluks and Singhbhum district, the other Odia speaking tracts of Phuljhar and Raipur district, and South Western part of Midnapore should be included in the proposed Odisha Province.³³ Maharaja Krishnachandra

Gajapati gave a marked philip to the Odia cause in the Round Table Conference at London and was able enough to get the announcement for creation of a separate province for the Odias. The report of Simon Commission led to the summoning of the Round Table Conference in London in 1930 A.D.³⁴

Three Round Table Conferences were held in 1930, 1931 and 1932 to decide the future of the new constitution of India. Odisha question was decided in the very first conference. Before the Third Round Table Conference the Odisha Boundary Committee was appointed to review the boundary line of the proposed Odisha Province. In December 1932 Raja Ramachandra Mardaraj was invited to London as a representative of the zamindars of south India for the 3rd Round Table Conference. The Third Round Table Conference was held during November 17th to 24th December in which Lord Sankey was the President. Raja Ramachandra Mardraj of Khallikote with his Secretary Jagan Mohan Patnaik left Madras on 17th November, 1932 for London to participate in the Round Table Conference. At the moment of his departure, the Raja Ramachandra Mardraj said: "I am the only representative of India on behalf of the Land holders. "I will try my best for the amalgamation of Odia-Speaking tracts into Odisha state." The member of Indian Legislative Assembly Bhubanananda Das, on the eve of his departure to London in order to attend the Round Table Conference, stated that "he was going as a delegate on behalf of the people of Odisha and he would do his best for its unification. Further, he pointed out that he would collaborate with the Nationalist Representatives in respect of establishment of federal, financial and other matters."³⁵

On 7th December, 1932, Ramachandra Mardraj spoke on the case of Odisha in the Third Session of Round Table Conference.

Subsequently, the matter was considered in the federal finance committee which favoured the creation of Odisha. He snatched this opportunity and appropriated everything out of the same. In the Round Table Conference, his arguments were forceful, to the point and data based. He was listened to with attention and concern. He practically raised a strong voice in favour of the separate state for Odisha, the question which was previously raised in the first Round Table Conference by Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati. During the course of Third Round Table conference, Ramachandra Mardaraj presented a note on boundaries of Odisha province with a forwarding letter. In the note Ramachandra Mardaraj pointed out in detail the boundaries of Odisha province. At first he conveyed the grateful thanks of twelve millions of Odia-Speaking people to his Majesty's Government and particularly to the Secretary of the State for the declaration that Odisha should be made a separate province, simultaneously with the new Constitution. Thereby, the Secretary of State had won over the loyalty and devotion of over 12 million Odias living in British India, to the British crown and to the new Constitution as well. Maharaja of Parlakhemundi greeted him and sent a message to Ramachandra Mardaraj eulogizing his effort in London for the amalgamation of Odia-Speaking tracts. The message of Parlakhemundi Maharaja was like this:

Rajah of Khallikote

Delegate Round Table Conference, London

Your speech seventh. Hearty Congratulation. Much gratified. Keep it up old boy. Despatched copies. Mail sixth. Hindu forth for circulation with a note deputation group. Don't ignore south and Singhbhum.

Parlakemidy
8.12.32

The real meaning of the letter was: "Hearty congratulation for your speech on 7th December 1932 at the Round Table Conference. I was very much inspired and gratified by your speech. Keep it up. I sent two newspapers-Mail of 6th December and Hindu of 4th December for circulation and notice of the delegation group from Odisha. Do not forget to demand for amalgamation of Odia-speaking people living in South and Singhbhum areas of Bihar.

The Government of India agreed with the suggestion of the Simon Commission and appointed the Boundary Commission for Odisha with S.P. O'Donnel as the Chairman. The terms of the Committee were to examine and report on the financial and other consequences at setting up of a separate administration for Odisha and make recommendations regarding the adjustment of boundaries. Memorandums were submitted to it by Utkal Sammilani and many other Odia associations. The Committee also visited Gopalpur-on-sea on 15th December 1931 and Parlakhemundi on 16th December 1931 to take oral evidences.

Ramachandra Mardaraj helped the Committee in giving all the evidences for the purposes. Sashibhusan Rath, Niranjan Pattanayak, Shrikrushna Mahapatra, Laxmidhara Mahanty, Biswanath Mishra, Bhubanananda Das, Lingaraj Panigrahi, and Laxminarayan Pattanayak were the members of the witness committee. A huge gathering welcomed the Committee at the Brahmapur Railway Station. During this time the people of Ganjam were going to Rangoon for numeral works for livelihood. They were gathering at Gopalpur before one or two days for boarding the ship. The Raja of Khallikote, Ramachandra Mardaraj motivated the members of the O'Donnell Committee to witness the people gathered for sea journey in nearby places. The Odia people of Ganjam gathered in and around

Gopalpur for sea journey to Rangoon showed some Odia books like Mahabharat, Ramayan, Kabyas of Upendra Bhanja, Kabisurya Baladev Rath, and Kabi Jadumani. After giving their views they demanded for the amalgamation of Odia speaking tracts in Odisha. The Committee was pleased to consider the demands of Odia people and recommended that if the province was to be created it should include the Odisha Division consisting of Cuttack, Puri, Baleswar and Sambalpur districts, Anugul, the Khariar Zamidary of Raipur district and the greater part of the Ganjam district and Vizagapatnam Agency Tracts.³⁶

In the Ganjam district though the Committee recommended the inclusion of plains and agency areas, it excluded areas like Ichapuram, Manjusa, Budarsingh, Jalantara, Tekkali and Tarala. In case of Parlakhemundi, the Chairman of the Committee disagreed with his two colleagues and recommended for its attachment to the Madras Presidency. The O'Donnell Committee's report was very much opposed by the Odia leaders. The Raja of Parlakhemundi in a note to the Government of Madras opposed the O'Donnell Committee Report.³⁷

After the publication of Odisha Committee report a special conference of Utkal Sammilani was held at Brahmapur. The President of this meeting was Rai Bahadur Laxmidhara Mahanty and Ramachandra Mardaraj was its inaugurator. In his speech Ramachandra Mardaraj strongly criticized to the unreasonable demands of "Andhra Mahasabha" which was held at Vijayawada. He also pointed out the mistakes of O'Donnell Committee report giving some solid examples in the financial matters. Lastly he said that "under the able guidance of the President, the deliberations that will take place this afternoon will mark an epoch in the annals of our country and will result ultimately in the inauguration of Young Odisha in and the ideal homogenous,

compact little province with Brahmin-non-Brahmin feelings, no Hindu-Muslim troubles and other communal strifes of which we have quite enough in India".³⁸

On 24th December 1932 there was a meeting under Presidentship of Lord Sankey. The Secretary of the State, Sir Samuel Hoare, took an active part in the discussions regarding the formation of a new province like Odisha and Sindh. He lastly announced that, "let me say a word upon another side of this part for discussion. For the last two years we have discussed the question of certain new Provinces. We have discussed the question of Sindh from the very opening of our deliberations two years ago. Last year we discussed in detail for the first time the question of Odisha. Since those discussions have had expert inquiries into both questions".³⁹

Raja Ramachandra Mardraj always held that the new province was to be formed as per the recommendations of Philip-Duff Committee and anything less was unacceptable. To augment his approach for earning the sympathy of British Government he hosted the famous Odisha Banquet on 12th January 1933 and invited Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India to grace the same.⁴⁰

Sir Samuel was well pleased to be at the Banquet and there was all indication of his full support for Odisha in his short speech before the dignitaries and august participants. When the announcement about the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts was announced in London, on receiving this grand news, the great Maharaja the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi, Sri Krishnachandra Gajapati was overjoyed and cabled to Raja Ramachandra Mardaraj from Odisha on 31.12.1932:⁴¹

My dear Khallikote,

Hearty congratulations on your most wonderful and historical achievement for the

Odias. I do hope you got my cable and will stay on until the details are worked out.

Do not back upon your evidence before the O'Donnell Committee at Gopalpur under any circumstances i.e. You do not want one to be left behind and the rest of Ganjam to go to Odisha. Don't you think it will be hopelessly a charitable to leave me where. I am, after utilizing my service to this extent ? If you find it inconvenient to stay until the details are worked out you should prevail upon Mr. B. Das at least to stay on there, we shall of course find his future expenses. I am on my way back from Ranchi.

With warmest and renewal congratulations.

Yours Very Sincerely,

31.12.1932

Thus 24th December, 1932 was a historic day for Odia people, as on this day, the Secretary of State Sir Samuel Hoare declared in the Round Table Conference that Odisha would be made a separate State. Telegrams were sent by Ramchandra Mardraj from London requesting the people of Odisha to organize meetings to think the Secretary of State for declaring the creation of a separate Odisha Province.⁴² Consequently, the Raja Saheb of Khallikote submitted a memorandum to the British Government regarding the boundary of Odisha and requested the British Government to direct the Secretary of State to issue instructions to the Government of India to settle the electoral and other details. The memorandum pinpointed how O'Donnell scheme fell short of the legitimate demands of the Odias. The memorandum also drew the attention of the British Government to the report of Phillip-Duff Committee, and Atlee Sub-Committee of the Simon Commission in the regard of Odisha. Ramchandra Mardaraj assured the British Government that he would be available in London until about mid-January, 1933 and would be

pleased to discuss the issue. He urged for a final decision on Odisha boundaries at an early date.⁴³

After the deliberations in the Round Table Conferences, the British Government constituted the Joint Parliamentary Committee to initiate further steps in the matter. Raja Ramachandra Mardaraj appeared before the J.P.C. in 1933 and again placed the just cause before them. He was accompanied by intellectuals like Justice Lingaraj Panigrahi, Bhubanananda Das, Jagan Mohan Patnaik and few others where he participated in the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1934 A.D. at London. On 12th January 1933 Ramachandra Mardaraj gave a grand reception to Sir Samuel Hoare at Coleridge Hotel, London. Sir Samuel Hoare replying to the toast of his health at dinner said, "In this connection I must note the observations of Maharaja of Khallikote, the 10 million Odias are completely satisfied with the results of the Round Table Conference. After the heroic announcement of the Secretary of State of London, the Andhras were not happy at all. They tried their best not to include Parlakhemundi and Jeypore in Odisha. But Ramachandra Mardaraj strongly protected and demanded giving sufficient reasons for the inclusion of Parlakhemundi and Jeypore. The attempts of Raja were highly praised by the Raja of Parlakhemundi."⁴⁴

Consequent upon the decision at the Round Table Conference, the British Government was set for the reform of the Indian Constitution, the draft proposals which were embodied in the "White Paper", published on 17th March 1933. The "White Paper" proposed to create two new provinces-Sindh and Odisha. In case of the boundaries of the new province of Odisha, it accepted the recommendations of the O'Donnell Committee with certain modifications. It excluded the Vizagapatnam Agency and Parlakhemundi estates and Jalantar Maliahs in the Ganjam Agency from proposed Odia province.

Ramachandra Mardaraj expressed his disappointment for the exclusion of some of the Odia speaking areas from the proposed Odia provinces. He issued a statement to the press on Odisha boundary questions. In his statement he had clearly shown the justifications of the inclusion of the above areas. Being the leader of a deputation he presented a memorandum to the Governor of Madras.

The 23rd session of the Utkal Union Conference held at Berhampur under the Presidentship of Krushna Chandra Gajapati, strongly demanded the integration of the Estates of Parlakhemundi and Yeypore with Odisha. The Raja of Khallikote, Ramchandra Mardraj initiated discussion pertaining to the 'White Paper' of 17th March 1933, in the Madras Council on 23, March, 1933 and asserted that it was unfortunate that the White Paper did not give weight to the arguments on the basis of which the Raja of Parlakhemundi took up the issue in the 1st session of the Round Table Conference.⁴⁵

According to the resolution of Government of India on 24th June 1933 the Odisha Administrative Committee was appointed with J.A.Habor as the Chairman. Before the Joint Parliamentary Committee made its recommendations on the boundary issue, the Secretary of State, appointed an internal committee to report on the boundary question. The Secretary of State asked the Government of India and the Madras Governor to submit their respective views to place before the Committee. He also decided to consult O'Donell who was the chairman of Odisha Boundary Committee.⁴⁶

Such a decision led to intensive political activities both in London and India. An Odia delegation consisting of seven members met the Secretary of State and submitted the representation. Ramachandra Mardaraj was a member of the delegates. He gave valuable

evidences before the Joint Parliamentary Committee regarding the current Indian Constitutional reforms and also regarding the expansion of Odisha's boundaries. The note of Odisha's Boundaries was mainly prepared under the guidance of Ramachandra Mardaraj Dev.

Finally the Joint Committee made the recommendations. A separate province of Odisha would however be perhaps the most homogenous province in the whole of British India in terms of both racially and linguistically.⁴⁷

The Government of India Act 1935 was adopted, in Clause 289 of which the formation of Odisha as a separate province was provided for. The much awaited Odisha of our dreams was born on 1st April 1936 with six districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Koraput. In the hall of Ravenshaw College, Sir Courtney Terrel, the Chief Justice of Patna High Court administered the oath of Office to Sir John Austin Hubback as the first Governor. In spite of vigorous attempts at all levels and consistent movements, Odia tracts like Tekkali, Tarala, Manjusha, Jalantar, Budharsingi, Ichapur Udyan and 2/3rd of Paralakhemundi Zamindari could not come to Odisha. About six lakh disappointed Odias remained in the Madras Presidency. Their hopes and aspirations are still not understood and taken care of. In the year 1937, the first Odisha Legislative Assembly was formed to which Raja Mardraj was elected as a member. He became a Member of Indian Central Legislature from 1945-51. He was elected to Odisha Assembly from Khallikote Constituency in 1951 and from Kodala in 1957.⁴⁸ Ramachandra Mardaraj earned a good name in the Odisha Legislative Assembly both as a legislator and as a minister. He was a member of Indian Central Legislature from 1945-51. After the new Constitution came into force he was elected twice to the Odisha Legislative Assembly in 1951 from Khallikote constituency and in 1957 from Kodala constituency.⁴⁹

After the formation of Odisha as a new province then came the general election to the 60-member State Assembly in January 1937—the first ever poll in the new-born province. For the Congress it was a great challenge. The very thought of fighting against the combined strength of the resourceful Zamindars sent shivers down the spine of many a Congress leaders. Mahatab retired to his Ashram at Agarapara practically boycotting the poll. Very few were optimistic of the Party's success. The organization was so weak that it was difficult even to get persons brave enough to fight election on Congress ticket. The election took place in January 1937 on the basis of limited franchise. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 60 seats—of which 56 were open to contest and four were reserved for nominated representatives of backward tribes. The principal contestant parties, besides the Congress, were the National Party of the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi; The United Party of (Raja) S.N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika and the Independent Party of (Raja) Ramachandra Mardaraj Dev of Khallikote. The Congress party successfully appealed to the rural masses in the magic name of Mahatma Gandhi. The short tour of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the second week of November 1937, immediately before the election, also exercised magnetic influence on the minds of the voters in favour of the Congress.⁵⁰

The outcome was a landslide victory for the Congress. Fresh hurdles stood in the way of the Odisha Congress party. The Congress protested against the Governor's special powers of interference and declined to accept the office. In the circumstances the Governor of Odisha, J.A. Hubback invited the National Party leader, K.C. Gajapati Narayan Dev, the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi, to form the ministry in 1937. The minority Ministry of Parlakhemundi was in an anomalous position. It would have been defeated had the legislature met. The three months that

followed the constitutional problem created by the Congress party's refusal to accept office, gave rise to much political excitement. Realizing the untenability of the situation the Viceroy made a statement in June 1937 clarifying the constitutional position virtually backing out of his earlier posture. The misgivings were over, the Congress decided in July 1937 to accept office. The Maharaja of Parlakhemundi tendered his resignation. Biswanath Das came into power on July 19, 1937. But things inside the Congress hardly looked up. Intra-party quarrel intensified instead of abating. The ministry did not last beyond October 1939 when it had to resign in pursuance of the Congress resolution not to co-operate with the British war effort. Odisha came under the direct Governor's rule for the first time and the Assembly was kept in animated suspension. Nilakantha Das and Godavarish Mishra, openly flouting the Congress directive, made a bid for an alternative Ministry under the leadership of Raja of Khallikote, Ramachandra Mardaraj Dev.

But it was torpedoed by Mahatab, Biswanath Das and Nabakrushna Choudhary. Then a three-member Cabinet headed by Gajapati Narayan Dev and with Godavarish Mishra and Sobhan Khan as Ministers assumed office in November 1941. But the inner contradictions among the Coalition Partners, which remained under the carpet during the Ministry-Making exercise, were soon manifesting over the share of spoils. The Raja of Khallikote, his aspirations for the office of the Chief Minister having been dashed, wanted to be the National War Front leader for Odisha a prize post blessed by the British Rulers. The Raja was not only a very popular figure of Ganjam but was also on the good book of the British who naturally wanted him to adorn the post. But here also he had a formidable contestant in Nilakantha Das who had preferred the War Front Office to a ministerial

berth for certain reasons. The Raja sought to prejudice the British Governor against Das kicking up a row over the publication of a book on Subhas Chandra Bose which came out from the printing press owned by Das and heavily subsidized by the Government. At the instance of Governor the press was searched and the book proscribed. But eventually, on the recommendation of the Ministry, Das was nominated by the Governor as the National War Front Leader. But the book episode cleft the tie between the two architects of the second Coalition Ministry-Nilakantha Das and the Raja of Kallikote.⁵¹

As the leader of National War Front, he took extensive tour all over India particularly the military training camps, strategic points and manufacturing centers. The most important strategic points he visited were Quetta and Khyber Pass in the North West Frontier Province. Everywhere Mardraj visited, he advised the government that the army of caste, creed or language should be amalgamated. He was in favour of christening the Indian Army accordingly by the name of a respective caste. He suggested for the abolition of the Auxiliary forces and reorganization of Indian Territorial Army. He also pleaded for the establishment of a military cantonment at Cuttack in the province of Odisha. He donated two thousand rupees for the benefit of Royal Indian Navy and it was he who gave valuable suggestions for its improvements. For his honest work during the war, he was extremely admired by the British authorities.⁵²

In 1957 Ramachandra Mardaraj was elected from the Kodala constituency on Congress ticket and became a cabinet minister in the Nabakrushna Choudhary ministry. He was given the portfolio of River Valley development, Capital Construction, Vigilance, Administrative Tribunal and Rourkela Affairs.⁵³ He was also a

cabinet minister from 1957-61. He earned the title of Raja in 1934, Raja Bahadur in 1937 and Sir in 1945 as a mark of distinction from the British Government. The Raja Sahib was a very good host. The Grand Rambha Palace had the privilege of having Mahatma Gandhi in December, 1927; Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, U.N. Dhebar, Lalbahadur Sastri in May 1955 and Dr. Radhakrishnan in 1958. The British Governor Generals and Governors also paid visit to this palace. Here was born the Utkal Sammilani which worked for formation of Odisha. The Snodgrass House is definitely a National Monument and a Centre of Pilgrimage for all people of Odisha. He was a patriot, an educationist, a politician, a Raja and a social worker rolled into one. He was a great supporter of education. It was due to his upbeat endeavour the Khallikote College at Brahmapur was established. It was due to his sincere efforts that Science Colleges at Khallikote and Hinjilicut were established. He also founded a Girl's High School and a Boy's High School at Brahmapur. Hence he started an era of cultural and political renaissance in Odisha through the spread of education. He was a front ranking leader of Odia Nationalism. This great soul of Odisha breathed his last in 1963.⁵⁴ The contribution of Ramachandra Mardaraj was remarkable for the amalgamation of Odia speaking tracts. He devoted his entire life for the greater cause of Odisha and the Odias. The pioneer of the Odisha Movement, builders of Separate Odisha Province, accomplishment towards formation of modern Odisha will be remembered forever. He has carved a niche for himself in the annals of Odisha history.⁵⁵

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Role of Venketeshwar Deo on Odia Movement

Chittaranjan Mishra

Odisha disintegrated after 1568, with the death of Mukunda Dev, the last independent ruler in Gohiri Tikir War. The Bhois in Khurda, the Bhanjas in Ghumsur and Mayurbhanja and the Chauhans in Sambalpur rose into prominence. The attempts of the Mughals, the Maratha and the French failed to consolidate their position for a longer period in Odisha. But very cunningly and diplomatically the Britishers became successful to establish their control and political influence over Odisha by suppressing the Mughals, Maratha and French power. East India Company conquered Odisha in a phased manner, first the Southern part, then the coastal region and finally the Sambalpur and the adjoining tracts. For their administrative convenience they integrated Southern Odisha with Madras Presidency in 1766, the coastal Odisha with Bengal Presidency in 1803 and the Western Odisha with Central Provinces in 1849. Both official and non-official attempts were made to introduce Bengali in Balasore District, Telugu in Ganjam and Koraput Districts and Hindi in Sambalpur District. This territorial dismemberment of Odisha injuriously affected linguistic, cultural and economic interests of the Odias. As a result Odia language and culture was in a grave danger. Observing this pathetic condition of Odisha Raja of Manjusa remarked in the Tenth session of Utkal Union Conference

held at Paralakhemundi on 26-27 December 1914 that “Can you say that I am alive if you cut off my head and keep it at Ranchi, throw my trunk into the Bay of Bengal and keep up my legs in the Madras Hospital ? This is the condition of our Utkal Mother who is lying dead being disfigured and separated from her body. “In the year 1902 Ganjam Odias sent a memorandum to Lord Curzon in which they spoke of themselves as “a limb separates from the body.”

In course of time the enlightened and progressive minded Odias were greatly alarmed at the increasing socio, political, economic and cultural backwardness of Odisha and prepared themselves to face the challenge for amalgamation of Odia speaking tracts. The pioneer of this movement was Katingia Raja Venketeshwar Deo.

‘Katingia was a small Zamindari of Kandhamal District which is presently situated in Daringbadi Panchayat of Balliguda Sub-Division. King Harihara Singh died heirlessly in 1851. Widow queen Padmavati Devi handed over the Zamindari to his younger brother Venketeshwar Deo in the year 1864 just two years before her death i.e. in 1866. Venketeshwar Deo was the younger brother of Chikiti Raja Pitambar Rajendra Deo and son of Nilambar Deo. He was a benevolent, and an Odia language lover king.

He shouldered the responsibility of Katingia Zamindari in a critical and crucial period. Odisha witnessed a devastating natural calamity i.e. famine of 1866. Its severity was so terrible that about a third of the population died. This ghastly nature of the famine displayed serious defects in British Administration and lamentable neglect of the vital problem of the development of Odisha.

To save Odisha from this grave danger and to awaken the Odia race a number of Associations were formed in different part of Odisha, such as “Utkal Bhasa Vidhayini Sabha”-1866, “Cuttack Debating Club”-1869, “Cuttack Young Men’s Association”-1869, “Odia Hitabadini Sabha”-1872 etc. Katingia Raja Venketeshwar Deo organized a meeting at Rasulkunda (Bhanjanagar) in 1870 to create intense love for Odia Language, to make Odias conscious about the dismemberment problem of Odisha and to instigate them to join in the Odia movement. He invited all the Associations, Rayat Heads, Mutha Heads, Zamidars, local Kings and some educated Odias to attend the conference.

This conference was a grand success one with the presence of the Rayat heads of Hadagada Mutha (Tikabali), Chakapad Khondam, Athar Mutha and Bara Mutha heads. The kings of Karada, Ranaba, Gadapur of Kandhamal District, the kings of Palur, Huma, Ganja, Mahuri, Surangi, Jarada, Purbakhanda, Khallikote, Athagada, Ghumsur, Sorada, Khemundi, Chikiti, Jalantar, Manjusha, Paralakhemundi, etc. also attended this conference. As a result “Odia Hitabadini Sabha” got its birth in the year 1872, with the leadership of Venketeshwar Deo. He acted as the Secretary of this Association and sent a memorandum to the Court of the Queen of England by the hands of Kalipada Bandopadhyaya, who had been to England to submit financial statement of Madras Presidency.

The gist of the memorandum was published in the “Utkal Dipika” on 18th October 1873, as follows:

1. Ganjam people may kindly be allowed to correspond their grievances in Odia script.
2. All records should be made in Odia.
3. Odia language should be the medium of education in all schools.
4. And, the students should allow to appear their examination in Odia script.

But to his misfortune he became the eyesore of the British Government. British Government became vigilant on Venketeshwar Deo. At last on 25th April 1874, Rupasingh with the help of local Kandha leader Parsuram Kanhar joined hands with British Agent Mr. Forbes and got a decree for the estate. Venketeshwar Deo was dethroned by the British authority and Raghunath Singh the illegitimate son of Rupa Singh was placed on the throne.

After loss of Zamindari, he became depressed, poverty stricken and ill. He was permitted to reside in Peda Khemundi (Bada Khemundi) region. Finally he was received a Sananda on payment of annual Nazarana of Rs.50/-. Atlast he passed away from this world in 1883 before the birth of Utkal Sammilani. The footprints he left on the soil of Odisha on the way of Odia movement will remain forever in the memory of Odias.

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Utkalmani Gopabandhu : The Man and His Mission

Dr. Saroj Kumar Panda

Pandit Gopabandhu Dash was popularly known as *Utkalmani* or the Gem of Odisha . He was born on 9th October 1877 at Suando village of Satyabadi in Puri district. He was son of Swarnamayee Devi and Daitari Dash. After completion of primary education in village school, Gopabandhu was admitted at Puri Zilla School in 1893 where he came in contact with a genius as well as nationalist teacher Mukhtiar Ram Chandra Dash. From him he learnt many nationalistic values.

He attended Ravenshaw College, Cuttack for higher study where he along with his friends like Brajasundra Das and Acharya Harihar Das made commitment to serve the poor and destitute. During this period he started *Kartavya Bodhini Samiti* (Duty Awakening Society) to encourage his friends to do their duty as citizens and take on social, economic and political problems. Earlier he had started a voluntary corps in Puri known as *Puri Seva Samiti* for the victims of cholera. This movement later led to establishment of a separate hospital

for cholera patients at Puri. He was leading a team to aid flood victims when he heard of his son's serious illness. But he remained to serve the locals rather than return home to see his son. His spirit of service and sacrifice finds an echo in his following lines, " Let my body mingle in the dust of my motherland and let my countrymen walk across it; and let my flesh and bones fill in the potholes of my country's self –independence."



While pursuing his study in Law in Kolkata, he started a Labour Union and founded night schools for Odia labours and cooks. During this time he came in contact with the *Vande Mataram* group which infused in him the Swedeshi spirit. His new mission was to reform society through improving the education system. After coming back from Kolkata, in August 1909, he established a school famous as *Satyabadi Vana Vidyalaya* at Sakhigopal near

Puri. Gopabandhu started this man-making factory by getting inspiration from Shanti Niketana which was set up earlier by Rabindranath Tagore. His main objective was to inculcate nationalism

and patriotism among the youths through education, so that they could be able to fight for social justice and political emancipation. Because Gopabandhu was aware of the then social maladies like casteism, superstitions, untouchability and lethargy. He wanted to remove these through progressive and humanitarian education.

During his youth, Gopabandhu was involved in literary activities and showed his excellence by stressing upon tradition. He believed that a national superstructure of the present can endure only if it is based upon the solid foundations of the national heritage. He also published a monthly literary magazine named *Satyabadi* through which he spread the message of nationalism to the masses. Later on 4th October 1919, on the auspicious day of *Vijayadashami* he started the weekly newspaper *The Samaj*. It became the most popular newspaper of Odisha.

Pandit Gopabandhu's political exposure began with *Utkal Sammilani* in 1903. He persuaded others to make the Odia movement a part of the Indian National Movement. In an article in *Satyabadi* he wrote, "It is not unlikely that Odisha may lose her identity altogether as result of the national movement; and we must be prepared for this supreme sacrifice. If like Dadhichi's sacrifice, Odisha's sacrifice can save the nation, won't it be our good fortune? But this was far from true because by restoring every part of the country to its natural health only the general health could be achieved. A healthy, prosperous and strong unified Odisha was the fulfillment of the national objective. Joining the national movement, was opening of the blood channel connecting Odisha with the rest of the country."

Gopabandhu Dash was member of Utkal Sammilani from 1903 to 1921. He was also a member of the old Bihar and Odisha Legislative Council from 1917 to 1921. He always laid emphasis and demanded for welfare of Odisha

like amalgamation of all the Odia-speaking tracts, permanent measures for the prevention of floods and famines in Odisha, the restoration of Odia's right to manufacture salt free from excise duty and spread of education on Satyabadi model. He was elected president of Utkal Sammilani in 1919. He also became the first President of the Congress Party in Odisha. On his request, Gandhiji visited Odisha in 1921. During Non-Cooperation Movement, Pandit Gopabandhu was arrested for two years. Gopabandhu was also the pioneer of press freedom in Odisha. On the request of Lala Lajpat Ray, he became a member of Servant of People Society and later in 1928 elected as the vice-President of the Society. He always laid stress on language as the foundation of unity and regarded politics as an instrument of service to the people.

Pandit Gopabandhu Dash was a versatile personality. He was an eminent writer and poet. He completed his education as an orphan and lost his wife and son when he was a young man. He carried on his writings even during this adverse conditions. Some of his poems like *Kara Kabita*, *Dharmapada*, *Bandira Atma Katha* etc. testify his writing skill. Gopabandhu fell ill when attending a fund raising ceremony in Lahore for the flood victims of Odisha. He never recovered and died on 17th June 1928. He was certainly the shining gem and great son of Odisha State.

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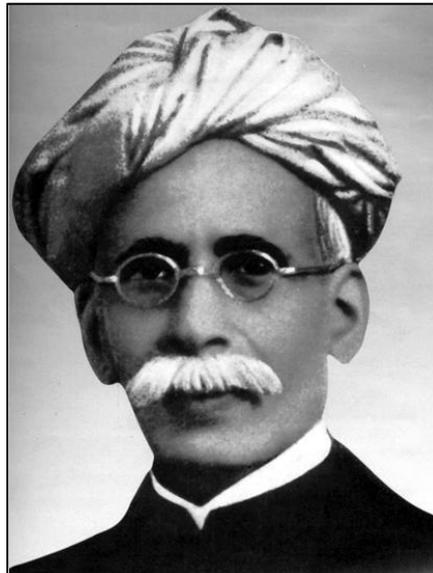
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Madhusudan Das : Icon of Odia Pride

Rabindra Kumar Behuria

“The last phase of the 19th century and the first phase of the 20th century witnessed a great awakening in Odisha. It was the phase of New Odisha in - making. The Odias during this phase got an identity consciousness. This identity needed to be asserted. Many persons and institutions were responsible for this resurgent trend in Odisha. Among them Madhusudan Das was very significant. His career in Odisha at least from the 1880’s till his death was entirely dedicated to the making of modern Odisha. He took a very prominent role in the amalgamation of different Odia-speaking tracts lying scattered in different neighbouring provinces into a great political entity. At the same time he attempted socio-economic and cultural progress of the Odias which would stabilise his political Odisha. He articulated many more problems of Odisha and asserted the identity of Odias in that crucial phase. In order to establish the identity of the Odias he closely connected himself with many elites and associations which demanded the reconstruction of Odisha. The



activities of Madhusudan were found to be expressed through the powerful national bodies like Utkal Sabha and Utkal Sammilani. In many respects he was the prophet of Odia nationalism” (Dash, K.C. Odisha Review. April – 2013, p-45)

Born on 28 April, 1848 from his father Raghunath Dash in the village Satyabhamapur, Cuttack, he was converted to Christianity that caused him boycotted in the village which he had to quit to erect a small house at the end of the village. The house was known as ‘Madhukothi’ or ‘Balipokharikothi’, later on used as the state office of the Kasturba National Memorial Trust, in a part of which was running the Anganabadi, Balbadi.

In 1864, he passed Matriculation from Cuttack and thereafter he was inclined to become a teacher and began his career as a teacher at Balasore for three years. The year 1866 was the year of a acute famine in Odisha, called the “Naanka Durviksha” When more than one lakh people died of hunger. In 1866 he passed

F.A. This year he converted himself to Christian and changed his name as Madhusudan Das from his earlier name of Gobinda Ballav Choudhury.

He stayed at Calcutta and obtained his degree of M.A and L.L.B from Calcutta University. In no time he became a famous advocate. In 1881, he became a part-time lecturer in Law Department of Ravenshaw College and thereafter started Law Practice. He was much disheartened at the attitude of the British Government to make Odias economically weak and uneducated. In this context, he inculcated the idea of political consciousness in the mind of the people. In 1885, Mr. Das became the Secretary of 'Utkal Sabha.' In the same year Richard Temple, the Lieutenant governor of Bengal came to Cuttack. Mr. Das appealed him with a memorandum to annex Sambalpur and Ganjam districts in Odisha. In the same memorandum he demanded to set up Railways, Artisan education and various industries in Odisha. In 1888, A.C. Belly, the Lt. Governor of Bengal was given another memorandum for the unification of all Odia speaking regions, spread of women education, smooth management of the temple of Lord Jagannath and adequate aid to the acute famine-stricken people of Odisha.

The quelling of the Paik Rebellion of 1857 demoralised the Odia Community. The East India Company subsequently made some constructive gestures and tried to establish a semblance of rule of Law. For example, it ushered in institutions of 'modernisation' like the school, the judiciary and land reforms. However, many Odias could not participate in the civilizing mission of the British because of their lack of will, poverty and state of demoralisation.

In fact, Bengalis started manning most of the Government jobs in Odisha. They spread their sub-colonizing tentacles by appropriating the

Zamidaries Estates in Odisha, especially after the promulgation of the Sunset Law. In order to perpetuate their hold over property, jobs and hence access to power, the Bengali elite wanted to valorize the Bengali Language and marginalize the local language Odia. Writing about the State of affairs, Mr. Nolan, Collector of Cuttack (1879) wrote: "It may be doubted whether the Odia is holding his own in the struggle for existence. The Bengali is ousting him from the land and service; the Bengal is the Marwaris and the Europeans, from trade; the Telugu from the rougher kinds of Labour."

In 1896 Mr. Das Was elected a member of a Legislative Council of Bengal for two years to Bengal-Bihar-Odisha State. In 1897 he went to England to raise his demands before the British Government. In 1902 the first Ganjam Sammilani was convened under the active support and cooperation of Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, the king of Kanika, Ramachandra Bhanja Deo, the king of Mayurbhanja Ramachandra Mardaraj, the king of Khallikote and Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Dev, the king of Parala to discuss about the issues relating to the Odia-speaking people. In 1903 the king of king of Khallikote and the king of Kanika highly praised Mr. Das for this Utkal Union Conference which was formed under his leadership. In every sphere Mr. Das raised the affairs of Odisha.

The basic objective of Utkal Union Conference was the merger of Odia – speaking Tracts. This objective was thus defined in the proceedings of the first session held at Cuttack in December 1903: "This Conference is called Utkal Sammilani (Utkal Union Conference). This Conference will adopt and implement measures for the welfare of all Odia-speaking tracts. The boundary of Odisha has been greatly reduced under the present Government. It is found that

predominantly Odia-inhabited areas like Sambalpur, Chhota Nagpur, Medinipur, Ganjam etc. are outside Odisha. Therefore all Odia-speaking tracts have been designated as 'Utkal' and this conference has been called Utkal Union Conference. Now Utkal Union Conference has been founded for the welfare of Odias."

Madhusudan took due note of the fact that in spite of the differences in religion and nationality those who were the inhabitants of Odisha spoke Odia, and that there were many domiciled Bengalis who had been identified themselves with Odisha, and that some of them like Gouri Shankar Ray, Ram Shankar Ray, Pyari Mohan Acharya, and Radhanath Ray had rendered services for the upliftment of Odia language and literature. Madhusudan intended Utkal Union Conference to be a national body in a regional setting. He observed in its second session, "In this conference representatives of various nationalities, such as Odias, Bengalis, Telgus, Rajputs and Marwaris are present. If this is not to be treated as an All India Body, Congress (National Congress) can not also be called a national body." Utkal Conference was the product of "the fertile genius" of Madhusudan who, by the force of his personality, could bring together the princes, zamindars, gentry and the poor, and different communities such as Hindus, Mussalmans, and Christians."

Madhusudan Das (1848-1934) - had three 'firsts' to his acclaim. He was the first Odia graduate, the first M.A. and the first one to hold a degree in law. His return from Calcutta after finishing studies unleashed a series of actions to rejuvenate the sagging Odia spirit. It was through a deeper insight that Madhubabu decided to fill up vacant political space. He realised that the formation of Utkal Sabha in Odisha was not enough; it has to align with a pan-national

organisation. The Indian National Congress was established around this time. Utkal Sabha was represented by Madhu Babu till 1908, so much so that it was considered to be a branch of INC. He was also able to get a proposal passed in the Congress against the salt tax imposed by the British. His next effort was to bring a resolution in the INC to unite the Odia-speaking areas in Madras, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. After this move was opposed by Bengalis - Tamils, Madhubabu got himself detached from the Congress.

In 1907 Madhusudan Das was elected a member of Legislative Assembly again. In 1908 he went to England and raised the demands of uniting all the Odia-speaking areas together before Lord Curzon who supported him whole heartedly. In 1911 being separated from Bengal, Bihar-Odisha became one state that disheartened and aggrieved Mr. Das. In 1914 he became the editor of the English paper "The Odia". In 1919 Mr. Das demanded a separate state before the Montague - Chelmsford Reformation Act, and (the reafter) before O'Donnel Committee. On 8 March 1923, Mahatma Gandhi came to Odisha and became the guest of Mr. Das at his home. In 1925, he observed the "Headless Day" of Odisha. In 1930 he took much strain to fix up the state boundary line between Bihar and Odisha. Next year he acted as a member of administrative council of Odisha. He took all out efforts from Odisha to England to make a separate State, but it is a matter of great regret that he passed away on 4 February 1934 before Odisha became a separate state on 1st April 1936.

Madhusudan was the pioneer of industrialisation and economic nationalism in Odisha. In 1897 he founded Odisha Art ware works, and in 1905 he set up Utkal Tannery to produce shoes and other leather products. He

viewed development indigenous industries as the key to economic regeneration and real self rule keeping in tune with the times and availability of resources, he reorganised the filigree works at Cuttack. Madhusudan wrote a number of articles on industrialisation and economic regeneration such as "Industrial Development" Industrial Awakening, "War is Business and Business is War" and "Freedom from Industrial Captivity" which were published in his English mouthpiece "The Odia". Regarding the commercial exploitation of India by England, Madhusudan observed in his presidential speech in Utkal Union Conference, held in 1913 : "when the English nation first came to India for trade in Bengal and Odisha, Pipili and Balasore were the centres of their trading activities. At that time, they were importing from Odisha and India, goods manufactured by indigenous artisans. As a result, sufficient wealth was flowing to this country. Now the situation is just reverse. If you go to the drawing room of any well educated person, you will find that almost all the articles kept there are foreign."

Madhusudan aimed at the merger of Odia tracts through Utkal Union Conference. He carried on his nation-building activities within a regional framework and pleaded for harmony among the various communities and linguistic groups and loyalty to mother India. He virtually dissociated himself from the Congress after the formation of Utkal Union Conference. When Gandhi started the Non-cooperation Movement, Madhusudan was neither in Utkal Union Conference nor in Congress. But the Gandhian Congress movement proceeded by accepting two important aspects of Madhusudan's paradigm on nationalism (1) the various provincial nationalities or linguistic groups were given due weightage and

allowed to form Provincial Congress Committee on linguistic basis, (As for example, though not a separate province in 1920-21, was allowed to form a Provincial Congress Committee). (2) a constructive programme was adopted by the Congress to add a positive dimension to anti-colonial movement. Last but not the least, to call him just an 'icon of Odia pride' is not enough. He was much more than an icon - a man of immense self-esteem.

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April 27: What it means to South Africans

Bishnupriya Padhi

The year 2014 represents a historic milestone of twenty years of freedom and democracy in South Africa. Given the manner in which South Africans were able to pull their country back from the brink of disaster, they have become an inspiration to the people elsewhere in the world who are seeking the resolution of serious conflicts. They are proud of their remarkable achievements. At a political level, they have consolidated liberal democracy and built strong institutions. They have representative legislatures, an independent judiciary, independent public audit, an independent Reserve Bank, and independent constitutional bodies to provide checks and balances and protect the rights of citizens. Their progressive Constitution have enabled them to enjoy freedom of movement and of association, the right to own property, the right not to be detained without trial, freedom of expression and freedom of the press, religious freedom and freedom of sexual orientation. Women have equal rights before the law which did not exist before 1994. Workers have 20 years of enjoying rights including trade union workplace organizing, collective bargaining, equal pay for equal work, health and safety, affirmative action, skills development, minimum wages for workers in vulnerable sectors, the right to strike, and the right to peaceful protest. All South Africans have the

right to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions, provided this is done peacefully and unarmed.

In the economic front, the South African economy has grown at a steady 3.2 per cent a year from 1994 to 2012. This is a marked improvement over pre-1994 growth rates. The number of people in employment grew by approximately 5.6 million between 1994 and 2013, or by 60 per cent. However, this growth rate is modest compared with other emerging economies of the world during this period. Central coordination of infrastructure delivery, through the Presidential Infrastructure Coordination Commission has improved delivery and assists to remove bottlenecks faster. Investments in infrastructure has increased further, including on much needed social infrastructure such as water, electricity, sanitation, schools, colleges and housing amongst others.

With regard to basic services, it is impressive that a number of Municipalities of South Africa which had little or no pre-existing institutional foundations have been able to deliver basic services to thousands of people who did not have them before in the past two decades. There are also increasing numbers of women looking for work, due to advances in gender

equality, which is another achievement of democracy and freedom that April 27 has ensured. Most of the achievements in reducing extreme levels of income poverty can be ascribed to government's comprehensive social protection programmes. This includes extensive income support programmes for close to 16 million orphans and vulnerable children, older persons and people with disability, among others. It also includes access to free education, primary health care and free basic services to indigent members of our society. Over 8 million school children are now benefiting from no-fee policies of South African Government. This has contributed to an increase in secondary school enrolment from 51 per cent in 1994 to around 80 per cent currently.

About 9 million children are benefitting from the school feeding scheme and this has ensured that learners no longer have to study on an empty stomach. While backlogs in school infrastructure remain, thousands of schools have been built and connected to water and electricity supply since 1994. About 370 modern schools were built over the past five years alone. In 2009, the education department was split into two, focusing on basic and higher education and training respectively, to ensure an intensive corrective focus in each sector. In the last five years, the Annual National Assessments (ANA) system was introduced to enable an objective assessment of the education system below Grade 12 for the first time. The relatively poor ANA results have demonstrated the extent of the apartheid damage. At the same time, the results also indicate that the system is starting to improve. University enrolment has almost doubled since 1994. There have also been huge increases in enrolments at further education and training (FET) colleges, following an intensive focus on these colleges in the past five years. The racial and gender composition of

the student body has been markedly transformed since 1994.

In the health sector, there have been marked improvements in access to healthcare services as well since 1994. In addition to free basic health care, more than 1 500 healthcare facilities have been built and existing ones have been revitalized over the past 20 years. One of the major challenges that confronted the democratic government of South Africa was the rapid rise in the HIV epidemic. The country's improved response to HIV and AIDS and TB has resulted in dramatic improvements in health outcomes, such as increased life expectancy, reduced infant and child mortality rates, and tuberculosis (TB) treatment outcomes. South Africa's HIV and AIDS response has now received international acclaim. There has also been a significant reduction in malaria cases and deaths due to malaria. Severe malnutrition have also significantly declined.

In the housing sector over the past 20 years, about 2.8 million government-subsidized houses and over 875 000 serviced sites were delivered. This has enabled more than 12 million people access to accommodation and an asset. Fifty six per cent of all housing subsidies allocated have been to woman-headed households. The proportion of people living in formal housing increased from 64 per cent in 1996 to 77 per cent in 2011.

The question of land remains a fundamental issue for those who were dispossessed in 1913. In 1994, 83 per cent of agricultural land was owned by whites with only 17 per cent being available to the black majority in the former homelands. Government of South Africa have introduced the Land Redistribution Programme in 1994. Under it, government have

redistributed 9.4 million hectares of land, benefiting almost a quarter of a million people. A land audit has been completed which will assist to identify further land for reform purposes. The Government is working to improve land valuation mechanisms and to reopen land claim opportunities for claimants who missed the opportunity in 1998. With regards to safety and security, the levels of serious crime and property crime have declined since 1994. The crime levels remain high, particularly crime against vulnerable groups such as women and children which require continued intensive focus. A range of institutions, laws and measures have been put in place since 1994 to counter corruption.

The legacy of apartheid that the South Africans inherited runs deep and still persists in some forms or the other. Systematic dispossession of land under both colonialism and apartheid; highly skewed racial distribution in land ownership and agricultural production as well as a struggling smallholder farming sector are some such anomalies. The system of reserves which was introduced under colonialism and later reinforced as homelands under apartheid left a legacy of poverty and underdevelopment in former homeland rural areas. The homeland system was also linked to the migrant labour system. This is one of the root causes of the unrest which they are currently experiencing in their mining sector. Racial segregation was also enforced in urban areas. In this regard, one of the biggest challenges which the democratic government has faced has been how to address the entrenched apartheid spatial patterns. For example, many poor people live in townships which are far from their places

of work, costing them more to get to work than those with the means. They are also still dealing with the impact of the Bantu education system which was designed to keep the black majority confined to unskilled labour. The provision of public health services and basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity and waste removal was also prioritized in white residential areas. This has caused a legacy of enormous backlogs in the infrastructure required to deliver these services.

April 27 popularly known as the Freedom Day decodes the legacy of apartheid and enables the people of the Rainbow nation to march on the road to freedom. Speaking at the first anniversary of South Africa's non-racial elections President Mandela said; "As dawn ushered in this day, the 27th of April 1995, few of us could suppress the welling of emotion, as we were reminded of the terrible past from which we come as a nation; the great possibilities that we now have; and the bright future that beckons us. Wherever South Africans are across the globe, our hearts beat as one, as we renew our common loyalty to our country and our commitment to its future. The birth of our South African nation has, like any other, passed through a long and often painful process. The ultimate goal of a better life has yet to be realized. On this day, you, the people, took your destiny into your own hands. You decided that nothing would prevent you from exercising your hard-won right to elect a government of your choice. Your patience, your discipline, your single-minded purposefulness has become a legend throughout the world..." Madiba's legacy remains a beacon of hope to the South Africans and to the humanity as well.

Satavahana Kings : Ruling in Odisha

Akhil Kumar Sahoo

According to *Bana's* story, foundation of *Kanva* dynasty was laid by king *Vasudeva*. But the theory which propounded that the *Kanvas* were driven out by the *Andhakas* may be a misplaced point in history. Rather, they adopted the name of *Andhakas* in a different time unknown to history; when out of their seven settlements named after as *Kanas*, or *Konas*, or *Angles*, some of them were destroyed by severe floods either of the *Sarayu* river, or of the *Mahi*, or *Dhanua* river, as their kingdom was found to have been established on the banks of these two rivers, thus, forcing them to change the name of their dynasty after a heavy loss due to severe flood. Ramagrama Tower from where relics of the Buddha was washed away by a similar flood was a fact recorded in history. And the *Andhaka* kings were found to have raised their capital around the same place as the Ramagrama Tower.

But there is another point which cannot be rejected on *Kanvas* being displaced or removed by the *Andhakas* also. There was a forest track in *Kosala* three leagues to the east of *Sravasti* which was called *Andhakavindhya*, or *Andhakavana*. The brigands were killing the persons passing through this forest track. Once, King *Paseandi* of *Kosala* was saved from being murdered by the brigands while passing through this forest track by the early warnings of the monks. Here *Sarata*, one pious follower of the

Kassapa Buddha, was murdered when he was returning home with money collected for building a *chaitya* for *Kassapa Buddha*. It is probable that the last king of the *Kanva* dynasty *Susarma* (28 BC) might have been killed by the *Andhakavana* brigands while he was passing through this forest track. And they might have captured in this way the throne of *Kosala* giving rise to the dynasty of the *Andhakas*. And we have villages in the Balipatna Block of Puri district, and also close to Nimapara in the name of *Andhaka*, *Andhakavindhya*, and *Sarata* to carry this point forward.

Skanda Purana which is considered as a local Purana in Odisha, gives an account on *Andhaka daityas* operating near Kasi, and the place under consideration is not far away from the capital of *Andhaka* kings. *Bahagabat Mahapurana*, in another account gives the lineage of the *Andhaka* kings as kings of *Ajodhya*, i.e. in *Kosala*. Perhaps, it is a story written much latter than the *Skanda*. But both the Puranas point to the same place in history. Sarala Dasa has written about one "*Andhaka Sarovara*", perhaps, it would be in *Kosala*.

Satakarni, the third king of *Andhaka* dynasty in the second century BC, was called the king of the west in the *Hathigumpha* inscriptions of *Kharavela*. He was dethroned by *Kharavela* as king of the *Kalinga* dynasty. *Kharavela* also

chased away the *Bhojas* and the *Rashtrikas* from their respective territories.

When the *Andhaka* dynasty was expanding its territorial ambition under its powerful king *Simuka*, in the last part of the third century BC, the king changed the name of the dynasty to *Satavahana*, the reason being unknown to history.

Their capital was at Dhanakakata, as noted by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century AD. Their ruling in eastern Malwa region has been confirmed by their coins. By the second century AD, the Saka dynasty of the Kshaharatas of the *east* uprooted the Andhras from the *south*. Goutamiputra's rise during AD 90-120 seems to have destroyed the rising power of the Sakas, Yavanas and the Pallavas, and the Kshaharatas. By the third century AD, and after Vasisthiputra, the rule of this dynasty came to an abrupt end, who was identified as Satakni, whom Rudradamana twice routed but could not destroy. The Andhaka dominion was divided between its two branches into Satavahana and Chutu under unknown circumstances. About the middle of the third century AD, their territory was shared by the Abhiras, Pallavas and Kadambas.

Nimapara is situated on the highway from Bhubaneswar to Konarka in an east-south-east direction, and is about twenty miles from the capital city. Near Nimapara, and before it, are villages in the name of *Ekama-kona*; *Oli-kona*; *Pora-kona*; *Kusi-kona*; and *Konapura*. And all the villages seem to have encircled the *Sana Sri Mukaha* village where the deity *Rukmini* is worshipped. The villages are tagged with the name "*kona*", or *Angle*, either at the end or at the beginning of their names. Deva Bodhisattva who was a disciple of Nagarjuna, flourished in the same time. He is also called "*Kana*" *deva*, because he gave one of his eyes to Maheswara, or because he bore out the eye of Maheswara. "*Kana*" means

"one eye", and also "perforated". He is also called Aryadeva. From the names of so many villages having "*kona*" or "*Kana*", attached to them, it seems, perhaps, Deva Bodhisattva was staying in this wonderful place where village *Chitra* and *Sagada* are situated. It was also the place of Lumbini garden where the Buddha was born. And Ajodhya of the Ramayana is also identified with the same place, as *A-yu-to* or present Atekuda is found nearby. (Beal, i.p.189 & 190n).

The most wonderful confirmation of the place as the seat of government of the Satavahana kings is derived from the second capital of Vidarbha, founded by *Rukmi*, the brother of *Rukmini*, who was the consort of Sri Krishna. There we find *Rukmini* as the presiding deity of the *Sri Mukha* village near village Lambilo. This *Rukmini* deity refers to the *Rukmini Tirtha* of the *Skanda* where people worship the deity as directed by the scriptures to beget a son, perhaps, like the Buddha. *Prachi Mahatmya*, which is considered as an important local Purana in Odisha, mentions about certain places like "*Sri Sthalas*", though in a veiled manner. This "*Sri Sthalas*", which is the other name for "*Sri Kshetras*", is not a single place, but it indicates a number of places where the name of the place starts with "*Sri*", and these places are linked to our ancient history in a broad way. This *Sri Mukaha* village near Nimapara is one of such villages. Others are: *Sri Koili*, *Sri Kanthapura*, *Sri Bantapura*, *Sri Chandanapura*, and *Sri Karapura* etc.

The word *Petenika* or *Pitinika* mentioned in RE V & XIII, should not according to Dr. D R Bhandarkar, and some other writers, be read as a separate name but an adjective qualifying *Rishtika* (RE V) and *Bhoja* (RE XIII). Their attention was on certain passages in the Anguttara Nikaya (RC Chaudhury, fn.3.p.311) where the term *Pettanika* occurs in the sense of one who

enjoys property given by his father (RC Chaudhury, ftn.4.p.311). And Bhojakatakapura is found mentioned in Asoka's RE as a place on the bank of the river Nabada (not Narmada of the South). Pitinikas are identified with the Paithanakas or natives of Bhojas. They are the ancestors of the Satavahana ruler of Paithap (R C Chaudhury, Pol. Hist. of Anc. India, p.311). And Bhojas are mentioned in *Aitareya Brahman* as rulers of south (ftn.1).

The word "Petenika" is easily identified with 'Patanaikia', a place that is situated on the highway from Bhubaneswar to Puri. The village *Patnaikia* is identified with the kingdom where once the Bhojas were ruling, and the title "Pattanaik" relates to the people historically belonging to this Bhoja country. This wonderful relationship again confirms the existence of the Satavahana dynasty ruling in this part of Odisha alone. Near *Patnaikia* village, and on the side of the Puri Highway itself, stands the village *Patacara*, which represents the *Pratisthanapur*, or *Paithap* of the Bhoja country.

Paithanakas as natives of the Bhojas, and ancestors of the Satavahanas, were ruling in Paithap, and according to Pali texts, their other name in history was Pratisthanapura, or the Paithana of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (p.195). It was the birthplace of Raja Salivahana who founded the Saka era in 78 AD. It was also called Potali in the Buddhist literature which was a great emporium of commerce. It was capital of the ancient Asmaka (Nanolala, p.159).

The history of the First Han dynasty says that "formerly when Hiung-na conquers the *Ta-yue-tchi*, the latter emigrated to the *west*, and subjugated the *Tahia*, where upon *Sai-wang* went to the *south*, and ruled over "*Ki-pin*". (RC Chaudhury, ftn.4.p.431). The definition of "*South*" has always taken different historians in different directions of their personalised opinion. The definition offered by the Buddhist sources should be considered as the most "*correct one*".

It tells that the river Sarayu divided Ajodhya into *two parts*, the region to *east* of it is called "*North*", and to *west* of it is called "*South*". On this basis, pilgrims' account needs a recast.

According to Sten Konow, the *Sai-wang* people were known as "*Saka-murunda*" (or *Sakaraukoi* of Strabo). *Murunda* being the same as Chinese "*wang*", i.e. king, master, or lord. The village *U-wang* near *Sri Mukha* village towards its west is significantly point to this point in history. And *Tu-hu-lo* village which is not far away from this, strongly supports the fact of subjugation of *Tahia* by the "*wang*" people staying nearby. *Saka* people again were connected with the *Sagadiane* region, and the village *Sagada* is very close to this. Of course, this *sagada* means "*swarga*", and it is connected with the birth of the Buddha.

Village *Nagavasta*, Oda Khanda, *Lambilo*, *Tala-Andhia*, *U-hang*, *Sagada*, *Chitra* and *Naharakiri*, and another deity *Satabhauni* are in a circular position around the *Sri Mukha* village. There are two villages in the name of *Sri Mukha* : namely, *Sana Sri Mukha*, and the *Bada Sri Mukha*. We have also a village in the name of *Satukalia* whose history will no doubt help us better in our later discussions.

All these villages immensely provide the required facts which are necessary to build up the history of the Satavahan Kings ruling in Odisha, not in Andhra. *Sri Mukha* was the first king of the dynasty, and *Nagajurna Bodhisattva* was living in a monastery built by the king *Sri Mukha* himself which the Chinese pilgrims visited in 5th and 7th century AD. It is needless to say that this particular *Kapotia* or the "pigeon" monastery finds a mention in *Skanda Purana* also. And the *Satabhauni* deity near *Naharkiri* village near *Nimapara* is a corrupt form of *Satavahan*, and *Naharkiri* village carries, similarly, the corrupt form of the name of *Nahapana* kings who were neighbours to the *Satavahana* kings and were ruling the same land previously under the kings of the

Kanvas, or the Andhakas, or the Satavahanas in 1st and 2nd century BC, one after the other.

Rivers Dhanua, Mugei, and Kushabhadra are flowing near these villages enclosing them in form of a ring. Other villages which are of most important to ancient history exist all around to open a new chapter of history throwing Cunningham's incorrect restorations, and identification of places visited by the 7th century Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang.

General Cunningham places nine kingdoms in Southern India. On Southern India, he says, "According to Hwen Thsang's account, "Southern India" comprised whole of the peninsula to the south of the Tapti and Mahanadi river, from Nasik on the west, to Ganjam on the east. It was divided into nine separate kingdoms, exclusive of Ceylon, which was not considered as belonging to India. The whole of these kingdoms were visited by the pilgrim in AD 639 and 640. He entered Kalinga from the north-east, and turning to the north-west, he visited the inland kingdoms of Kosala and Andhra. Then resuming his southern route, he passed through Dhanakakata, Jorya, and Dravida, to Malakuta. At Kanchi, the capital of Dravida, he heard the assassination of King of Ceylon, so he gave up his intention of visiting that country. Then turning to the north, he reached Konkana and Maharashtra, the last of the nine kingdoms of Southern India (AGI,p,434).

We have seen in 'Ancient Geography of India' by Cunningham, that Odra is Odisha with its capital at Ganjam, and it was shown as a part of Eastern India; now he takes on Kalinga, and mentions it as a "Southern State of India". But nowhere he shows how these two: Kalinga and Odra, or Odisha, became identifiable and distinguishable from each other in history, and when.

"From Kosala, Hwen Thsang proceeded to the south for 900 li, or 150 miles, to An-to-

lo, or Andhra (AGI,p.444,ftn,1), the modern Telingana", Cunningham writes in his AGI. Restoration of An-to-lo as Andhra has become the classical mistake here that decidedly took every place of pilgrim's visit after Calingae, or Kulinga, to Andhra.

An-to-lo can never be Andhra. It is Antara, or Antaravitthi of Pali texts, or Antaravedi of the Sanskrit. It is one of the most important places in the time of the Buddha, and many incidents took place here. Its meaning according to Pali sources is the boundary line between two kingdoms. The place also formed the boundary line between the Sakyas and the Koliyans. And their water dispute when took the shape of a war, the Buddha alighted there to settle the case. But the Buddha failed for which reason he showed them his "Viswarupa", or "his vast universal self" in order to bring his clan men to believe his spiritual self. Therefore, the place assumed importance in Buddhist literature. Antaravedi was one of the Bhuktis of Harsha Vardhana in his government in seventh century AD. The position of this place will be clear when other places after this are identified with supportive historical facts attached to Antaravedi (near Banamalipur, and also close to Nimapara)

But this Antara is not the Antaravedi of Harsha Vardhana, but Andhia of the Satavahana kings. It is Gada (or fort) Andhia near Nimapara that is more importantly indicative of this place. This is a very interesting village that points to Andarae of Pliny which "possessed numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers". (RC Chaudhury,p.312). Its (Andraes) capital, according to the pilgrim, was Ping-ki-lo, or Vingkhila, as restored by Julien. The way Mr Cunningham altered the name of the capital from Vinghila to Elgandel because, as he says, "I am, therefore willing to adopt Elgandel as the probable representative of the capital of Andhra in the seventh century of the Christian era", (AGI,

p.445), displays his whimsicality and roughness of handling the ancient history of India.

But Watter's account on pilgrim's visit narrates a different story of restoration. It says : "The direction from Kosala to Andhra is given as *south-east* from the *south* of the district of the capital, the distance being the same. Julien's restoration is Andhra, but pilgrim's transcription is nearer to *Andar* (the *Andara* of Pliny). His name for capital, *Ping-ki-lo*, is restored doubtfully as *Vingila*, but it may be for a word like *Vinjir* or *Vingir*. (Watters' Yuan-chwang, ii, p.210). This gives two options for us : One is Vingarpur (in Balipatna block; and the other *Valanga*, or present *Balanga* near Nimapara under Pipili Block. Chinese syllable *P* at times is pronounced as *B*.

The *Kattha Vatthu* commentary often mentions the *Andhaka* as men of the Andhra school, but it gives no information as to the exact position of the district (fn.6,p.210; Rhys Davids, in Schools of Buddh. Belief.; JRAS,1892.pp.9 foll). The Buddhist philosopher to whom the pilgrim refers here is no other than *Maha Dinnaga* or *Dinna* (*Chen-na*) who according to Tibetan sources was born in *Simha-vaktra*, a suburb of *Kanchi in the South*. He lived for sometime in a cave on *Bhorasaila in Odivisa*, sojourned in *Nalanda* where he disputed several defenders of various schools, and afterwards returned to *Odivisa* (Watters' Yuan-chwang, ii, p.212). He is no other than *Dighnaga* of Odisha. These two places are also identifiably placed near Nimapara.

Reference to *Vayu Purana*, as well as to other Puranas, and Pliny's accounts, and Ptolemy's Geography, will show that the kingdoms in "*India proper*" were all walled cities surrounded by terrible water pits. And any measurement of distances from one kingdom to the other will be a disastrous attempt. But regarding bearings of one place from the other is

the only correct method which could have been tried when identification and restoration of the places visited by Chinese Pilgrims was taken up by scholars from here and abroad. The pilgrim visited places, linked with the life of the Buddha, and its importance in history of Buddhism. The pilgrims from China never visited kingdoms, or palaces as noted by Mr Cunningham. That is the reason why Cunningham each time corrected the distances, and bearings while he persuaded his work that defaced the ancient Indian history completely. All the nine kingdoms, namely : *Kalinga, Kosala, Andhra, Donakakkota, Choliya, Dravida, Malakuta, or Madura, Konkana, and Maharashtra*, which he has shown in his 'Ancient Geography of India', as constituting "*South India*", are only nine places having importance in history of Buddhism. And all these places, or "*city-kingdoms*", are *identifiable* in the region where Andhia, in Nimapara of Puri district, is now well located. And there is a royal house at the centre of this little town with the royal title "*Singh Deo*".

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Sexual Violence Against Women with Disabilities and the Legislative Measures in India

Sushree Sanghamitra Badjena

Disabled women have in general been silenced within society, denied their rights and equal economic and social opportunities due to prejudice, stigma and poverty. They are commonly perceived as asexual, which means that they are denied the possibility of close relationships or marriage. It is assumed that they are incapable of handling the maternal role, hence, too often forced undergo sterilization.² Sexual Violence and abuse are serious problems for persons with disabilities, especially for women with disabilities, who are at greater risk than non-disabled persons.³ World Health Organization in its *World Report on Violence and Health 2002*, defines sexual violence as “any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person’s sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.⁴ “Violence against women” has been defined in Article 1 of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 1993 to mean “any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”⁵ The social context of disability, including

factors such as inaccessibility, reliance on support services, poverty and isolation has a powerful impact on individuals’ increased risk for violence. Historically women with disabilities have not been considered reliable reporters of abuse. Traditional approaches to “protecting” people with disabilities have inadvertently kept them from accessing the tools and resources needed for protecting themselves. In India, where female foeticide is rampant and girl child is unwelcome, it is well understood the vulnerable condition of women with disabilities. Hence, the frequency of sexual assaults against women with disability has gained momentum and has drawn the attention of the civil society members. The position of such women in western countries is no better than ours. For example, the Disabled Women’s Network of Canada ⁶ surveyed 245 women; 40% experienced abuse, 12% had been raped. Spouses / ex-spouses were the most common perpetrators, followed by strangers, parents, service providers, and dating partners. Less than half of the women reported the abuse because of their fear and dependency on the abuser. A national survey by Nosek, Howland, Rintala, Young, and Chanpong⁷ revealed similar levels of overall abuse among women with and without disabilities; 62% of both groups reported some type of lifetime abuse. Half of both groups had

experienced physical or sexual abuse. However, women with disabilities reported significantly longer durations of physical and sexual abuse when compared to women without disabilities. Finally, Powers, et al.⁸, surveyed 200 women with physical and physical and cognitive disabilities: 67% of the women reported having experienced physical abuse and 53% of the women reported having experienced sexual abuse. The research also reports that women with disabilities are more prone to sexual assault and abuse than men with disabilities as well as non-disabled persons.⁹ As per Census report 2001, women constitute 42.457% of the total population of persons with disabilities in India.¹⁰ With the increasing number of sexual assault cases, this is the high time to have a gender-sensitive disability law in India along with this need to bring some essential amendments in the existing criminal laws. In the present paper the author aims to focus on rape committed against the physically and mentally challenged women and its related legal issues and the remedial measures in this regard through the analysis of cases.

Case Studies

1. A 'dumb and deaf' woman of 35 to 40 years of age, wife of a poor 'Rikshawala. is the victim of rape by three persons at 10 P.M. in the Ram Nivas Bagh of Jaipur. The accused claims to be a student and young boy of 19 years of age. On the night of 9th May, 1981, Laxmi, a 'deaf and dumb' woman, wife of Arjun was coming back to her house after attending a marriage at Brahampuri at about 11.00 p.m. in the night. Ram Dhan Meena and one Sardar and one more person forcibly compelled her to get down from the Rickshaw and after taking her in some dark place, all the three accused forcibly committed sexual intercourse with her. The prosecutrix narrated the story to the husband in the night at about 1.00, and both of them went to

the police station and produced the clothes having semen before the police and lodged the report. Laxmi was examined as she was deaf and dumb, she narrated the story with signs.¹¹

2. Feb 29, 2012, A teenaged deaf and dumb patient whose family complained that their daughter had been raped by a junior doctor at the Bankura Sammilani Medical College Hospital. she was taken by the hospital staff to Kolkata for forensic tests. A three-member committee had been set up to probe the complaint. Superintendent of Police Pranab Kumar said, "It is difficult for us to investigate because the victim is deaf and dumb and we need an interpreter."¹²

3. Feb 2, 2014, in North Kolkata's Cossipore, a 16-year-old physically challenged girl who was allegedly lured, then abducted and locked in a house before being raped. The survivor was tied up in a bed and was in a half-naked condition at the time of rescue. The accused Sk Ashfar Ali, a 26-year-old auto driver, was arrested. The accused knew the victim earlier and had lured her to follow him. However, he has denied the offence of rape and admitted that he had molested her.¹³

4. August 15, 2013, in Mukund Vihar, Bhalswa Dairy area of northwest Delhi a 12-year-old mentally challenged girl was allegedly raped by her neighbour aged 43 years, who has physical disabilities. When the victim was playing, the accused enticed her to follow him to the shop's godown. He then downed the shutter and raped the girl.¹⁴

5. January 12, 2013, a physically handicapped married woman was allegedly raped at Padma, *Hazaribagh*, Jharkhand. The accused, Ajit Kumar raped the woman near Padma power station in the evening hour when the victim was returning home after depositing her pension cheque in a bank.¹⁵

6. One Jashiben, wife of Umedbhai Dahyabhai Solanki, lodged an FIR with Madhavapura Police Station, alleging that her niece Bhavna (not real name) was raped by Maheshbhai Ramjibhai Parmar in the midnight hours of 26-27th June, 2002. In the FIR the informant states that she was informed by the prosecutrix around 4.00 p.m., of 27.6.2002 about the incident saying that at about 12.00 p.m. in the midnight, the accused went to the cot, where the prosecutrix was sleeping, and gagged her mouth and raped her.¹⁶

7. 15th November 2013, in Nagpur, a 40-year-old mentally unstable and physically challenged woman was allegedly raped in Dammanand Nagar locality in the city. The accused, identified as 35-year-old Ramsingh Gopisingh Mehto had been arrested under relevant sections of the IPC.¹⁷

8. November 21, 2013, a five-year-old physically challenged girl was reported as a rape victim. She was raped by a 24-year-old in Beldara Seoni village in Raipur, Chattisgarh, a village which is about 40 km away from the state capital. The accused, identified as Sanjay Verma, was arrested immediately after the incident. The girl, whose mother died during childbirth, was living with her grandparents. When her grandparents were away for work, the accused entered the house and sexually assaulted her. It was because of her shrieks that the neighbours came to her rescue.¹⁸

9. Jan 1, 2013, (Noida) : A case was registered in Dadri police station where the prosecutrix in her complaint has alleged that on December 29, 2012 when her mother had gone to Aligarh and she was alone at home, her father gave her some sedatives and she fell unconscious. Later, she was allegedly raped by her father. When her mother reached home, the minor girl narrated the incident to her.¹⁹

10. October 31, 2013, a 16-year-old physically challenged girl was gangraped at Baduria in Bengal's North 24 Parganas district. The incident happened late on Tuesday night when the victim was abducted by a group of men from a wedding she had gone to attend. They took her to a desolate spot and raped her. "Four persons have been arrested in connection with the case."²⁰

11. In a recent case of murder, the Supreme Court of India reiterated that there is nothing, in law or otherwise that prevents a deaf and mute person from being competent and credible witness. But having said that, the Court finally refused to rely on the testimony of the wife of the deceased, who was deaf and mute and who was an eyewitness to the incident, on the grounds that the interpreter of her testimony during the trial was her father. Since the father was an 'interested party' in the case, the Court reasoned that relying on her interpretation of witness' testimony would have made the verdict biased. Given the unavailability of professional interpreters in public institutions such as courts, the prosecution often turns to special education teachers are not available, family members of the witness step in as interpreters. This judgment while affirming the evidentiary value of the testimony of a disabled witness, also points to the ad hoc arrangements that exist to record such testimony in legally relevant manner.²¹

12. In another case, the Supreme Court expressed anguish at the repeated rape of a mentally challenged woman and observed that in such case, apart from physical violence, there is also "exploitation of her helplessness". Justice Arijit Pasayat drew attention to the fact that while Section 376 (2) (f) of the Indian Penal Code prescribing higher penalty for rape of a woman below 12 years of age, it is exigent on the legislature to prescribe a higher penalty for the

rape of a mentally challenged women whose mental age may be less than 12 years.²²

13. In 1994, forced hysterectomies were conducted on several mentally challenged women between the ages of 18 to 35 at the Sassoon General Hospital in Pune because they were incapable of maintaining menstrual hygiene and the hospital staff found it strain on their resources and time. Consents were obtained by from the guardians and an intrusive and irrevocable surgery, that was not medically indicated, was carried out.²³ Anita Ghai, a prominent advocate for women with disabilities and a leading disability rights activist, drew the attention to the fact that the hospital made no effort to maintain the basic menstrual hygiene as the women were “prevented from wearing pajamas with drawstrings or sanitary napkins with belts” as it was feared that they may use these to commit suicide.²⁴

14. In an another case, the Supreme Court had to decide whether the Chandigarh Administration could be permitted to terminate the pregnancy of mentally challenged women who had expressed her wish to continue the pregnancy. The Supreme Court ruled that her pregnancy could not be terminated and held that the state must respect the personal autonomy of the mentally challenged woman with regard to decisions about terminating a pregnancy.²⁵

Analysis:

In most cases, the victims of the crime knew the accused person prior to the commission of rape. In some cases they were raped by their own relatives including the father. The cases also suggest that most victims were raped when they are alone and unprotected. Most of the minor and child victims were allured and enticed by the adult accused. There are a whole lot of problems with how the testimony is read and assessed by the judges after it has been recorded, which cannot

be addressed by legislation. In many cases disabled women are unable to communicate the act of sexual assault they face and even if they communicate, the evidentiary value of their testimony are not taken seriously either by the police or by the judicial system. As a result, even if the accused is convicted by the lower court, at the stage of appeal before Higher Court, the accused is acquitted owing to the non-recording of the prosecutrix’ testimony or non-observance of the legal procedure by the court below.

Legal Frameworks:

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. The Constitution of India not only grants equality to women, but also empowers the State to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. The Constitution, while protecting equality under Articles 14, 15 and 16, does not include disability as one of the categories of non-discrimination. The only mention of protection of persons facing disability and sickness is made in the Directive Principles of State Policy in Chapter-IV of the Constitution. Article 39A enjoins the State to promote justice, on the basis of equal opportunities and to provide free legal aid by suitable legislation or scheme or in any other way to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities and under Article 41 the State shall endeavour to provide the right to work, education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, within the limits of economic capacity.²⁶ Hence, there is no guarantee from the State to prevent discrimination due to disability. In this context enactment of PWD Act is remarkable because for the first time in India the

social and economic rights of disabled have been addressed by a statute.²⁷ The law was enacted in furtherance of the proclamation on the Full Participation and Equality of People with Disabilities in the Asian and Pacific Region, which was adopted by the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific in Beijing, 1992. Being a signatory to the said Proclamation the Indian government enacted the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act; 1995. The PWD Act covers all the issues of disability but remains silent on the discrimination and violence faced by women with disabilities that differentiate their situation from men with disabilities. In the wake of liberalization, with global disability rights movements and developments at global level, to recognize the rights of persons with disabilities, to ensure equal opportunities and full participation in every sphere of social, economic and political life, India also ratified number of International Conventions and declarations in this regard. In the year 2007, India ratified the Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the first internationally binding instrument on disability rights, acknowledges in its preamble, “the difficult conditions faced by persons with disabilities who are subject to multiple or aggravated forms of discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic, indigenous or social origin, property, birth, age or other status”. It recognizes that “women and girls with disabilities are often at greater risk, both within and outside the home, of violence, injury or abuse, negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation” and emphasizes “the need to incorporate a gender perspective in all efforts to promote the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by persons with disabilities”.²⁸ The substantive provisions of the

Convention relating to women with disabilities are stated below:

Article 3(g) of the Convention- Principle of equality between men and women.

Article 6- Responsibility of the State Party to recognize the multiple discrimination faced by girls and women with disabilities and undertaken measures to ‘ensure the full and equal enjoyment by them of all human rights and fundamental freedoms’ and to enable full development, advancement and empowerment of women”.

Further, Article 16 under the head of “freedom of Exploitation, Violence and Abuse” mandates that:

1. States Parties shall take all the appropriate legislative, administrative, social, educational and other measures to protect persons with disabilities, both within and outside the home, from all forms of exploitation, violence, including their gender-based aspects.
2. States Parties shall also take all appropriate measures to prevent all forms of exploitation, violence and abuse by ensuring, inter alia, appropriate forms of gender and age-sensitive assistance and support for persons with disabilities and their families and caregivers, including through the provision of information and education on how to avoid, recognize and report instances of exploitation, violence, and abuse. State parties shall ensure that protection services are age, gender and disability-sensitive.
3. In order to prevent the occurrence of all forms of exploitation, violence and abuse, States shall ensure that all facilities and programmes designed to serve persons with disabilities are effectively monitored by independent authorities.
4. States Parties shall take all appropriate measure, to promote the physical, cognitive and

psychological recovery, rehabilitation and social reintegration of persons with disabilities who become victims of any form of exploitation, violence or abuse, including through the provision of protection services. Such recovery and reintegration shall take place in an environment that fosters the health, welfare, self-respect, dignity and autonomy of the person and takes account gender and age-specific needs.

Since the PWD Act falls short to cover all the issues relating to rights of persons with disabilities, especially in preventing violence and exploitation against women with disabilities, after the ratification of the Convention, India is under obligation to bring the necessary amendments in the existing disability laws in order to comply with these core obligations contained in the Disability Convention. Hence, the government formed a committee and drafted a new disability law called Rights of Persons with Disabilities Bill 2013.

In addition to CRPD, another international convention which plays a significant role in the prevention of violence, cruelty, sexual abuse and any form of discriminations against women with disabilities is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979. The Convention defines discrimination against women and while it does not directly refer to violence, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in General Recommendation No 19 explains that gender-based violence, which impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of human rights and fundamental freedoms under general international law or under human rights conventions, is discrimination within Article 1, CEDAW.²⁹ The right of men and women of full age to marry and found a family is provided under several international laws and covenants, including the UN Minimum Standard Rules for Equalization of Opportunities which calls for governments to

promote the full participation of persons with disabilities in family life, their right to personal integrity and ensure that laws do not discriminate against persons with disabilities with respect to sexual relationships, marriage and parenthood.³⁰ With regard to *sterilization* or other less intrusive methods of contraception measures to prevent unwanted pregnancies, the *consent* must be obtained from the person who is subject to such medical treatment. The right to physical integrity, reproduction and sexuality is recognized as basic human rights under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 (UDHR); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966 (ICCPR); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 (ICESCR). Hence, in this regard there is an urgent need felt to have a comprehensive gender-sensitive disability law in India covering all issues including sexual violence of women with disabilities.

For the first time in the history of sexual violence law reform in India, issues pertaining to disabled women are flagged as important item for reform agenda by Justice Verma Committee, constituted by the central government, to look into the sexual assault law reform after December 16th (2013) Delhi gang rape and murder case. The Committee responded positively and a large number of its recommendations are to address difficulties faced by disabled women in accessing the legal system and navigating through the trial process. The Committee recommended assistance of interpreters or special educators be taken at the time of recording of the complaint by the police and during the trial process, the process of identification of the accused be videographed and that disabled women be exempted from recounting their testimony once again at the time of cross-examination in cases of sexual assault.³¹ The Cabinet on 1st February 2013 approved for

bringing an ordinance, for giving effect to for the changes in law as suggested by the Verma Committee Report. Subsequently the ordinance was replaced by a Bill and passed by the Lok Sabha on 19th March 2013.³²

wikipedia.org. (n.d.). *Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 2013*, Retrieved 02 27, 2014, from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criminal_Law_\(Amendment\)_Act,_2013](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criminal_Law_(Amendment)_Act,_2013)

Some of the important amendments discussed below:

Section 166-A (Cr.P.C, 1973): This section has been inserted which deals about a Public Servant who disobeys the direction under law or fails to record any information given to him under sub-section (I) of section 154 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 and it provides rigorous imprisonment for minimum six months which may extend to two years and fine.

Section 166-B has been inserted which prescribes imprisonment for one year or fine or both for a person in charge of a hospital public or private, for non treatment of victim.

Section 228A.(IPC,1860) provides conditions for disclosure of identity of the victim of certain offences etc. Section 228A (2) (c) provides that where the victim is dead or minor or of unsound mind, by, or with the authorization in writing of, the next of kin of the victim the identity of the victim can be disclosed. Provided that no such authorization shall be given by the next of kin to anybody other than the chairman or the secretary, by whatever name called, of any central or State government recognized welfare institution or organization. Whoever prints or publishes any matter in relation to any proceeding before a court with respect to an offence referred to in sub-section (1) without the previous permission of such court shall be punished with imprisonment of either

description for a term which may extend to two years and shall also be liable to fine.

Section 375 (IPC,1860): Sections 375, 376, 376A, 376B, 376C and 376D which deals with sexual offences have been substituted with new Sections 375, 376, 376A, 376B, 376C, 376D redefining the offences with substantial changes and also inserted a new Section 376E. Section 375 redefines the offence of rape and Section 376 prescribes punishment for rape.

Section 375 (Fifthly) & (Seventhly): provides that the consent of the prosecutrix is vitiated if at the time of giving consent, by reason of unsoundness of mind is unable to understand the nature and consequences of that to which she gives consent or when she is unable to communicate consent. Explanation 2.of Section 375 provides that ‘consent’ means an unequivocal voluntary agreement when the woman by words, gestures or any form of verbal or non-verbal communication, communicates willingness to participate in the specific sexual act; provided that a woman who does not physically resist to the act of penetration shall not by the reason only of that fact, be regarded as consenting to the sexual activity.

As per Sub Section (1) of Section 376, person commits rape except in cases provided for in Sub Section (2) shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment of not less than seven years, but which may extend to imprisonment for life, and with fine.

Sub Section (2) of Section 376 prescribes the punishment for rape by a Police Officer or a Public Servant or Member of Armed Forces or a person being on the Management or on the Staff of a Jail, remand home or other place of custody or women’s or children’s institutions or by a person on the Management or on the Staff of a Hospital, and rape committed by a person in a

position of trust or authority towards the person raped or by a near relative of the person raped or commits rape, on a woman incapable of giving consent (j); or commits rape on a woman suffering from mental or physical disability (l) shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment of not less than ten years, but which may extend to imprisonment for life, which shall mean the remainder of that person's natural life, and with fine.

Section 376A deals with a person committing an offence of rape and inflicting injury which causes death or causes the woman to be in a persistent vegetative state and the punishment is rigorous imprisonment of not less than twenty years but which may extend to imprisonment for life which shall mean imprisonment for the remainder of that person's natural life or with death.

Section 376B deals with sexual intercourse by husband upon his wife during separation and prescribes punishment with imprisonment for not less than two years but which may extend to seven years with fine.

Section 376C deals with sexual intercourse by a person in authority and prescribes punishment with rigorous imprisonment for not less than five years but which may extend to ten years and with fine.

Section 376D deals with gang rape and prescribes punishment with rigorous imprisonment for not less than twenty years but which may extend to imprisonment for life which shall mean imprisonment for the remainder of that person's natural life and with fine to be paid to the victim.

Section 376E deals with punishment for repeat offenders and prescribes punishment with imprisonment for life which shall mean imprisonment for the remainder of that person's natural life or with death.

Section 54A (Cr.P.C,1973): Under this section provisos have been inserted, that if the person identifying the person arrested is mentally or physically disabled, the process of identification shall take place under the supervision of a Judicial Magistrate and such identification process shall be videographed.

Section 154 (Cr.P.C, 1973): It is also provided that in Section 154 provisos have been inserted stipulating that if the information is given by the woman against whom an offence under Sections 326A, 326B, 354, 354A, 354B, 354C, 354D, 376, 376A, 376B, 376C, 376D, 376E, or 509 of IPC is alleged to have been committed or attempted, such information shall be recorded by a woman police officer or any woman officer. In the event that the person against whom an offence under the above mentioned under Sections 354, 354A, 354B, 354C, 354D, 376, 376A, 376B, 376C, 376D, 376E or 509 of the Indian Penal Code is alleged to have been committed or attempted, is temporarily or permanently mentally or physically disabled, then such information shall be recorded by a police officer, at the residence of the person seeking to report such offence or at a convenient place of such person's choice, in the presence of an interpreter or a special educator and the recording of such information shall be videographed. The police officer shall get the statement of the person recorded by a Judicial Magistrate under clause (a) of Sub Section (5A) of Section 164 as soon as possible.

Section 160 (Cr.P.C,1973): Section 160 has been amended that no police officer can require attendance of a witness if he is a male under the age of fifteen years or above the age of sixty five years or a woman or a mentally or physically disabled person at any place other than the place where such person resides.

Section 161 (Cr.P.C, 1973): Section 161 has been amended by inserting one more proviso stating “that the statement of a woman against whom an offence under Sections 354, 354A, 354B, 354C, 354D, 376, 376A, 376B, 376C, 376D, 376E or 509 of the Indian Penal Code is alleged to have been committed or attempted shall be recorded, by a woman police officer or any woman officer”.

Section 164 (Cr.P.C, 1973): Section 164 has been amended by inserting Sub Section (5A) (a), that when an offence as stated in that Sub Section has been committed and as soon as the commission of the offence is brought to the notice of the police, the Judicial Magistrate shall record the statement of the victim in the manner prescribed in sub Section 5. It is also provided that the Magistrate shall take assistance of an interpreter or special educator if required. In such cases that shall be videographed.

Provided that if the person making the statement is temporarily or permanently mentally or physically disabled, the Magistrate shall take the assistance of an interpreter or a special educator in recording the statement:

Provided further that if the person making the statement is temporarily or permanently mentally or physically disabled, the statement made by the person, with the assistance of an interpreter or a special educator, shall be videographed.

A statement recorded under clause (a) of a person, who is temporarily or permanently mentally or physically disabled, shall be considered a statement in lieu of examination-in-chief, as specified in section 137 of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872 such that the maker of the statement can be cross-examined on such statement, without the need for recording the same at the time of trial.

Section 357 C (Cr.P.C, 1973): Section 357C has also been inserted that all hospitals, public or private, whether run by the Central Government, the State government, local bodies or any other person, shall immediately, provide the first-aid or medical treatment, free of cost, to the victims of any offence covered under Section 326A, 376, 376A, 376B, 376C, 376D or Section 376E of the Indian Penal Code, and shall immediately inform the police of such incident.

Section 119 (Indian Evidence Act, 1872): This section provides that a witness who is unable to speak may give his evidence in any other manner in which he can make it intelligible, as by writing or by signs; but such writing must be written and the signs made in open Court, evidence so given shall be deemed to be oral evidence:

Provided that if the witness is unable to communicate verbally, the Court shall take the assistance of an interpreter or a special educator in recording the statement and such statement shall be videographed.

Remedies: The Indian Legal framework has to be strengthened to bring it in the line with international legislations on rights of disabled women. The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995 governs all the issues of disabilities but it is silent on the discrimination and violence faced by women with disabilities that differentiate their situation from men with disabilities. As India ratified the Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities, it must comply with the core provisions of the Convention through bringing reform in existing legislative measure and enacting new laws. In this regard, India needs a Disability Law based on gender-sensitive approach. Certain remedial measures are stated below:

- There is a need for the enactment of gender-sensitive disability law in India which must comply with the requirements of the Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities.
 - Persons with disabilities, especially women should be able to access complaints and redressal mechanisms. In the absence of appropriate and accessible complaint mechanism, increasing the penalty for sexual violence will have no substantive outcomes.
 - There are no consolidation figures with regard to violent against women with disabilities. It would therefore be pertinent that when such cases are registered, crime against women with disabilities be also recorded as sub-category like in the case of crimes against women from scheduled castes, scheduled tribes etc.
 - Training and sensitization of police officers, judiciary and medical professionals on issues concerning persons with disabilities, particularly the violence they face, should be made mandatory.
 - There must be a standard procedure for investigation and medical examination adopted by the investigative agencies while investigating cases of sexual assault. These procedures should be formulated on the basis of specific needs of women with disabilities, at each stage of the investigation.
 - A large number of women with disabilities are abused within institutions like hospitals and shelter homes. A monitoring and regulatory authority needs to be established at the district level consisting of activists and specialists from the district who will have visiting rights and access to these places for regular checkups. Periodic inspection of these institutions by the authority so established should be made mandatory.
 - Forced or non-consensual sterilization must be criminalized. Necessary legislation must be enacted to clarify the legal issues arising from sterilization. Such intrusive surgeries amount to a violation of the right to life and physical integrity. The victim of forced sterilization must be duly compensated.
 - Victims of sexual violence have to be provided with adequate and appropriate counseling facilities. In the case of a victim getting pregnant consequent to sexual abuse, appropriate counseling and options should be offered to the victims.
 - Disability studies should be included in the academia as a distinct subject both at the elementary level and higher education curriculum to develop awareness and understanding of disability, disability rights amongst the disabled as well as non-disabled people.
 - The state should provide accessible free legal aid to women with disabilities who belong to socially and economically backward classes/SCs/STs.
 - The Indian Penal Law needs to be more strengthened to prevent sexual violence against women with disabilities.
- Conclusion:** Sexual Violence against disabled women is a silent act in our country because in majority cases women fail to realize they are victims or fail to communicate the act of violence. Even if it is communicated, seldom does it inspire belief. In most of the cases it is found that the perpetrators are not brought to book. There is also fear that reporting the abuse could snaps bonds with the caretakers. Lack of information and awareness is found by the fact that peer group learning is very limited amongst disabled women as they are less likely to be sent to school. The social role or the absence of a role attributed to

women with disabilities, in conjunction with the stereotypes that exist, contribute to their vulnerability and lead to violation of their rights. Hence by way of legislating laws, state should not merely declare rights and entitlements but it should stipulate in detail the mechanisms by which rights can be realized.

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Child Trafficking and Forced Criminality : A Discussion

Susanta Kumar Shadangi

Trafficking of children can be attributed as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring and/or either by force or by a third person or a group for the purpose of exploitation. It is a worldwide phenomenon that affects a large number of boys and girls. Children and their families are often lured by the promise of better employment and a more prosperous life far from their homes. A large number of children are trafficked not only for the sex trade but also for other forms of non sex based exploitation which include servitude of various kinds as domestic labour, industrial labour, begging, organ trade and false marriage. Many contributing factors are there to child trafficking which include economic deprivation, lack of employment opportunities, illiteracy, social status and political uprisings and the like. It is also a fact that children, particularly girls are found more vulnerable than boys, as they are looked upon as more expandable than the rest of the population. Often young girls become sex slaves and forced into prostitution.

As per the data available with the state government, there are as many as 3,578 women, mostly minor and young girls remained untraced between the year 2000 and 2005. Out of them 1,418 were minor girls and 1,342 young girls, of them the state police have rescued as many as 299 young girls and 492 minor girls from different places as the figure revealed.

Legally, children are allowed to do light work, but they are often trafficked for bonded

labour, domestic work and are also worked beyond that. Alarmed at the growing incidence of trafficking in women and children in Odisha, the state government in Dec 2009 formulated a policy to address the issue. The policy among other things provides adequate steps for psychological support, economic and empowerment and reintegration to ensure that the rescued victims of trafficking not get down in to the trade again due to non-availability of other option for livelihood. Besides it, the state government on the heels of the Hon'ble Supreme Court directive (1990), has decided to extend the Integrated Anti-Human Trafficking Units (IAHTU) to twenty five more districts police headquarters besides the existing twelve numbers police headquarters to combat this crime of trafficking, kidnapping, forcible marriage, sexual abuse etc.

Various Provisions and Schemes.

India has a fairly wide frame work of laws enacted by the Parliament as well as some State Legislatures. Article 23 of the Constitution categorically guarantees the right against exploitation, prohibits traffic in human being and forced labour and makes their practice punishable under law. Article 24 of the Constitution prohibits employment of children below 14 years of age in factories, mines or other hazardous employment. Besides this specific legislations have been enacted relating to trafficking in women and children (Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956,

Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006, Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, Transplantation of Human Organs Act.1994. Apart from specific Sections in the IPC, e.g. Sections 372 and 373 dealing with selling and buying of girls for the purposes of prostitution.

As women and children are considered as weaker section of the society, the Constitution, following the principles of protective discrimination, allows for making and implementing laws specific to them for their wellbeing. The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act of 1956 (ITPA) is in line with this principle. Some of the other laws relating to trafficking are the Juvenile Justice Act 1986, a number of begging prevention Laws, the prevention of illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic substances Act 1989, the Bonded Labour Act and so on. Besides this, there are specific Sections in the IPC, like Sections 372 and 373 dealing with selling and buying of girls for the purposes of prostitution. The Criminal Procedure Code of India and The Indian Evidence Act provides for various forms of trafficking. However there are enough loopholes in the legal system that result in the crime being perpetuated without fear.

Under the Ministry of Women and Child Development different schemes have been implemented to tackle the menace of human trafficking:

- Under the Ujjawala Scheme: Comprehensive Preventive measure is taken for combating Trafficking and Rescue, Rehabilitation, Re-Integration and Repatriation of Victims of Trafficking for Commercial Sexual activity. The Scheme also provides shelter, food, clothing for victims, counseling, medical care, legal and other support, vocational training and income generation activities. Besides this the scheme also promotes community based systems to prevent trafficking from source areas.

- In Swadhar and Short Stay Homes: The trafficked women and children victims are given shelter in Short Stay Homes and Swadhar in difficult circumstances. The Schemes also provides shelter, food and clothing for women and children below the age of 18 years. Besides this counseling, clinical, medical, legal, other support, and helpline facilities are provided.

Issues of Concern

Prevention of child trafficking requires several types of interventions as it violates a child's right to grow up in a family environment and exposes him/her to a range of danger including violence and sexual abuse. Unlike other different policies on child labour, National policies on Health, Education and Nutrition there is no national policy on child trafficking as such. Although there are number of reports and documents on the issue of child trafficking, there is very little systematic effort so far has been made. This is because there is no common understanding on this issue and there is no single definition for child trafficking. Most of the available data is reflected to women and children prostitution. Besides this the available figure varies from one source to another. So it becomes difficult to design policies, guideline to tackle this problem. The other thing is that it has also got failed to receive adequate attention from the public as a whole even though it takes place in large numbers in various forms, for various purposes, some of them being absolutely gruesome. Hence, a coordinated and concerted effort among the groups working on this issue is quite necessary for any changes in law and policy has to be brought about to protect the nation from the heinous practice of Child Trafficking.

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A Way to Solve Snakebite Problem in Odisha and India

Dr. Indramani Jena

Odisha is one among the snakebite prevalent states with large number of fatalities. Here, not only the rural and agricultural preponderance contribute to high mortality, but the lack of prompt ambulance service and loss of golden period of treatment is spoiled by resorting to traditional methods. Technically, major burden of the problem can be solved by 108 ambulance services for transport and Anti Snake Venom used judiciously in time, but inherent delay in transporting the victim due to prevalent sociological milieu is a hurdle in this direction. There is necessity of motivation in snakebite prevalent areas through health education by regular health workers, PRI representatives and voluntary agencies. Time, transport and therapy will remarkably reduce the alarming incidence of snakebite in the tropical environment.

Let us examine the feasibility of this idea from technical angle.

Introduction:

Exact figures of snakebite and snakebite deaths are not known in Odisha and India. It is estimated that 2500 to 6000 cases of snakebite occurs in Odisha and out of them, 400 to 900 cases die (around 1000 snakebite deaths per annum in Odisha)^{1,2}. Similar figure is seen in whole

of India : total 600,000 to 1600, 000 cases of bite and 11,000 to 25, 000 deaths due to snakes. This is due to tropical climate, agricultural and forest based profession and many social factors. The American Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene are quoting still very high figures from India: 46,000 people dieing every year from snakebites against the official figure of only 2,000.³ Lack of direct statistics of snakebite is due to multitude of factors like biting snakes, predominance of night time bites, hesitation of people to notify a bite.

But it is a fact that snakes and snakebites are reducing in number due to pesticide use, urbanization and deforestation. Evidences of snakebite attendance in medical centres at present and revealed figures given by newspapers now a day are definitely reduced to some extent compared to figures of a decade back. The faster urbanization and deforestation is a way definitely to reduce snakebite substantially, yet total reduction cannot be thought of in such a tropical climate.

Certain Issues

HIGH INCIDENCE:

Snake scare stalls Odisha Assembly.⁴ Peculiarly, the Odisha Legislative Assembly came

to the horror of harbouring a snake, when it was suspended for some days and started functioning under vigilance of Snake Help Line, Bhubaneswar and with presence of an emergency physician with enough stock of antivenom. The appearance of snakes has recurred time and again in Odisha Legislative Assembly even in present year. Every monsoon turns Bhubaneswar into a 'city of snakes' and large population of cobras (Naga Sap) exist in surrounding areas of residences in the capital city.⁵ Raj Bhavan officials were on their toes, when a rat snake was found in the VVIP suite which was to be occupied by President Pranab Mukherjee during his second visit to Odisha on September 6.⁶

Capital Hospital in Odisha is a figurative hospital like S.C.B. Medical College for good catchment of snakebite case. There are 4-5 snakebite predominant coastal districts. Presently Capital Hospital⁷ records a number of snakebite cases.

BITING VENOMOUS SNAKES OF ODISHA¹:

Common Indian Cobra (Naga Sapa in Odia) is found in large numbers in Odisha along

with another species of cobra, called Monocled Cobra (*Tampa Sapa in Odia*). These are very dangerous snakes as they have a habit of residing around human habitations, paddy fields, bushy forests both in rural and even urbanized areas of Odisha.

The pathetic story of cobra is its venom capacity and killing capacity. A single bite of cobra contains venom capable of killing 15 to 20 persons. When 13 mg of venom is fatal for an average weight man, it can inject 12 to 20 times such dose and that is why serious cobra bite cases may not reach hospital within one hour. But luckily such cases are very few and may be 2-3 %. Krait bites often outnumber cobra bites and krait can inject larger than fatal dose in successful bites. Banded Krait (Rana Sap in Odia) bites rarely and it is to be noted that Indian antivenom has no neutralizing effect in this snakebite. Large number of Russell's Viper (Chandan Boda Sap in Odia) bite cases come with severe local pain at site of bite with bleeding from the site, with bleeding from gum margins. Sometimes the non-poisonous snakebite (Pond snake and Rat snake bites) causes alarm reactions in a patient like palpitation, restlessness and fear, but this is of no significance on mortality point of view.

Table showing details of Biting Snakes in Odisha¹

| Snake Variety | Fatal Dose of venom (mg) | Venom store (mg) | Symptoms and time sequence | Later Complications | Deaths |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|---------------|
| Cobra [<i>Naga Sap</i> <i>Tampa Sap</i>] | 15 | 150-300 | Small local swelling at site of bite; within two hours drooping of eyelids, salivation, air hunger, confusion, delirium and respiratory failure | Local necrosis and sloughing of skin taking months to heal | 50 % |

| | | | | | |
|---|----|---------|---|---|------|
| Common Indian Krait [<i>Chiti Sapa</i>] | 10 | 5-20 | Negligible local mark; develops drooping of eyelids, salivation and air hunger; terminally respiratory failure | Negligible | 40 % |
| Banded Krait [<i>Rana Sap</i>] | 10 | 35-50 | As Common Indian Krait | Negligible | ~ |
| Russell's Viper [<i>Chandan Boda Sap</i>] | 42 | 120-250 | Local swelling and bleeding, Bleeding gum, blood in sputum and urine; kidney is affected and urination stopped. | Prominent local swelling and usually it heals after one or two weeks; rarely local sloughing seen | 3-% |
| Rat Snakebite [<i>Dhamana Sap</i>] | 0 | 0 | Scratch only | Nil | 0 % |
| Pond Snakebite [<i>Dhanda Sap</i>] | 0 | 0 | Scratch and local injury only | Nil | 0 % |

The following are snakes of medical importance in Odisha, 95 % of deaths due to snakebite are due to these species¹.



Spectacled Cobra (Naga)



Monocled Cobra (Tampa)



Common Krait (Chitti)



Banded Krait (Rana)



Russell's Viper (Chandan Boda)



Russell's Viper (Chandan Boda)



Pond Snake (Dhanda, not poisonous)



Rat Snake (Dhamana, not poisonous)

FATAL COBRAS:

Fatality in cobra bites is astonishing. Cobras abound in rural as well as urban areas. In the city of Bhubaneswar, this species is encountered frequently. Severely envenomed cases are few among such bites, very short time at hand due to very quick spread of venom in human system and affecting nerve mechanism of respiration and rapid onset of death debar cases in receiving treatment. Cases with moderate and mild envenomation can avail benefits of therapy. The author has encountered at least 10 cases of cobra bite, where the patient succumbed within 45 minutes of bite where reaching at nearest hospital was not possible after known cobra bite. Few cases, which were alert from the moment of cobra bite, could be saved with right treatment in time.

FATAL KRAIT :

Krait bite is frequent in villages and danger for residents of thatched houses. Common Indian Krait (Chiti Saap) lives very close to human habitation and beyond our imagination the innocent looking krait of the day becomes active, agile and aggressive bites viciously in winter nights. The bite is small, a man in sleep cannot trace and signs of fatality appear when the person awakes.

SERIOUS RUSSELL'S VIPERS :

Typical Russell's viper bite occurs by walking over the snake and this poisoning is associated with bleeding and thinning of blood resulting in bleeding disorder. Occasionally the snake spontaneously bites without provocation. This snakebite is easy to grade, follow up and cure compared with treacherous krait bite and dangerous cobra bites due to slower process of envenomation. Blood can be tested in simple manner hourly. Venom that enters slowly from site of bite to circulation and consumes clotting elements can be neutralized by antivenom.

TIME RESTRAINT :

Time is a great factor in the cure of snakebite. The largest venom dose of any snake can be neutralized by antivenom. Simply to illustrate, it can be said that injection of a mix of this venom and equivalent antivenom has no effect on experimental animals. Then, where is the difficulty in curing a cobra bite?

People spoil time in reaching the hospital. They spend minutes in ignoring the gravity of snakebite, search a local traditional healer; even today, rural people carry the victim to Lord Siva's temple to pour water on the head.

All methods of first aid have been proved to be ineffective in snakebite except immobilization of the victim, i.e. minimum movement of the bitten part so that venom will be confined to the local site of bite longer than if the part is moved or patient walks or runs when blood circulation will hasten venom entry to blood and brain.

FALSE BELIEF THAT A SNAKEBITE CASE DIES DUE TO FEAR :

Snakebite is quite alarming, never kills a person due to fear. This blind belief often reduces the gravity of poisonous bite and allows undue delay in deciding whether to rush to hospital or make dilly dally by consulting a local traditional healer.

CULTURAL PRACTICES IN RURAL ODISHA :

Number of cultural practices enhance snakebite mortality. Any movement or exercise of the victim after the bite is very harmful. I am shocked to say that some snakebite victims are forced to swim, if they are capable, to cure snakebite. This is extremely dangerous and will land in fatality quite early. Any delay in reporting at treatment centre is a technical crime. Worship,

making a phone call to somebody who will pray god, pouring water over head of the victim in front of Lord Siva, taking a herbal medicine (Gada) or applying utensil (Dishes to draw out venom) and hundreds of other manoeuvres are time killing and detrimental.

Certain Trends in the way of solving the Snakebite Mortality :

Snakebite Protocol of India, 2007⁸ - Ideal Treatment and Establishment of Well Equipped Treatment Centres: Snakebite has created an alarm all over the world and World Health Organization⁹ has issued some guidelines in snake bite with display of venomous snakes of medical importance for different regions. Nations with high snakebite fatality like India, Pakistan have formulated national protocols of snakebite for their areas. Indian national protocol has formulated the method of treating different types of bite and has outlined treatment (with clinical use of antivenom, with all precautions of hazards of such therapy) on basis of evidence. It critically views first aid methods and recommends that only immobilization of the snakebite victim (least movement and not walk or run). Apart from treating a victim, it also has recommended maintenance of well equipped centres with required antivenom stock in snakebites abundant areas. It is mandatory to observe a case for 24 hours before discharging as a case of non-poisonous or non-venomated.

Role of Prompt Ambulance: Beyond the spectrum of protocol of snakebite, there should shine popular alertness and very prompt ambulance facilities if we have attempts to reduce snakebite mortality. It must be multiple approaches like managing infant mortality rate in Odisha. In spite of the protocol confined to the limits of hospital, snakebite mortality will run unabatedly in our country.

Emerging Ambulance Facilities - 108 Ambulance¹⁰ Promises: Present day innovations

of ambulance is a great asset to think of transporting a victim to treatment centre in time. Odisha State is one among other states to introduce the 108 ambulance services for emergency.

It is termed like '*The Golden Hour*' and the 'Platinum Ten Minutes' that imply the importance of Emergency Medical Services (EMS) all over the world. It is a well-accepted fact that a patient who receives basic care from trained professionals and is transported to the nearest healthcare facility becomes more safe. The average response time of 20 minutes for urban, 25 minutes for semi-urban and 35 minutes for the rural areas has been kept as performance parameter for the service provider.

Again, the team of technical experts can be trained to give life support to a victim and to start the process of evaluating and testing or administering antivenom to a serious victim of snakebite. With available ambubags and antivenom, life saving adrenaline at hand, the sensitivity test of antivenom can be started within the transit, which takes 15 minutes in hospital before starting intravenous push.

Odisha Emergency Ambulance Service: The Odisha Government decided to set up a comprehensive pre-hospital emergency medical service with introduction of a fleet of ambulances to cover the entire state in a phased manner. This initiative will facilitate an integrated and comprehensive health care management in the state providing high-end ambulance transport system from the doorstep of the patient to the appropriate care in a hospital. The 108 ambulance is available for all emergencies like road accident, natural disasters, emergency health care, pregnancy and delivery. Special 102 Ambulance service is meant for antenatal cases and Odisha Health Help line is available at 104. Thus 104 Help Line and 108 ambulances can be very well taken care of for snakebite victims.

Highlighting Gravity of Snakebite -Posing Snakebite as a Challenge for cure:

Local alertness in snakebite can be sponsored by local health workers, Panchayati Raj representatives and workers, village youth and local NGOs. Such a discussion must come in the spectrum of their work to run to the victim and help the victim to avail the first aid outlined below and call for 108 instantly before first aid.

SIMPLE FIRST AID IN SNAKEBITE: As all old methods of first aid advised to public on the event of snakebite have been obsolete or proved harmful, the only first aid is 'NO MOVEMENT OF SNAKEBITE VICTIM AND VERY LITTLE MANIPULATION OF BITING LIMB'. This advice rather advises one not to put ligatures, ice, bandages etc.

PRI participatory revolution and way of motivation of saving time of snakebite victim:

With today's Panchayati Raj activities and rising Grama Sabha participation, awareness generation and sensitization of people and volunteers can be done for the simple work of motivating and transporting a case. It will be credit of a local representative to see that a snakebite victim in his / her area is carried instantaneously and does not die untreated without right treatment.

As the snakebite case will be observed for 24 hours in treatment centres, it must be mandatory to transport such cases instantly from the first attendant of the victim and these gold words of transport at first hand and ring up to 108. Ambulances at hand quicker than 108 are always welcome.

Some Limitations

Few cobra bites may be too poisoned to take advantage of 40 minutes, but majority can be saved. The provisions of National Snakebite Protocol are not conclusive on treatment of such cases.

The Protocol should specify the nearest Snakebite Treatment Centre (at CHC or PHC or Sub Divisional Hospital etc.). Transport, Health Education and involvement of multiple organizations for catchment of cases in time should be elaborative.

Snakebite treatment centres must have capacity to handle any sort of snakebite and must have required beds for observation. Short supply of Anti Snake Venom in such centre is awesome; hence good management of pharmacy must be done. Hopefully, high speed communication of today with mobile phones can make people alert and informative on these aspects.

Conclusion:

Ambulance service and sensitization of community are as important factors for combating snakebite cases as the modality of prompt therapy for cure in hospital. 108 Ambulance services definitely promise to transport a snakebite victim at treatment centre within time. Any delay in searching an ambulance by the family member of snakebite victim or searching for local remedy should be overcome by arrival of local volunteers of locality and calling 108 and lifting the victim to the van. The Snakebite treatment centres are to administer justified treatment as per Protocol. The Snakebite which had long been a fatal unsolved problem on transportation grounds will have full scope of cure.

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10. Emerging Ambulance Facilities - 108 Ambulance: 1.108 Ambulance Facility: 108 is a free telephone number for emergency services to call in the Indian states (Odisha, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Gujarat, Uttarakhand, Goa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Kerala, Assam, Meghalaya, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh). The 108 Emergency Response Services is a free, 24/7 emergency service for providing integrated medical, police and fire emergency services. The service is provided in Public Private Partnership between State Government and Private EMS providers.
11. Odisha Emergency Medical Ambulance Service: The Odisha Government decided to set up a comprehensive pre-hospital emergency medical service with introduction of a fleet of ambulances to cover the entire state in a phased manner. This initiative will facilitate an integrated and comprehensive health care management in the state providing high-end ambulance transport system from the doorstep of the patient to the appropriate care in a hospital. Under OEMAS project, this modern free emergency ambulance service is being run on PPP mode in collaboration with an eminent Mumbai based company M/s. Ziqitza Health Care Ltd.

The average response time of 20 minutes for urban, 25 minutes for semi-urban and 35 minutes for the rural areas has been kept as performance parameter for the service provider. However the response time can be made more flexible depending upon the geographical terrain especially in the KBK region where the average time may vary from 45 to 60 minutes. Mapping and defining of strategic positioning of the ambulances with route maps, motorable points, nearest catch points in case of inaccessible locations are the guiding factors in chalking out the operational parameters of the project.

Round the clock pre hospital emergency transport care services across the state with agreed response time will help in reducing maternal and child

mortality as well as deaths and disabilities providing medical attention within golden hour. The uninterrupted functioning of the centralized call centre at Bhubaneswar and overall Emergency Response Service ensures that no call goes unattended.

Similarly in case of Mass Casualty Incidence and natural calamities the services of the fleet of ambulances will be quite handy for the administration to deal with the situations. NHA and Odisha State Disaster Management Authority (OSDMA) have agreed to provide their expertise to 108 Ambulance service whenever their services are required particularly in rainy season and inclement weather.

The ratio of ambulances of one per one lakh population has been kept as per the standard of WHO. The fleet will have both 'Basic Life Support' (BLS) and 'Advanced Life Support' (ALS) ambulances. The mix of ALS and BLS will be at the ratio of 20:80. There shall be a total of 420 ambulances under the Odisha Emergency Medical Ambulance Service (OEMAS). The project will be implemented in two phases on the basis of implementation feasibility, equity and need. In the first phase 280 ambulances will be launched covering 15 districts with a focus on the trauma corridor in Odisha across National highways.

All the 15 districts have been covered under the 1st phase of OEMAS, with launching at Keonjhar on 17th of July 2013. The MoU for the 2nd phase of OEMAS covering the remaining 15 districts (Bargarh, Bolangir, Boudh, Deogarh, Gajapati, Jagatsinghpur, Jharsuguda, Kalahandi, Kandhamal, Kendrapara, Malkanagiri, Nabarangpur, Nayagarh, Nuapada and Sonepur) have been signed by the Principal Secretary, Health & Family Welfare, Govt. of Odisha with the CEO of Ziqitza Health Care Limited, on 16th July 2013. The implementation of 2nd phase is expected to be completed soon.

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May Day - 2014

Souribandhu Kar

May Day is known as the International Workers' Day. The concept of the May Day took place in the late nineteenth century, to demand for working for 8 hours as the working condition was severe and it was quite common to work 10 to 16 hours in a day in unsafe condition. At its national convention in Chicago, held in 1884, the Federation of organized Trades and Labour Unions (which later became the American Federation of Labour) proclaimed that eight hours shall constitute a legal days' labour from and after May 1, 1886.

In a proclamation printed just before May 1, 1886, one publisher appealed to working people with this plea.

- Workingmen to Arms,
- Way to the palace, Peace to the Cottage and Death to luxurious idleness.
- The wage system is the only cause of the worlds' misery. It is supported by the rich classes, and to destroy it, they must be either made to Work or Die.
- One pound of Dynamite is better than a bustle of ballots
- Make your demand for eight hours with weapons in your hands to meet the capitalistic blood hounds, police and militia in proper manner.



LABOUR'S PLAY DAY
DEDICATED TO THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD

On May 1, 1886, more than 3,00,000 workers in 13000 business across the United States walked off their jobs in the 1st May Day celebration in history. In Chicago, the epicenter demanding for 8 hour working day, 40,000 went out on strike. More and more workers continued to walk off their jobs until the number swelled to nearly 1,00,000. Yet peace was prevailed. But

on 3rd May 1886 the violence broke out at McCormick Reaper works between police and strikers. At least two strikers were killed and unknown number were wounded.

The workers called for a public meeting at the Hay Market Square in the following day to discuss the police brutality. Due to bad weather and short notice only about 3000 workers were present without any provocation where meeting was continuing peacefully, the police began to disperse the thinning crowd when suddenly a bomb was burst. Enraged Police fired into the crowd. Nearly seven or eight civilians were killed and several were injured. No one knew who threw the bomb but it was the handiwork of the police who perpetrated the violence.

Eight leaders- Albert Parsons, August Spies, Samuel Fielden, OSCAR Neebe, Michael Schwale, Gorge Engel, Adolph Fisher and Louis Lingg were arrested and convicted of murder, though only three were even present at Hay Market. On November 11, 1887, after many failed appeals, Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fisher were hanged to death. Louis Lingg committed suicide protesting the states claim of authority and punishment. The remaining Fielden, Neebe and Schwals were pardoned six years later by Governor Altgeld.

The words engraved on the Haymarket monument reads as follows.

The Day will come when our silence will be more powerful more than the voice you are throttling today.

This is the brief history of May Day and this day is observed in more than 66 Countries of the World with the clarion call of workers of the world united against discrimination, poverty and exploitation, labour rights for all, Trade Union freedoms for all, progress and peace.

May day is a special day of great significance for the working class. Since the revolt of May 1st 1886 in Chicago until today, May Day is the day to analyze the achievements of the previous year and to place new initiatives and define targets for the next year.

Today we live in a period characterized by (a) imperialist aggressiveness (b) capitalist globalization and (c) the restriction of democratic, trade union and labour freedom.

The policy of the imperialist forces create many victims, as well as unemployment, poverty, exploitation and immigration etc.

Trade Union movements emerged to provide power and utterances to the workers' concerns to save them from exploitation and to forge their unity as a political force to usher in changes that would be sensitive to the workers' wages.

Today the economic success is sought to be achieved through means like dynamic comparative advantage, institutional infrastructure, creation of a large domestic market and through easy access to technology. The role of the labour is downplayed. Hence, there is a great challenge to the labour movement in this century. To face this challenges, the workers have to create a common platform for all the workers regardless of whether they are in the organized or the unorganized sector. The one dimensional perception of labour as an input to the wealth generation process will have to be seriously questioned because work has multiple dimensions. It is a generator of income, provider of psychological stability, gives direction in life and finally it is the creator of wealth for the betterment of the larger society. The workers, therefore, is a multi-dimensional functionary and an irreducible component of a society undergoing dynamic change. The Trade Union movements will need

to embrace a large vision of the society which shall be an inclusive society.

The Trade Unions must fight a crusade of a different kind on behalf of the worlds' poor and to address questions whether market beyond reforms is the need of the hour? Because millions of workingmen and women have lost their jobs during the recent meltdown/ capitalist financial units resulting into a serious social recession. The unemployment and under employment continue unabated. While millions of younger persons enter the labour market every year, they do not find adequate and reasonable employment opportunity in the present system of governance which encourages an unregulated mindless market economy, where jobs are not available, the increasing demand for social protection is also not met by the Government and the prolonged employment crisis carry major risks for social, political instability. The legitimate rights at work of the working class are seldom ensured, particularly in the growing unorganized/ informal sector. The growth of the working poor is on the increase while wage inequality increases, with executives and CEOs wages fending to increase very quickly. The collective bargaining forum is totally diluted and concessional bargaining has resulted in many Countries. The migrant worker face and undergo untold miseries and discrimination and deprivation of their legitimate rights and privileges, also resulting in the trafficking of women and children. The growth of regular employment has replaced by actualization and contractualisation. Both the organized and

unorganized sector worker suffer from social security.

The challenges posed by the market reform is faced by the workers collectively and unitedly throughout the globe. There were strikes, Hartals, demonstrations by the workers to ventilate their grievances and to change the policy of market reform.

In India, in Feb 20-21 2013, 11 Central Trade Unions and Independent Federations jointly and unitedly brought the nation to a standstill with undaunted determination and vigour, amidst police repressions and threats by Government and employers, the general strike concluded on the midnight of 21 February 2013 depicting once again the collective strength of the Indian Working Class. The successful strike action by the Indian workers has proved that the Trade Unions are not a dead force in India. This is a wakeup call to the Government.

In this background, the May 1st, 2014 will once again solidify the working class throughout the globe and fight relentlessly to change the nefarious Neo-liberal policy of the Governments. And the Indian working class will exhibit its united strength once again.

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Child Labour : A Social Evil

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We are now approaching the year 2014, which is a long distance of independence. Our constitutional commitment to universalize elementary education is still remained with us a 'teasing reality'. By all measures, simplistic linear expansion of the Indian primary education since independence has been phenomenal. Despite this impressive quantitative leap forward, it has not been possible to realize the avowed goals in terms of enrolment and retention of children of the 6-14 age group. The NPE 1986 has given the highest priority to solving the problem of children dropping out of school but it has been failed. It is found that most of the dropped out children are child labourers.

We have the highest number of child labour population of the world in our country where the working children of India can constitute a country. Children are the future horses, they need to learn before they can work. See your child in every child, stop child labour. Don't exploit them or harm them in physically, mentally and morally. The above said 'appeals lies at the back of the saying that child is the father of man.' To enable fathering of a valiant and vibrant man, the child must be groomed well on the formative year of his life. He must receive education, acquire knowledge of man and materials and blossom in such an atmosphere that on reaching age, he is

found to be a man with mission, a man who matters, so far as the society is concerned. According to UNICEF, it is found difficult to count the child labourers and partly the lack of an agreed definition of child labourer. Supreme Court has given judgment for abolishing child labour and mention some of the official estimates (N.S.S data) of child labourer. The judgment mentioned that none of the official estimates included child workers in an unorganised sector. Estimates from various non government sources as to actual number of working children range from 44 million to 100 million. But NGOs reckon the real figure is up 60 million. The number of girls involved is not much lower than the boys. Government of India points out that 2.5 lakh migrants going out of state every year. Everyday, we came to know read that the child labourers are victimised by their authority.

In our constitution we found manifestation in article 24, which is one of the two provisions in part iv of fundamental right against exploitation. Article 45 was therefore inserted in our constitution to provide free and compulsory education to our children. Our constitution contains some other provisions also to which we shall advert later, desiring that child must be given opportunity and facility to develop in a healthy manner. Despite the above, it is true that children

are exploited lot. Child labour is a big problem and has remained intractable, even after 67 years of our independence.

Sivakasi of Tamil Nadu was once taken as the worst offender in the matter of violating prohibition of employing child labour. As the situation was intolerable, a court case was filed by the public under Act 32, as after all the fundamental right of the children guaranteed by Article 24 was being grossly violated. The final report relating to the court judgment was declared to eliminate child labour in the match and fireworks industries in Tamil Nadu.

CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE:

- Article-24, Prohibition of employment of children in factories. No child below the age of 14 years shall be employed in any factories.
- 39(e)-The health and strength of workers, men, women and the tender age of children are not abused and forced to work which is unsuitable to their age and strength.
- 39(f)-Children are given opportunities to develop in a healthy manner.
- 41 - Right to work, to education and public assistance in certain cases.
- 45-Provision of free and compulsory education for each children of 6-14 years age group.
- 47- Duty of the state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health.

We find many children are child labourer in our state. In “Daily Samaj” detailed information on exploitation of child as a domestic labourer or any other labourer is noticed regularly. The 12 year old child labourer hails from Bolangir district

of Odisha and is in danger of losing his left hand while undergoing treatment at medical college . It is also highlighted that the other migrant labourers from Odisha are victimized by touts and brick-kiln owners in Karnataka (The Hindu, April 20, 2013). According to 2001 census report there were 377594 child labourers in Odisha out of 8634215 children. But in 2005 it was observed that 603290 children are child labourer (Child Census Report, 2006.OPEPA).

STATUTORY PROVISION:

We may know how the child labour problem has been viewed by our policymakers and what efforts have been made to eradicate this evil. The International Labour Organisation set up in 1919 under the league of nations had felt that there should be a guideline by which the employment of children under a certain age could be regulated in industrial undertakings. It therefore, suggested that the minimum age of work shall be 12 years. The same required ratification by the govt. of British India and during the legislative assembly debates the question of raising the minimum age from 9 to 12 years had created a furor on 19th May, it has been stated that the ILO has been playing an important role in the process of gradual elimination of child labour and to protect child from industrial exploitation .It has focused five main issues : (i) prohibition of child labour (ii) protecting child labour at work (iii) attacking the basic causes of child labour (iv) helping children to adopt to future work (v) protecting the children of working parents.

A. Various Efforts of Eradication of Child Labour:

(i) Ratification of UN Convention on Child Rights

India ratified the UN convention on the rights of the child in December, 1992. It is a set of international standards and measures intended

to project and promote the well being of children in the society. The convention provides the legal basis for initiating action to ensure the rights of the children in society. It draws attention to our sets of civils, political, social, economic and cultural rights of every child. Those are:

a. The rights to survival:

It includes the right to life with highest standard of health and nutrition and adequate standard of living. It also includes the right to name and a nationality.

b. The right to protection:

It includes freedom from all forms of exploitation, abuse, inhuman or degrading treatment.

c. The right to development:

It includes right to education, support for early childhood development and care, social security and the right to leisure, recreation and cultural activities.

d. The right to participation:

It includes respect for the views of the child, freedom of expression, access to appropriate information, freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

B. Ratification of ILO Convention Relating to Child Labour:

Six International Labour Organisation conventions relating to child labour have been ratified by India and three of them as early as in the first quarter of the 20th century.

C. Setting of The National Authority for Elimination of Child Labour:

NAECL was set up in September, 1994. The objectives of the NAECL are :

- To lay down policies and programs for elimination of child labour, particularly in hazardous employment.

- To monitor progress of implementation of programmes, projects and schemes for elimination of child labour and
- To co-ordinate child related programmes implemented by various Ministries of the Government of India to secure convergence of services.

The Government of India is implementing several programmes through its different agencies such as :

- Integrated rural development programme,
- Jawahar rojgar yojana,
- Development of Women and children in Rural areas,
- District Primary Education programmes,
- Training of rural youth for Self Employment,
- Indira Awas Yojana,
- Employment assurance scheme and Mid-day meal programme for school children.

In April 1995, Prime Minister of India wrote to the state governments about the formation of NAECL and sought their active support in eliminating the child labour from our country.

- Supreme Court Judgment for elimination of child labour, 10th December, 1996:

The Supreme Court passed a significant verdict to prevent the exploitation of children and safeguard their economic, social and humanitarian rights. They directed to set up the Child Labour Rehabilitation Welfare Fund, under which the offending employer will be asked to deposit a compensation of Rs 20,000 for every child employed in contravention of the provisions of the Child Labour & Prohibition Act 1986.

➤ The National Child Labour Projects :

NCLP was initiated during September 1988. Under NCPL 18,000 special schools have been set up covering about 1.5 lakhs working children.

➤ Scheme of the Ministries of Welfare & Women and Child Development:

The Ministry of Welfare has a grant-in-aid scheme for supporting and strengthening street children through NGOs.

➤ Elimination of Child Labour, part of the Common Minimum Programme of the Present Government

Elimination of child labour and providing universalisation of elementary education is part of the CMP of the present government.

- The Beedi & Cigarette Workers Act, 1966
- The Child Labour Act, 1986
- Except in the process of Family based work or recognized school based activities, children not permitted to work in occupations concerned with
 - ✓ Passengers, goods, mail transport by Railway
 - ✓ Dyeing weaving
 - ✓ Cinder picking, cleaning of ash pits
 - ✓ Cement manufacturing
 - ✓ Cloth painting
 - ✓ Dyeing and weaving
 - ✓ Manufacturing of matches, explosive, fireworks
 - ✓ Catering establishment in railway premises
 - ✓ Beedi making, and Mica cutting splitting
 - ✓ Abattoirs and wool cleaning etc.

DIMENSION OF CHILD LABOUR:

Child labour is an ubiquitous phenomenon. It can be broadly classified into the following categories:

- Child labour covered by Legislation
- Child labour falling outside the legislative framework

A) Agriculture and allied activities

B) Informal, unorganised semi urban and urban sector.

The laws covered 15% of the child labour force who are in formal industrial sector. Those are as follows:

- The Children (Pledging of labour) Act, 1933
- The Factories Act, 1948
- The Plantation Labour Act, 1951
- The Mines Act, 1952
- The Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961

CAUSES OF CHILD LABOUR:

According to Article 23 & 24 of Indian Constitution no child below the age of 14 should be allowed to work in any factory, mines or in any other places. But it is found that most of the children are labourer in different fields. This has been studied by a number of authors and they have pointed out different views on child labour. J.C Kulshreshtha on Indian child labour has mentioned the causes of failure of child labour is due to poverty, low wages of the adults, unemployment, migration to urban areas, large families, children being cheaply available, family expectation and traditions, lack of good schools, illiteracy and ignorance of parents and limited choices of women etc. Nazir Ahmed Shah also pointed out the similar views in this book.

CONCLUSION:

It may be concluded that, the problem of child labour to some extent can be solved by compulsory primary education. Only through education we can tackle the child labour in our state. But unless the family is assured of income, problem of child labour would hardly get solved and it is the vital question which has remained almost unattended. So, we are of the view that till an alternative income is assured to the family, the question of abolition of child labour would really remain a will of the wisp. Education is the right of every child till the age of 14. If all the children of age group 14 will enter into the schools, the child labour may be less. The mindset of our leadership in different fields and the cultural ethos of our society also has a lot to do with the abundance of child labour in our country.

The efforts of child labour have to be multipronged keeping in view the multiplicity of factors responsible for it. But any programmes of child labour eradication must have a strong component of mobilization of the various stakeholders as well as the community at large. We will have to design suitable educational strategy based on appropriate child centered pedagogy under alternative schooling system. Providing monetary incentives for compensating

the income lost due to the withdrawal of child from the work is also an issue to be thought about. The children have to work is sad, but that they should work in conditions dangerous to their health and safety is totally unacceptable. The problem of child labour be left untackled until economic conditions and social structures are fundamentally improved. The children only know their sorrows. Silent acceptance is writ large on their faces. Though it is true that labour helps children in their survival, but should the children be made to pay for the government's inability to curb poverty?

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Geeta Govinda - Its Place in History

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Geeta Govinda by Saint Poet Jayadeva is a medieval text of a Dance-Drama in Sanskrit. Though medieval in dating as it was written during the 12th Century A.D., yet it was highly modern in terms of its contents and presentation. Jayadeva gifted the character of Radha to Sanskrit literature as up to his period, there was neither a finished model of Radha nor any predecessor or prototype.

Geeta Govinda was written at a time, when the Indian Sub-Continent was subject of external invasion, wars, battles, rise of a number of principalities and multifarious religious ideas. The Arabs had already occupied Sindh for more than two centuries without any organized resistance from any other part of India. Mahammed of Gazni had attacked India and looted and destroyed the Somanath Temple 17 times. None except the local king put up any worthwhile fight. There was no upsurge of nationalism or religious renaissance in India.

It was also a period of rise of regional literatures specific to identities of each cultural region. The general background was one of political unrest and the absence of central political power. The different regions were out to develop and build upon their own literary and artistic traditions, local styles in religious practices and local models in art and sculpture.

The influence of Buddhism though dormant by this time was still quite strong in many parts of India, even though the Saivite reactions had continued to be also quite strong. The revival of Vaishnavism in South was at a nascent stage. Beyond the descriptions of Rasalila of Sri Krishna and the Gopis in Shreemad Bhagavat Vaishnavism did not have much in it to hold on to popular imagination. On the other hand, the Shaiva Literature had detailed descriptions of intense love between Shiva and Parvati. The decadent Buddhism in most parts of India had taken to tantrik practices to hold on to popular imagination, particularly amongst the weaker sections.

Years were spent in prolonged battles between different States of India leading to social indiscipline at home. Compared to Christianity, which had already established itself in Kerala and in parts of the western coast and Islam, which had started making inroads from north east, Hinduism was not a mass based propagative religion. It believed in individualistic relationship with God and that also confined itself to the elites namely, Brahmins, Kshyatriyas and Vaisyas. It was mass worship and community participation in religious rites and festivals that keep a community together. Only massively built temples could be the convergence point for such mass

worship and mass participation. Temples had to be made centres of social and cultural entertainment, so that the society would be held together with religion as the focal point. Massive Building alone would not be sufficient if items and programmes of entertainment is not made a part of the mode of worship. The soldiers of the land based army were to stay for years away from their homes in battles. They were also householders, who needed some entertainment in their Camps either through music, dance or both. Therefore, there was a necessity for literary master-pieces, which could be enacted through music and dance.

Gita Govinda came to fill up this need wonderfully well. Coupled with the Deba Dasi System, it provided top quality entertainment to devotees, who assembled in temples in *poojas*. Performed by Gotipuas (dancing boys in the attire of girls), it also fulfilled needs of providing leisure time entertainment to the fighting armies. Gita Govinda made Vaishnavism more romantic than Shaivism and socially more safe and acceptable than Tantrik Buddhism. Written in Sanskrit, which was easy to understand throughout India and rhythmic and perfectly lyrical to sing, it spread to different regions of India. The first dated manuscript comes from Nepal (1248 A.D.). Geeta Govinda was sung in Vaishnavite Centres of Patan in Gujrat at the end of 13th Century. Manank of Gujrat and Rana Kumbha from Rajasthan wrote major commentaries on Gita Govinda. Gita Govinda provided materials in artistic creations to Western and Central Asia. Alongwith Gita Govinda, Radha travelled to temples and art studies of different artists in painting and textiles.

The commentaries of Gita Govinda in Indian languages accompanied by its translations and its imitations are most prolific in Odisha followed by Bengal, Rajasthan, Gujrat and

Karnataka. The emergence of Jagannath Cult and the critical importance of Puri as a centre of pilgrimage had attracted Shree Chaitanya from Bengal. Raya Ramananda was the Governor of Deccan Province of the Utkal empire with headquarters at Rajamahendri and Sri Chaitanya met him there. Shri Chaitanya came to know the inner meaning and philosophy of Gita Govinda from Raya Ramananda and highly appreciated it. The popularity of Gita Govinda in Vaishnavism was then established firmly. Gita Govinda and worship of Radha became central theme to the theology, doctrine and the rituals of the Goudiya Vaishnav followers of Chaitanya and the Vaishnavs of Odisha. The Goswamis took it to Vrindavan.

In some temples, Gita Govinda was sung before the image of Krishna, in some of the temples it was sung before the image of Radha and in many others, it was sung before both. At Puri, where the epic was created, it was sung and performed in dance before the images of Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra.

Whereas some commentaries, such as by the Goswamis, understood the Gita Govinda purely as a theological work, there are others by Rana Kumbha of Rashika Priya Tika, which comprehended and interpreted the work as an Alankar Text dealing with Alankar, Nayak and Nayika Veda. A few other commentaries looked at the text of Gita Govinda as an work of erotica and grouped it with Kama Shastra and Koka Shastra.

The Gita Govinda was taken in performing arts as an work of purely musical excellence dealing with different *ragas, talas and chhandas*. Gita Govinda was also taken as a Dance Drama and it also induced many works of dramatized prose dealing with the theme of love between Radha and Krishna.

The imitations of Gita Govinda in verse are found in all parts of India, but the maximum number of them came from Odisha. As regards the number of imitations, the Gita Govinda is, perhaps, second only to Meghadutam by Mahakabi Kalidas.

The Gita Govinda with illustrations have been found and preserved in Nepal, Gujarat, Delhi, Jeipur, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Madurai, Kolkata, Bhubaneswar, Mewar in Rajasthan, Assam, Ashutos Museum in Kolkata, British Museum in London, National Museum of Chandigarh and in Darbhanga in Bihar. It is obvious that starting from the last decade of 12th Century Gita Govinda had an unparalleled popularity all over India from Kanya Kumari to Kashmir and from Assam to Gujarat. The original and sub-styles it had evolved in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Bengal and Manipur, make it evident that Gita Govinda singing was universal in Vishnu Temples throughout India, but in Odisha it is also sung even till to-day in Shiva and Shakti Temples. Singing styles of Bhajans and Music are definitely different in different States, but singing style of Gita Govinda corresponding to the dance and dance drama traditions are peculiar only to Odisha and Manipur.

Gita Govinda thus, had an unique role in the development of a whole gamut artistic traditions of India, namely – literature, painting, music, dance, textile design and sculpture. In the evolution of theological doctrines, pictorial styles, music and dance schools, it played a pivotal and unique role.

Eminent Sanskrit Scholars have called Gita Govinda as the last great work in Sanskrit Literature. It is great because it provided a basis of cultural unity of India at a time, when there was fragmentation, rift and unrest. The role it

had played in making Vaishnavism more charming, interesting and absorbing is unique in the history of Indian renaissance. Had Vaishnavism not been made more appealing to the common mass, which started with the Gita Govinda then national unity, perhaps, could not have survived from the onslaught of Tantrik Buddhism, Islam and Christianity and last but not the least 750 years of alien rule.

It is in this historical context that Jayadeva's Gita Govinda has to be appreciated as a great and infallible instrument of national integration through its impact on Bhakti movement at a time when cultural and social fabric of India seemed to be falling apart. It was Jayadeva's Radha and Krishna, which together united the religious factions amongst Hindus all over. It made religion an all absorbing passion and not merely an abstract exercise in intellect. The untouchables and the socially backward classes, which had got attracted towards Buddhism and other propagated religions accepted Vaishnavism as their own religion and continued to be in the mainstream. Mere Vishnu worship and a non romantic Bhakti cult could not perhaps have achieved such a miracle without the intervention of Jayadeva's epic on romance between Radha and Krishna. The great unifying impact of the Bhakti cult which has been felt throughout last nine centuries is strongly felt even to-day in the ISKCON and so many other post renaissance movements.

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The Philosophy of the Gitagovinda

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God, is the *Chidatma*, and the Absolute Consciousness, whose mysterious existence can be conceived at heart by the acquisition of *Brahmajnana* through vedantic meditation. *Brahmajnana* is the source of wisdom and consciousness. The *Mahayogi* who knows our inner feeling is the Cosmic power or *Brahma* who is also the ultimate Reality. He is also the protector of His creation, the *Dharma*. He is the stainless one, shining in peerless light and appearing in Soul-bewitching wondrous form. He is known as Govinda. The collection of sweet and musical *slokas* dedicated to Him is the *Gitagovinda*.

The scripture *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva centres round the conjoined love episode of Radha and Krsna. According to Shri Rama Krishna Paramahansa, "As a devotee cannot live without God, so also God cannot live without His devotee. The devotee becomes the sweetness and God its enjoyer. The devotee becomes the lotus and God the bee. It is also the God-head that has become all these in order to enjoy its own Bliss. That is the significance of the episode of Radha and Krsna". According to one school of Vaisnava religion, the supreme God Himself became Radha and Krsna to enjoy the bliss of their mutual union.

At the beginning of the scripture of the *Gitagovinda*, it is described in the very first *sloka*

that due to all-pervading darkness in the dense forest caused by clouds, Krsna, the child, was afraid and so Nanda asked Radha to lead the kid home, but Radha on her way indulged in secret blissful union with Madhava, her beloved, in the groves on the bank of the river Yamuna.

Due to excess of *tama* (darkness) *jiva* forgets God and there is not the slightest trace of yearning in his heart for God-realisation. The creator is at a loss to observe this spiritual degeneration in His creation. Though a part and parcel of the Supreme Self, *Jiva* forgets his inner self coming under the shell of world-bewitching *maya* or illusion which envelops him in complete darkness. The *jiva* can dispel this darkness of ignorance by kindling at heart the spirit of Radha, the pleasing consort of Madhava by spiritual discipline at the dictates of conscience and enjoy the bliss of communion with the Supreme Self on the bank of the river Yamuna at Vrindavana.

Devotion with dedication is the main weapon to cut all the fetters that bind the *Jiva* to worldliness. The sages of the past have recorded eight shackles which obstruct the way to the realisation of God.

"Ghrna, sankha, bhayam, lajja, jugupsa cheti
panchami,
Kulam silam cha manam cha astu pasah
prakrtitah"

(*Bhairava Yamala* quoted in *Yogi Guru* – P. 168)

The eight shackles are hatred, apprehensions, fear, shame, *jugupsa*, high caste, rank and fame. These are brutal by nature and bind the human soul.

“*Aetairbadha pasuh prokto
Mukta etah sadasivah*”

(*Bhairava Yamala* quoted in *Yogi Guru*, P. 169)

Knowledge based on spiritual consciousness is not achieved easily, but it is the outcome of God’s grace to be obtained through *yogic* austerities. Attachment to false and transient objects of the world delude mankind life after life leading to ignorance.

“*Janmantara sata vasta mithya samsara vasana
Sa chirabhyasa yogena vina na ksayate kvachit*”

(*Muktikopanisad* – 2 -15, quoted in *Yogiguru*, Page 169)

Futile is the human birth without the awakening of spiritual consciousness. So in order to obtain divine knowledge based on spiritual standards, the mind has to be controlled first for diverting it away from the sensuous objects of the world by *yogic* austerities, discrimination and renunciation till it is completely annihilated. Detailed discussion about Radha, the Primal Power and beloved consort of Madhava, has been made in the *Lilatattva*. On developing a conscientious mind, the spirit of Radha shall blossom in the heart and this will lead to blissful union with Madhava, the Supreme Self.

This very first *sloka* embodies in it the whole of the essence of the *Gitagovinda* which has been gradually developed in latter cantos. *Visnu Puran* contains the following *sloka*. (*Visnu Puran Pratham Ansa*, Dwitiya Adhyaya quoted in *Sabda Kalpuran* P.307 Nag publication, Delhi -1987).

“*Vasha sarvanivasascha visvani yasya lomesu,
Tasya deva Parambrahma Vasudeva iti ritah.*”

(*Visnu Puran*, *Pratham Ansa*- 2nd chapter quoted in *Sabdakalpadruma* P.307 Naga Publications Delhi 1987)

It is Vasudeva, who is omnipresent and is the ultimate cause (*Mahakarana*) of the animate and inanimate world. He is formless, beyond physical perception and incomprehensible by the senses whose omnipotence cannot be described in words. How can the formless *Brahma* be conceived of indulging in blissful romantic inter-communion ? At the outset, the poet, in the third *sloka* of the *Gitagovinda* calls upon those who are desirous of hearing to taste the sweetness of the sportive, romantic and divine love. In other words, through the thrilling love episode of Radha and Krsna, the poet Jayadeva takes us stage by stage to the highest pitch of God consciousness and God realisation.

It is God Himself who appears in the form of man. The *Nitya* is the indivisible Satchidananda, and the *lila* or play takes various forms, such as *lila* of God, the *lila* as man and the *lila* as the Universe. The *nitya* comes down to the universe in form of *lila* to teach mankind and to perpetuate the creation. In fact this *lila* is going on since the first day of creation and shall continue till its end. The *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva tends to uplift the soul on the way to God realisation., stage by stage, by dispelling the darkness caused by *maya* or illusion through the medium of selfless, fascinating and heavenly love of Radha and Krsna. To picture the inner most feelings of love in a pleasing romantic and attractive manner touching the heart of one and all is not possible for an average man without any divine manifestation in him. That is why the commentators have placed Jayadeva as an incarnation of ‘Jagannatha’ or the second ‘Vyasadeva’.

After the 4th *sloka*, begins the heart-touching vivid melodious description of the ten incarnations (*Dasavatara*) based on the evolutionary process of the creation and development of the animal world. According to the *Srimad Bhagavata Gita*, when virtue subsides and vice prevails, God manifests Himself to establish righteousness. It is on this that the theory of Incarnations of God is based.

MINA or Fish

At first the whole of the creation was full of water. Sages of the past say that the fish was the first aquatic developed creature created by God. Due to spark of *Chidatma* infused in it, it throbbled into life and it is considered to be the Fish incarnation of God, who descended to earth to teach people and to preserve His creation. The *Vedas* were in danger. Assuming the Fish incarnation He rescued the *Vedas* thereby setting forth an example for the *jiva* engrossed in *maya* due to accumulation of evil and immoral tendencies. The goal is to control the mind from the beginning and focus it on knowledge of *Brahma*, the ultimate Reality.

KURMA or Tortoise

The animal creation on its evolutionary process and development proceeded and there was the Tortoise Incarnation (*Kurma Avatara*) of God. It was the first animal of its kind, an amphibian, which could move about both in water and land. In course of gradual progress of the *jiva* on the spiritual path there is great rivalry between godly and brutal forces. In the midst of this the seed of devotion flung in the hearts of the devotees germinates and the *jiva* longs to taste the nectar of bliss. Through the insurmountable hurdles of life the *jiva* pines for bliss of God. The gods and demons churned the sea with the Mandara hill to obtain the nectar and God in shape of tortoise saved the earth by supporting it

on His back as described in the *Srimad Bhagavata*.

VARAHA or Boar

The next incarnation is the Boar that is the *Varaha* incarnation of God which is very significant. The amphibian progresses to the stage of the mammal. Without cultivating purity of heart no aspirant can expect god-realisation. So the *jiva* should be purged of all impurities before aspiring for God's grace. Man should free himself from the clutches of 'Woman' and 'Gold' which constitute *maya* and delude mankind. Due to the degenerating effect of the *tama*, man has forgotten his own self and moves far away from God. The Boar Incarnation aims at reestablishing to pure nature and goads *jiva* to Godhead by removing the impurities of heart and thereby saving the world from destruction.

NARASINGHA or Man and Lion

By way of continuous development *jiva* assumes the joint form of man and animal which represents the *Narasingha* (man and lion) incarnation of God. Knowledge and wisdom dawned in the man as a result of which evil forces were crushed down. But *jiva* cannot completely free himself from 'I'ness or 'My'ness and brutal tendencies in spite of its partial elevation on the spiritual path. *Brahma* or God consciousness should be enkindled at heart with iron determination. Consequently the demon Hiranya Kasipu the personified *raja* and *tama* is vanquished. Without vanquishing *raja* and *tama* no one can progress in the field of spiritual discipline.

VAMANA or the Dwarf

The next incarnation is that of *Vamana* or Dwarf. After overcoming the brutal forces, *jiva* assumes the short-stature body of man known as *Vamana* Incarnation. On assuming a human body

He was influenced by *sattva*, *raja* and *tama*. *Sattva* always soars high in the spiritual plane and consequently there was development of human knowledge. This is the 5th step in the spiritual ladder. When God consciousness blossoms with the elevation of *sattva*, then *raja* and *tama* flee away. On gaining wisdom, *jiva* realises that in comparison with the vast creation he dwindles into insignificance. This humility and the spirit of surrender to the Creator infused in *jiva* a moral and spiritual force. In the Vamana Incarnation, His two legs occupied the sky and the earth and the third leg pushed Bali the embodiment of *raja* and *tama* to the underground.

Lord Jagannatha is termed in the *Puranas* as 'Vamana'. The saints of the past say that on having the *darsana* of Lord Jagannatha in the chariot, man escapes the painful cycle of life and death.

“*Rathe tu Vamana drstva punarjanma navidyate*”

The *Yogis* compare the human body with a chariot. Just as the chariot has three parts, similarly the human body comprises mainly three parts, namely 'Sahasrara (head) 'Anahata' (heart) and 'Muladhara (lower part). At the topmost portion of the chariot Lord Jagannatha exists. It is the heart of the devotee which is the playground or drawing room of God. At the *muladhara chakra* (*chakra* is the centre of force in the body) the lower tendencies like lust etc. are located. The moment Lord Jagannatha ascends the chariot as Vamana, the moment there is an outburst of spontaneous devotional and unfathomable joy in the congregated mass a supernatural sphere is created. On hearing the devotional songs and the *sankirtana*, the evil tendencies leave the mind. *Sattva*, *raja* and *tama* are the cords pulling the chariot of the human body. The *Yogis* believe that if an aspirant can realise and see in Lord Jagannatha at the

sahasrara chakra of his body, he shall not be born again in this world.

PARASURAMA

Though the *jiva* was influenced by the three *gunas*, namely; *sattva*, *raja* and *tama*, the faculty of *sattva* prompted him to cultivate love, brotherhood and this led to formation of human society. But in course of time the *rajas* and *tamas* re-establish their hold on *jiva* and men again indulged in sensual pleasures, attachment to worldly objects, envy, vices etc. going astray from the path of spiritual discipline. Most of the *Kshatriyas* who were the ruling chiefs of the country were despots and did not care for the welfare of the people. They practised all sorts of cruelties. They did not care for the counsel of the wise, the sages and the saints. In order to save His creation from disaster God again incarnated Himself as Parasurama and after eliminating these *Kshatriyas* He restored peace and order on the earth. Though man tries to achieve progress on the spiritual path stage by stage, he has to face repeated falls due to dominance of *rajas* and *tamas*. The incarnation of Parasurama signifies that one should cut asunder by the axe of conscience shackles that bind the human soul to worldly objects, and reestablish the domain of *sattva*.

RAMA

The incarnation of Rama shows the victory of virtue over vice by way of contrast between moral, spiritual and godly forces on one hand and *rajasika*, *tamasika* and *asurika* forces on the other. Due to the predominance of *sattvika* qualities, *Ramarajya* exhibited the highest standard of kingship, parental regard, brotherly affection, devotion to superiors sages and *Brahmins*, selfless heavenly love, love for lower animals and heroism and valour to combat the evil forces. The way to God realisation was made

clear, Ravana, the personification of *rajas*, *tamas* and all other *asurika*-forces was vanquished. The incarnation of God as Rama taught the world to control the mind, subdue the lower base physical tendencies and to concentrate upon truth, non-violence and spiritualisation which chisels into shape the marble of life.

BALARAMA or HALADHARA (Ploughman)

The next incarnation of God is Haladhara, the ploughman. This incarnation contains a significant message to the human society. The plough is the symbol of agriculture, the main source of subsistence of the human society. In other words men were taught the value of dignity of labour and to utilise the strength for improvement of agriculture and to direct the mind for spiritual pursuits. Agriculture was the first non-violent way of procuring food and earning a livelihood for man. Haladhara Incarnation stood for this.

BUDDHA

Due to Vedic complexities of mode of worship to God, the rigidness of the caste system and other superstitions prevalent in the society, people were subjected to great oppression and ill-treatment. Animal sacrifice in the *yajna* and many other cruelties were practised in the name of God. To eradicate this blemish from the human society, God incarnated Himself as Buddha and taught people the rare virtues of Truth and Non-violence.

Jiva gains wisdom by maturity of knowledge. At this stage he begins to hate the earth polluted with envy and other vices. This leads an aspirant to the final stage of emancipation that is the merging of the soul with the *Brahma*, attaining *Nirvana*.

KALKI

On gaining wisdom the liberated soul sees the Lord in *samadhi* and waits for being merged with Him when *Mahakala* (the death) destroys his physical frame. *Mahakala* signifies the Kalki Incarnation of God.

Days gone by shall never come back again. Like a river flowing down to meet the sea, life moves in a fast pace to reach the last syllable of recorded time and meets death or *Mahakala*, the inevitable.

True wisdom blossoms in an aspirant in *nirvikalpa samadhi*. To him all appear to be manifestations of *Brahma* and this is what is known as *Brahma Jnana*. Everything in the physical world is unreal transitory and an illusion. The *Advaita* conception of *Brahma* is only real. According to the great *yogi* Nigamananda, this *Advaita* conception is termed as philosophy of life, *Paramatma* and *Bhagavana*. But achievement of *Advaita jnana* is not possible for the average man. Bhagavan Sankaracharya, the founder of *Advaita* philosophy, Sadguru Nanak, Maharaj, Sumeru Das, Thakur Nigamananda, Ramakrsna Paramhansa etc. had realised *Brahma* in *Nirvikalpa Samadhi*.

The liberated soul shall enjoy the perpetual bliss in the kingdom of heaven and taste the nectar of His peerless beauty and *lila*.

After describing the ten incarnations, the liberated soul in communion with *Brahma* has gone mad with divine bliss and rapture “ *Srita kamala kucha mandala, dhrta kundala, kalita lalita vanamala.....etc.* ”

At the end of the salutations to *Brahma*, begins the sportive eternal communion with Satchidananda. This is transformed to Radha-Krsna *lila*, the love episode of Radha and Krsna which is otherwise indescribable.

In the heart of the aspirant, on eight thousand petalled lotus, *Brahma* in form of Madhava or Purusottam indulges in everlasting blissful union with *Prakrti* (nature) *Para Sakti* or the primal power. On realisation of His existence, the soul can easily escape *maya* or illusion of the world and merge with *Brahma*, the Supreme Self. This eight petalled lotus represents the eight *sakhis* of Radha participating in the sportive union at Vrndavana. The thousand petals of lotus symbolise the thousand *Gopis* and Srimati Radhika is *Mahamaya* or the the Primal Power.

These refer to the plane of spiritual discipline. A lover of poetry may be fascinated by the art of love as represented in the melodious verses of the *Gitagovinda*. But for realisation of Hari in the self, a separate angle of vision is considered necessary.

The Theory of Incarnation :

Sri Ramakrsna says, "He who is *Brahma* is the *Adyasakti*, the Primal Energy. When inactive, he is *Brahma*, the *Purusa*. He is called *Sakti*, or *Prakrti*, when engaged in creation, preservation and destruction. These are two aspects of Reality - *Purusa* and *Prakrti*. He, who is *Purusa* is also the *Prakrti*. Both are embodiment of Bliss. *Brahma* or God is beyond sense perception and incomprehensible. He is *nirguna* or formless. But He assumes form and becomes *saguna* for the sake of his devotee. This is the incarnation of God. For the sake of creation the *saguna brahma* incarnated Himself and assumed the trinity form of *Brahma*, *Visnu* and *Mahesvar*. There are manifestations of His power not only in *Trimurti* but also in different gods installed and worshipped. These incarnations were meant for assisting the aspirants to achieve progress on the spiritual path and to teach the soul to proceed step by step towards God-realisation. God is one but His names are many.

Fire is one, but it assumes different forms and names at different places. Similarly, there are manifestations of God in different forms and names.

Govinda, who is the *Mahakarana*, cause of causes is also *Satchidananda* who is *Purusa* or the ultimate Reality that only existed before creation. Though He was the Creator and *Chidatma*, He would have been unaware of His existence but for *chitsakti*. The link between the creator and His creation is *maya* or illusion. This phenomenal world is created by His infinite power. By forces of *maya* He has accepted the limits of time, action and the nature. This is what is known as the first stage of the creation.

After the first stage of the creation the basic principles (elements) were created. Though God was the creator of all these principles (elements), there in conjunction with each other created by themselves men and other animals. This is known as the second stage of creation. This infinite power divided itself into ten components according to knowledge, will and action.

When every soul appears in the mother's womb, there is manifestation of godly power in the *Jivatma*. This is what is known as the third stage of creation.

Gunavatara :

Sattva, *raja* and *tama* are known as *Gunavataras* of God. In the first stage of the creation these exist as the cause, in the second stage as the perception and in the third stage as the mind, intellect and ego. Again these *gunas* are also known as *Brahma*, *Visnu* and *Mahesvara*. He who creates the world by conjoining *Purusa* and *Prakrti* is known as *Brahma*. He who under the spell of *maya* lends body consciousness to

the *Jivatma* and goals it on the path of God-realisation is known as Visnu. Again he who transforms or even destroys this universe according to need is known as Siva. But they are only partial manifestations of that one and only Infinite power. The prayers and worship which people offer to these gods, ultimately reach Him.

Every soul of the animal world is a part and parcel of the *Brahma*, the Supreme One. So every living animal, man and woman is the manifestation of God. The *Purusavatara* and *Gunavatara* are needed for preserving the creation. But sometimes for specific missions God appears on the earth through incarnations. When virtue subsides and vice prevails God appears on earth to establish righteousness and protects the creation from the demonic forces. This is known as *Naimitika Avatar*. The *Yugavatara*, *Manvantara Avatara*, *Avesavatara*, *Lilavatara* and *Jnanavatara* are included in it.

Yugavatara :

When *raja* and *tama gunas* predominate in human mind, man is subjected to evil forces and goes astray. As a result, the creation tends towards destruction. At this crucial time, through the infinite grace of God, the *sattva guna* is enkindled in the human mind which grows stronger and stronger and by this the creation is saved from destruction. This is known as the *Yugavatara* of God. The ten incarnations of God as depicted in the *Gitagovinda* by Sri Jayadeva are considered *Yugavataras* of God. Of these ten incarnations, four assume the shape of the lower animals. But, on analysis, it will be seen that they contain great significance in the evolutionary process of animal development as well as a medium to impart spiritual momentum by eradicating lower base tendencies.

Manvantara Avatara :

The holy saints and sages are manifestation of godly power who came down to the earth with a mission to teach humanity the gospels of truth, non violence and spiritualism by kindling *sattvik* quality in soul and developing it for the sake of God-realisation. They are known as *Manvantara Avataras* of God. Sages like Kaundilya, Rsabha, Dhruva, Prahlada, Vyasa, Gautama etc. belong to this class.

Avesavatara :

For specific purposes there is migration of godly power in soul. This is known as *Avesavatara*.

Lilavatara :

The creator out of his love for the creation assumes human forms with godly powers to sport in the universe as a man, to enjoy his *lila* and also to set up the religious and spiritual ideals for the human society. As this incarnation is the outcome of the divine will indulge in *lila*, this is known as the *Lilavatara*. The playful activities of God are beyond sense perception. It is Srikrnsna who was the *Lilavatara*. There has been no second *Lilavatara* by now. Srikrnsna was the fullest manifestation of God's power. The *Avatari* (god who assumes the form of *Avatara* in different ages) himself came as *Lilavatara*.

Jnanavatara :

God incarnates himself in human form to develop in human society the *sattva* quality and to let the *jiva* go on spiritual path. This is known as '*Jnanavatara*. Mahavira, Buddha, Sankaracharya, Sri Chaitanya, Sadguru Bhagban Nanak, Mahatma Sumeru Das, Sivananda, Nigamananda, Brahmananda, Ramkrnsna, Sirdi Sai, Satyasai belong to this type of incarnation.

It is foolish on the part of an ordinary man to go for gauging the depth of power of God in

the different incarnations which is beyond the conception of sages and saints.

The *Chidatma* and the *Chitsakti* are to observe and converse of the same coin that is the Absolute Reality or *Brahma*. When void of any action it is *Brahma*, and when engaged in creation, preservation and destruction by the help of the three *gunas*, *sattva*, *raja* and *tama*, it is the *Adyasakti* or primal power. *Brahma* is *Purusa* and his power is *Prakrti*. So *Prakrti* is the dynamic manifestation of *Brahma* in shape of the phenomenal creation with everything that belongs to it. At times, *Brahma* in conjunction with his primal power, the *Adyasakti* or *yogamaya* incarnations in dual form saves the creation from *asurika* forces. Such an incarnation was Radha–Krsna, essentially one incarnation but in two forms.

Srikrnsna is the *Parama Purusa* and Srimati Radhika, his loving consort is the *Prakrti*. She is termed as *Para Prakrti*. In Sanskrit as well as in Oriya 'Para' means 'another' or 'other'. According to our scriptures the word 'Para' also refer to Srestha or Supreme Chief which is *Purusa*. So *Prakrti* is always at work to please *Purusa*. She has completely surrendered her heart and soul for the satisfaction of *Purusa*. But *Purusa*, though feigning indifference, is pleased at heart and charmed at the selfless love and restlessness of *Prakrti* to please Him. The whole creation is immersed in everlasting joy at this sweet selfless and blissful intercourse between the *Purusa* and *Prakrti*. *Prakrti* is always eager to execute the longing of her beloved in the phenomenal world for which she is very swift, agile and always on at her heels. Though enjoying the full bliss of being merged with *Nirguna Purusa*, she does not have the slightest trace of desire. She merges completely with *Purusa*. The whole creation is transformed to

Vrndavana, the place of sportive union of Radha and Krsna. *Prakrti* goes into *samadhi* while in communion with *Purusa*. The playful and loving activities of *Prakrti* move her beloved counterpart *Purusa* who is overwhelmed with intensity of divine love and forgetting his consciousness entreats Radha, the *Prakrti*, with the expression "Dehi pada pallavamudaram".

At the advent of spring *Prakrti* in form of nature throbs with new life and inspires the whole creation. She has assumed this inspiring form for the pleasure and happiness of *Purusa*. In the words of the poet *Prakrti* is "Rtunam Kusumakarah". Having adorned the bosom of the blue-coloured Lord with all that is best and pleasing, the every playful *Prakrti* merges herself with *Purusa* and it is this blissful conjoined union of *Purusa* and *Prakrti* which has been transformed into the heavenly inter-communion of Radha and Madhava. The *Vasanta Lila* as described in the *Gitagovinda* is only a spark of the eternal *lila* of Radha and Madhava going on infinitely. On the infinite powers of God the main three are : 1. *Maya*, 2. *Svarupa*, 3. *Tatastha*. By his *Mayasakti* God has created the world, *Svarupa Sakti* is that with which he rests in the eternal *lila* and by his 'tatastha' power the universe is regulated and governed.

The *Svarupa Sakti* again can be divided into three composites i.e. *sat*, *chit* and *ananda*. The term 'sat' means real and existing for ever meaning he who always exists. The entire world is His manifestation. God being the ultimate source of power lends a spark to others and creates them. This is what is known as *sandhini* power of God. 'chit' means intellect knowledge, wisdom and consciousness. From the continuous flow of his wisdom or consciousness a particle of consciousness has come down to this world making it aware of itself conscious. He is the

Supreme of all consciousness. He makes others conscious by His own power. This is known as *sambit* power of God. Lastly God is *ananda* or bliss incarnate. *Ananda* means joy, delight and bliss. All bliss owe their origin to God. The animate world feels pleasure or *Ananda* only through His grace. The power with which He delights others, is known as the *alhadini sakti* or the pleasing power. As the soul is in constant communion with God, he feels the pleasure and there lurks in his mind a thirst for enjoying the bliss of life. But due to spell of *maya* or illusion, he forgets. It is God who feels the pleasure and pain in the creation in form of man. By reaching *Brahma*, the embodiment of permanent bliss the thirst of soul for real joy and happiness is quenched. So the *Upanisads* say “*Rasovaisati, rasam habyam labdhanti bhavati*”. In other words soul enjoys the fullness of heavenly joy by obtaining the grace of God, the source of permanent bliss.

Every *jiva* or soul pines for testing the pleasures of life. But to taste the bliss of life, one should intensify his feelings for divine love of God. When the feelings for love of God are intensified this is known as *bhava*. Unless *bhava* is awakened at heart, it is not possible to realise God and His bliss. The permanent joy and happiness which one derives by communion with God is termed as nectar and is far above the so called happiness and material comforts of the material world. When *bhava* grows intense it turns into *mahabhava* which links the self with the Supreme Self of God. We cannot hope for the grace of God for ensuring the fulfilment of our worldly desires. But on the other hand we should be prepared to sacrifice all we have in a selfless spirit to gain Him. Love of God should be cultivated at heart for the sake of God and not for any ulterior motive. The great poet Jayadeva has mentioned in the *Gitagovinda* :

“*Hariravimani rajaniridani miyamapijativiram
Kurumamavachanam sattvara rachanam purayasri
hmadhuripukamam*”

(*Gitagovinda* –11-7)

It is Krsna who is Madhuripu. His will is the only truth. The *jiva* or soul should exert himself heart and soul to fit into His divine will. One who is deeply engrossed in the material comforts of the world can hardly think of God. So the *jiva* or soul should proceed cautiously on the path of spiritual discipline and sing and hear the glorious *lila* or activities of God with a purified heart free from worldliness and then obtain His grace.

Love is supernatural and God is love incarnate and the only source of Divine joy. This world has been designed by God, as a universal school of Love. Love is divinely bestowed upon man. Out of ignorance the *jiva* or soul cannot realise that feelings of Love are the gifts of God which lead him to the kingdom of heaven. Love is the essence of His creation. The Lord or Purusottama appears as the universe with the nectar of divine love and his loving manifestation in every object of this phenomenal world turns it to a paradise.

God exists both within and without the animate world. The primary stage of Divine Love is *bhakti* or intensive yearning and restlessness for God which ultimately leads the *jiva* to the bosom of God. By His will this universe is ocean of love. This instinct of Love which God has bestowed on his creation, should be fully utilised by the *jiva* to reach the summit of God-realisation and enjoy perpetual Love. The aspirant who is mad for this Divine Love shall consider the material world as vile dust polluted with the most disagreeable stuff. In order to achieve the God in himself one should practise *Karmayoga*, *Jnanayoga* and *Bhaktiyoga*. For this, many saints and sages in the past had to undergo most severe

yogic penance and austerities to be blessed with Love of God. It is a pity that some others do not have the rudimentary conception of God and the Divine Love. They equate love with carnal desire. God has created this world for His *lila*. As long as there is the creation this continuous flow of Divine Love will enliven the heart of every living being wherein the seed of love shall germinate.

Unless the desires of the mind are completely annihilated, love of God can never be acquired. Spiritual austerity is the only way to put a stop to the desires of the mind. Desirelessness leads to acquisition of Love of God which in course of time is transformed to *mahabhava* that merges the soul with the Supreme Self or *Brahma*. The *Gopis* had gained this desirelessness of mind through varied modes of spiritual discipline and penance as a result of which they were blessed with co-union with God. It is very difficult to discriminate between one's desire and the will of God without purification of heart. Many believe their own desires to be those of the Lord which only exposes their foolishness. One can hope to realise the will of God if he reaches the level of the *Gopis* in the plane of selfless love for God and to enjoy the bliss of Gods' grace even without any spiritual penance. This is the real *samadhi* which is possible only due to passionate and intense love for God.

The *Rasalila* of God marks the climax of Divine Love. It is this love which has been transformed to *ananda* or eternal bliss. To love God and His creation is what is known as *prema* or Divine Love. Attachment to sensual objects of this material world is *Kama* or lust whereas attachment to God is termed as Love. *Kama* or lust leads the *jiva* to darkness of ignorance whereas love for God shines out like the sun dispelling darkness. In the *Rasalila* of *vmdavana*, lust or carnal delight was controlled and diverted

to blissful eternal love of God. In the scriptures Madana is considered to be the god of Love. As he originates from mind, he is known as *Manasija*. Mind is always fickle which sways between real and unreal tendencies. In the ordinary sense *kama* or lust that is physical intercourse and real love as some say cannot be conceived separately in this world. Instead of curbing Madana, the god of Love, his blessings are to be invoked for diverting the lust towards inter-communion with God to attain perfection in life. It is *Rasalila* itself which is Love incarnate free from any sexual tendency. This represents the very soul of the *Bhagavata* and the *Vedanta*.

The essence and the principles underlying the conception of Radha and Krsna should be studied first before coming to the *lila* itself. In order to understand and assimilate the *lila* of Radha and Krsna as described in the *Gitagovinda*, one should first try to conceive at heart the philosophy of life in the context of self and the supreme self and the connective link in between. It is difficult to follow the importance of the *lila* without a purified heart. So this is known as *Achintya Bhedabheda*.

Srikrnsna who is omnipotent and omnipresent is the sole guide of this creation. His peerless blue-coloured body resembling the black clouds embodies numberless stars and planets which are governed by His direction. Can any body expect to conceive Him or win Him who is so powerful? Yes, He can be conceived and won over only by love or selfless and passionate yearning for Him. Unlike the sages who underwent great spiritual penance and physical privations, a devotee can attract Him by virtue of intensity of *bhava* or *mahabhava* termed as *prema*, the highest spiritual stage. Srimati Radhika, the primal power or the *Adyasakti* is the most perfect illustration of such selfless intense love for her

beloved Srikr̥ṣṇa. *Brahma* is *nirguna* and formless. But he has the longing to taste his own bliss, through this creation which is known as love. He incarnates himself in the world to enjoy the love and devotion of his devotees. *Prakṛti* in form of Srimati Radhika is able to quench his thirst for infinite and selfless love.

On reaching the highest stage of knowledge one enters into the kingdom of *bhakti* which intensifies to *bhava*, the inner feelings of the heart. Every atom of the creation is changed with love of God. A spark of consciousness descends from God which constitutes the soul. The formless God is to be meditated in the Lotus of the heart of a devotee with intensified feelings of *bhava*. It is difficult for the average man to conceive at heart the formless God without a concrete shape to meditate upon which serves as a medium and this leads to image worship of God. In the process of spiritual meditation, an aspirant has to proceed from the gross to the subtle by the help of an image of God in a form according to his own fancy and liking.

Without this, meditation becomes very difficult. This is the basis of Idol or Image worship adopted by the Hindus. The *Gopis* belong to the kingdom of Love who won the Love of God through passionate yearning and restlessness and Srimati Radhika was the central figure among them and also the most glorifying illustration of this sort of love for God. By entertaining at heart the image and spirit of Srimati Radhika, the aspirant can achieve success and realise God.

In the *Upanisads* the Bliss of God is considered to be the *Brahma* Itself. The universe owes its creation and destruction to fulfillment of this bliss of God. It is this bliss of God or *Brahma* which was incarnated as Nandanandana (son of Nanda) Srikr̥ṣṇa. The most arduous penance made by the sages in the dense forest culminated

in the *Vṛndavana Lila* of God. The *yogis* and the sages eagerly waiting for ages together for their union with that heavenly form of peerless beauty, plunged at last in the ocean of *Nitya Lila* at *Vṛndavan* and obtained blissful contentment by testing the nectar thereof. The *sakti* which creates this *Nitya Lila* of God is his pleasing counterpart known as *Alhadini Sakti* or Srimati Radhika. One has to shelter himself under a true preceptor without which it is not possible to obtain the grace of Srimati Radhika, the blissful power and the embodiment of *mahabhava*, the most intensified form of *Bhakti*.

The *jiva* cannot taste the divine love of *Vṛndavana Lila* without enkindling at heart the spirit of Radha. This intense love for God is possible only when the *jiva* is free from the worldly attachments. In the heart of the emancipated soul the formless Divine Love blossoms and it is considered to be *Vṛndavana*. The pleasing counterpart Srimati Radhika is the goddess of *Vṛndavana*. The *jiva* eagers to obtain its spirit, runs after Srimati Radhika who is always on eternal quest for her beloved Madhava. There is blissful union of Radha and Madhava after pangs of separation. This process of hide and seek between the lover and the beloved shall continue as long as the creation exists.

To realise the God-consciousness it is necessary to purify the heart. For this the aspirant should surrender his heart and soul at the lotus feet of God. *Purusa*, the beloved of *Prakṛti* is the object of love and devotion of an aspirant. The principle of Purusottama of Sri Aurovindo is based on this. After reaching the highest stage of spiritual enlightenment, the *jiva* merges with *Brahma* and becomes *soham* according to *Advaita* Philosophy. It is only by selfless love and intense yearning at heart that a devotee can have realisation of God. One may enter to rigid and

severe *Yogic* discipline and penance for obtaining grace of God, but it is easier to realise Him by virtue of pure and stainless love. A true devotee always thinks of God, weeps for Him and his hairs stand at the end, the moment he utters or hears the name of God. By considering God to be his own, the aspirant feels a divine impulse in his heart and sees in it the reflection of blissful communion of *jiva* and *Brahma*. God resides in the heart of the devotee in the *nitya Lila* place which is *Vrndavana*. Entering into the kingdom of love and devotion the *jiva* shall merge into perpetual bliss and reach the climax of Divine love. Intense love for God is based on *Bhava* or innermost feelings of the heart which gains intensity and terms into *mahabhava*. Srimati Radhika was the personification of *mahabhava*. So the ultimate goal of a devotee is to cultivate and assimilate the spirit of Radha for the sake of achieving the God-head.

There is manifestation of the power of God in the minutest particles of the world and the animal world. That is why the whole creation appears beautiful. An elastic mind with child like simplicity is required to appreciate and realise this heavenly beauty.

In the *Kaliyuga*, the path of *Bhakti* has been recommended by the sages as the easiest means to realise God. But this has been pictured in such a way that an average man cannot comprehend it. The human society has in course of the evolutionary process reached the present stage of its development. The mysterious secrets

underlying the spiritual sphere shall be unfolded and people will realise their greatness in promoting religious development.

The heavenly saints of God in their mission to enlighten mankind on the spiritual path and to preach their gospels on the divinity of the creation appear in human society in shape of incarnations of God or holy preceptors to acquaint mankind with the mysterious and playful activities of the creation of God and enkindle the light of God in the heart of purified liberated soul thus fulfilling their mission. They do not aim at emancipation of their own souls by spiritual discipline, but their chief mission is to bring about a super-human transformation of the world. The power of the soul is to be rejuvenated and this awakening of the soul shall in communion with the supreme self be greatest achievement of a spiritual aspirant. This spiritual odour shall spread from the individual to the society taking refuge in the lotus feet of the Lord and the society shall be that of the *Yogis* or spiritual aspirants. Jayadeva was one of such heavenly saints with a mission. It was a different mission – not to preach and sermonise, but to teach and entertain. It was entertainment with a divine purpose of God-realization.

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Jayadeva ! You are Great !!

Er. Raghunath Patra

What a sweet nectar you shower
from 'Gita Govinda', Oh poet !
blissful union in fullest form
Prakruti and Purusha, the great !

Many thanks for immortal songs
what celestial pastime you wrote
Radha and Madhava, sportive union
Oh poetic scholar, expert !

Heart fills with Joy sublime
Vernal pastime gives delight
sweet verses with musical excellence
elevate all to supernal height.

Kenduli village is illustrious now
on the Prachi River bank
pilgrims come from far and near
and give you heart-felt thanks.

Oh ! the devotee of 'Niali-Madhaba'
thorough in 'Puranas', scriptures old
came to Puri and settled up well
to prostrate Jagannath, paramount God.

Resided near Gundicha temple,
the Dasavatara temple now
with true and pious disposition wrote
'Sri Gita Govindam' verses oh !

Padmabati, your beloved spouse
danced well daily in Nilachal
chanting 'Gita Govinda', celestial verse
immersed in devotion, dedicated soul.

The king ordered 'Gita Govinda' dance
as 'Nataseva' of Jagannath Shrine
arranged 'Kenduli Sadhi' to use
in service of Lord at Night, Oh fine !

You expressed inexpressible love
devoid of mundane desire
No discretion of high and low
with sacrifice, service, surrender.

Rhythm ascends without restraint
delight to offer without receipt
Radha offered all what she had
Krishna begs Radha's lotus feet.

Prakruti has surrendered full
dominance of Purusha annulled
quite unlike our mundane love
what a marvel, really you told !

Love is supreme, love is God
You preach us Jayadeva well
You are really great, Oh Poet !
before love grandeurs pale.

Er. Raghunath Patra, Brundaban Dham, Lokanath Road,
Patanahat Sahi Chhak, Puri

Traditionalism and Globalization : A Discourse on Tribal Transformation

Alochana Sahoo

India sets one of the finest examples in the world in portraying its unity in diversity. Cultural heterogeneity characterizes Indian culture and its social system. The history of India speaks of truth behind the existing cultural diversity. The inflow of various immigrants into India sowed the seeds of diverse cultural practices of various kinds among the native population. That explains India's unique culture and social system. Culture in common parlance refers to 'social heritage' which stands for knowledge, beliefs, customs and skills that are available to the members of a society. In 1871, an anthropological definition of culture, for the first time, was given by Taylor in his famous book '*Primitive Culture*' which said "culture or civilization is that complex whole, which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and any other achievement of man as a member of society" (Taylor 1871). The continuous journey through ages, have set in changes that consequently altered the social structure. No culture is static as it includes within it the elements of change. Culture is dynamic because it is essentially an adaptive mechanism and different social systems seek their adaptation differently by the variations in their natural settings. Thus "cultural change is the process by which the existing orders of society, that is, its social, spiritual and material civilization is transformed from one type to

another", (Malinowski 1958). Cultural change is a permanent factor of human civilization. It may be induced by internal or external factors. In other words, it may be caused by the factors and forces spontaneously arising within the community or it may take place through the contact of different cultures. Cultural change along these lines takes the form of independent evolution or takes on the process called 'diffusion'. In this era of globalization, cultural change has assumed a rapidity and magnitude, unprecedented in human history. The technical inventions, the developments of industrial enterprises and of financial and mercantile organization have contributed towards the intensification of this evolutionary process.

Origin of the Discourse on Culture Change

The study of culture change began with the thought of how societies evolved from their original primitive states around the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. Charles Darwin was the initiator with his concept of evolution. It was during this period when several ways of analyzing the transformation of society were provided by social thinkers like Comte, Mill, Spencer and Marx.

Cultural change can be explained in terms of change in the constitution of social entities over time and the change in the relations among entities over time. MacIver (1959) says-

Culture change is a process responsive to many types of change, to changes in the beliefs of man and to changes that go back beyond human control, to the biological and physical nature of things (quoted by Kuppuswamy, 1975:20)

Rogers attempted bifurcation of the social system into its structure and functioning parts and explained social change. 'Social change' is the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system. Change is seen as a process, not as a state. In addition 'at the heart of all social change is an innovation, defined as an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual' (c.f., Rogers, 1962; Mann, 1979:38). Boskoff (1957:263) states, "social change refers to the intelligence process in which we can discover significant alteration in the structure and function of determinate social system. The implications of this definition can be explored by focusing attention on the key terms: social system, structure, function and significant alteration (quoted by Mann, 1979:19). To Kuppuswamy (1972:21), "social change may be defined as the process in which is discernible significant alteration in the structure and function of a particular social system". Social change indicates some change in social behavior and in the structure. The universal law of nature dictates that changes in one aspect of social structure brings parallel changes in other aspects and creates chain reactions. Changes in the technological sector would inevitably lead to changes in the social field as a consequence. For instance, new technique of manufacture is bound to affect social relations in relevant industry.

Significance of Cultural Change in India

India is a developing country with very diversified culture. Adaptations of the people of India to their conquerors reveal the entire range of inter- groups interaction. India's independence

brought in tremendous transformation in the social set-up. The transition of Indian society from the agricultural to industrial society started off the process of social change that is still continuing. There has been a gradual shift from a caste and class based society to a casteless and classless society. Several Indian thinkers like Kuppuswamy, Yogendra Singh, S.C. Dube and M.N. Srinivas grappled with the problems of changes in the social situations in India with emphasis on the transformation of individual from a member of a tribe or a village or caste or a creed or a language group to a citizen of India. Meanwhile, during the change that occurred in post-Independent India, the processes of acculturation and integration moved simultaneously. In this process some (individual) tribes acculturated and integrated. Some were completely annihilated and there were some who could retain strong tribal affiliations which provided a comprehensive subject for investigation. Now with the growing impact of development being scheduled in Indian constitution, (Article 341 and 342) tribals who constitute the most integral part of the country's social structure are benefiting through directed and non-directed modes of change.

Challenges to Tribal Culture in the Era of Globalization

Culture is an external expression of a community's social and economic situation. Its core is the worldview and value system on which it is built. To speak of tribal community they perceive their culture as a way of reasserting their identity. Tribal culture accomplishes not only their externals in form of their song, dance, and festivals but is a total expression of their livelihood and identity. Culture is not neutral but is linked to a society and reproduces its value system. In other words, culture refers to the way a community adapts to its social and material environment. The

case of Indian tribes in particular encounters sundry of social situations and material environment. Tribes with diverse ethnicities coexist in varied tribal pockets across India differing in their socio-economic milieu. Their worldview represents these differences. Since their languages, dances and songs as well other customs are external forms of their social and natural environment, each tribe expresses itself in its own way. For some tribes the war songs and dances predominate while among others hunting and harvesting songs predominate. These differences account for their diversity and richness (Kumar 1998 : 103-7). These differences got exhibited also in sustenance-related forms such as technology, methods of cultivation, food habits, social relations, resource sharing, social control mechanisms, beliefs and practices. The differences in worldview are reflected in systems such as marriage. Some tribes have marriage by personal choice, a few by eloping and others through arrangement. Tribes also differ in terms of the role they assign to the women of their community. However, the livelihood of the tribals is under attack in the name of national development. They are being deprived of their land, forest and water sources to which their culture is closely linked.

The Tribal Culture

Tribal culture is unique and differs significantly from mainstream cultural practices. Commonality is the essence of tribal life which gets illustrated in its value system. Tribal culture has its bearing from the nature that counts land, forest and water and are marked as their foundation. Their culture and social customs bear the mark of nature. All rites and rituals, festivals of the tribals have an inbuilt system of nature-worship in one or other form. Tribes have an inbuilt worldview, and that is based on their social system, set of customs, economy and sustenance.

These are the elements that combine to give the tribals their livelihood and economic sustenance. Together these form their livelihood and give them an identity which is expressed in their culture. The second commonality is the set of values i.e. intra- and inter-generational equity on which their culture is built¹. The tribal people express their cultural identity and distinctiveness in their social and political organizations, language, rituals and festivals, as well as in their dress, ornaments, technology, art and craft. Tribals live a communal life sharing almost everything among themselves. In order to ensure the sustainable use of their livelihood, the tribals kept it under the control of the community and developed the myths and social control mechanisms required to meet the needs of every family in the present generation and prevent its over exploitation by anyone. Thus it was renewed and preserved for posterity (Fernandes, Menon and Viegas, 1988: 158-63).

Tribal Culture and Globalization

Social change is incessant for its indispensability in human life. Change is the law of nature. No society could remain static and goes through a process of change. And tribal society is no exception to it. The dramatic changes in the economic and political environment of tribal populations had a profound influence on the social order prevailing among most of the tribes. Earlier many tribesmen used to live in clusters of villages with a completely homogenous population; today such areas of compact aboriginal populations have split up by the intrusion of numerous newcomers of different cultural backgrounds. The social order which used to regulate the interaction of tribesmen rooted in the same or related traditions could not withstand the presence of intruders motivated by aims and a value system entirely distinct from those of the indigenous population. The disturbance caused by this admixture of novel elements to the

social scene is all the greater as the newcomers are almost invariably economically and politically more powerful, and in no way inclined to fall into line with the old order. In areas where massive immigration of advanced populations has caused a complete fragmentation of tribal communities, next to nothing is left of the latter's indigenous authority system, but even where tribal villages have so far escaped the infiltration of outsiders, the effectiveness of traditional authority systems has sharply declined because of the tribesmen's increasing dependence on economic forces over which they have no control. Tribal society accordingly has made a shift from archetype to a contemporary society under the pressure of changing situation. Traditionalism got itself transformed to some extent under the current of modernity. Contemporary society incorporates various social processes such as industrialization, urbanization, liberalization, privatization globalization etc. Among all those ongoing social processes, globalization as a process had its far reaching consequence within India and abroad. Globalization has its impact on local communities too. Globalization has affected every facet of tribal life ranging from social, cultural, economic to political spheres. Socio-economic organization of tribal underwent significant transformation under its effect. Tribals are affected more than the others (because their regions are rich in natural and mineral resources). So the tribal communities run the risk of greater marginalization than in the past. Local technology, culture and economy were delegitimized and under the influence of the new value system, the indigenous value system of the tribals got drastically changed. A change of culture is basic to the globalised economy and the tool used today is the information technology. The main value projected is consumerism. It is assumed that this is the only possibility and that there is no alternative (Amin 1999: 23-4). Thus, the culture

of (selfishness and) consumerism got greater importance than individualism. More and more of the limited natural, mineral and financial resources were monopolized by a few. This value system and culture stood in opposition to the tribal culture of equity and sharing. The process of transformation which has already begun with colonialism and "national development is getting more intensified with globalization". Globalization thus involves "the systematic penetration and domination of the cultural life of the popular classes by the ruling class of the West in order to reorder (their) values, behaviour, institutions and identity."

Social Organization and Transformation

Society is an organized, interacting aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life (Nadel 1955). Social structure of a society is nothing but the institutions by which relationships between men and women of a society are determined. Thus social structure is concerned with the principle forms of social organization i.e. the type groups, associations and institutions and the complex of these, which constitutes societies. In other words it can be said that all the various modes of grouping together comprise the composite pattern of social structure. In the analysis of social structure the role of the diverse attitudes and interest of social being is revealed (c.f., MacIver and Page, 1950; Jha 1983:100)

Firth (1951:26) states that 'the term social organization has two broad classes of the institution, those which grow out of kinship and those which result from free association of individuals' kinship structures including the family and its extension into broader relationship groupings such as the clan, as also the underlying principle of marriage on which family rests. Mann(1979:19), on the other hand, says the nature of the familial structure is not always uniform and static, but is rather flexible and subject

to variation, depending upon and conditioned by the nature of social group and consequently the systems, in force.

Family occupies a unique place in the society. The importance and place of family as a social institution is widely known and perfectly established in all the social systems. A family is a functional unit where one or more parents live together, with their children. During the life of a typical family besides those of composition, other changes take place. The size of the family establishes an important aspect of tribal (life) social institutions. Not only it indicates the economic condition of a family but also determines the consciousness of an individuals and personal attitude to them². Traditionally tribals reside in joint families; joint living is the foundation of tribal family structure. However, there have been drastic changes in the social system owing to the occupational shifts of the tribals. Now, they mostly prefer nuclear family than joint. Although various factors such as compactness of (living) space, cost of living etc., are in a way responsible for their inclination to nuclear family system (although some tribe still remain firmly attached to their ancestral family). Recent changes in tribal culture involve greater individualism and stronger patriarchy. Patriarchy is the recent trait that the tribals emulated from their counterparts. A tribal society goes with equal positioning of men and women in every aspect. Patriarchy or male authority is a new social order of tribal society as an outcome of their cultural encounter with diverse population. Besides this in all tribal societies there are also certain values which are universally respected. Some of them are respect for elders, conformity with the rituals and religious framework of society and its laws and conventions, respect for ancestors and gods, respect for nature and forces of nature. A sense of harmonious balance with nature, gods and

ancestors is an integral part of the tribal ethos and traditional socialization. A deep-rooted attachment for society and its traditions is incorporated in this system. However, recent processes have resulted in the deterioration of the tribal lifestyles and cultural changes have become tools of legitimization. All the tribal communities not only possess rich cultural heritage but also have unique traditional system of social control. The traditional Panchayats found in tribal villages exercise enormous social, moral, religious, economic and political control over these communities. The functions and responsibilities of the traditional Panchayats include, upholding social customs, traditions, mores, codes governing matrilineal alliances, divorce, family disputes, interpersonal relations, safeguarding and promoting the economic interest of the members of the community in allotting community lands for cultivation, shifting cultivation, protection of common property resources, religious rites and festivals, political safeguards, development and encouragement of right type of leaders, administrations of justice as per traditional law, hereditary rights, and protection of cultural heritage- maintenance and continuity of folk dance, folk lore, traditional skills, knowledge etc. But now the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 gives governance powers to the tribal community. The new law makes a sea change in the above situation and casts a grave responsibility on the organization. The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment inserted Part IX in the Constitution to ensure a Panchayati Raj set up with new emphasis on devolution of power. Compulsory elections of the local level bodies, reservations for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward classes and women, setting up of a state finance commission, and other provisions were initiated to ensure more decentralization and people's

participation in the developmental processes. This new part excluded scheduled areas from its operation, but also provided that parliament may extend the provisions to the scheduled and tribal areas, subject to some exceptions and modifications. This law constitutionally guarantees the right of self-government to the tribal community. The traditional village authoritarian figure is fading away in the midst of numerous legal provisions purposed for the overall development of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Thus, a proper synthesis of traditional laws, ethics and customs and statutory rules have to be ensured in order to achieve sustainable development in tribal areas³.

Tribal Economy

Tribal economy is mainly an agricultural economy. The tribals depend upon utilization of the natural resources to get their sustenance. Their economy is subsistence economy; tribals live by minimum as they do not have the urge to grab maximum unlike their mainstream counterparts. Contrary to the principle of homogeneity (of tribals) work specialization is the working principle of the globalized era. Present economy and the workforce is marked by mechanization and heterogeneity (specialization). Tribals after losing their ownership over their land moved towards city and found it very difficult to cope with the changing working conditions. Thus tribals are exposed to a new world totally different from its own finding it difficult to adapt to the changed situation. During the last five decades, many tribal communities didn't have proper conversant with the monetary economy and were pushed into the new culture without adequate preparation. Since they were unable to cope, outsiders took control of their economy and legitimised this invasion by devaluing their culture and worldview. Tribals got exposed to the consumerist ideology and thereby

move away from their traditional community value system. Thus tribal society experienced a changeover from their community ethos to a totally new culture and system (without adequate preparation). However, slowly the tribal communities absorb the value system of this culture. On one hand, the tribals are exposed to the consumerist ideology, and on the other they experience more deprivation and joblessness. Apparent absence of alternatives increases the sense of helplessness of the tribals who are among the worst victims of globalisation, and legitimises the consumerist society which impoverishes them. Industrial establishment spreading over tribal habitat goes against the tribals. In spite of industrialization their exploitative terms left the localite including the tribals left with low paid jobs, for those who got deprived of their livelihood. Combined with mechanization, this ensures that the tribals go from exploitation to total exclusion.

The globalization processes have serious implications for the culture of the tribals. The alienation of the land and other resources which are both their physical sustenance and the centre of their culture is an attack on their very identity. Besides, globalization imposes a homogeneous consumerist culture and value system on society. The tribals must return to the core value system of their cultures and choose a new set of values based on it in order to find relevant alternatives to consumerism and the selfishness which the process of globalization generates. In other words, they have to begin with the spirit of sharing, the sustainable use of their livelihood and the women's higher status, and take their whole community towards equality and prosperity⁴.

The law of dynamics is universally applied to every society and tribal society is no exception. Thus, the tribals exposure to the forces of change, both indigenous and exogenous, consequently

have serious implications on the life-style and culture of the tribals. The process got further affected by the induction of the process of globalization which brought in a homogenous consumerist culture and value system into the society. The resulting change in the attitude of the tribals further reinforced the fading vigor and vitality of the tribal culture. The tribals must return to the core value system of their cultures by choosing a new set of progressive values other than consumerism and the selfishness which the process of globalization generates. Then only they would be able to participate effectively within the system upholding their distinct identity.

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Footnotes :

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Contributions of Odisha Towards Buddhist Culture

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Contributions of Odisha towards the Buddhist culture is beyond measurable. In past, Buddhism occupied a prominent place in religious history of Odisha. Lord Buddha is rightly said the Light of Asia. The great Vaishnav poet Jayadev of Orissa of twelfth century A.D described Buddha as an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Buddhism had influenced the social, cultural and political life of Kalinga. The relation of Orissa with Buddhism is very ancient. The early Buddhist texts Nikaya and Jatak mention the names of two merchants of Utkal; Tapassu and Bhallika who were the first devotees of Lord Buddha. They had also received the sacred hairs of Buddha and enshrined the “*Kusha dhatu*” at Kalinga. In this way the Buddhism entered in Orissa. During that period “*Akiriya bad*” was established in Orissa and the followers of this ideology were strongly protesting the Buddhism in Orissa. When Buddha defeated the religious faiths of Akariabzad, Buddhism became very popular in the Soil of Orissa. According to Buddhist “Mahaparinirvana sutra”, Kalinga was one of the kingdoms to obtain the tooth-relic of Buddha after his Cremation at Kusinara. Bhikshu Khemathera had brought the sacred tooth relic of Buddha to Kalinga. This tooth relic was enshrined and worshipped at Dantapure, the then capital of Kalinga. The text ‘Dathvamsa’ of Ceylon states that Danta Kumar, the Prince of

Ujjain had married Hemamala, the daughter of Guha Siva, the King of Kalinga who ruled in the third century A.D. Princess Hemamala carried the tooth relic in her well laid hair-to Ceylon accompanied by prince Danta Kumar.

The Historic Kalinga war of 261 B.C which was fought on the bank of the river Daya near Bhubaneswar is one of the memorable events in Buddhism. After Kalinga war, emperor Ashok had provided his heartily support for the spread of Buddhism in Kalinga. Ashokan rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada stand testimony to it. During the time of great emperor Ashok, Buddhism became very popular in Orissa. To spread Buddhism nineteen groups were formed during the reign Ashok, the great. Among them Jheravada, Mahasanghika, and Sarvastivada were very popular. During the time of Ashok Buddhist monks of above groups had come to Kalinga and stayed here. Ashok built a monastery for the Theravadin monk Tissa, who was his younger brother living in Bhojakagiri near Delanga in Kalinga. Acharya Mahadeva, a great scholar of Mahasanghika had visited Kalinga and established his association here : Bhikshu Dhitik Kumar and his disciple *Kalanka* had spread the culture of *savastivada* in Kalinga. Acharya *Posadha* had played vital role for growth of *sarvastivada* Buddhist culture in Kalinga. The

section saravastivada of Buddhism became very popular during that period. Some Buddhist remains are still found in Bhubaneswar. According to well known historian K.C Panigrahi, the Sivalinga of Bhaskareswar temple is originally an Ashokan Pillar but another famous scholar N.K.Sahu rejects the opinion of K.C. Panigrahi with strong argument.

After the decline of Maurya empire the downfall of Buddhism started in Kalinga. Kharavel in 1st century B.C gave royal patronage for growth of Jainism in Kalinga. Buddhism was divided into two groups named Hinayan and Mahayan. From early 1st century A.D to seventh century A.D both Hinayana and Mahayan schools were prevalent in Orissa. Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese traveller stated about the controversy of Hinayan and Mahayan in his account. Mahayan took its origin in 1st/2nd century A.D in Kalinga by Acharya Nagarjuna and king Kaniska. Many eminent Buddhist Acharyas, teachers, scholars and saints visited Orissa during this period and they made Mahayan Buddhist culture popular in Orissa.

By sixth century A.D. a number of Buddhist centres and academies were developed. Among them Puspagiri, Suravagiri, and Parimalagiri are famous world wide. In the Birupa-Chitrotpala valley archaeological remains of great Buddhist monasteries are found at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri.

The great Buddhist Vihar Puspagiri which Hiuen-Tsang mentioned in his account has not yet been identified properly. Lalitagiri the oldest of the three monasteries was known as Chandraditya Vihar. Ratanagiri and Udayagiri monasteries were known as Ratnagiri Mahavihar and Madhavapur Mahavihar respectively. It is known from the Buddhist text "Ganda Bruha" that there was a Buddha Vihar at Tosali in Suravagiri

in third century A.D now known as Dhauligiri. There, Acharya sarvagami was the renowned monk, who popularised Buddhist culture in Orissa. Another important Buddhist centre was Parimalagiri, identified as the present Gandhamardana hills of Bolangir district. Famous Buddhist scholar Nagarjuna was the Acharya of this holy centre. Aryadev, the disciple of Nagarjuna was the citizen of Singhpur, the capital of Kalinga. He became the principal of Parimalgiri Vihar after the death of his teacher. Buddhism started to decline in the last part of third century A.D in Orissa. In Gupta period, Brahminical culture enjoyed royal patronage. Dr N.K. Sahu states that Muchalindha Buddha Vihar in Ganiapalli of western Orissa was another Buddhist centre in third century A.D.

In fourth century A.D, Acharya Dignaga was the teacher of Bhorasaila Buddha Vihar of Delanga in Puri district. He was a famous logician and author of "Pramana Samuchaya". According to N.K.Sahoo, the word 'Delanga' is derived from the name of 'Acharya Dignaga'. Acharya Dignaga was the contemporary of Mahakabi Kalidas. There was a great difference in between them. But their contributions to the Indian culture is remarkable. Vadra Palita the secretary of Kalinga king was the disciple of Dignaga and by the order of his teacher he had constructed sixteen Buddhist Vihar in Kalinga. By early seventeenth century, according to Hiuen-Tsang's account, Buddhism was predominate in the Odra country. According to him, there were one hundred Buddhist monasteries and ten thousand Mahayan monks.

Bhaumakar rulers have given royal patronage to tantrik Buddhism. Sivakaradeva-I of this dynasty sent a Buddhist Manuscript named 'Gandavyuha' to the Chinese emperor To-tsang by the hand of Prangha, a well known Buddhist

Acharya who had learned about meditation at Ratnagiri Mahavihar. The Tibetan historian Taranatha and Tibetan text mentions a place called Oddiyana (Orissa) as a great centre of Mahayan Buddhism and also the birth place of Tantrik Buddhism. Bodhisattva, a tantrik monk practised Yoga at Ratnagiri. According to Taranatha, Rahulana, a tantrik monk, belonged to Orissa. He became the chancellor of Nalanda University early in the 9th century A.D. Tantrika Buddhism gradually trifurcated to Bajrayana, Kalachakrayana, and Sahajayana. Indrabhuti, the king of Sambal (Sambalpur) is said to be the founder of Bajrayana. His foster son and disciple Padmasambhava carried this culture to Tibet. Acharya Pitopada of Ratnagiri is said to have introduced the culture of Kalachakrayana. Another renowned Siddhika Laxminkara, the sister of king Indrabhuti is known as the founder of Sahajayana. Majorities of Siddhas among eighty-four saints in Buddhism belong to Orissa. Some of the well known Siddhas of these schools were born in Orissa. They are Naropa, Sarahapada, Sabaripada, Luipadakambalapada, Anangavatra, Birupada, and Kannhupada.

No doubt, Orissa had valuable contribution towards Buddhist culture. Buddhist past of Orissa was colourful and glorious. The contribution in the field of art and architecture of Buddhism is far-reaching. Buddhism also provided valuable contribution to the growth of Odia language. Many scholars state that doctrine of Sunyata, of Vaishnavism, Nathaism, and Mahima culture of Orissa had come from tantrik Buddhism. It is proved, Gorekhanatha, the Siddha

of Nathaism was at first a Buddhist Siddhartha. Basic principles of Mahima dharma has come from Buddhism, that Biswanath Baba, a prominent Siddha of Mahima culture has admitted. Temple city Bhubaneswar is an ancient Buddhist centre. Bhubaneswar was the another name of Lord Buddha. An Ashokan pillar which was collected from Ashok jhara, now preserved in State Museum. The name of the places in Bhubaneswar like Mancheswar, Buddheswari colony, Pandara and nearby Chandaka have similarity with Buddhist god and goddess. A great controversy till now continuing for the birthplace of Buddha. Some scholars are saying that the village Kapileswar near Lingaraj temple is the birthplace of Lord Buddha. Tri-ratna of Buddhism-Buddha, Dharma and Sangha are compared with Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. Scholars like Professor Wilson, James-Fergusson, and general Cunningham have referred to the Buddhist origin of Jagannath. Some scholars believe annual bathing ceremony (Snana Yatra) and the Car-Festival (Ratha yatra) are of Buddhist practice. The term Jagannath was applied to Adi Buddha by Raja Indrabhuti of Sambal in his work "gyanasiddhi". The influence of Buddhism are found in the social, cultural, and religious life of Odias. The people of Orissa pay their devotional high respect to Lord Buddha and Buddhist culture.

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Cultural Heritage of Undivided Koraput District of Odisha

(Origin and Growth of *Janajati* Culture)

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The undivided Koraput district with headquarters at present town of Koraput was chosen by the British in 1870 AD for better health prospects. On 1st April 1936 Odisha became a separate province. Koraput was formed a separate district with headquarters at Koraput with two sub-divisions namely Rayagada and Koraput, from 1941 a new sub-division called Nabarangapur sub-division, consisting of the *taluk* of Malkangiri, Jeypore and Nabarangapur was created and above three sub-divisions continued till 1962. A separate Malkangiri sub-division was created during 1962 and civil sub-division of Jeypore was created on 1st January 1966. The erstwhile Koraput district was bifurcated into four separate districts at present namely 1. Koraput 2. Nabarangapur 3. Rayagada 4. Malkangiri. Area of undivided district of Koraput is 18063.67 sq. km. It was a largest district during the creation of Odisha Province.

Koraput district comprised the ex-Jeypore estates in early medieval times was known as Nandapur Kingdom under Silavansi king and subsequently shifted its capital from Nandapur to Jeypore during Vira Vikram Dev of solar dynasty in 17th century A.D.

The tribals who constitute the bulk of population of the district speaking either the Austric or Dravidian language live like a short of

stone age people. The Marias, Gadabas and Bondas are the people who are affected by such cultural contacts. They still practise the primitive axe and hoe cultivation, pottery and basket making, spinning and weaving and erecting funerary, religious menhirs from the past.

General people of the district follow their own tradition and culture. They are humble and contented. Their family ties were fostered by old age customs and they had supreme faith in an all powerful leader. This supreme faith of theirs in a superior being manifested itself in their love for a tree, a stone, an animal, a hill, a river, a forest or even an devine idea. Indeed Koraput is a museum of old and new in nature and human endeavour.

Culture is the characteristic way of life lived by people under the influence of certain fundamental values in the form of art, idiom and literature, institution and customs, refinement of conduct and the art of living as a whole are but the expression of such a way.

To the flowering of such a culture, the primitive tribes are isolated from non tribal or other tribes and settled in Koraput region. They maintain a language of their own and have manners, customs and practices, dresses which are specifically distinctive of them. It is said that the Godabas owes its name to the fact that its

ancestors emigrated from the banks of the Godavari river and settled at Nandapur, the former capital of the Rajas of Jeypore. The Godabas have a language of their own. At present they are inhabitants of Nandapur, Patangi, Semiliguda, Machhkund, Kotapad and Kodinga police station area.

The Godabas are clearly divided into three classes – Bonda Paraja, Bonda Gadaba and the Perenga Godaba. The cultural heritage of Gadabas and Bondas are similar and one can hardly doubt that they are both representative of ancient Austro-Asiatic culture. The Bondas are found to be linguistic and having cultural affinities with the neighbouring communities like the Gadaba, the Perenga and the Didiyi. The Bondas known among themselves a ‘Remo’ (men) are a small tribe of the type now often called Austro-Asiatic. Their country is the wild and mountainous region called Bonda Hills, North-West of the Machhkund river and here they have preserved themselves comparatively unaffected by the march of civilization. The Bondas are regarded as one of the most savage and primitive tribes of Odisha, with the scanty and strange body dress-in general and the clear shaved head as well as heavy masses of colourful necklaces in case of females. They stand in sharp contrast to their neighbouring tribes. They speak an Austro-Asiatic language belonging to Mundari group. At present the Bondas are inhabiting in Mudulipada area in Khairput Block of Malkangiri.

The Perengas are now settled in Nandapur area of Koraput district. They are hill cultivators found in Koraput, Dasmantpur, Laxmipur, Semiliguda, Patangi, Nandapur, Tentuli Khunti, Borigumma, Umakote, Jharigaon and Bissam Katak Police Station area.

The Koyas are a tribe inhabiting in the hill in the North of the Godavari river and are also found in the Malkangiri area. They are

belonging to the great Gond family. It is said that they were driven from Baster area before two hundred years ago. But they are spread over mainly Rayagada and Bissam Katak Tehasil area. Other tribes are Marias, Khonds, Bhumias, Parojas, Gonds, Didayis, Sauras, Jatapus, Holuvas, Pentias, Bhottadas and Bagatas live here with complete harmony with nature.

The rich cultural heritage of the tribals has also undergone a major change during the period. The art, dance and songs, religious beliefs, symbolic relation with forest and the like are gradually dying town due to so called development activities. Their traditional social institution like dormitory which was responsible for the development of a healthy society through the spirit of co-operation and mutual help is also rapidly fading away.

However the cultural heritage of these tribals are the megaliths found in the areas of Bondas, Gadabas and Ronas. Prominent among the various types of megalith monuments erected by the tribes are the stone circles which is known as ‘Sodar’ by Gadabas, the Perengas and the Ronas and ‘Sindibar’ by Bondas which is a megalithic platform constructed either in the centre or in one end of the village. The difference between Sodar and Sindibar is that the former is erected in memory of the dead whereas the latter is considered to be the seat of some deity like the Bursung, the Earth Goddess. These stone circles are built by irregular collection of stone slabs and upright menhirs and as the general sitting places for the villagers. Only on two occasions the Gadabas add stones to their Sindibars (horse shoe shaped) in the Gurrur sung ceremony in the month of Deoli (Oct-Nov.) and Gia feast in the month of Chaita (March-April). These ceremonies of Gadabas and Bondas are quite different from each other in their rituals and beliefs.

A Bonda village sometimes contains five or six common Sindibars. But in very rare cases a private Sindibar is built. In general a Sindibar a private or public contains very few menhirs. In the village Mudulipada the shrine of their supreme deity ‘Patakhanda’ is erected under a great Banyan tree. Here a sacred sword is carefully kept on the tree. Once in a year the Bondas gather here to worship their supreme deity.

Besides the heritage of the tribals of undivided Koraput district, it has a rich cultural heritage from the past. It is believed that Sri Rama with his beloved Sita and devout brother Laxman lived in the Dandakaranya (Dandakbana). In the Ramayana there are reference to the solemn grandeur of the impenetrable Malyabantagiri (Malkangiri), Ramagiri, Kiskindha (Korukonda) and the sacred river the Tamasa.

Nandapur occupies a unique place in Koraput, famous for the throne with 32 steps, the Batrisa Singhasan arouses nostalgic memories of a golden era. The ruins of historic mud wall that once surrounded the little township stands as mute witness to glorious times in the past. The two beautiful sculptured boulders and the image of God Ganapati are the main attractions. The image of the elephant faced god is about two metre high and is a marvelous work of art. The shrine of Sarbeswar with antique inscription reminds us of prosperous days of Nandapur. Hathipalhar near Rayagada is remarkable for its scenic grandeur. The huge boulder looks like real elephants. The river Nagavali running through a deep cut valley from two magnificent water falls, Temple of Majji Giriya (Majhighariani) who was the presiding deity of the then kings inside a mud fort of Rayagada now in a ruin state is the heritage of Rayagada.

As regards the Saiva heritage of Koraput, Papadahandi Siva temple which is few km. away from Nabarangapur is very famous. The place

has significant archaeological importance. The plasticity of its architecture defies human comprehension of medieval period found at Podagarh, the then capital of Nalas. The abode of Siva at Gupteswar is a virtual heaven situated about sixty Km. away from Jeypore on left bank of the river Kolab on the border of Bastar, dist of Chhattisgarh. Another Siva temple having archaeological importance is the Malikeswar temple on the top of Jagamanda hill at Padampur of Gunupur sub-division. It is peculiarly built by big blocks of stone without the use of mortar. The shrine contains an inscription of 7th century A.D. There are other four nos. of Siva temples dedicated to Manikeswar, Dhobaleswar, Nilakantheswar and Podukeswar on the same Jagamanda hill. One old stone temple of Sive of Kondakamberu (Malkangiri) was once a place of pilgrimage in the locality.

Siva temple at Alamanda situated on the bank of the Jhanjhabati river under Narayanpatana Police Station is said to be a monument of 17th century A.D. Siva in shape of Bhairaba is worshipped in famous Bhairaba temple at Borigumma Temple of Pataleswar Siva of Chatikona in Gunupur sub-division adds to our heritage site. Siva of Devagiri in Kalyansinghpur is inside a mountain cave where people go inside by crawling only to pray God. The temple of Minna Jhola Siva lies 34 Km. from Gudari on the confluence of three rivers is a scenic spot.

As regards the Jain heritage is concerned, the undivided Koraput district bears a good nos of Jain site. A few km. away from Nandapur there is a village Suai (Subai) famous for a Jain monastery with three cells on each side. The image of Rishabhanath is located in the centre. The image is surrounded by other Tirthankars. There is an image of four-armed Tara in one of the cells adorned with bangles. Other main Jain heritages are at Bhairab Singpur, Charmula, Jamunda of

Padampur, Borigumma, Kotapad, Katharguda, Jeypore, Kechala and Nandapur. From B. Singpur 21 nos of Rishabhanath, Parsvanath, Ajitnath, Mahavir, Ambika etc are found and kept in Jeypore Museum. Many fine arts and beautiful Jain images at Choramala, Naraigaon, Kamata, Kumuli exists nearby. Live image of Parsvanatha at Jamunda is beautiful. Jain temple at Kechala 11 km. from Kalab Dam is existed at present. It contains five images of Tirthankar - one of Ambika and another of Yaksha-Yakshini seated together. In a separate stone block twenty four Tirthankars are engraved.

As regards the Buddha heritage of undivided Koraput district, one can find an inscription on the Malikeswar temple of 7th century AD situated on the Jagamunda hill near Padampur of Gunupur sub-division. It preserves a small genealogy of three Buddhist Acharyas – Chandralekha, Baddhakhan and Dharmakirtti. It is known from Tibetan account that the Dharmakirtti, the famous logician and philosopher had his monastery in Kalinga.

Regarding Jagannath culture of this region, it is said that originally Savar king Biswawasu worshipped Sri Jagannath in a cave Khillamunda over the Jagamunda hill. There are many Jagannath temples spread over undivided Koraput district like Nandapur, Jeypore, Narayanpatna, Rayagada, Paikpada, Bhairab-Singpur, Borigumma, Debapentha and Koraput town. Besides Jagannath temple there is a small temple of God Balaji at Sankrida of Kashipur.

Jeypore is the main cultural heritage site of undivided Koraput district. It is the capital town of Ex-king of Jeypore and a great trade centre of the area. Here exists the temple of Goddess Kali, Kanak Durga, Narayan Ballava, Devi Bhagabati, Sri Chaitanya, Nilakanthesvar, Raghunath, Jagannath and Maa Jagajanani temple. An image of Drona in the temple of Nilakantheswar Siva is a rare and unique one.

Besides the Saktipithas of Jeypore there are many Pithas spread throughout the undivided district, Majhighariani temple of Rayagada, Mahalakshmi of Devagiri hill, Baital-Bhairabi of Nandapur, Bhandar Gharani of Nabarangapur, Biru-Khamba of Kendupoda (Baipariguda), Pendara Handiani of Umarmkote, Gangeswari of Patangi, Murteluamma of Koraput, Manikeswari of Kashipur, Harachandi of Biswanathpur, Agni Gangamma of Neelabadi, Kanta Bausuni of Damanjodi are the important deities of Sakta Cult in this area.

Modern cultural heritage of undivided Koraput district is on the threshold of industrial revolution. Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., M.I.G. Engine factory at Sunabeda, Alumina refinery complex of Damanjodi, Bellarpur Paper Industries of Jeypore, J.K. Paper Mills, at Singur, Rayagada, Tosali cement factory at Ampavalli, Ply wood factory at Nabarangapur, Jeypore sugar factory, Rare Earth Ltd at Thiruvalli, Ferro-Manganese Plant at Damanjodi are some of the major industries in the district. The majestic water fall Doduma (Machhkund) also known as Matsya Tirtha, comes cascading from a height of 157 metre. A hydro-electric Project with its winch developed amidst deep greenery. The other hydro-electric projects are Balimela, where the epic Sri Rama assailed Bali, the hero of Monkey is a famous hydro-electric project across river Sileru at Chitrokonda, Kolab Dam, Indrabati Dam, and Telingiri Dam are the other major projects in the district. The broad panorama of enchanting hills, the rippling streams, spectacular water falls, the wonderful caves and traditional hospitality of tribes, their colourful necklaces, head dresses and gesture make the cultural heritage of Koraput wonderful.

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A Peep into the History of Mayurbhanj

(FROM 15th AUGUST 1947 TO 2ND JANUARY 1949)

Ashok Momin

During the period from 15th August 1947 when the country got freedom to 2nd January 1949, when Mayurbhanj merged with the province of Orissa, a very savage incident happened in Mayurbhanj in the Bamanghati Ghat road from Bangriposi to Bisoi which is now NH No 6. This was the time of turmoil when the Adivasis of two sub-divisions, Bamanghati (Rairangpur) and Karanjia (Panchpir Sub-division) were in total revolt against the decision of the Govt. to amalgamate Mayurbhanj with Orissa. They wanted to have a separate state to themselves with the similar tribal population of Bihar and Santhal Pargana.

The Santal rebels murdered the Forest Ranger Sri Prafulla Singh, when he was returning after finishing his work in Karanjia area with the forest contractor Sri Pran Kanai Chowdhuri. They killed him as a human sacrifice before the Thakurani in the Bamanghati hill road where the Thakurani's place is still there.

Long before Mayurbhanj state became a district of Orissa, three serious tribal uprisings happened before this revolt of 1947-48. First one occurred in 1821, second in 1831-36 and a very serious one in 1866 which was also the year of great famine otherwise known as "Naanka Durbhiksha". While the first three were all confined to Bamanghati estate of the ruler, now

known as Rairangpur Sub-Division of Mayurbhanj Dist. and were mostly organised by the most vulnerable Kolh tribals and joined by Santhals and Bhumijas. The main reason of these rebellions, specially that of 1866 was the inactive royal administration of Mayurbhanj Maharaja in the face of acute shortage of food to the common men and the oppressive rules and regulations in vogue.

The revolt of 1866 was sparked by a single incident when the administration of Maharaja arrested and brought five rebel leaders bound on an elephant all the way from Bamanghati (Rairangpur) to Baripada in full view of hundreds of people on the way. They are Mochiram Mahanto, Bir Singh, Ghano Sardar, Haroo Kol and Sulot Parmanik. They were bound on the elephant in the most rustic way because they refused to pay rent and supply Rasad and encouraged others to revolt. Rasad means commodities required by the camping officers during their stay which are mainly food articles and chicken /mutton/ fish as the case may be. Till recently there was a tradition that whenever an officer camps in a village the people of that village will give collectively the required articles for food which was also shared very often by the leading villagers. That revolt subsided after the royal administration made a conciliation with the tribal

residents which had far reaching effects. But that was almost 80 years back to the time of this episode which is 1947-48.

Some important facts are noted below before we go to what that happened in the live human sacrifice (Bali) of Sri Prafulla Chandra Singh, Forest Ranger, Baripada, Mayurbhanj by the santhal tribals before the thakurani (Goddess) on the Bamanghati Ghat road, between Bangriposhi and Bisoi.

1. India got freedom from the British on 15th August, 1947 but Mayurbhanj remained a princely state like many others in Orissa as well as India and did not become a part of Orissa on that day.
2. On 15th August, 1947 the sovereignty of the princely rulers like Mayurbhanj was lapsed. By popular demand of Praja Mandal the state became a self ruled entity by forming a ministry headed by Sri Sarat Chandra Das as the Chief Minister with three other ministers in his cabinet. During its sovereignty it had its own bank called State Bank of Mayurbhanj, which was taken over by the State Bank of India after 2nd January 1949.
3. Sardar Patel, the then Home Minister of India, called for a meeting of all the princely states of Orissa who were yet to merge with Orissa on 14th Dec. 1947 at Cuttack. But before that meeting Mayurbhanj Maharaja gave full powers to the State Legislative Assembly headed by Sri Sarat Ch. Das as the Chief Minister on 9th Dec. 1947 and did not attend the meeting with Sardar Patel on 14th Dec. 1947 at Cuttack as a result of which the merger of Mayurbhanj state with Orissa was stalled which was the desire of the Praja Mandal Party led by Sri Sarat Ch. Das.
4. The agitation of Tribal leaders for several months before this was in full swing. Tribal leaders of Chotanagpur, Santhal Pargana etc were getting

more and more consolidated with their demand for a separate tribal majority state. They got a boost in their movement when Saraikela and Kharsuan were merged with Singbhum district of Bihar on 18th May 1948.

5. Maharaja Pratap Ch. Bhanj Deo could understand that the administration has become chaotic under the Sarat Chandra Das Cabinet and he went to Delhi on 16th October 1948 with Sarat Ch. Das and after due deliberation signed an instrument of merger with the Govt. of India after which the state of Mayurbhanj merged with Orissa. The formal taking over of the power happened when Dr. D.V.Rage, an ICS officer was appointed as the Chief Commissioner of Mayurbhanj, in November 1948. During this period of Central Rule in Mayurbhanj Dr. Rage, Commissioner studied the situation very carefully and recommended for amalgamation of the Mayurbhanj state with Orissa province. V.P.Menon visited Baripada on 16th Dec. 1948 to announce before the Assembly about the overwhelming desire of all sections of the people to merge with Orissa except the Tribals who opposed to it.
6. The Tribal leaders Sonaram Soren and others started very strong movement against this decision in the Baman Ghati and Panchpir sub-divisions of Mayurbhanj now better known as Rairangpur and Karanjia sub-divisions. They expressed their belief that if Mayurbhanj is joined with Bihar the tribals will get a better deal in future which was totally not accepted by V.P.Menon. He declared that Mayurbhanj will merge with Orissa on 2nd January 1949.
7. The recently born Adivasi Mahasabha started gathering volunteers. About 15000 men and women became members and made strong rallies all over the district. They declared Rairangpur as their headquarter and thousands

of tribals armed with bow and arrows, axes and spears made rallies everywhere, even in the police ground at Baripada shouting that they will merge with Bihar and not with Orissa. People started getting panicked. They blocked many roads and school students were used to send information as they are least doubted by police. Life of Dikus (people who are other than Tribals) seemed to have been left at the mercy of the Adivasis.

8. Mr. V.S. Matthews was the collector of Mayurbhanj at that time and he suppressed the agitation mercilessly by using armed military police. Stenguns and rifles were used by the force and at the same time a punitive tax was imposed on the Adivasis which led to such pressure on them that not only a large number of Adivasis lost their lives but in some places almost whole villages were found empty as they all fled to jungle due to fear of their life against the military police with stenguns.

At that time, out of many historical incidents which took place, one was of the murder of the Forest Ranger Sri Prafulla Singh. Why the Santhal rebels targeted him alone is still a mystery except that he represented the administration as he wore the Khaki Uniform as a Forest Ranger on duty.

The Baman ghati, (also meaning fifty two ghats and curbs) is a very critical portion of the hill road from Bangriposi on Baripada side and Bisoi on the other side between which remains the hill section with high gradations as well as blind curbs. All drivers who cross the Ghat road pray to his satisfaction before driving into the Ghat so that nothing happens in crossing the Ghat. It is about 8 kms. When you go half way to the Ghat from Bangriposi and when most of the uphill road is over there is a place where there is a goddess which is specifically established to safeguard the travelers through that Ghat.

It is needless to say that the rebels have seen the jeep with Mr. Singh and Sri Prankanai Chowdhury, forest contractor which passed through the ghat road by around 10-11 A.M. under police guard and was to return by the afternoon and also to go back as expected in a convoy well guarded by the police by 5-5.30 PM. This was being declared by the SDO Bamanghati who was camping at Bisoi about twenty KM on the hill side from where he was sending guarded convoys of vehicles. Unguarded movement was very much discouraged. But unfortunately when this jeep carrying Mr Singh, Mr P K Choudhury and three others with driver Sri Chamanlal Chowhan reached from Karanjia area, after their work was over, just few minutes after 5PM they found that the police guarded convoy of vehicles have already left from Bisoi downwards to Bangriposhi. SDO Mr Swaran Singh asked them not to go alone without police escort. But they thought if only 10-15 minutes ago the convoy has left, they can catch up with the convoy by racing up in speed as it is sloppy road. Unfortunately their estimate was proved fatally wrong. By the time the convoy crossed the place of Thakurani the agitators lurking around at that place got enough time to block the road by cutting some trees on the road which blocked the jeep to go any further from that point near the Thakurani, A sharp arrow hit Chamanlal Chowhan, injuring the driver's right knee from the right side of the hill which crippled him totally to drive. The arrow came by tearing through the canvass hood. For that reason perhaps Chamanlal could not see the shooter, who were above the ground level on the hillock. When the jeep stopped it seems, the Santhals were fully prepared and came by beating their large drums called Dhumsha, used in very important ceremonies. While all the persons jumped out of the jeep and took shelter in the nearby ditch with

injured driver, the Adivasi agitators dragged away Mr Singh from near the vehicle. The Santhal rebels could not perhaps see anybody else and took away Mr Singh alone and gave a ceremonious *bali* by first giving a bath and then doing other rituals that is done before such sacrifices. The Thakurani's place and the well is still there as the witness to that gory and horrible cold blooded murder.

It was already dark when these things happened. The survivors were asked by the Chatias to remove their white clothes, tear them and use parts of it as loin cloth so that they are not seen from distance and they came with their guidance in very circuitous jungle road to Baripada Thana after one and a half day, only a distance of 22 kms. Police took their statements, and later on arrested the entire family of Sri PKChoudhury.

After about a month the jeep was brought to Baripada Police Station after recovering it from that gorge in the ghat road. It was an unprecedented situation in Baripada town, people were in full panic and lawlessness was spreading every where. The collector V S Mathews with the help of Military police took very severe action to control the situation. He ordered firing in Kuldiha, Gunduria, Gitilata, Rairangpur and in several other places of the disturbed areas of Mayurbhanj. There was heavy loss of life as the military police used stenguns and asked to shoot at sight methods to control the situation. Govt. imposed punitive taxes on the tribals and showed no leniency in realising the punitive tax. A large number tribals left their villages. Govt. initiated Judicial proceedings against the rebel leaders and many of their leaders were arrested.

At this time Dr. Mahtab came to Baripada and visited Baripada jail and many places of the affected area including Rairangpur, had detail talks

with the tribal leaders and ultimately truce was achieved. During his visit to Baripada jail he interacted with Sri P K Chowdhuri as well as with his brothers wife and was impressed that they are not culprits in the murder case in way. It was Dr. Mahtab's decision to withdraw all criminal proceedings initiated against the tribal leaders and all cases were dropped. Perhaps at that time this case of murder of Sri Prafulla Singh was also dropped. Sri PKChowdhury and his family members were all released from jail immediately. Then Mayurbhanj became a district of Orissa on 2nd January 1949. At what cost - they killed one Diku, non Adivasi Prafulla babu and the administration killed several Adivasis whose numbers have not been enumerated by any historian so far, it may be above 150 or more. How many villages have been deserted, it might have taken a generation to come to normalcy. This is the cost of making Mayurbhanj a part of Orissa.

Note: The incident relating to murder of Mr Singh was heard first hand by me from Mr P K Chowdhury who was a close family member of mine. I have heard it so many times that every thing appears to have happened just before my eyes. Later on I have gone by cycle to that spot to see it although I have passed that spot many times. I thought it will be my duty to write it down so that others can give proper justice to the sacrifice of many who have gone unseen, unsung and unnoticed in history.

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2. Untold stories of 1st responsible Govt. of Mayurbhanj – Dr. Kalpana Das
3. Merger of Princely States of Orissa with Indian Dominion and importance of 1st January By Dr. Janmejay Choudhury
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Anarchy as a Socio-Political Philosophy : Noam Chomsky in Perspective

Pradeepta Ranjan Pattanayak

‘Anarchy’, as we all know, denotes a state of lawlessness, chaos, free for all situation; has its intellectual roots in *LEVIATHAN*, *magnum opus* of Thomas Hobbes, wherein he visualizes a deplorable state of nature, where there was war of all against all— a state or a situation that is entirely devoid of normative thinking. Hobbes understood it well that human beings are not always devoid of reason. But reason, he asserted, is essentially a servant of the passions—the faculty of devising ways and means to secure what one desires. Desires are random, and there is no established common rule of good and evil to be taken from the nature of objects themselves. Hence the passions, the ultimate end of action are diverse and there is nothing to prevent the pursuit which results in conflict. The part played by power is the reason for this danger of conflict. Power, Hobbes argues, is the present means of a man to obtain some future apparent good. A very important element of power is the ability to command the recognition and services of other men. This ability to obtain the unquestionable submission of other men is very limited. Thus, this power, which is the proximate end, is inherently a source of division between men. Hobbes asserts, “*Nature, in a crude manner, hath created men with equality of ability, though at times some men are found to be manifestly stronger in*

body or of quicker in mind than some other men. From this equality of ability ariseth equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore, if any two men desire the same thing which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way to their end, endeavour to destroy or to subdue one another” (Hobbes: 1651).

Consequently, in the absence of any restraining control, men will adopt to this immediate end (of willfully enjoying the recognition and services of others), which is the most efficient available means. These means are force and fraud. Hence a situation where every man is the enemy of every other endeavouring to destroy or to subdue him by force or fraud or both. This is nothing but a state of anarchy.

The philosophy of anarchy also found a place, albeit candidly, in the garb of *anomie* in the works of Robert K. Merton and Emile Durkheim. Durkheim conceived of anarchy (read *anomie*) as ‘*a social condition of normlessness or the deregulation of the normative structure that is the failure of the collective moral order to restrain the overweening ambition, greed and unlimited aspirations*’. In Durkheim’s words, “*The collective moral order is the only legitimate moral force that can effectively*

restrain the indomitable craze for social and economic needs. Society alone can play this moderating role. But when society is disturbed by some painful crisis or by beneficent but abrupt transitions, it is momentarily incapable of exercising this influence, as a result the mechanism breaks down and normlessness ensues” (Durkheim: 1947).

Traces of anarchy can also be discovered from R.K. Merton’s efforts to see how social structures exert pressure upon certain persons in society to engage in non-conforming than conforming conduct (Merton: 1938). From among several elements of social and cultural structures, Merton analytically separates two—*cultural goals* and *institutionalized means*. The *cultural goals* are acknowledged desirables in any society. They are success, money, power, prestige etc. *Institutionalized means* are the acceptable modes of reaching out for these goals. Anomie, Merton defines, is *the disjunction between cultural goals and the institutionalized means prescribed to reach the goals*. The above disjunction (or the anarchic situation) can be best exemplified in the following instance. Suppose a game is to be won. Logic would make us believe that it (the game) needs to be won under the rules prescribed for it. But in the modern industrial society, in many cases, it is seen that the game is won through alternative means not prescribed for winning it. In such cases winning the game becomes the sole objective without a corresponding importance attached to the means prescribed for it. As such, when *winning the game* takes precedence over *winning under the rules of the game*, as is experienced in the modern industrial societies, the anomie or the anarchic situation is created. Obviously therefore, force and fraud bolster the idea of winning the game, anarchy being its cardinal principle.

The contemporary neo-Marxist intellectuals in India argue that some amount of anarchy and disorder is a practical necessity even when logic would call for the strict application of the principle of discipline and order. But it creates confusion with regard to the correct definition and interpretation of the term anarchy. For instance, the social activists like Arundhati Roy and Swamy Agnivesh who can be confidently accredited to have set the ball rolling in terms of a peace dialogue between the Indian Maoists and the Govt., spare no effort in glorifying Maoist anarchy in the name of spontaneous outbursts against exploitation, injustice and violation of human rights. According to them since the (so-called) “Corporate Hindu Satellite State”, in the garb of *Sovereign, Socialist, Democratic India* perpetrates injustice and exploitation over poor, weak, homeless, poverty-stricken tribal people, then those poor people have a natural right to retaliate in whatever and howsoever form they like. Thus, in the process of armed struggle of the Maoists (the so-called victims of injustice), if the Indian State is overthrown then heavens are not going to fall. But critics say that it is tantamount to waging war against the Indian State and the State has a right to defend itself. All these arguments and counter arguments cast a deep shadow of confusion and consternation over the correct interpretation of the term “anarchy”. (*The Devil’s Advocate, CNN-IBN, August, 2010*).

The present time is replete with examples where people and establishments give their logic and arguments in favour of violence and anarchy and have advanced some acceptable sounding excuses as escape routes. Pakistan treating the terrorists operating in Kashmir as *freedom fighters*, giving the name of *non-state actors* to its own citizens who were involved in the 26/11 Mumbai attacks, Palestine and Israel justifying violence in Gaza Strip as per their own spirit of

understanding, Australia treating the series of violent racial attacks against Indian students as *isolated incidents* and *organized urban crimes*, US military using ‘*Friendly Fire*’, one of the most insidious terms in their so-called war against terror; etc. are some of the examples where the meaning of anarchy is manufactured and distorted.

Except for the rhetoric of nationalism, democracy, freedom struggle etc., the philosophy of anarchy has retained its chastity for the purposes of analysis and has received a just and reasonable treatment at the hands of some modern intellectual thinkers. Noam Chomsky, one of the great authorities on linguistics, started supporting anarchist philosophy at the tender age of 10, spending hours at the bookshops on Manhattan’s 4th Avenue, where he engaged himself in anti-authoritarian polemics. Believing that the best way to maximize our genetically endowed freedom is through anarchism, Chomsky defines his worldview as *Libertarian Socialism*. Such a brand of anarchism has both a historical force and stands for a deeply positive ideology that aims towards the absolute welfare of the public. But paradoxically it has been misconstrued by the media and its controllers, and this school of thought takes a rather destructive and negative complexion.

The libertarian anarchist stance combined with a left wing communalism led his (Chomsky’s) attention to the causes of social justice and the perceptible duplicity of the intellectuals. He felt that the essence of creativity is innate in all humans, which enables them to think and introspect. Language being inherently a creative entity, its original usage gives one a sense of freedom. Inequality and suffering in the world, therefore, have to be taken into consideration to finally eliminate division.

A Marxist standpoint with class as a central tenet thus forms the essence of anarchist theory and practice. Chomsky adds to it the idea of human linguistic abilities that have the power to resist any social oppression or straitjacketing. External authority cannot control the evolution of moral and intellectually rebellious culture. Chomsky was convinced that political control is used by the State at the behest of the moneyed class precisely to the apathetic abuse of the masses.

Chomsky’s writings throw light on the 150 years tradition of anarchism that has sought social and economic justice without the mediation of the bosses, politicians or bureaucrats. He believed that capitalism or capitalistic mindset is not going to disappear in one go. It needs a protracted process of struggle to do away with this. He emphatically maintains, “*The record of anarchist ideas and even more, of the inspiring struggles of the people who have sought to liberate themselves from oppression and domination, must be treasured and preserved, not as a means of freezing thought and conception in some new mold, but as a basis for understanding of the social reality and committed work to change it. There is no reason to suppose that history is at an end, that the current structures of authority and domination are graven in stone. It would also be a great error to underestimate the power of the social forces that will fight to maintain power and privilege*” (Chomsky: 2003, 2007). This view was also expressed partially in reaction to Francis Fukuyama’s (1992) *The End of History* and *The Last Man*.

Such a progressive liberal philosophy of social justice has its root in the 18th Century Enlightenment Project, and the contemporary thinkers like Chomsky have given it a cascading

effect with their searching criticisms of the State hegemony. It's a school of thought which is blatantly anti-capitalist with the underpinnings of a non-hierarchical social structure in which the workers are to be given the control of the means of production. The socialist-anarchist idea stands polemically opposed to such hierarchical fascism which is integral to the corporate world that controls the policies of the govt. and is always opposed to trade unionism.

Canadian philosopher John McGilvray (2005) questions Chomsky- "*Isn't anarchism the complete absence of any obligation towards others?*" He then quotes James Buchanan (2005) – "*the ideal society is anarchy in which no one man or group of men coerce another.*" But in the next breath he contradicts himself by saying that "*any person's ideal situation is that which allows him full freedom of action and inhibits the behaviour of others so as to force adherence to his own desires. That is to say each person seeks mastery over a world of slaves.*" (McGilvray: 2005). But Chomsky differs with the following words, "*In today's world, the goals of a committed anarchist should be to defend some state institutions from the attack against them, while trying at the same time to pry them open to more meaningful public participation- and ultimately, to dismantle them in a much more free society, if the appropriate circumstances can be achieved.*" (Chomsky: 2005)

Thus according to Chomsky anarchism is a type of 'voluntary socialism' and is synonymous with 'libertarian socialism'. This is not found in capitalist societies where labour is subjected to coercion and is not allowed to own the means of production nor have any effective control of productive activity. Freedom and creativity are two privileges of human beings so

essential to their needs; any unjust exercise of power leads to their victimization as well as psychological depression. To fulfill human nature and to see to it that human life thrives, it becomes essential to counter any form of oppression or control.

Each individual, argues Chomsky, has the responsibility and the creative acumen to take control of his /her society. Therefore, the idea is not to overthrow governments, but to take over the corporates so that they begin to work more in favour of the people. Anarchism, in favour of the people, involves the recognition of plurality, diversity and difference of interests, ideas and opinions. Chomsky takes governance inherently as a communal activity (community's activity) not to be left simply in the hands of the specialists, who focus too narrowly on their respective areas of interest, ignoring the larger well being of the society. For instance, undesirable jobs like cleaning the sewerage system, or repairing the roads damaged in heavy rains and cyclones, should necessarily be mechanized, and if there still exist some more undesirable jobs, the community should share them. Another solution Chomsky suggests is that people who do unpleasant jobs should be paid the highest and not the lowest.

If we turn the pages of history of social and political dissent, we will find that there have been a number of otherwise loyal, upright, law-abiding citizens who believed that they had been driven by their conscience to break the law over certain specific issues. In fact, we all are dissidents at one time or another. Protest has to be allowed in a society, as we live in a world that is constantly changing and it is by protest that laws are changed for a better future. As Vaclav Havel, the former Yugoslav dictator, observes, "*You do not become a dissident just because you decide one day to*

take up this most unusual career. You are thrown into it by your personal sense of responsibility, combined with a complex set of external circumstances. You are cast out of the existing structures and placed in a position of conflict with them. It begins as an attempt to do your work well and ends with being branded an enemy of society". (Havel: 1994, 1997)

Under the overwhelming force of capitalism, bureaucracy and religious difference there are always the smouldering undercurrents of anarchism that underscores a definite trend in the historic development of mankind, which strives for the free, unhindered unfolding of all the individual and social forces in life, an unavoidable necessity.

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Management of Uncertainties : A Global View

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People throughout the human history have faced the uncertainties brought on by unemployment, illness, death and old age. These inevitable facets of life are said to be threats to one's economic security. More than for himself or herself, the concern has been more for the loved one's they would leave behind and more nothing was more distressing than leaving the loved ones economically insecure. Man therefore, depended on himself to provide for himself and his loved ones in times of peril. Society, also, plunged in to help, and the idea of social security began to germinate. During the medieval period, the feudal system provided security as long as there was a steady supply of work to provide labour. In the middle ages, charity as a formal economic arrangement came in to being. Family members again felt responsible towards one another thus providing a form of security. Land owned was also a form of security. As societies grew in economic and social complexity, formal organizations of various types developed which sought to provide economic security for its members. The earliest of such organizations were guilds or mutual aid societies formed during the middle Ages by merchants or craftsmen. These guilds slowly started the practice of providing life cover (insurance) to their members and the seeds of social security were sown. The earliest evidence of social security can be found in England in the English poor law of 1601 which was the first

systematic codification of English ideas about the responsibility of the state to provide for the welfare of its citizens. The law was generous in providing for the poor with alma-houses but also harsh in that it viewed the poor as highly undesirable characters and treated them accordingly. May day is the day of victory for labourers. World labour's day is the day which regulates the labour and gives the labourers a better frame work for working. Labour revolution brings eight hours of work per day along with many other rights for the workers class. The capitalists, the industrialists, the employers came to sign an understanding with the labour leaders in a common agreement which ends exploitation of labour force. That was May First of 1886. The revolution was originated at Chikago of Amarica. The agitation was led by August Swaini. From that day onwards, the different labour laws were made and implemented for the welfare of the working mass. Before going into the present scenario of social security, let us first try to understand social security which is the provision of income and services by governments and public institutions to enable individuals to cope with life problems that they can't surmount through their own efforts, including illness, old age, disabilities, and unemployment. Social security systems are extremely important to vulnerable members of security and those whose rights tend to be ignored,

including workers, the aged, mothers and children, and orphans. Social security protects not just the subscriber but also his/her entire family by giving benefit packages in financial form to guarantee at least long-term sustenance to families when the earning member retires, dies or suffers a disability. Social security system (SSS) is that it acts as a facilitator and helps people to plan, their own future through insurance and assistance. The success of Social Security System however requires the active support and involvement of both the giver and receiver.

Historical Development:

In the beginning, economic security for needy persons was provided primarily through individual efforts. Gradually, to meet contingencies and to prevent destitution organized methods were developed to deal with the problem of economic insecurity. Since the industrial revolution up to 1880, three approaches namely, savings plans, private insurance and employer liability plans were established in Europe to safeguard the interests of workers. Responsibility for the relief of poverty was, however, mainly accepted by private charitable organizations, working men's associations, churches and the government. This led to legislation in many countries. Later to give social security to industrial workers, social assistance and social insurance schemes were introduced. As early as 1789, in Switzerland, an unemployment insurance plan was established there by initiating group action to safeguard workers interest against the hazards of industrial life. A comprehensive modern plan of social security was introduced originally in Germany under the leadership of Bismarck. It is a compulsory health insurance programme in 1883, an accident insurance programme in 1884 and invalidism and old age insurance programmes in 1889. But it was in 1925 that an unemployment insurance programme was provided in Germany. Austria and Hungary soon followed this example. By the beginning of the 20th century, social security

programmes were favoured by most European countries. In 1908, Great Britain introduced a scheme like non-contributor pensions for needy persons who had reached the age of 70. In 1911, the country adopted a national scheme for unemployment insurance, as well as compulsory health insurance programme in 1920. In 1925, a national scheme for contributory pensions for older people, widows and orphans was enforced and a scheme for unemployment assistance was formulated in 1934. In USA, the Social Security Act of 1935 was the first comprehensive legislation. Another important social security Act was passed in 1938 in New Zealand, collecting SS Tax to finance a universal and compulsory social insurance scheme. The Second World War witnessed a rapid expansion in social security activities all over the world, which was necessitated by the generation of scarcities of almost all essential commodities. The Beveridge report of 1942 on British Social insurance has now been implemented. It described social security as an necessary armament for an attack on five 'giants' - want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. By the late 1960s, SS programmes were in operation in some form or the other in more than 120 countries.

In USA

In the last 18th and 19th centuries, poverty relief was provided in the almshouses and poor houses. Relief was made as unpleasant as possible in order to discourage dependency. Those availing relief lost their personal property, the right to vote, the right to move, etc. Relief provided by outdoor relief (other than Govt.) was also looked upon with suspect. Military pensions were perhaps the first SS measure started in USA. The first national pension programme was passed in 1776, it was after 1862 that the same was implemented. Social security for all began from 1935 only. The major SSSs in USA include the Old-age Survivors and Disability Insurance (OSADI) which covers most paid workers, a

public health insurance scheme called Medicare which covers medical care of the aged, and the Medical-aid, a health insurance scheme for people with low income, public assistance programmes include the Supplementary Security Income (SSI) and Temporary Assistance for needy families. Generally, private sector takes a very important role in social welfare, the Government plays an important role in its implement. The USA is the only developed country that does not have a medical security system for all its citizens and private health insurance scheme play a major role in providing medical security. The role of the private sector in providing social welfare and the seriousness of the Govt. in its implementation makes human security appear to be the best in the USA.

In France: The Social security system is divided into two categories, the social insurance system and the social assistance system. The former is funded and the later is complementary. The social insurance system is divided in to many subsystems depending on the work place. So the insurance may vary from one workplace to another. The social assistance system is complementary and consists of medical aid, aid for the elderly, disabled, and family and children but is restricted only to people below a certain income level.

In Germany: There are five social insurance programmes namely, pension insurance, medical insurance, workmen's accident compensation insurance, unemployment insurance and long term care insurance, as well as child allowance and social assistance. Public assistance is also provided namely livelihood assistance and other assistance for special situations. In Sweden, there is a general security system run mainly by public sectors. Income security programmes are run by the Central Government Administrative Agency and include old age pension, child allowance, and sickness and injury benefits etc. Health care and medical services are provided by wide area

covering local Governments. Social services include services for the elderly and disabled and nursery care services which are run by local Governments (similar to our municipality). Coming to the Asian Continent, South Korea's SSS comprises a social insurance system, public assistance and social welfare systems. The SIS consists of national pension, medical insurance and employment insurance and industrial disaster insurance. Public assistance includes daily living support, medical care support, and disaster and accident relief. The social welfare programmes are designed for children, the elderly people, with disabilities, women and the homeless. In Indonesia, various systems and services exist but are operated independently. These include the health maintenance security system with governmental authorization, workmen's social security system, medical security, pension systems, and social welfare services. Medical services are inexpensively provided through national or public hospitals as well as free of charge medical care for needy people.

In Japan: The social security system encompasses all the aspects to provide for human security in Japan such as health insurance, management of health care delivery system, prevention of diseases such as T.B., AIDS and cancer, long term care insurance, public pension, income assistance, on services for the elderly (welfare for the elderly), Assistance for the disabled (welfare for the disabled), benefits for children (welfare for the children), Public Health Employment Insurance, work-related accident insurance. It is seen that, none of the countries, however, is said to have a well established social security system like that of Japan.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AND SOCIAL SECURITY:

The ILO was founded in 1919 for the primary purpose of promoting social justice and

improving the living and working conditions of workers throughout the world. In the preamble to its constitution, it promises “protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury”. In order to implement these measures, the ILO took certain steps. i) It formulated international standards of social security. ii) it collected and spread the information on social security schemes of various countries iii) it provided technical assistance and guidance in formulating SS schemes with the cooperation of other social organizations. Till June, 1970, 29 out of 132 conventions and 27 out of 136 recommendations helped in formulating international standards regarding social security. ILO has worked in close collaboration with the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the Organization of American States, the European Economic Community and the League of Arab States. The 1952 ILO convention on social security (minimum standards) divided social security in to nine components: and proclaimed the minimum standards to carry out. They were : i) Medical care ii) Sickness benefit iii) Unemployment benefit iv) Old age benefit v) Employment injury benefit vi) Family benefit vii) Maternity benefit viii) Invalidism benefit ix) Survivors benefit. ILO also has suggested various methods of organizing, establishing and financing various social security systems. For the benefit of less developed countries it has fixed the level of benefits fairly low.

INDIAN PERSPECTIVE :

In the concept of social security it has been mentioned in the early Vedic literature that human “wishes everyone happy, free from all ill health, enjoy a bright future and suffer no sorrow,” SS is thus based on the ideals of human dignity and social justice. Social security is defined as “the security that society furnishes, through

appropriate organization, against certain risks to which its numbers are exposed.” These risks are essentially contingencies against which the individual, who has small means, cannot protect himself. Those contingencies include employment injury, sickness, invalidism or disablement, industrial disease, maternity, old age, burial, widowhood, orphan hood and unemployment. Social security is also broadly defined as “the endeavour of the community as a whole, to render help to the utmost extent possible to any individual during periods of physical distress inevitable on illness or injury and during economic distress consequent on reduction or less of earnings due to illness, disablement, maternity, unemployment, old age, or death of working member.” Friedlander defines social security as “a programme of protection provided by society against the contingencies of modern life.” The benefits or services under SS are provided in three major ways i.e., social insurance, social assistance or public services.

India has always looked towards stability in life more than progress when viewed in the Western Context. India has always had a joint family system that took care of the social security needs of all the members. In keeping the cultural traditions, family members and relatives have always discharged a sense of shared responsibility towards one another. The joint family has always used all the resources and responsibilities that could draw upon to the best relief for the special needs and care required by the aged and those in poor health. Like this the family members were providing both emotional and monetary security. However, with increasing migration, urbanization and demographic changes there has been a decrease in large family units. This is where the formal system of social security gains importance. Information and awareness are the vital factors in widening the coverage of social security schemes. Social security benefits in India are need based. Social security is a comprehensive approach

designed to prevent deprivation, assure the individual of a basic minimum income for himself and his dependents and to protect the individuals from any uncertainties. The matters of social security are listed in the Directive Principles of State Policy and the subjects in the Concurrent List. The Concurrent List in its list Third of the Seventh Schedule of the constitution of India mentions the provisions on social security. In its item no. 23, social security and insurance, employment and unemployment are dealt and in item no. 24 the provisions on welfare of labour are stated. These include condition of work, provident and old-age pension and maternity benefits. Some of the social security provisions are also dealt with part IV directive principles of state policy. Article, 41 relates to right to work, right to education and right to public assistance in certain cases. The state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of underserved. Article 42 works on provisions for just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief. The state shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief. Social and labour security is one among them which is the aid for uncertainties. The State bear the primary responsibility for developing appropriate system for providing protection and assistance to its workforce. Social security is increasingly viewed as an integral part of the development process. It helps to create a more positive attitude to the challenge of globalization and the consequent structural and technological changes. Most social security systems in developed countries are linked to wage employment. In India situation is entirely different from that of developed countries. The key differences are:

1. We do not have an exiting universal social security system.
2. We do not face the problem of exit rate from the work place being higher than the replacement rate. Rather on the contrary lack of employment opportunities is the key concern.
3. 92 percent of the workforce is in the informal sector which is largely unrecorded and the system of pay roll deduction is difficult to apply.

In Organized Sector :

In the organized sector, different SS measures are specifically provided through five central Acts namely the ESI Act, the EPF and MP Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Maternity Benefit Act and the Payment of Gratuity Act. In addition there are large number of welfare funds for certain specified segments of workers like Beedi Workers, Cine Workers, Construction Workers, etc.

- i) ESI Act, 1948: The Act covers factories and establishments with ten or more employees and provides for comprehensive medical care to the employees and their families as well as cash benefits during sickness and maternity, and monthly payments in case of death or disablement.
- ii) The EPF and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952 (EPF & MP Act): The Act applies to the specific scheduled factories and establishments employing twenty or more employees and ensures terminal benefits to provident fund, superannuation pension, and family pension in case of death during service. Separate laws exist for similar benefits for the workers in the coal mines and tea plantations.
- iii) The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923 (WC Act), which requires payment of

compensation to the workman or his family in cases of employment related injuries resulting in death or disability.

- iv) The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 (MB Act), which provides for 12 weeks wages during maternity as well as paid leave in certain contingencies now, the maternity leave is extended to six months with paternity leave also.
- v) The Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972 (PG Act), which provides 15 days wages for each year of service to employees who have worked for five years or more in establishments having a minimum of ten workers.

Social security in organized sector: The organized labour force are covered by different Acts and laws to get the social security benefits. These are Indian Factories Act, 1948, The Shops and Commercial Establishments Acts of State governments, the Industrial Employment Standing Orders Act, 1946, etc. A well established Social Security Division in the Govt. of India is working with the matters concerning framing of social security policy especially for the workers of the organized sector, administration of the Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952, Workman's Compensation Act, 1923, etc.

In Unorganized Sector:

The above Acts and laws are not able to cover the workers of unorganized sector, seasonal and temporary nature of occupations, high labour mobility, dispersed functioning operations, casualisation of labour, lack of organizational support, low bargaining power, etc, all of which make it vulnerable to socio-economic hardships. The rural area comprises landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers, share croppers, persons engaged in animal husbandry, fishing, horticulture, bee-keeping, toddy tapping, forest workers, rural artisans, etc. whereas the

urban area, comprises mainly of manual labourers in construction, carpentry, trade, transport, communication, and also includes street vendors, hawkers, head load workers, cobblers, tin smiths, garment workers, etc. In India, the workers who do not have access to any formal scheme of social security constitute about 93 percent of the estimated workforce of more than 400 million people.

The above groups are covered by the Government by indirect funding i.e., through subsidies, public distribution system (PDS), social assistance programmes, food for work programmes, tax concessions etc but are not included under any SSSs opened for organised workers. There are number of models of providing SS to the workers in the unorganized sector. These may be classified under: a) Centrally funded social assistance programmes. a) Social insurance scheme. c) Social assistance through welfare funds of central and state Govt. and public initiatives. The centrally funded social assistance programmes include the employment oriented poverty alleviation programmes such as Swarnjayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojana, Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana, Employment Assurance Scheme, National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) comprising old age pension, family benefit and maternity benefit to address the social security needs of the people below poverty line. The social insurance schemes include several schemes launched by the Central and the State Governments for the benefit of weaker sections through the life insurance corporation of India and General Insurance Corporation of India. Welfare funds represent one of the models developed in India for providing social protection to workers in the unorganized sector. The scheme of welfare fund is outside the frame work of specific employer and employee relationship in as much as the resources are raised by the Govt. on non-contributory basis and the delivery of welfare services is affected without linkage to individual

worker's contribution. These funds are constituted from the cess collected from the employers and manufactures / producers of particular commodity or industry concerned. These welfare funds mainly provide medical care, assistance for education of children, housing, water supply, recreation facilities. There are thirteen major hospitals and more than 300 static-cum-mobile dispensaries covering the target beneficiaries under these funds in respect of medical care to the workers and their families all over the country. There are various schemes for re-imbusement of expenses incurred on major surgeries like coronary by-pass, heart surgery, kidney transplant, cancer, etc. Maternity benefits are also available to the women workers. However the coverage under all the above programmes is little more than ten Million out of an estimated 370 Million workers in the unorganized sector. A lot more has to be done in the matter of providing SS and social protection to these workers.

New Initiatives :

The various Central Acts on Social Security are being examined in the light of the recommendations of the 2nd National Commission on Labour. Relevant amendments are proposed in the EPF and MP Act as also the ESI Act. Innovative measures are proposed in the running of the SSSs of EPFO and ESIC. This includes flexible benefit schemes tailored to the specific requirements of different segments of the population. Currently, social security policy makers and administrators are engaged in a wide ranging debate to redress the problems in providing social security in the country. The debate has thrown up various arguments on the efficacy of publicly managed social security systems as opposed to privately managed schemes. There is no standard model that can be adopted on this

issue. In the Indian context the privately managed schemes can at best be considered as supplementary schemes after the mandatory schemes managed publicly. It is only the publicly managed scheme, which will extend to all the sectors of the workforce. The challenge of closing the coverage gap in social security provision has to be developed at two levels. The first level involves the re-engineering of the institutional arrangements to increase efficiency. The second level is to create an appropriate legislature and administrative framework for significant increase in the social security coverage especially in the unorganized sector.

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Emerging Paradigms of Development in Odisha : A Space for GO-NGO Partnership

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The developmental experience during last couple of decades at National and State levels projects certain issues which need intellectual discourse for dissemination of information, generation of constructive debate, participatory implementation and feedback for policy changes. Generally, any developmental analysis follows broadly two patterns viz. (i) figurative presentation through statistical devices; (ii) derivative and logical analysis based on observation. The statistical figures themselves do not yield any significant meaning unless elucidated with logical derivation and intelligible analysis. In the present paper an attempt has been made to have a symbion of the two methods to work out an actionable framework for GO-NGO partnership. The statistical data has been coupled with field observation, policy reviews, empirical assessments and scholarly reflections of columnists over last 10 years to arrive at the reality.

Emerging Paradigms:

- 1. Growth** involving the debate between market based growths vs. subsidy based welfarism, the former taking precedence over the later.
- 2. Positivism and Proprietorship** referring to trust and confidence building, mastering of

entrepreneurship, channelizing youth power, building resilience to shocks and market dynamisms.

- 3. Partnership** indicating to joint ventures in terms of dovetailing of funds, sharing of resources and revenue for infrastructure lying, quality improvement, export promotion and economic expansion.
- 4. Performance** pointing to accuracy, adequacy and pro-activeness in Service Delivery, time framed accomplishment of developmental targets in shape of Result Frame Work Document (RFD), Good Governance with definite degree of public accountability.
- 5. Knowledge sharing** emphasizing the need for incubation, designing of innovative practices, trend setting and sharing of ‘best practices’ in production technology and management techniques.
- 6. Citizen and Community ownership** necessitating a vibrant grass root democracy through empowered organs of people’s participation.

Each of these Paradigms need specialized analysis so much so that it forms the subject matter of one or other discipline of social science like economics, business management, public

administration, organizational studies, human resource management etc. But a prismatic view of all these paradigms reveals an underlying continuum which forms the essence of each one of them. This essence is the Growth, which in fact, is the anchor paradigm encompassing the core of other paradigms. The present state and space of developmental scenario in Odisha is in line with these emerging paradigms. Before we go to light upon the scopes of partnership it may be of worth to have a synaptic look at the growth potentials of Odisha in present context.

Growth Potentials of Odisha.¹

Odisha located on the east coast, is flanked by West Bengal and Jharkhand on the north, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh in the west and Andhra Pradesh in the South. It is the 9th largest State with area of 1,55,707 sq kms and 11th largest in terms of population with 4.19 cr. people that is about 3.47% of India's population as per 2011 census. It contributes about 2.6% of national income. The following box contains some indicative statistical figures about socio-economic profile of Odisha.

- Geographical area of 1,55,707 sq kms – around 4.78% of country's land mass.
- Population- 4.19 cr.: Female-2.07 cr Male-2.12 cr.- around 3.75 % of the country.
- Population Density- 269 per sq km against national average of 382.
- SC & ST population 39.98% of total population against 24.40% of India as a whole.
- Physiographic: 4 zones- **Northern Plateau**-Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh districts covering 18.3% of the area. **Central Table Land**- undivided Bolangir, Dhenkanal and Sambalpur districts covering about 23.9% area. **Eastern Ghats** mainly undivided Kalahandi, Kandhamal and Koraput districts covering 32.0% of the area. **Coastal Plain**-undivided Balasore, Cuttack, Ganjam and Puri with 25.8% area of the State.
- **Demographic Dividend**- Growing youth power of around 1,27,66,900 youth² constituting more than 30% of the population.
- **Forest Land**: The total Forest land of the State is around 38% of the landmass out of which actual forest coverage is over 31.41% which constitutes 8% of national forest reserve.
- **Mineral Resources**: The State has rich endowment of natural resources with 95% of nations' Chromites, 92% of Nickel, 55% of Bauxite, 33% of Iron Ore, 28% of Coal, 29% of Manganese, and 13% of nation's China Clay reserve.
- **Water Resource**: Odisha has 11 River Basins accounting for 11% of total WR of the country. Annual Ground Water Availability is 21.01 BCM out of which present annual drafting is 3.85 BCM (18.32%)
- **Irrigation Potential**: Maximum realizable irrigation potential of the State is 49.90 lakh hectare against which irrigation has been created for 30.36 lakh hectare (by March,2012).
- **Marine Resource Base**: Odisha has 480 kms of coastline and a continental area of 24,000 kms. This offers excellent scope for marine fish production, processing and export. The State has largest Brackish Water lagoon of the Continent.
- **Livestock Resources**: The total livestock of the State is 230.57 lakh (2007 census) including 123.09 lakh cattles, 11.90 lakh Buffalos, 71.27 lakh goats, 18.18 lakh sheep and 6.12 lakh Pigs. There is great scope for livestock farming.

- **Egg Production:** The egg production in the State has increased up to 23,000 million per year in 2011-12. The daily average production of egg is around 45 lakhs against the daily requirement of 64 lakhs (ICDS-15 lakhs, MDM-25 lakhs) - Great Scope for layer farming.³
- **Milk Production:** As per nutritional norms recommended by National Nutrition Advisory Committee the daily requirement of milk per annum is around 4333 TMT against which the present production is 1784 TMT. There is a vast scope for creation of new livelihood avenues through diary farming in the State.⁴ Similarly, Fodder requirement of the State is around 31,203TMT per annum against which present level of production is around 16,122 TMT leaving a vast scope for fodder cultivation.⁵
- **Fishery Potential:** Fishery potential of Odisha is around 5.14 lakh tones per annum against which the present level of production is about 73%. Though Odisha has become a fish surplus⁶ state still then total fish production in Odisha is lowest in comparison to neighbouring east coast states. This sector has vast potential for creation of livelihood and productive engagement of human resources.⁷
- **Textiles & Apparel Making:** This sector contributes about 14% to industrial production, 4% to GDP and 17% to country's export earning. Indian Textile & Cloth market is estimated to be 200,000 cr. In Odisha school uniform market only through captive Govt. purchase is Rs.203 Cr. per annum.- State has large raw material base with low cost skill labour.⁸

Development Profile of Odisha

Historically, the State economy has grown and diversified at a very slow pace. Odisha

witnessed high levels of poverty and low level of human index with all its socio-economic indicators. The incidences of poverty and low quality of life were visible, more particularly, in northern and southern regions of Odisha. The large chunk of population depended on agriculture and allied sectors for sustenance. The farm productivity and utilization of mineral resources also remained low in comparison to several other parts of the nation. This has been substantiated by many scholarly works, national surveys and statistical reports. One need not reproduce all those reports to appreciate the extent of poverty in Odisha. The fiscal situation of the State continued to be grim till the reform measures initiated during the last one and half a decade. Govt. of Odisha in its submission to 14th Finance Commission has clearly spelt out the grim fiscal situation. We tend to believe this report not overstated statement of Governmental achievements, as Govt. here, was not required to highlight its achievements.

Pre Reform Fiscal Situation of the State.

- Grim Fiscal Situation in 1999-2000 leading to fiscal imbalances.
- Large & unstable revenue deficit- 5.38% of GSDP.
- Large fiscal deficit- more than 8% of GSDP.
- Unstable Debt Level- Expenditure on account of debt servicing was to the tune of 50% of Revenue Receipt.
- Liquidity crunch leading to over dependence on advances and OD – Treasury remained closed during most part of the year.
- Fiscal stress affected Growth – State's ability to provide funds for development was severely affected.
- Literacy rate- below 63%
- IMR- 75 (even up to 2005)

- MMR- 303 (up to 2005)
- Families Below Poverty Line- 57.2% against national average of 37.2 % (even up to 2005 as per Tendulkar Committee Methodology)⁹

Reform Measures Taken by Govt ¹⁰

- ✓ Introduction of Cash Management
- ✓ Linking Outlays to Outcomes.
- ✓ Computerization of Commercial Tax and e-service
- ✓ Improving transparency through disclosers.
- ✓ Public Private Partnership
- ✓ Right to Public Services.
- ✓ Integrated Financial Management System
- ✓ Public Procurement Reforms
- ✓ Asset Management Principles for Maintenance of Roads and Bridges.
- ✓ Annual Maintenance Plan.
- ✓ Project Appraisal Mechanism.

Other Developmental Initiatives.

- I. Focused Approach for attaining and maintaining higher overall growth rate at 9%. Focus on agriculture and allied sectors for increasing production, productivity and diversification of agriculture with the target of more than 4% annual growth in this sector.
- II. Strengthening of core physical infrastructure with more public investment in power projects, irrigation works, roads, bridges and railways.
- III. Augmenting infrastructure support for higher and technical education to enhance quality of manpower.

- IV. Strengthening health care institutions with gradual improvement in quality of service delivery.
- V. Strengthening social protection network of women, children, and socially excluded as well as vulnerable groups.
- VI. Enacting enabling policies and creating supportive institutional network for enhancing productivity of human resources.
- VII. Developing a facilitating institutional mechanism for growth through entrepreneurships. Locating and projecting feasible areas for attracting private sector investment.

The Outcomes of Reforms and Initiatives.

Because of the above cited paradigm shifts and strategic approaches, the developmental scenario has constantly changed over the years bringing about visible impact on some key indicators of socio-economic growth. The following table presents a comparative scenario of development over last 10 years.

Key Developmental Indicators of Odisha

| Indicators | Comparative Growth | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | 2001 | 2011 |
| Share in national population | 3.0 % | 3.5% |
| Literacy rate | 63.1% | 72.9% |
| Birth Rate | 22.3% | 20.1% |
| Death Rate | 9.5% | 8.5% |
| IMR | 97 | 57 |
| Sex Ratio females | 972 | 978 |

Source – Census of India, 2011

Changes in Poverty Index

| Year | Odisha (figure in percentage) | | | India (figure in percentage) | | |
|---------|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|-------|
| | Rural | Urban | Total | Rural | Urban | Total |
| 2004-05 | 60.8 | 37.6 | 57.2 | 42.0 | 25.5 | 37.2 |
| 2009-10 | 39.2 | 25.9 | 37.0 | 33.8 | 20.9 | 29.8 |

Source- Planning Commission of India.

Growth Rate in GSDP (2004-05 prices)

| GSDP Growth Rate | 1981-82 till 2002-03 | 2003-04 till 2012-13 | Change in growth rate |
|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Annual average | 3.4 | 7.88 | 4.49 |
| 3 Year Average | 3.38 | 8.14 | 4.75 |

Export Performance of Odisha

The export performances in mineral products, computer software, marine products have shown record growth. Odisha also exports Metallurgical products, engineering & chemicals, handloom & textiles, agriculture and forest products, pharmaceutical products and handicrafts. There are near about 192 export and business houses operating in Odisha in these sectors. The total export figures have shown an increasing trend over last 5 years from Rs.13,808.63 cr in 2007-08 to Rs.16,148.02

cr in 2011-12. Of course, the export performance in different sectors are not symmetrical. In some sectors like minerals export it has followed an inconsistent pattern.

Structural changes in Economy

There has been a visible structural shift in Odisha's economy from agriculture to industry and service led economy. The share of industry and service sectors in economy has shown increasing trend over the years which are the sign of a dynamic and vibrant economy. The rate of growth is presented in following table for a synoptic view.

Composition of Odisha's Economy (up to 10th Plan at 1999- 2000 prices and subsequent years at 2004-05 prices)

| Plan Period | Agriculture | | Industry | | Services | |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| | Odisha | India | Odisha | India | Odisha | India |
| 8 th Plan | 37.60 | 29.08 | 17.52 | 20.21 | 44.87 | 50.71 |
| 9 th Plan | 32.44 | 24.96 | 17.65 | 19.97 | 49.91 | 55.07 |
| 10 th plan | 25.46 | 20.28 | 21.66 | 19.56 | 52.88 | 60.16 |
| 11 th Plan | 18.60 | 15.45 | 26.52 | 20.24 | 54.88 | 64.31 |

Source- Directorate of Statistics & Economics, Odisha.

These principal dynamics of economy has also shown more or less the positive state during 2012-13. As per the estimates, the service sector now contributes about 58.3% of the GSDP, followed by Industry 24.2% and agriculture 7.5% in real terms at 2004-05 prices.

Capacity Multiplication in Key economic sectors

As another important outcome of the reform initiatives, there has been capacity multiplication in some key economic sectors like technical education, IT exports, power generation and mineral products. The following table presents a synoptic view of the trend of change in this sector over last 12 years.

| Economic Sectors | Year-2000 | Year-2012 | Growth (%) |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------|
| IT Exports (in million USD) | 53.25 | 322.2 | 505 |
| Power Generation (in MWs) | 3679 | 13311 | 262 |
| Aluminium Production (in million tones) | 0.38 | 2.51 | 561 |
| Alumina Production (in million Tones) | 0.8 | 3.5 | 338 |
| Steel Production (in million tones) | 2.00 | 15.04 | 652 |
| Technical Education (total intake capacity) | 26,328 | 1,54,414 | 487 |

Source- Planning & Coordination Department, Govt of Odisha¹¹

It can be observed from the data presented in above table that capacity multiplication in these important sectors of economy has been within the range of 3.5 to 7.5 times during the period from 2000 to 2012. The economy of Odisha has depicted a rising trend over last decade. It has also sustained the global economic slowdown. Odisha has succeeded in reducing poverty by 20.1% as against national reduction average of 7.4% during the period from 2004-05 to 2009-10 which is highest among all states. **Long Way to ‘Shared Prosperity’- A Space for Partnership.**

In spite of the growth in GSDP and structural shifts in economy, Odisha still remains a poor state with a large chunk of population striving in primary sectors for their sustenance and survival. Though abject poverty has been reduced, the low level of productivity, low level of consumption and low nutritional level still grips the State’s developmental scenario. The Govt. of Odisha most candidly has admitted that the growth prospects of the State have come under strain due to global slowdown and deceleration in the national economy. The relative position of Odisha among major states of India still remains low in major sectors of growth and development. The education, health, livelihood, productivity and life

quality and social security indicators require a substantial infusion of resources into State.¹²

The exertions of State to overcome fiscal imbalance and embark upon the path of sustainable higher growth rate has proved that State alone cannot realize the objectives of shared prosperity and inclusive growth. Furthermore, the outcomes of developmental interventions for their multiplication, sustainability, and distribution in the frame of equitable distributive justice require participation at all levels. If growth and welfare is for the people, then citizens must participate in the process to make it happen and sustain it in

desirable direction. The Approach Paper to 12th Five Year Plan has rightly pointed that one of the major challenges today is Decentralization, Empowerment and credible dissemination Information. Information is power and an informed citizenry is the eternal strength of a democracy.¹³ This challenge as pointed out by Planning Commission, in its empirical dimension includes:

I. Building a vibrant Grass Root Democracy by making decentralized mechanism and norms-start operating through capacity building and empowerment.

II. Democratizing Information by reaching masses through useful and credible information and making media partner in development.

III. Creating Social Protection Floor through proactive security mechanism, supporting and enabling institutional network, quality and accountability in public service delivery.

Areas of Partnership.

The key objective of the State is now to progressively address the huge task of achieving sustainable and inclusive growth with accelerated human development. State has now recognized that bringing in of private sector effectiveness, resources and competitiveness is critical for harnessing development. The State has notified PPP policy in 2007 to catalyze this participation. An institutional framework and enabling norms have been put in place. The identified areas of partnership include the following.

- Hospital Health Care Network including establishment and maintenance of medical colleges and hospitals
- Emergency Medical Ambulance Service
- Energy Efficient Street lighting Projects.
- Quality Power supply

- Road and railway development projects.
- Institutes for skill development and placement in skills like plumber, carpenter, driver, operator, mechanic, mason, security services, private intelligence services,
- Capacity enhancement in IT and ITES
- Bulk water supply in rural and urban areas.
- Model residential public schools in backward regions.
- Inter-state power distribution corridors.
- Grid based renewable energy generation
- Rapid Mass Transit System.
- E-registration system (e-dharani)
- Public Service Delivery
- Common Service Centre.
- Affordable Housing Project
- Development of centres of excellence and incubation.
- Identification of viable gaps.
- Development of Ports.
- Development and maintenance of cold storages and cold chain.
- Creation and management of agro-service centres.
- Developing public utility centres
- Construction and management of ware houses, collection, grading and packing centres.
- Development and maintenance of rural sanitation.
- Building of media partnership.
- Identification of viable projects for PPP and preparation of Appraisal Reports.

- Development of demonstration centres in agriculture, horticulture, fishery and allied sectors.
- Development and maintenance of layers poultry farm, milk processing plants.
- Development and maintenance of Tourism Centres, eco-tourism spots and heritage centres.
- Critical Need Assessment of people and communities at micro level for intervention.
- Developing real time data base of the skill maps and resources of different local communities.
- Creation and management of irrigation projects on revenue sharing model.
- Creation and maintenance of terminal points and logistic parks for public transport and cargo handling.
- Securing citizen and community ownership of developmental interventions through appropriate action frames.

Available Policy Framework for Partnership

As stated earlier in this report, the necessity for private partnership has been realized both by the Government and private partners. The initial hesitation of both, because of mutual suspicion, lack of trust, gap in objective sharing is gradually getting diluted with the realization that growth and development is a mutual phenomenon, and in its happening, everybody gains. With these realizations State has taken a number of steps to create an investor friendly environment by leveraging the decision making process and industry related policies. Govt. of Odisha have announced Industrial Policy Resolution-2007, Public Private Partnership Policy, 2007 and MSME Policy- 2009. Govt have also taken proactive measures to promote

partnerships by launching the joint ventures called “Team Odisha” and “Invest Odisha” encompassing the broad institutional framework engaged in industrial facilitation and investment promotion in all key areas of economic growth. The key features of the PPP policy of Odisha provides for:

- Leveraging of Govt. funds with private sector expertise to develop better infrastructure at optimal cost.
- A transparent, consistent and efficient administrative mechanism for speedy clearance of projects.
- Necessary risk sharing framework suited for all stakeholders.
- A robust dispute redressal mechanism and regulatory framework for PPP projects.
- Viable gap funding (VGF) wherever projects are intrinsically unviable.
- Creation of Odisha Infrastructure Development Fund.

There has been a shift towards **project oriented approach from process oriented approach**. PPP related provisions have been made in Odisha General financial Rules (OGFR) and Rules of Govt. Business.

Partnerships Materialized.

As a result of these interventions Odisha has emerged as a favored destination of investors. The Annual Report of “Doing Business in India” published by **World Bank has rated Bhubaneswar** as the **Third Easiest** place to do business or conduct trade across borders in India. Govt. of Odisha has stressed on the role of private sector as the driving force of growth. Speaking on the matter, Principal Secretary to Govt of Odisha Sri P.K. Jena said, “during current 11th plan period PPPs have emerged as a well

accepted route for departments to adopt in implementation of their infrastructure development mandates".¹⁴ Odisha has been ranked as one of the top three Indian States for attracting highest private sector investment from 2001-2010. In 2012-13 alone, Odisha attracted an investment of around USD 100 billion which is 27% of total investment committed in India.¹⁵ A number of PPP projects of worth around Rs25,000 cr. have been mobilized. About 100 projects cutting across varied sectors like healthcare, education, water supply, warehousing, urban management, tourism, power transmission, roads and ports have been put to different stages of implementation. The following table presents sector-wise number and stage of implementation of such projects as on 30th September, 2013

| Sector | No. of Projects | Cost (Rs in cr.) |
|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Urban Development | 22 | 1890 |
| Health | 13 | 580 |
| Transport | 9 | 15,740 |
| Finance & Revenue | 2 | 200 |
| Industrial Infrastructure | 5 | 885 |
| Roads | 12 | 3476 |
| Tourism | 17 | 239 |
| Power Transmission | 3 | 1634 |
| Education | 17 | 82 |
| Total | 100 | 24,726 |

Source- PPP & Project Monitoring Cell, P & C Dept, Govt. of Odisha.

An empirical survey of these 100 projects reveals that around 40 projects involving investment of Rs.5445 cr have been made operational, 26 projects with cost of Rs.13,205 cr. are under implementation and 34 projects with cost of Rs.6256 cr. have been put in pipe line. The State has targeted to mobilize an

investment of at least Rs.5000 cr. for development of public infrastructure during 12th Five Year Plan (2012-2017).¹⁶ The Govt. have also launched Funds like Odisha Infrastructure Development Fund, Odisha Viability Gap Fund, Project Development & Facility Fund and Odisha Urban Infrastructure Development Fund for realization of the PPP target during 12th Plan. A band of experienced transaction advisors have also been engaged by Govt. for ensuring successful bidding and grounding of the projects.

In all these projects, mostly business houses and large investors have entered into partnership. The collaboration has been in shape of either financial assistance or technical add or the both. The major partners are Asian Development Bank (ADB), Department for International Development (DFID) of U.K., German Development Corporation (KfW Bank), Private Infrastructure Development Group (PIDG) comprising of Australia, Germany, Ireland, Netherland, Sweden, Switzerland and UK), The World Bank Group with its organs like International Financial Corporation (IFC), International Development Agency (IDA) and International Bank for Rural Development (IBRD), Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC), Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) and World Trade Organization (WTO). Apart from these, other project implementing partners like Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), Ernst & Young (EY), Jones Lang Lasalle, Aarvee Associates, IL&FS, L&T, TATA, SEW, GMR, Soma, GAMON India, Punj Lloyd Associates, Nagarjuna Constructions, IVRCL Infra, LANCO, SIMPLEX, Sahi, Intimate Fashion, VENTURA, Raymond, SP Apparels, ISEX, Aravind Mills, ITC, NSL, BRANDIX, Gitanjali Group, FJIL, BOSCH, Mahindra, APACHE, NOKIA, JINDAL have been selected for capacity enhancement and facilitation of project

implementation. Many other transport companies, automobile manufactures, exporters, travel operators and hoteliers have also come forwards for partnership with Govt.

Action Frame for Potential NGO Partners

It is seen from the available data that these partners are mostly business houses, industrial units, federation of businessmen, confederation of Technocrats, professionals etc. Partnership of these organizations, though helpful for boosting up economic activities is ultimately guided by the profit motive. They are mostly in gamut of State and Market. The citizen forms and civil society organizations are yet to be roped into partnership in any visible number. The peoples' participation for general welfare is yet to come up in any appreciable degree.

Beyond State and Market there exists a large base of peoples' organizations. Traditionally they are known as Voluntary Organization (VOs), Philanthropic Associations, or in more recent language, Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Development Agencies (NGDOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Grass Root Organisations (GROs). Apart from them, a number of other organizations have been formed in recent decades because of Governmental persuasion and socio-political conditions. These include Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Non-Party Political Formations (NPPF), Self Help Groups (SHGs), Gaon Kalyan Samities (GKS), Vana Sanrakshana Samities, (VSS), Rogi Kalyan Samities (RKS), Users Committees (UC), Common Interest Groups (CIGs), Producer Groups (PGs), Farmers Groups (FGs), Farmers Associations (FAs), Vigilance Committees, Mothers' Committees, Janch Committees, Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs), Village Sanitation Committees, School Management Committees

and the like. Many of these organizations are Govt. sponsored. They have been formed with definite normative arrangements with objectives of accommodating flexibilities and local needs in schematic programmes.

Among all these of organs of peoples' participation, NGOs are the potent partners in development. But the GO and NGO relation in course of developmental history has been marked with mutual distrust and suspicion. The equations between the Government agencies and NGOs have been erratic and unstable, not only for officially prescribed conditions but also for political affiliations, regime ideology, lobbying and invisible benefits shared by the vested interests.¹⁷ In recent past many NGOs have conducted various research studies to expose the face of governmental agencies on performance, expenses, and responsiveness. On its turn, the bureaucracy has also raised many questions on genuineness and credibility of NGOs.

However, in course of this debate and some calculated interactions between GO and NGO, the traditional loggerheads are getting diluted. The Govt. has started reviewing its approach towards voluntary organizations. This sector possesses a definite degree of strength in terms of finance, number of workers/employees, and commitment. There is no authentic data on the exact number of NGOs in India. A scholarly estimate shows that there are 1.5 to 2 million NGOs in India excluding community based organizations and religious associations. Out of this 10,000 are developmental NGOs. The State wise number of NGOs shows that Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu have highest number of NGOs while the States like Manipur, Mizoram, Jammu & Kashmir and Pondicherry have less numbers.¹⁸ Circle wise registration of NGOs in Odisha shows the registration of around 1,

33,573 under IGR Odisha by 31st March, 2013. A survey conducted through administrative machinery in 1994 revealed 5,816 NGOs operating in Odisha. A similar type of survey in 2005 also yielded 4,441 numbers of NGOs.¹⁹¹⁹ Govt of Odisha (2005) – A directory of Non-Government Organizations, Planning & Coordination Department. On national scale in 1999-2000, this sector employed 6.1 million employees out of whom 2.7 million were full time employees and 3.4 million were part time volunteer workers. Thus, the strength of voluntary sector employment is nearly 82% of total central Govt. employment and 25% of both the Central and State Govt. employment. An estimate shows that the yearly spending through NGOs comes around 7,000 to 8000 cr out of which Rs.3000 to Rs.4000 cr is spent on developmental activities. These NGOs receive funds from various sources. An analysis of source wise receipt reveal that out of entire NGO funding 51% comes from self generated activities, 13% comes from donations, 29% from grants and 7% comes from loans. As many as 2, 3000 NGOs are registered with Ministry of Home Affairs to receive foreign contributions from. The foreign donations have grown up by 220 % since 1991 when the total inflow was around Rs.1,412 cr. This foreign contribution rose up to Rs.4535.5 Cr in 2000-01 and to Rs.4871.9 cr in 2001-02.

The VOs today are not sheer philanthropic associations. They are emerging as professionalized and specialized bodies for specific tasks of development. They have also diversified their activities in terms of the range of services and number of clientele groups. There has evolved a hierarchy and management mechanism in them requiring establishment costs and contingency expenses. There are also many parasites and vested interests engaging in many corruptive practices like siphoning of funds,

pilferage, malpractices, ulterior motives, exaggeration of achievements. Lack of professional skill for implementation of the projects and oligarchic management are other grim areas of this sector. Of course, it's a fact that NGO sector as a whole cannot be blamed. This sector, like any other sector has vested interests and bedbugs for whom the entire system is blamed.

Nonetheless, **many new openings are now available for NGOS**. The newly emerging developmental scenario offer many opportunities like-

(1) **Application of Innovation** in improved techniques of agriculture, horticulture, handloom textiles, watershed management, skill development, bio-gas energy, renewable energy , bio-fertilizer, delivery of public services, income generation activities, resettlement and rehabilitation in natural calamities, corporate social responsibility and agri-enterprise,

(2) **Development and maintenance of public utilities**, management of health institutions, maintenance of public infrastructure, running and maintenance of parks, gyms, herbal gardens, community food bank. This will add to the financial strength of NGOs through revenue sharing and will ensure better delivery of services.

(3) **Empowerment** by way of capacity building, awareness generation, community mobilization, facilitation and handholding support.

(4) **Providing professional expertise and technical assistance** to Govt. in lying and coat effective management of infrastructures.

(5) The NGOs can be **effective channel of** developmental communication, corporate communication and carrying feedback from people on policy measures.

(6) **Social Initiatives for transforming the growing youth power** to optimistic, enterprising socially aware and articulate productive force, helping the process of protection of human rights, consumer protection, philanthropy, preparation of micro-level skill and resource map of the localities, and making need assessment of localities.

These emerging areas call for innovative GO-NGO partnership which depends on two prerequisites for success. The Govt. machinery as the anchor partner should change its mind set and attitude toward NGOs. These peoples' organizations should be taken to confidence for developing grass root democracy. It has to be realized that there is no tested alternative to democracy; and, only alternative is a vibrant and delivering democracy at grass root level. The NGOs on the other hand, should put their house in order and inculcate the ethos of partnership, responsiveness, integrity, transparency, code of ethics, public reporting and professional standards. Both the Govt. and NGOs should make themselves amenable to social audit, public accountability, and their performance should be outcome oriented.

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After Care for Aging out Inmates from Care Homes : Odisha Experiment and Experience

Prof. Navaneeta Rath

Aftercare for the aging out young adults of care institutions is a recent policy pronouncement in India. The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) Act 2000 amended in 2006 reflects the need of aftercare to ensure a smooth transition of children from institutional care to independent life. Children's Rights ⁽¹⁾ sees children who age out from care homes without family or any other dependable adults to rely on for assistance are at high risk of homelessness, joblessness, illness, incarceration, welfare dependency, early child bearing and sexual and physical victimization. The number of such children is on steady rise. The multiple challenges faced by them derail their successful transition to adulthood. All these demand concerted efforts to provide support and services to the young adults to overcome the extremely difficult circumstances faced by them. So, the UN initiated attempts to emancipate, enable and empower the care leaving young adults to lead a descent and dignified life with identity and independence through after care supports.

Thus, aftercare is the provision of care for all children with special needs after they have reached the age of 18 years and are discharged from Children's Homes/Special Homes ⁽²⁾. It is a preparatory stage where young adults are trained and infused with skill, competence and confidence to sustain them during the transition from

institutional to independent life. It basically aims at enabling young adults to adapt themselves to the larger society and win themselves away from institutional care. Aftercare is an important final stage in the continuum of care as it ensures smooth rehabilitation and reintegration of a child in need of care and protection/conflict with law as he/she steps into adulthood.

The Aftercare organization shall provide certain essential services for the child under the guidelines. These services include housing facility, professional and emotional counselling, health care services, vocational training, assistance for opening bank accounts, getting identification such as 'Aadhar' number, ration cards, voting cards, life skill education etc.

In the state of Odisha, after care is just launched on a pilot basis by the Task Force and is at its infancy. Keeping this development in view, the present study was launched to take note of the perception of the children leaving institutional care home and getting admitted in the aftercare centres, the progress of aftercare venture and prospects of aftercare services.

Objectives of the Study: The study was fashioned by the following objectives:

- To make a short documentation of the available literature on "aftercare" services for children leaving institutional care.

- To make an assessment of the process in which aftercare pilot programme has been initiated and operated.
- To evaluate the impact of aftercare campaign and practice on children transiting from care homes.
- To trace out the perception of various role players involved in the process at different levels.
- To make a gap analysis between the promises and actual performances of aftercare undertaken by Task Force.
- To solicit recommendations that can make after care programme an enabling and empowering programme for the destitute children leaving institutional care and contribute towards their independent living and better mainstreaming in the society.

Scope of the Study:

The intellectual scope of the present study aimed at identifying the needs of aftercare for children moving to become young adults, institutionalizing good practices, innovating various mechanisms and ideas for better policy formulation on after care services. The geographical scope of the study was confined to Utkal Balashram, Berhampur from where six girls taken on experimental basis for after care services.

Methods and samples of the study:

The study has adopted both exploratory and explanatory research design and resorted to qualitative methods of data collection relying on close personal interaction, in depth interviews, observations and focus group discussion methods. The study covered three groups of functionaries involved in aftercare process like the Counsellor appointed by the Task Force, Member, CWC, Superintendent of Care Institution and the beneficiaries i.e. Children under aftercare.

STUDY OUTCOMES:

One of the major objectives of the study was to make an overview of the researches conducted on “aftercare” to pick up some good practices, to gain knowledge about policies and to detect the common challenges faced by aftercare programme. In this context, the survey noted that:

- Aftercare services are available in European countries and United States of America since three decades, but it is a new experiment in India as the policy came at the end of the 20th century and as such the aftercare policy in India is just a decade old and the practice is just in the initial stage.
- Studies on aftercare services in India are scanty and research studies on aftercare services in the State of Odisha is yet to be taken up.

The study noted that aftercare venture is a very recent one in the State of Odisha launched by the Task Force. On a pilot basis, 6 girls from Utkal Balashram are earmarked for aftercare services and are placed in painting trade at Government ITI, Berhampur. A total financial deposit of Rs.56,000/- has been made by Task Force. The Task Force took the initiative in launching a sensitization drive for Balashram members and CWC members about aftercare. Identifying children, preparing their care plans, counselling them, identifying the area of their specialization, the institution to be involved in aftercare process, producing children before the CWC were some of the tasks undertaken by the Task Force authorities before they placed the children under aftercare. However, the responsibilities of the Task Force did not end with this. After putting the children under aftercare, the Task Force is making a serious effort to mobilize Government support for regular sponsorship, stipend, monitoring the programme, mentoring the

children and is trying to respond to their immediate needs and challenges. No doubt, the role and responsibilities of the Task Force is tremendous and the sincere devotion of the members to bring it a success is praiseworthy.

Among the individual role players, the Counsellor appointed by the Task Force to counsel the children under aftercare, a member of the CWC and the Superintendent of Utkal Balashram were interviewed. The Counsellor, Ms. Ranjita has a keen association with the girls who are put into aftercare. She feels from preparatory to transit period, from care institution to aftercare placement and till continuation in aftercare services, the role of the counsellor is tremendous. Providing a moral boost, identifying potentials, mentoring the teenagers, satiating their inquisitiveness, solving their problems, fulfilling their needs and desires call forth a highly professional counsellor's regular intervention. Creating a strong conviction to achieve the goals among the children who are leaving institutional care, creating confidence among them and encouraging them to aim at competence building are the regular responsibilities of the counsellor. The study noted, the counsellor's role, attitude, participation with the young adults and perception have really given a good shape to the programme and the progress of the programme can be attributed to the sincere devotion and careful discharging of responsibilities by Task Force personnel and its Counsellor.

The study noted that CWC which has to play a significant role in the aftercare venture is to be regularly sensitized and its observations are to be taken note of, to shape the aftercare policies and programmes. CWCs are to be vitalized with information and authority to play a more proactive role for the progress of aftercare programme. The aftercare programme should also demand the

CWC members to float their innovations which may be significant resource for programme designing. The role of the CWC can be elaborated and extended under aftercare statutory documents. But, till the date the knowledge, role of the CWC is very limited on after care and the attitude for after care services is not well strengthened.

The Superintendent of Utkal Balashram was found to be over optimistic about the aftercare pilot programme. To her it was a long cherished dream of her as a care giver which came true with the pilot programme launched by Task Force. She clearly reported that the aftercare programme has brought attitudinal changes, confidence, leadership qualities among the children and a strong desire and determination to become self standing in life.

The girls reported that care homes failed to generate self-sufficiency in them and equip them for an independent living. When they were progressing in age, complacency, diffidence were clouding their thoughts. They were locating their deficiencies and were sure they would be pushed into perils once they would leave the care homes.

Assessing the impact of the aftercare programme on the children was one of the important objectives of the present study. In this context, the study noted that all the six girls under aftercare unanimously expressed their over enthusiasm to be a part of the programme. To them the programme has brought much optimism among them and their induction to painting trade is a God sent blessing to enable them to lead an independent and self sufficient life. They report skill development programme through aftercare was a need for their rehabilitation, identity formation and was a timely intervention.

STORY: 1**Changing Roles, Adopting New Responsibilities and Asserting Rights due to Aftercare Initiatives:**

[Roopa Sahoo, a stakeholder of the aftercare services reports - she finds herself in a completely new role which has compelled her to take up new responsibilities and asserting her rights. After leaving the care home, with no immediate guardian for them to guide and govern, she has been selected as the children's representative. In this new role, she finds herself with new responsibilities to look after her friends, to report their needs and necessities to their counsellor and Balashram caretakers and to sort out the problems cropping up for the girls under aftercare on an immediate basis. She becomes the via media between the Task Force personnel and the children, between the ITI teachers, hostel superintendents and the children. She tries to assert their rights by voicing their disgusts and claiming solutions to them which was never found with her before. So, she feels after care has brought her new role, responsibilities and rights which are needs to lead an independent life.]

The girls under aftercare reported that there is a lot of transformation in them. In these few days' confidence, competence, consistency have developed among them. They find themselves conscious about their career plan, assertive about their rights and vocal about their needs. Today they are desiring high and dreaming big because of aftercare venture. No longer they feel timid, excluded. The stakeholders of aftercare clearly told no longer they feel they are deficient but they feel they will soon be self sufficient, no longer will they be dependent but they will be independent, no longer will they be passive recipients of charity or assistance, soon they will

be active contributors to their community and society.

STORY: 2**Disabling to Enabling Environment: Optimism Substitutes Permission**

[Yamuna reports that they had never imagined that to their utter good luck they will be placed under aftercare which was never a previous practice. When they were about to leave the care home without any certainty and they knew their social disabilities without family, kin support they were immersed with pessimism. "Aftercare" promises and the subsequent initiation of practices brought them a new ray of hope. Now in the after care service, they realize their future is promising and think and have confidence that "Hum honge kamiyaab ek din".]

Thus, the study recorded aftercare is a vital need for a young adult leaving institutional care to rehabilitate and reintegrate her with the society. Task Force endeavour is a commendable step but it needs further strengthening and sustainability.

In its attempt to make gap analysis between the promises and performances of aftercare, the study made the following salient observations:

- Till now no mapping of destitute children leaving care institutions have been made. So, an adequate data base for aftercare programme is missing in the state. It is only estimated by the Department of WCD that there are about 380 registered and unregistered CCIs operating in the state, but the exact figure about children in need of aftercare is yet to be estimated.
- Provisions for financial assistance have not come into operation. The provisions are yet

to be implemented and stabilize to ensure continuity to the programme.

- Till now organizations have not been identified to carry forward the aftercare programme.
- Aftercare programme under the pilot project is confined to vocational training. Uniform training is given to all children irrespective of their diverse potentials and interests:
- Career planning of children was done when they were on the verge of leaving care institutions which is normally required to be initiated much earlier.
- Children's conscious participation in career planning is still lacking and as such their choice and voice are not adequately echoed.
- Task force has prepared the case history of two girls and preparation of another four case histories still remain pending. This case history documentation is needed for children in other care homes of the state.
- Bank accounts, Aadhar number, voting cards, are yet to be allotted to the children under aftercare.
- Life skill education is lacking for the children which should be given to them on continuous basis.

The following innovations are needed to be introduced in the programme to translate it into a successful venture for children in need of aftercare. The reforms can be introduced in the structural or organizational level, in the functional or operational level and in the designing and development level.

At the designing and development level,

- A statewide mapping of children leaving institutional care and in need of aftercare can be made to prepare a database for budgeting

and designing aftercare support. This can give a coverage to all the 380 CCIs earmarked in the state by the WCD department.

- Participation of multiple partners like people, local community and civil societies is required to spearhead this mission.
- An integrated approach should be adopted to provide support and ease the task of aftercare of children.
- Till now there is no clear cut budget spell out for aftercare programme. Like any other Flagship programme of the Government, special allocation can be made for this.
- Innovative programmes can be formulated to make Aftercare programme concrete and need fulfilling in character. The Government should keep in mind that such children are prone to high risks. So, emergency high risk funds can be created for them to be utilized during challenging circumstances.
- The Corporate houses can be approached to take up aftercare as an ingredient in their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) so that flow of funds for the programme can be better geared.
- Exchange programmes among children under aftercare can be designed to develop their confidence and to broaden their vision and strengthen their voice.
- Provisions of Public contacts can be made for them and resource persons from the community can visit the children under aftercare to increase their conviction that they will be mainstreamed in the society and their independent identity will be recognized.

The present aftercare venture is undertaken on a pilot basis and is localized in character. But, it needs expansion to various care

homes accommodating children who are going to complete the age of 18. For the expansion of the programme, certain structural changes are needed which are suggested below:

- As the programme is an ambitious programme and is at its infancy may need multiple role players. For the purpose on region basis a consortium of non profit organizations can be made who will be assisting the nodal department to carry out the programme at the grass root levels.
- Regular sensitization of these civil society personnel is needed and interim appraisal of their activities and achievements in relation to aftercare can make them alert and more delivering in nature.
- Aftercare is a sensitive work which needs a lot of activities in chains right from identification of children to counseling and satisfying their needs. So it needs more personnel to reduce the overburdening of the people working for the purpose.
- Aftercare personnel should not take it as a profession but a mission. So, dedicated, devoted and sincere people should be recruited to carry forward the programme.
- A well designed hierarchy can be created for aftercare where there will be flow of information from top to bottom and from bottom to top to make the programme effective.

A suggested hierarchy can be:

- ◆ Department of Women & Child Development
- ◆ Task Force
- ◆ CWCs
- ◆ Local non-profit organizations earmarked for aftercare

- ◆ Care homes
- ◆ Communities
- Specialized officers can be recruited for aftercare centres like career planners, counselors, Risk Manager.
- Each child under aftercare can be put under a proctor to share his/her difficulties.
- The Officers for aftercare should be allotted with a handsome amount of fund at hand to utilize them during emergencies.
- Care homes and aftercare centres should not be tightly segregated rather should be a strongly interlinked to support each other at the time of need.

However, developmental and designing innovations, structural renovations cannot make aftercare programme a real success unless and until some functional reforms are introduced into the system. Among the functional reforms needed the following may be suggested as supreme and urgent.

- A massive sensitization drive may be launched about aftercare, its need, its process, its target and the need of role players among the public, civil societies, corporate houses, CWC members, CCIs to draw the best support for the implementation of the programme.
- Career planning is an integral component of aftercare programme. It should start from the moment a child enters into high school stage to create a deep consciousness in him/her about his/her future. Career planning should solicit the choice and accommodate the voice of the stakeholder.
- Innovative programmes like BPO training, retailing transcription training should be introduced in aftercare services to increase the marketability of the children after the

programme is over. Skills should be chosen on the basis of the market demands which can increase the potentials of the young adults and guarantee them employment.

- Linkages with medicals, colleges, recreation centres should be done before the transit takes place from care homes to aftercare centres.
- Case histories of the children under aftercare should be done on longitudinal basis to trace out the real impact, pace of the progress and to furnish interim reports.
- Auditing of the aftercare homes should be taken up regularly. This will include financial auditing, administrative auditing and progress auditing. This can enable to unearth the problems and to solve them, to ensure better progress to the programme.
- Health check ups, both physical and mental health should be regular to ensure stability to the children.
- Counsellors should try to strengthen the interpersonal relations of the children under aftercare to better integrate them with the larger society and avoid exclusion.
- Care and Correction Officers with special training should be attached to the after care organizations to avoid deviant behavior in the youths transiting from care homes.

- Financial support to the aftercare children should be regular to avoid any disruption in the programme.
- Leadership, managerial, self defense mechanism trainings should get a priority with other life skill trainings to make the youth under aftercare more equipped, enabled and empowered to lead an independent life.

If these few suggested interventions can be incorporated at the policy level, can be adopted at the practice level and can be indoctrinated to the role players, Aftercare programme will attain its noble objectives and will be more delivering to the stakeholder.

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