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National Song

Vande Mataram !

Sujalam, suphalam, malayaja shitalam,

Shasyashyamalam, Mataram !

Shubhrajyotsna pulakitayaminim,

Phullakusumita drumadala shobhinim,

Suhasinim sumadhura bhashinim,

Sukhadam varadam, Mataram !

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

National Anthem

Jana-gana-mana-adhinayaka, jaya he,

Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.

Punjab-Sindhu-Gujarat-Maratha,

Dravida-Utkala-Banga,

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

Tava shubha name jage, Tava shubha asisa mage,

Gahe tava jaya gatha,

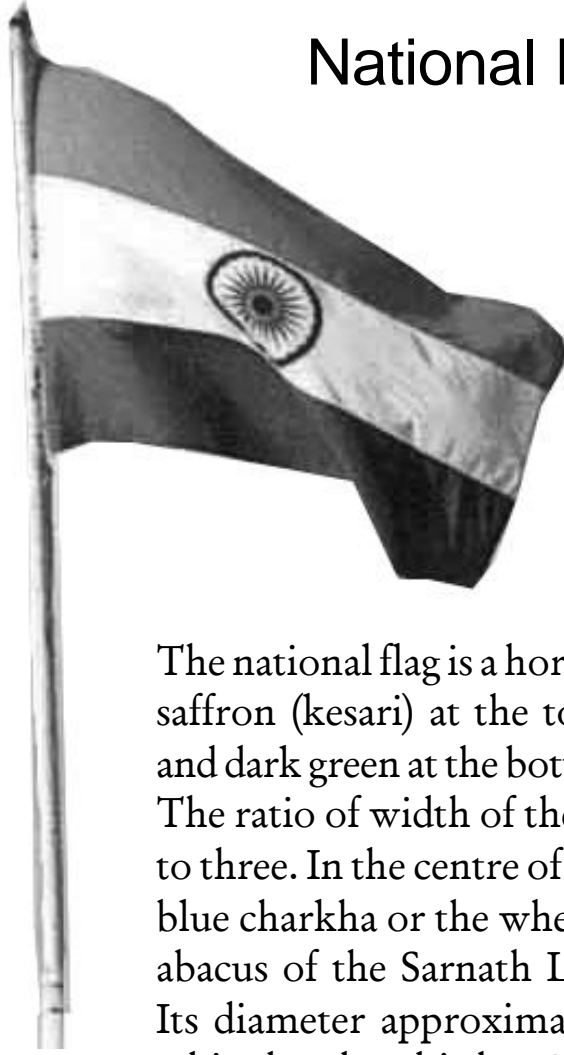
Jana-gana-mangala-dayaka jaya he Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.

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

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

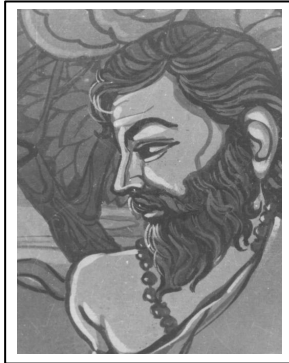
The song, Jana-gana-mana, composed originally in Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore, was adopted in its Hindi version by the Constituent Assembly as the National Anthem of India on January 24, 1950. It was first sung on December 27, 1911 at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress. The complete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

National Flag

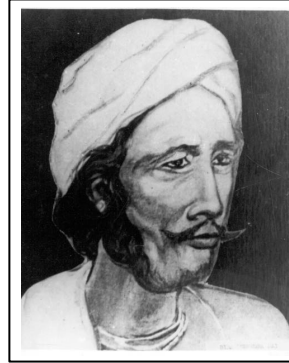


The national flag is a horizontal tricolour of deep saffron (kesari) at the top, white in the middle and dark green at the bottom in equal proportion. The ratio of width of the flag to its length is two to three. In the centre of the white band is a navy blue charkha or the wheel which appears on the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

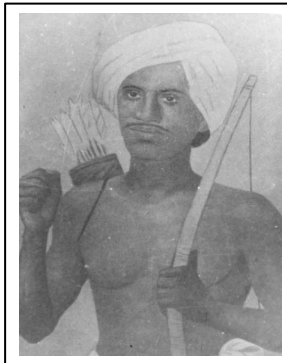
MARTYRS FROM ODISHA



Jayee Rajguru
(1739-1805)



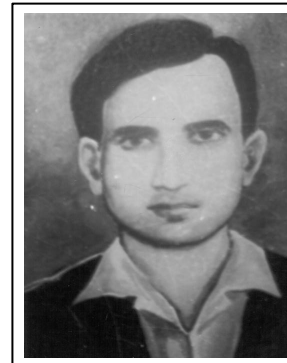
Veer Surendra Sai
(23.01.1809 - 28.02.1884)



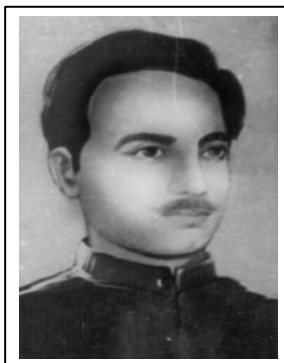
Birsa Munda
(Died in Ranchi jail in June 1900)



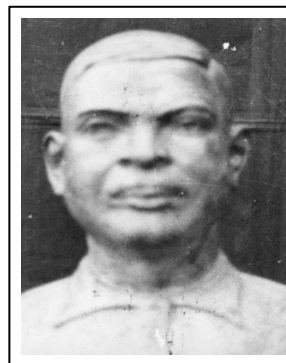
Baji Rout
(Shot dead on 11.10.1938)



Raghunath Mohanty
(18.07.1910 - 04.04.1941 hanged)

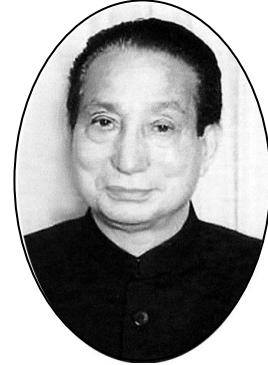


Dibakara Parida
(30.11.1911 - 04.04.1941 hanged)



Laxman Naik
(22.11.1899-29.03.1943 hanged)

Message of
Dr. S.C. Jamir,
Hon'ble Governor of Odisha
on the occasion of the
Independence Day-2014



Dear Sisters and Brothers,

On this august occasion of 68th Independence Day, I convey my hearty greetings to all of you. I also take this opportunity to express my grief over the sad and unfortunate demise of many in the recent floods and offer my heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families.

2. The day 15th August carries much significance for all of us. On this memorable day, our country got freedom from the shackles of foreign rule after almost 200 years of subjugation. Our struggle for Independence led by Mahatma Gandhi against the British rulers caught the attention of the whole world as it was based on peace and non-violence. The world experienced a new dimension of world peace and understood non-violence as an invincible weapon. Under his able leadership, people from every nook and corner were inspired to plunge into the struggle of freedom leaving their worldly affairs aside.

The Nation is also grateful to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Ballav Bhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Saheed Bhagat Singh and scores of patriots, who have shown indomitable courage for the cause of freedom of our Motherland.

3. The people of Odisha were in the forefront during this great National Movement. History bears ample testimony to the invaluable contributions made by great patriots like Jayee Rajguru, Buxi Jagabandhu, Veer Surendra Sai, Saheed Laxman Naik, Raghu-Dibakar and nationalist leaders like Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Utkal Gourav Madhusudan Das, Pandit

Nilakantha Das, Acharya Harihar, Maa Ramadevi, Harekrushna Mahtab, Biju Patnaik and many others for their ineffaceable deeds. Today, we memorize their stance with great reverence.

On this auspicious occasion, I also pay my sincere tributes to all those who have sacrificed their lives in the service of our Motherland securing for us our long cherished freedom.

4. After Independence, our country as well as our State has made commendable progress in all spheres. Our State Government is consistently making efforts to transform Odisha into a progressive and prosperous State in the country. Development activities are going on in full swing to reduce poverty, ensure increase in per capita income and improve the standard of living of our common people both in urban and rural areas. The State Govt. has focused on Infrastructure Development, which to its consideration, is the key to sustainable and inclusive growth. In this regard, due attention has been given to the socio-economic sector in order to place our State atop.

5. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of our economy. Hence, the State Govt. is attaching much more importance towards the development of Agriculture and allied sector as well as that of the farming community. To cope with this, a separate agriculture budget has been prepared with special focus on landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers. To make the agricultural loans farmer-friendly, steps are being taken to reduce the interest rate further from 2 %. Apart from this, the farmers affected by the cyclonic storm Phailin, were given special package to compensate their loss. Besides, Health Insurance facility up to Rupees 1 lakh per annum is being provided to 5 members of a farmer/agricultural labourer's family under 'Biju Krushak Kalyan Yojana'. As irrigation is the main input for sustaining agricultural activities, the State Government has decided to create additional 10 lakh hectares of irrigation potential in the next five years.

6. Good health of its citizenry is the sign of a healthier society. On this prospect, the State Govt. has been making constant and concerted efforts to formulate and implement schemes to ensure quality health care services through various Programmes like introduction of Emergency Medical Ambulance Services-108, 102 Ambulance service for pregnant and newborns, creation of Odisha State Treatment Fund for extending medical assistance to the

poor patients, deployment of Mobile Health Care Units in the backward and tribal-dominated areas and institution of 'Biju Grameen Swashtya Seva Shibirs' in the rural areas.

7. Education paves way for a meaningful life. For free and compulsory access to qualitative education, the State Government has taken initiatives like supply of free textbooks and uniforms to the students from Class-I to VIII and free bi-cycles to all students of Class-X for their empowerment and to ensure their retention in the educational curriculum. Educational support is also extended to the children of Fishermen and Construction workers. Besides, infrastructure development of ITIs, Diploma and Engineering Colleges has been ensured to meet the requirement of skilled manpower.

The State Government has decided to launch 'Chief Minister's Employment Generation Scheme' with an aim to upgrade skills of at least 150 youths from every G.P having link to loan and subsidies thereafter. Local talents will be given due importance for recruitment in all industries coming up in the State. Besides, the State Government has recently decided to recruit 40,000 youths in different Government departments within the next six months.

8. Developmental activities are measured with concomitant development in the social sector. Our State has addressed this issue on an urgent basis. Special programmes like Madhu Babu Pension Yojana, Rice @ Re.1/- per kilo scheme, Mo Kudia, Biju Gram Jyoti Yojana, Biju Saharanchal Bidyutikaran Yojana etc. have instilled a sense of self-confidence in the minds of our elderly persons along with the helpless, poor and vulnerable groups. Similarly, special attention has also been given for protection of Rights and livelihood of the S.C., S.T and vulnerable groups.

9. The State Government attaches utmost priority to rural infrastructural development. In this direction, Gopabandhu Grameen Yojana, Biju Setu Yojana, Cement Concrete Road Scheme, Biju K.B.K and Biju Kandhamal O' Gajapati Yojana etc. have been implemented for all-round development of backward and difficult areas of the State. It is also envisioned to implement 'Chief Minister's Sadak Yojana' for ensuring better road connectivity to the small villages.

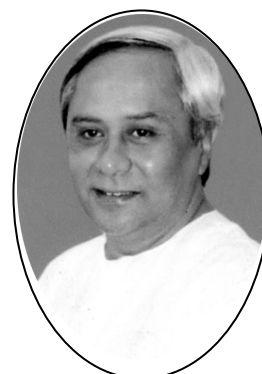
10. As a step forward towards women empowerment, the State Government has implemented the Scheme 'Mission Shakti' which aims at augmenting the socio-economic development of women. This scheme has made a marked success and shown an encouraging trend. Besides, for taking care of the pregnant women and nursing mothers, a novel scheme 'Mamata' is being implemented in the State. Recently, the State Government has formulated a new State Girl's and Women Policy framed with provision of inheritance, equal land rights, allotment of 4 decimals of free homestead land to Lower Income Group homesteadless women, special package for differently-abled woman and organization of Mahila Sabha in each Gram Panchayat, enhance participation of women and ensure discussion on oppression of adolescent girls and women and other women's issues in Palli Sabha and Grama Sabhas.

Inclusive growth, a factor that holds the key for overall growth of the State, is the thrust area of the State Government. The State is all set to move ahead with continued efforts towards attaining the twin objectives of growth with prosperity.

On this auspicious occasion of the Independence Day, let us pledge to strive hard and join hands together to transform Odisha into a vibrant state in the country.

Jai Hind.

Message of
Shri Naveen Patnaik,
Hon'ble Chief Minister
on the occasion of the
Independence Day-2014



I convey my best wishes to the people of Odisha on the occasion of the Independence Day.

On this auspicious occasion, I pay my deep tributes to the great revolutionaries like the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Utkal Gourav Madhusudan Das, Saheed Laxman Naik, Veer Surendra Sai, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Maa Rama Devi, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab and Biju Patnaik.

On this occasion, I pay my tribute to the immortal martyrs who have struggled for our country. The struggle for Indian Independence was an ideal struggle. This was value-based. Not only political independence, but also social justice and a prosperous India was the prime objective of our struggle.

After Independence, our country as well as our state Odisha has made commendable progress in various fields. Prioritizing Agriculture, Education, Health-services, Infrastructure and Industrial development and innovative employment opportunities, different programmes are being implemented. Apart from this, special attention is being given for development of the social sector and for the development and welfare of the weaker section and vulnerable group. Agriculture has provided livelihood support to crores of people in Odisha. This is the lifeline of our economy. Hence, to expedite development in the Agriculture sector, the new Agriculture budget has been introduced. Different programmes have been undertaken for the welfare of the farmers. Time-bound programmes have been adopted for spreading of irrigation facility. The growth in the Agriculture sector will not only strengthen the rural economy, but also of the entire State.

The successful impact of development has brought about a change not only in the cities but also in the rural areas. Our aim is to make every village an ideal one by ensuring the basic amenities like drinking water and electricity.

Government is attaching importance on the development of the backward regions and tribals, along with the welfare of the oppressed and the minority community.

Women today, have ushered in a new era in the development of social sector. Through Mission Shakti Programme, lakhs of women in the state have been successful in propagating a silent revolution. The State Government is all set to implement a **new Girls and Women Policy** prioritizing Women's Rights, Security, Livelihood as well as upgradation of their skill. This will indeed be a milestone in the field of Women Empowerment.

The youth power is the country's treasure. The future of the country is shaped through their talent and skill. Thus, the State Government has introduced the **new Youth Policy** laying importance on the role of the youth in building the country. Our youth should avail this opportunity.

Odisha is constantly affected by natural calamities like heavy rain, flood, and cyclone. These hazards cause a great loss to property with an impact on development process. This has also adverse impact on the economic condition of the common-man. Thus, it is essential to make our economy multi-faceted. For this, we are according priority on the development of agro-based Industries, as well as mega and ancillary Industries. In the investment-sector, Odisha is the leading State in the entire country. So, the development of industrial sector in the State will create new job opportunities, expand economic programmes and strengthen the economic base.

Development is a collective endeavour. It can only be attained through everybody's co-operation. Co-operation and trust is the basis of Democracy. Development in all the areas from village to city, from Koraput to Cuttack and from Malkangiri to Mayurbhanj has strengthened our trust in Democracy. Let us join hands to make the chariot of progress in Odisha move forward and strive hard to preserve the glory of our State.

JAI HIND.

Message of
Shri Atanu Sabyasachi Nayak,
Hon'ble Minister, Information & Public Relations
and Health & Family Welfare on the occasion of the
Independence Day – 2014



I convey my patriotic wishes and warm greetings to the people of Odisha on the occasion of 68th Independence Day.

15th August is the day of pride and glory for every Indian. Our forefathers have sacrificed their lives to free this country from the clutches of the oppressors after a long battle fought with non-violence. At the wee hour of this great occasion, we must remember the sacrifices of our leaders.

Let us celebrate the Independence Day by paying tributes to those who have sacrificed their lives for achieving it and pledge to fulfill the dream of our forefathers to make this land into a prosperous and developed nation.

Jai Hind.

Editor's Note



One more year of our being an independent nation has passed by and today we step into the 68th year of independence. Commemoration of national events of importance like the Independence Day provides us the occasion to look back to the past and look ahead into the future. On this auspicious day, we remember those before us who went through sufferings and sacrifice for the freedom of our country. It is now our responsibility to consolidate this freedom in the economic and other spheres and safeguard the national interest to which we have to dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly. Today we are confronting many complex and trying problems. This is a challenge for all of us.

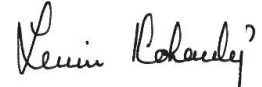
As one of the largest nations of the world having a proud cultural heritage, it is now up to us to face the challenge and give worthy account of ourselves. We must conquer our weaknesses by sincere co-operation and everyone must put aside all thoughts of individual or group advantages and work together in spirit of dedication with the object of all-round development.

Under the dynamic leadership of Hon'ble Chief Minister Shri Naveen Patnaik, our State has made commendable progress in all spheres and the Government is consistently making efforts to transform Odisha into a prosperous State in the country. Developmental activities are going on in full swing to reduce poverty, ensure increase in per capita income and improve the standard of living of our common people both in urban and rural areas. Inclusive growth, a factor that holds the key for over all development of the State, has become the thrust area of the State Government to achieve the twin objectives of growth with prosperity.

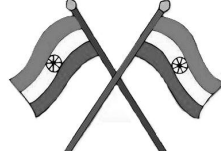
Since Odisha became an independent entity in 1936, cyclone, drought and floods have been constant companion to all of us. This year also the flood has created havoc. However, the State Government being disaster prepared faced the natural calamity with ease. Even as the flood water is receding slowly from the affected areas by the time I note my Editorial, Hon'ble Chief Minister Shri Naveen Patnaik has directed immediate repair of breaches in different river embankments giving importance to continuation of relief and restoration measures along with thrust on sanitation, provision of drinking-water and health services in flood-hit areas.

Let us all rise above personal and sectarian interest and strive to build a better Odisha. We will achieve our objectives by maintaining discipline, observing restraint and working hard because the destiny is in our hands.

Jai Hind.



Editor, Odisha Review



Jhulan Yatra

The Monsoonal Swing-Festival of Lord Jagannath

Er. Raghunath Patra

Festivals display culture of race.
Common function exhibits uncommon
fervour of celestial pastimes in mind
And couples heart to heart often.

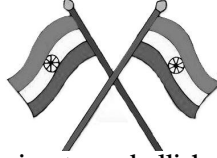
Four amorous pastimes of Srimandir.
In summer chandan, in monsoon Jhulan
Sarat Rasa in Autumn, Dola in spring
Devotees, rejoice all, sparing none.

Initially celebrated in Deva Sabha Mandap
in front of Sun Temple but now,
in front of Mukti Mandap-Portico
erected later with admirable show.

It relates to Sri Radha of Dwapar
with beloved Srikrishna, the Supreme
with Lalita & Bishakha, lovely mates
to glorify this world with celestial pastime.

The streams of "Madhur bhaba" that flows
flood minds of aspirants firm
to impart devine grace to Mankind
"The Formless attains pastimes in Form".

Radha disappears in Srimandir rituals
"swakiya bhaba" predominates "parakiya"
"gyana misra bhakti" survive alone
"gyana rahita" subsists in "sahajiya"



before going to embellished swing
Madan Mohan, Sridevi, Bhudevi adorned
with fragrant flowers by servitors
and from Jagannath get order of garland.

The devotees assembled feel ecstatic
to behold spiritual couples in arbour
The singers like mates sing amorous songs
that unfold pastimes of Brindaban before.

After worship of deities in arbour
with offerings and waving of light
Sridevi, Bhudevi go back to Simhasan
Madan mohan to south shrine closing rite.

This splendid display of monsoonal swing
celebrated in North India more
in memoir of Dwapar Brindaban pastime
adored with jasmine, michelia flowers.

This relates to all shrines of Vaishnavas
relates to Sitaram, Lakshmi Narayan
This is a pastime between Purusha & Prakruti
after parching summer, all rejoice rain.

Being born, brought up in Srikshetra
this poet avails chances to behold
Due to grace of paramount Jagannath
Who is spiritual son of this old.

Brindaban Dham, Lokanath Road, Patna Haat Sahi Lane Chhaka, Po/Dist- Puri-752001.



GOOD GOVERNANCE





Odisha: Determining Definitive Development

- Free health insurance coverage of Rs.1 Lakh for 5 members of a farmer/agricultural labourer's family under 'Biju Krushak Kalyan Yojana'. All farmer/agricultural labourer families of the State to be brought under it's fold.
- Creation of Irrigation potential for additional 10 lakh hectares of agricultural land within next 5 years.
- Universalisation of 108 free Emergency Ambulance Service with state-of-the-art equipments and medical staff and introduction of 102 Ambulance Service for pregnant mothers and newborn babies.
- Free distribution of medicine to citizens through Odisha State Medical Services Corporation.
- Medical assistance up to Rupees 3 lakh under 'Odisha State Treatment Fund' for treatment of patients suffering from critical diseases and scaling up of assistance under 'State Treatment Fund' and 'Chief Minister's Relief Fund'. Free outdoor and indoor treatment to BPL category patients in private hospitals.
- Provision of free text-books, uniforms to students up to class-VIII and supply of free bi-cycles to the students of Class-X for empowerment of school education and retention of students in the education curriculum. Educational assistance to the children of construction workers and fishermen.
- Ensuring Food Security with Rice @ Re.1/- per kg. and expansion of Public Distribution System.
- 'Biju Bal Bikash Yojana' to be implemented to rehabilitate the orphans and helpless children.
- 'Biju Setu Yojana' to bridge the missing links in rural connectivity and 'Chief Minister's Sadak Yojana' launched to connect villages not included under any other rural connectivity programme.



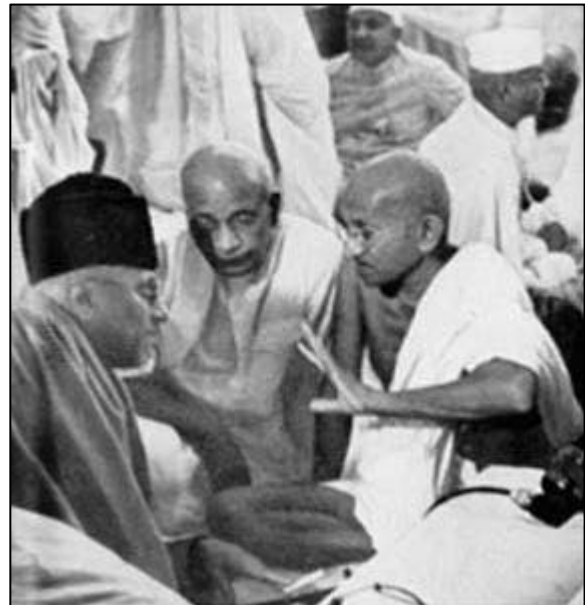
- More than 9,000 villages/habitations provided with electricity under 'Biju Grama Jyoti Yojana' and unelectrified habitations in urban areas to be electrified under 'Biju Saharanchala Vidyutikaran Yojana'.
- 'Biju Gaon Gadi Yojana' for improvement of communication facilities in the scheduled and other backward areas of the State.
- The innovative 'Mamata' Yojana with wage compensation of Rupees 5,000/- for pregnant and nursing mothers. More than 11 lakh mothers already covered under the scheme.
- As a step forward for women empowerment, a novel and comprehensive State Girls' and Women Policy framed with provision of inheritance, equal land rights, allotment of 4 decimals of free homestead land to Lower Income Group homesteadless women, special package for differently-abled women and organization of Mahila Sabha in each Gram Panchayat, enhance participation of women and ensure discussion on oppression of adolescent girls and women and other women's issues in Palli Sabha and Grama Sabhas.
- Skill up-gradation training for 1.5 lakh youths every year through 'State Employment Mission'
- 'Chief Minister's Employment Generation Scheme' introduced to upgrade skills of at least 150 youths from every Panchayat along with loan and subsidy linkages for self-employment. Local talents to be given preference in all industries coming up in the State.



Netaji and Gandhi : A Different Look

Dr. Sridhar Charan Sahoo

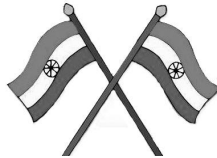
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose had the same objective of liberating the country from the yoke of British imperialism. Until the political clash at Tripuri they worked more or less together under the common platform of the Indian National Congress for about two decades. After his escape from the country during the Second World War, Bose gave up the Gandhian method of Satyagraha and non-violent non-cooperation. He secured the help and assistance of the Axis powers, organized an armed struggle from outside the country and tried to overthrow British imperialism from the Indian soil by force of arms. This mutual divergence in the means and method of struggle has led many scholars to delineate Subhas – Gandhi relationship in more or less dichotomous and incompatible terms. It has been said that in their pursuit of the objective of freedom “each stuck to his ideas, refused to make any compromise to accommodate the views of the other because their stances were almost always diametrically opposed.¹ Further, it has been said “Bose was a soldier, Gandhi a statesman, Bose believed in the sword, Gandhi in non-violence; Bose believed in ends, Gandhi in the means”². This dichotomous presentation of Bose—Gandhi relationship seems to suffer from the folly of oversimplification and fails to prove an indepth, deep and total understanding of their complex relationship. The



truth of the matter is that, in a way, there seems to have been some meaningful and fruitful interaction between them inspite of all their divergence.

In our paper, we have tried to search bonds of unity between Netaji and Gandhi even though both of them differed as regards their means and method of struggle more particularly during the Second World War when Netaji launched an armed struggle against the British in his quest for India’s freedom.

In our quest for unity, we have read between the lines of Netaji-Gandhi relationship



during the period from 1939-1942 upto the launching of the Quit India Movement in 1942.

As per our level of understanding of the above - said period of Indian History, we crave the indulgence of the readers and venture to submit our plea that portrayal of Netaji-Gandhi relationship in dichotomous terms appears to be unjust. It is being felt by us that inspite of all divergence, they never acted like parallel lines without any meeting point. They interacted and there seems to have been some meaningful and fruitful interaction between them.

Taking into account Gandhiji's struggle—averse mindset in the beginning of the Second World War and his lion—like uncompromising stance during the Quit India Movement, we have tried to show that it was in a way a victory of Netaji's strategy. His tone and temper clearly smacked of a revolutionary élan quite akin to the soul and spirit of Netaji. Ideologically they appeared to come nearer. It marked the climax of Netaji's almost life—long and uninterrupted attempts to radicalize and revolutionise the congress organisation. The decision of the Quit India Movement during the Second World War in 1942 was a Virtual gift given by the Mahatma to rebel Subhas. All this we have tried to submit in course of this paper basing it upon various sources. When the Second World War began and Britain got involved in it, Subhas insisted persistently that 'England's difficulty is India's opportunity and it is the time opportune to launch our struggle for freedom. Gandhiji at the time was not prepared to oblige Subhas and immediately launch any struggle to achieve India's freedom. It was said to be against the tenet of non-violence to create difficulties for one's enemy when he is beset by dangers. But Gandhi did it and launched the historic Quit India Movement during the Second World War itself when Britain was still in

difficulty involved in a life and death struggle. Our paper ventures an explanation and shows that it was Subhas and his strategy which to some extent radicalized the mind of Gandhi even though he was not in India at the time having left the country in his quest for India's freedom.

Netaji—Gandhi Interaction (1939-1942) – Reading between the lines

After the Munich pact in September 1938, Subhas had no doubt about the inevitability of an European War and Britain's involvement in it. First and foremost a nationalist, he desired India to take advantage of Britain's difficulty when it would be entangled in the impending war. In fact, he began an open propoganda throughout India to prepare the Indian people for a national struggle which should synchronize with the coming war in Europe³. This call for a struggle was resented by the Gandhietes who were not prepared to be disturbed in their ministerial and parliamentary work and who at the time were opposed to any national struggle. At the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress in March 1939, Bose proposed that the congress should forthwith serve a six months ultimatum to the British Government demanding independence for India failing which the congress should launch an all out struggle, to oust the British from India. This proposal was opposed by the Gandhi wing and by Nehru and was thrown out⁴. This was, as it were, a peculiar situation when the congress refused to accept the lead of the president. War broke out in Europe in September 1939 and Bose's political foresight in having advocated a six month's ultimatum at the Tripuri Congress was vindicated.

Subhas considered the outbreak of the Second World War as a welcome opportunity to struggle for India's freedom because a blow to Britain in Europe would undoubtedly weaken her grasp on India. Other congress leaders had no such clear cut vision of the future and Gandhi and



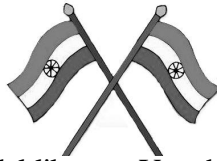
Nehru apparently had no desire to take advantage of Britain's troubles⁵. Infact, after his interview with the Viceroy on September 5, 1939 Gandhiji told His Excellency that his sympathies were with England and France "from the purely humanitarian standpoint"⁶. It is interesting to note that unlike Subhas, Gandhiji was not thinking in terms of "India's deliverance" at the time. In his letter to Hitler dated 23rd July from Abbottabad Gandhiji said "I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come but what will it be worth if England and France fall or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled⁷." Gandhi therefore was opposed in the beginning to any movement during the war and in fact, he refused to oblige Abul Kalam Azad to launch any mass movement as he felt that such a movement will lead to violence⁸. That apart, he believed that any movement when Britain was in difficulty will derogate from his doctrine of non-violence "His philosophy is based on non-violence. He seeks to conquer his enemies by self-sacrifice, affection and love..... His belief was that if we should show our capacity for sacrifice and our want of animosity towards the British it would in the end convert the heart of the opponent. In fact, it was on this supposition, the honesty and good intention of the opponents that he based his refusal to embarrass the British Government during the War. To him, it was against the tenet of non-violence to create difficulties for one's opponents when he is beset by dangers⁹".

However, it is not without significance that the Mahatma during the war itself issued an ultimatum to the British and came out "like an angry lion with his roar of Quit India on August 8, 1942". N. C. Jog has rightly commented that such a development could be construed as a belated vindication of Bose's stand a veritable triumph for him. In fact, did not Bose maintain all along that it was only when Britain was involved in a war that we could fight it with the maximum

chances of success that Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity¹⁰".

What led Gandhi to retreat from his earlier position? How do we explain this revolution in the mind of Gandhi whereby he "withdrew step by step from his spontaneous offer of unconditional cooperation with the British Government in September 1939, till he asked Britain to Quit India in August 1942" in the most unqualified terms? To an extent, we do feel, that it is Subhas and his Forward Bloc which contributed towards a change in Gandhiji's outlook almost pressurizing him to retreat from his inflexible parameters of non-violence. Possibly, Bose's constant and consistent clamour, appeal and persuasion to the effect that congress should utilize the favourable international situation and launch upon a struggle during the war itself became a fruitful ideological interaction. It is significant to note that with the outbreak of war, Subhas was invited almost surprisingly to help in formulating the war policy of the congress. In the said meeting, he appealed to the congress to launch upon an immediate national struggle. Subhas's aforesaid view could hardly cut any ice with the congress High Command.

As late as the Ramgarh session of March 1940, the Indian National Congress remained indecisive as regards its war policy. In fact no concrete plan could be formulated in the session¹¹. However, Bose did not lose heart but tenaciously persisted in his efforts to radicalize, revolutionize and activate the Congress to take to the path of immediate struggle. Presiding over his Anti-compromise conference, in March 1940 Bose criticized the Congress inaction and gave a call for an immediate All India struggle "with no rest or break or any side tracking as happened in 1932". He constantly harped upon his pet slogan from different platforms that "Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity" and it was the time opportune to launch an all out struggle for the



achievement of India's freedom. Jawaharlal like Gandhi was not in favour of mass struggle during the war and did not approve of the idea of exploiting "Britain's perilous position." His heart went to the Allies and he yearned to help them¹². What really concerned him most was the dangerous omens of fascist victories from the larger stand-point of human freedom and he cried out in anguish. "The world is tragic to those who are sensitive, heart-burning to those who feel". Undeterred by either Gandhiji or Nehru's attitude Subhas and his Forward Bloc ventured upon to launch an anti-British and anti-war campaign on the 6th April 1940. In his presidential address at the second session of the All India Forward Bloc held at Nagpur on June 18, 1940 Sri Bose gave the rallying cry of "All power to the Indian people". He sought to galvanize the masses into action and pointed out that it was high time for the Indian people to make an immediate demand for the transference of power to them through a provisional national Government¹³.

He did not bother about either the potentialities of fascist threats to freedom or the philosophical subtleties of Gandhian non-violence. Acting as a cold blooded realist and ardent nationalist, he said, "India must in this grave crisis think of herself first"¹⁴.

After the Forward Bloc conference at Nagpur Subhas met Gandhi at Sevagram in June 1940. In the meeting which turned out to be their last, Subhas made his final attempt to persuade Gandhi to launch some immediate mass movement. A touch of emotion and sincerity characterizes their talks. Fortunately, a full record of the talk is available from the reminiscences of Nathalal D. Parikh, a close associate and personal friend of Subhas, who was present on the occasion. After listening to Subhas at great length Mahatmaji said "Subhas, I have always loved you. You are keen on launching some mass movement.

You thrive when there is a fight, you are terribly emotional, but I have to think of several factors. I am an oldman now and must not do anything in haste. I have the greatest admiration for you. Regarding your love for the country and determination to achieve its freedom, you are second to none. Your sincerity is transparent. Your spirit of self-sacrifice and suffering cannot be surpassed by anybody. But I would like these qualities to be used at a more opportune movement".

"On this Subhas said that, that was the most opportune moment and that it was impossible to think of any other situation in which India would be better placed to start the struggle". Gandhiji said: "Why do you think that we cannot get better opportunities later on? I am sure we will have many such opportunities. Whether England wins or loses this war, she will be so weakened by it that she will not have the strength to shoulder the responsibilities of administering the country after the war and with some slight effort on our part she will have no alternative but to recognize India's independence. Both politically and morally, I feel that we should not be hasty in launching movement at the present juncture. My conscience tells me to wait for better times".

On this Subhas said; "Bapu, if you give a call, the nation will respond to it". Gandhiji said; "Even if the nation is ready at a moment like this, I must not do anything that is inopportune". Subhas said; "If you think that this moment is inopportune, I want your blessings on me for starting such a movement". Said Gandhiji; "you do not need my blessings. How can I bless a movement which I consider inopportune and which I feel is morally unjustifiable now. You have got the qualities of a great leader and if your conscience tells you that this is the best time for striking out, go ahead, and do your best. If you



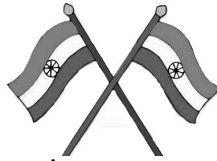
come out successful I will be the first to congratulate..... I would like to tell you again that India will get better opportunities in future and will be in a better position to give a fight to English than it is now”¹⁵.

It is significant to note that after the bugle to wage an uncompromising struggle was sounded by the Anti-compromise Conference of Ramgarh in March 1940 there appeared an element of dynamism and mobility in the National Congress. A Satyagraha pledge was devised and members of all executive committees of all Congress Organizations were obliged to take this pledge on the pain of disciplinary action. Over and above, leaders camps were organized in several places with their participation in drill and parade¹⁶. One would feel that Gandhi could not possibly ignore the “wild acclamation and frenzied enthusiasm” with which the resolution on national struggle was passed at the Anti compromise conference on 20th March 1940¹⁷. We would like to relate the Satyagraha pledges and leaders camps coming after Ramgarh as the outcome of a definite change in Gandhiji’s attitude which was different from the one at the beginning of the war when he almost fought shy of any idea of struggle. There was a rumour that “a restricted from Satyagraha” may be started in the near future¹⁸.

It came out true when Gandhiji started the individual Satyagraha movement later. This individual limited Satyagraha seems to have been some concession to Subhas and the radicals though of course it was no mass movement. That apart, if the Indian National Congress did not extend unconditional help to Great Britain during the war it was primarily due to Subhas’s constant reminder of the congress policy decided at Haripura to the

effect that India should be no party to an imperialist war and should resist the employment of India’s money, men and resources. To an American Journalist who asked Gandhiji why he could not wait for Indian freedom till the end of the war, he replied calmly but significantly “Go and ask Subhas. Such a passion for freedom animates us all today”¹⁹. When Gandhiji launched the Quit India movement, Subhas had left India in his quest for India’s freedom. By launching the movement during the war itself when Britain was in the midst of a life and death struggle, Gandhiji seems to have conceded to the aggressive, realistic and radical stand of Subhas and his forward Bloc. It was “his biggest gift to the rebel Netaji which immensely strengthened his position and enabled him to speak and act for the cause of India’s freedom in the international sphere”²⁰.

Abul Kalam Azad in his book “India Wins Freedom” points out that Gandhiji’s admiration for Bose coloured his viewpoint about the war situation and was somewhat responsible for the failure of the Cripps Mission, He observes: “Gandhiji did not express his opinion about the outcome of the war in clearest terms but in discussions with him I felt that he was becoming more and more doubtful about an Allied Victory. I also saw that Subhas Bose’s escape to Germany had made a great impression on Gandhiji. He had not formerly approved many of Bose’s actions but now I found a change in his outlook. Many of his remarks convinced me that he admired the courage and resourcefulness which Subhas Bose had displayed in making his escape from India. His admiration for Subhas unconsciously coloured his view about the whole war situation. This admiration was also one of the factors which clouded the discussion during the Cripps Mission to India. There was a



news flash that Subhas Bose had died in an air-crash. This created a sensation in India and Gandhiji among others was deeply moved.

He sent a message of condolence to Subhas Bose's mother in which he spoke in glowing terms about her son and his services to India. Later on, it turned out that the report was false. Cripps however complained to me that he had not expected a man like Gandhiji to speak in such glowing terms about Subhas Bose²¹."

Sri Azad who was a close confidant of Gandhiji and an active participant in the congress drama of those memorable days saw that Gandhiji's mind "was now moving from the extreme of complete inactivity to that of organized mass effort. The process had perhaps began earlier but it became clear after Cripps left²²."

Abul Kalam Azad has underlined four important things which are important to note with regard to Subhas – Gandhi relationship. Firstly, Subhas Bose's escape impressed Gandhiji greatly and after that some change was marked in the outlook of Gandhi towards Bose. Secondly, Gandhiji's admiration for Subhas coloured his view about the war situation and he was becoming more and more doubtful about Allied victory. Thirdly, Gandhiji's admiration towards Bose was one of the factors which clouded the discussions during the Cripps mission. Fourthly, Gandhiji's mind was moving from extreme of complete inactivity to that of organized mass effort.

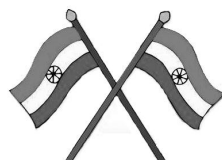
Subhas after his escape from the country proclaimed time and again that the Axis powers will win the war. Gandhiji was also becoming more and more doubtful about allied victory vis-à-vis the Axis powers. This is borne out by the minutes of a meeting of the Congress working committee seized by the British when the Allahabad office of the A.I.C.C. was raided on May 28, 1942.

The minute of the meeting quoted Nehru saying: "It is Gandhiji's feeling that Japan and Germany will win. The approach in the draft resolution is different from mine²³." Gandhiji's lack of faith in British Victory against the Axis powers is also evident from his talk with Louis Fischer on 4th June 1942²⁴. It is interesting to note that Jawaharlal thought differently from Gandhi and "hoped that Britain would win²⁵."

Why was Gandhiji becoming more and more doubtful about Allied Victory? Why was he "more than convinced" that Britain cannot win this war. It calls for a deep probe into the factors and forces which shaped and moulded his mind but then partially at least the Subhas phenomenon might have interacted upon Gandhiji's mind to determine his attitude as regards the outcome of the war.

Bose's escape made great impression on Gandhiji's mind and he admired his courage and resourcefulness. Why was Gandhi admiring the rebel who had openly sided with Axis powers? Was it because he had some inward guilt consciousness to have not given a fair deal to Subhas during the Tripuri Crisis?

The Cripps proposals held out the promises of dominion status after the war. Gandhi's attitude towards this British offer was absolutely stiff and uncompromising. He said to Cripps: "Why did you come if this is what you have to offer? If this is your entire proposal to India I would advise you to take the next plane home²⁶." Bose was outside the country during the Cripps plan negotiations. But it is interesting to note that Bose was quite well-informed on the matter and exposed the inadequacies of the Cripps proposals to his Countrymen at home. In a broadcast from Azad Hind Radio, Germany on March 25, 1942 Sri Bose said: "I have considered very carefully the offer of the British Government to India and the radio speech of Sri Stafford



Cripps in that connection. Sri Stafford's proposals contain nothing that is fundamentally new. The essence is dominion status within the empire which will be realized only when the war is over. But according to the terms of the offer, the speech of Sri Stafford Cripps and comments of English papers it is quite clear that the real intention of the British Government is to split India into a number of states, just as Ireland was split up at the end of the last war. I am doubtful whether India will even look at such an offer". Did Gandhi listen to Bose's broadcasts from outside the country? Was he in any way, influenced by him? The similarity of outlook between Subhas and Gandhi in this regard is quite significant.

The tone and temper of Gandhiji's mind is further evident from the following. "I am not interested in future promises. I am not interested in independence after the war. I want independence now. That will help England win the war²⁷." This stiff and uncompromising attitude towards British imperialism became almost a recurring trend in Gandhi's attitude till the launching of the Quit-India Movement.

There was a clear mark of erosion of faith in the goodness of British imperialism and he more and more, became stiff, unbending and uncompromising. In March 1940, Gandhiji had stated compromise is in my very being²⁸." The position that he had now reached was materially different. Abul Kalam Azad rightly observed that there was a shift from "the extreme of inactivity to that of organized effort" – or as it were – a shift from stagnation to mobility. No more did he seem averse to the idea of a struggle as was marked in his attitude in the beginning of the war. In fact, his mind was now evolving towards an uncompromising struggle. The tone and temper was virtually revolutionary quite akin to the soul and spirit of Subhas.

Gandhiji seemed to have developed a soft corner for Subhas which was testified by Abul Kalam Azad²⁹. In a way, there is a perceptible vibration of the same spirit in his conversation with Louis Fischer.

Louis Fischer expressed his sense of shock before Gandhiji for the latter's telegram of condolences for Bose's reported death and his regret for the demise of a man who went to Fascist Germany and collaborated with it. Gandhiji, however, defended Bose as "a patriot of patriots". "He may be misguided, I think he is misguided, I have often opposed Bose. Twice I kept him from becoming president of Congress. Finally, he did become president, although my views often differed from his. But suppose he had gone to Russia or to America to ask aid for India. Would that have made it better? Yes, of course" said Louis Fischer, "It does make a difference to whom you go". "I do not want help from anybody to make India free Gandhiji declared. "I want India to help herself³⁰."

Gandhi was not prepared to pay any attention to Fischer's apprehension that Subhas with his "youth and propensity for dramatic action" might succumb to the lure of fascism and make India free but fascist, whereby India would be worse off than under British rule. On the other hand, he does not hesitate to condemn British rule on the same score of Fascist proclivities found in British rule. "There are powerful elements of fascism in British Rule". Gandhiji exclaimed and in India these are the elements which we see and feel everyday. If the British wish to document their right to win the war and make the world better they must purify themselves by surrendering power in India³¹."

Gandhi not only defended Bose but in a way represented his revolutionary impatience for Swaraj and also the action-oriented motivation which was so characteristic of Subhas, "I have



become impatient. I cannot wait any longer. I may not be able to convince the Congress. Men who have held office in congress may not rise to the occasion (Gandhiji looked pointedly to Nehru when he said this) I will go ahead nevertheless and address myself directly to the people.

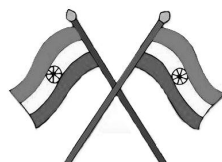
Therefore, it is “Gandhiji continued” that I come to brass tacks and say that the British will understand not while we are reasoning with them and showing them the great justice and feasibility of our proposal but when we begin to act. That is British history, they are impressed by action and it is action that we must take now³².” The above conversation of June 7, 1942 between Louis Fischer and Gandhiji brings out in bolder relief Gandhiji’s mind quite oriented and motivated towards a struggle against British imperialism. He was now prepared to go against Nehru and against the whole Congress and directly appeal to people to start an immediate struggle for the achievement of Swaraj. He was impatient and he was not prepared to wait any longer and see India reeling under British rule. No spirit of Compromise now. He has lost faith in the British goodness and nothing but action is the need of the hour.

Gandhiji’s attitude towards non-violence seems to have undergone some change in his latest and new mood. He no longer seemed to put the same stress on the ethical absoluteness and inflexibility of the yesteryears. This would be evident from his conversation with Fischer on 8th and 9th June of 1942 and of course his later stance that ultimately culminated with the historic decision of August 8, 1942, the Quit India movement. Fischer asked Gandhiji to apprise him about the nature and character of the “impending Civil Disobedience Movement. “In the villages” Gandhi explained the peasant will stop paying taxes. They will make salt despite official prohibition – their next step will be to seize the land”.

When further asked whether the peasants were to seize the land “With Violence” Gandhiji significantly said, “There may be violence but then again the landlords may cooperate”. “There may be fifteen days chaos” Gandhiji speculated, but “I think we could bring that under control³³.” By the by, Gandhiji’s attitude towards confiscation of land of the landlords needs special notice as it marks him out as a socialist much more revolutionary than is ordinarily known. Questioned by Fischer, whether it must be confiscation without compensation, Gandhiji concurred with the said view point and declared, “of course” “It would be financially impossible for anybody to compensate the landlords³⁴.”

Again on to Gandhiji’s attitude towards non-violence, in case your impending civil disobedience movement “Fischer asked, develops a violent phase, as it has sometimes in the past years, would you call it off? In my present mood” Gandhiji replied “it would be incorrect to say that no circumstances might arise in which I would call off the movement; in the past, however, I have been too cautious. That was necessary for my own training and for the training of my collaborators. But I would not behave as I have in the past³⁵.” Gandhiji is “essentially a man of compromise” but as he said on June 9, 1942 it is the unbending future in him that was upper – most and there is no half-way house between withdrawal and non-withdrawal.

What followed after the June 8 and June 9 conversation with Fischer seemed to further confirm “that there was nothing intrinsically virtuous in non-violence and that it presented no absolute faith or belief³⁶.” There seems no doubt that Gandhiji’s mind in his latest mood did not or possibly could not fully conform to a rigid and doctrinal adherence to the doctrine of non-violence. In fact “Gandhiji, for all his rock – like adherence to certain principles, has shown a great capacity to adapt himself to others and to changing



circumstances, to take into consideration the strength and weakness of those others especially of the mass of the people, and how far they were capable of acting up to the truth as he saw it³⁷.”

Jawaharlal Nehru underlined this change in Gandhiji. He observed: “In late months, leading upto August 1942, Gandhiji’s nationalism and intense desire for freedom made him even agree to congress participation in the war if India could function as a free country. For him this was a remarkable and astonishing change, involving suffering of the mind and pain of the spirit. In the conflict between that principle of non-violence which has become his very life-blood and meaning of existence and India’s freedom, which was a dominating and consuming passion for him, the scales inclined towards the latter. That did not mean, of course, that he weakened in his faith in non-violence. But it did mean that he was prepared to agree to the congress not applying it in this war. The practical statesman looks precedence over the uncompromising prophet³⁸.” Prof. H. H. Das and P.S.N. Patro have rightly observed that Gandhiji’s interpretation of the Wardha resolution of 11th July 1942 as “An open rebellion” was a clear indication of his ideological proximity to Bose as far as the limited objective of driving out British from India was concerned³⁹.

A stage came when Gandhi like Subhas thought of freedom as of over-riding consideration. This inevitably resulted in some of flexibility in his attitude towards non-violence. It is evident from what he said on 8th July 1942. “I do not want rioting as a direct result, but if inspite of precautions rioting does take place it cannot be helped⁴⁰. On 14th July 1942 Gandhiji told a group of journalists that there was absolutely no room for compromise and negotiation unless the British recognized India’s independence. “There is no room left for negotiation. Either they recognize India’s independence or they do not. There is no question of one more chance. After

all this is open rebellion⁴¹. The Quit India resolution was passed on 8th August 1942 by the Congress working committee in Bombay, Gandhiji’s stance was revolutionary and uncompromising. He “suggested no compromise and his tone was inflexible”. “We shall get our freedom by fighting and it cannot fall from the skies”. So was said by Gandhiji. He gave the slogan Do or Die for his campaign⁴². He was even prepared “to fight to the finish even if he stood alone against the whole world⁴³. His last message was “we get our freedom or we die”.

Subhas had escaped from India on January 17, 1941 in his quest for freedom and was not there in the country when Gandhiji launched the Quit India movement. But he was elated over the launching of the Quit India Movement and considered 1942 as “the year of Grace”. He, moreover, announced over the Azad Hind Radio in Germany a programme of action called “Non-violent Guerrilla warfare” to be followed by the freedom fighters in the country. The object of the Non-violent Guerrilla warfare in his view was two-fold “Firstly to destroy war production in India and secondly to paralyze the British administration in the Country”. Keeping these objects in view Bose called upon every section of the society to participate in the historic struggle. He asked the people to stop paying all taxes, workers in industries to launch a stay in strike and carry out sabotage to impede production. The students were called upon to organize secret guerrilla bands for carrying on sabotage in different parts of the country. Women and girl students were required to act as secret messengers and provide shelter for the men who fight. The Government officials were also appealed by Subhas to give all available information to fighters outside and to hamper production working inefficiently. For the general public he also chalked out a programme of action. They were asked to take up boycott of British



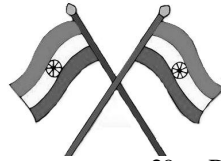
Goods, publish secret bulletins and set up secret radio stations. The other items recommended to be put into operation were setting fire to Government offices and factories working for war purpose, interrupting railway, bus and tram services so as to hamper the transport of soldiers or of war material and lastly destroying police stations, railway stations and jails⁴⁴. There is no doubt that Bose's concept of non-violent guerrilla warfare influenced the nature and course of the Quit India Movement to a considerable extent. It ran counter to the Gandhian strategy of truth, non-violence clean and open fight. A. Appadorai has rightly pointed out that Bose's non-violent Guerrilla warfare was "indeed a contradiction in terms" and Bose's interpretation of non-violence only revealed how differently the same concept could be interpreted by leaders and thinkers to the confusion of the ordinary man who is asked to accept it⁴⁵. However, in the absence of any official programme of action by the Indian National Congress, Netaji's strategy of non-violent guerrilla warfare "was the only guideline for the mass movement of 1942⁴⁶."

In March 1939 at the Tripuri session of the Congress Subhas had proposed that the Indian National Congress should immediately send an ultimatum to the British Government demanding independence within six months and should simultaneously prepare for a national struggle. This proposal for an ultimatum was opposed by Gandhi and Nehru and was thrown out. Subhas had maintained all along that it was only when Britain was involved in war that we could fight it with the maximum chances of success and that Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity⁴⁷. When Britain got entangled in war with Germany, Subhas implored Gandhi and the Indian National Congress to launch upon some mass struggle for freedom. To Subhas, this was "India's golden opportunity" to fight and win Swaraj⁴⁸. Gandhiji, on the other hand, considered

that any movement when Britain was in difficulty will derogate from his doctrine of non-violence. In fact on September 6, 1939, three days after the commencement of the Second World War, Gandhi had issued a press statement that inspite of the differences between India and Britain on Indian Independence, India should cooperate with Britain in her hour of danger. However, Congress under Gandhiji's leadership passed the famous Quit India resolution three years later on August 8, 1942 when Britain was still in the midst of a life and death struggle. As we saw, Gandhi ultimately took an absolutely uncompromising stand against British imperialism. His tone and temper clearly smacked of a revolutionary élan quite akin to the soul and spirit of Netaji. In a way, it was a vindication of Netaji's revolutionary and realistic strategy of fight against the British Raj. So, it is aptly said that the Quit India Movement brought Gandhi and Bose ideologically nearer to each other and marked the climax of Bose's attempts to radicalize the Congress Organization⁴⁹.

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The Sarvoday Movement in Odisha after Independence

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The Origin of the Sarvoday movement is the Gandhian movement for all-round development of all, in Odisha as elsewhere in India, can be traced back to pre-independence era. While leading the movement for *Swaraj*, Gandhi had placed before the Congressmen and the nation a constructive programme as an essential component of the programme of the movement. When independence appeared imminent, Gandhi wanted Congressmen to engage themselves in nation-building through constructive work instead of running after power. But many Congressmen did not heed his instruction. Only a few of those who had carried on constructive work before independence shunned politics and carried on Sarvoday movement.

In June 1934, at Bhadrak, at the end of Hariyan Padayatra, Gandhi asked workers to go back to villages and carry on constructive work there, following this instruction Gopabandhu Chaudhury, the staunch Gandhian and his wife Ramadevi, with some workers, established an Ashram which was known as Sevaghar (the abode of service) in the village Bari, situated in a flooded area of the present district of Jajpur between the rivers-Kharsuan and Birupa. This Ashram took up such works as village sanitation, making of latrines removal of untouchability and communalism, agricultural uplift, planting of

saplings, cattle-tending, apiculture (bee-keeping), and training for promotion of cottage industries. Organisational measures for promotion of Khadi had been adopted since the inception of Non-cooperation. In 1947, with Mahatma Gandhi's permission, Utkal Khadi Mandal was formed under the chairmanship of Gopabandhu Chaudhury.

Way back in 1923, for constructive work, an all-India organisation, called Gandhi Seva Sangha had been formed with Jamnalal Bajaj as President. Later on K L Mashruwala took over from him. From 1934 onwards this organisation opened constructive work centres in different places of Odisha. In 1941, in the village Kujendri, situated in Gunupur Taluk, which was mostly inhabited by Saora Adivasis (aborigines), Biswanath Pattanayak opened a centre for constructive work. In 1955, on visiting this centre Vinoba Bhave, the Sarvoday leader called it the actual reflection of *Swaraj*. Before opening this centre Bishwanath had stayed at Bari for two years for receiving orientation in Khadi programme and rural industrialisation (Gramodyoga). In 1938 The Government of Odisha set up the Board of Basic Education with Gopabandhu Chaudhury) as president. In 1941 Utkal Maulik Shiksha Parishad (Odisha Council of Basic Education) was formed with Acharya



Harihar Das as President. In March 1938, in the Beraboi village of Puri district, the annual session of Gandhi Seva Sangha was held; this session was attended by such top all-India leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Shankarrao Deo, Kishore Lal Mashruwala, Kaka Kalekar and Jaya Prakash Narayan, for spreading ideas on constructive work. Gopabandhu Chaudhury brought out Odia Journals like Gandhi Seva Sangha Patrika (1938) and Grama Sevak (1947). During the Quit India Movement of 1942 the police raided the Sevaghar at Bari and arrested some leaders.

In 1945, after the death of Kasturba Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi's wife a charitable trust was instituted in her name. For the management of this trust, from each province, a woman representative was nominated from Odisha Ramadevi was nominated, for the purpose. This trust established centres for training lady workers rendering social service. In Odisha such centres were opened in places like Bari, Satyabhamapur and Dumriguda (Koraput district). Towards the end of 1947 A V Thakkar, the prominent associate of Gandhi visited Odisha. According to his advice, in October 1948, Utkal Navajivan Mandal was set up with Sarangadhar Das as President and Gopabandhu Chaudhury as secretary for dealing with the various problems of aborigines (Adivasis).

Before his assassination Mahatma Gandhi had planned to convene a meeting of constructive workers at Sevagram in February 1948. After his death his associates and co-workers convened this meeting on 13 March 1948. To this meeting Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad were specially invited. In this meeting, as proposed by Vinoba Bhave, Gandhi's foremost spiritual disciple it was decided to form Sarvodaya Samaj for the fulfilment of the following goals-

communal unity, removal of untouchability, and caste distinction, prohibition, promotion of Khadi and rural industries, basic Education, village sanitation, treatment of man and woman on equal footing, hygiene and cleanliness, development of different local languages, removal of provincialism, propagation of Hindi as national language, economic equality, agricultural development, organisation of workers, amelioration of aborigines, organisation of students, service to lepers, cattle rearing, service to the distressed and poor and spread of naturopathy, Kishorlal Mashruwala was made the president of this Sarvodaya Samaj. The above meeting was the first session of the Sarvodaya Samaj which was attended by the following persons from Odisha-Gopabandhu Chaudhury, Ramadevi, Ishwarlal Vyas, Purubai, Krupasindhu Hota and Golok Charan Patra.¹

The second session of the Sarvodaya Samaj was held in the summer of 1949 at a place, called Rau Gan near Indore. It was attended by Gopabandhu Chaudhury, Gunanidhi Mohanty, Acharya Harihar Das, Manmohan Chaudhury and ten others from Odisha.

As per Gopabandhu Chaudhury's invitation the third session was held in Odisha in April 1950; it was held in a mango grove at Angul in front of Baji Rout Chhatrabas. More than 2000 delegates attended this meeting. On this occasion the memorable events of Odishan history were pictorially displayed.

In the meeting of all-India Sarvodaya Samaj, held at Angul Gopabandhu Chaudhury was elected as the main Coordinator of the Organisation. In this capacity, for organising Sarvodaya activities Chaudhury had to visit different places of India.

In April 1951 Vinoba Bhave started Bhoodan (land gift) movement. This movement



opened a new chapter in the history of Sarvodaya organisation.

On 7 April 1951 at Shibarampalli of Telengana the annual conference of Sarvodaya Samaj met. It was held for seven days. At that time, in Telengana, led by the Communists the landless peasants were involved in fight with land owners. Vinoba Bhave went to Pochampalli village to make an on-the-spot assessment of the conflict. There a land-owner, named Ramachandra Reddy declared to donate one hundred acres of land for the landless. Then Vinoba went on a *padayatra* (foot journey) in Telengana and found many land owners willing to donate lands for the landless. Hence he decided to carry forward his land gift movement which became famous as Bhoodan Movement.

In Odisha, to assess people's attitude towards land gift movement, Gopabandhu Chaudhury and Ramadevi started a foot journey from Puri on 24 December 1951. They returned to Cuttack after tour in Puri, Ganjam, Koraput, Kalahandi, Balangir Patna and Sambalpur districts. The Sarvodaya couple became hopeful of the success of the land gift movement in Odisha. The female workers of Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust propagated the objectives of land gift movement in villages. To give government support to the movement the Chief Minister Nabakrushna Chaudhury, Gopabandhu's younger brother got Bhoodan Yajna Act passed in the Odisha State Legislature in 1953. A provincial Bhoodan Yajna Committee was constituted according to the provisions of the Act. Because of the Younger Chaudhury's interest in the land gift movement during his tenure as Chief Minister The movement made good progress in Odisha.

On 2nd October 1952 Gopabandhu and Ramadevi went on Padayatra again, they toured in Bhadrak, Balasore, Mayurbhanja and

Keonjhar and got assurances of land gift for the landless. The workers of the allied Gandhian organisations such as Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust, Utkal Khadi Mandal Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Utkal Navajivan Mandal worked for the cause of land gift movement. In Koraput district Bishwanath Pattnayak, The President of Navajivan Mandal and the workers of Kujendri centre worked simultaneously for the welfare of Adivasis and Bhoodan.

Towards the end of January 1953 all the inhabitants of the Manpur village in the present Kendrapada district donated their lands to the Bhoodan Movement. On the Buddha Purnima day, in 1953, the lands were distributed among the villagers in the presence of Gopabandhu Chaudhury, Ramadevi, Acharya Harihar Das and other Sarvodaya activists. This land distribution was widely highlighted. Donation of lands by all villagers which is called Gramdan in Sarvodaya Vocabulary, in this village was the second of its kind in India. In this village a centre for constructive work was opened. But the Gramdan programme could not long continue in this village, After Gopabandhu Chaudhury's death in 1958, at the instigation of vested interest, the villagers withdrew their consent for land gift.

Gramdan idea is a higher stage than simple land gift (Bhoodan). It was considered necessary for village reconstruction, Gramdan concept has been elaborated by Manmohan Chaudhury in the following words:

“Gramdan is based on four conditions:

- (1) All the villagers joining Gramdan should renounce their ownership of land; Land will become the collective property of the village and can neither be sold nor mortgaged.
- (2) One- twentieth of the land belonging to the villagers before Gramdan should be distributed



among the landless or those having small amount of landed property; the remaining nineteen-twentieth of the land will be cultivated by the previous land owners.

(3) A village council comprising all adult villagers should be formed. The village council would plan the development of village. It should ensure that nobody remained hungry, unemployed, illiterate or sick.

(4) Every villager would contribute a portion of his income i.e. one-twentieth to the village council. That will be used as capital for the development of agriculture and industry in the village.

If seventy five percent of adult land owners opt for Gramdan and at least fifty percent of land is made available (for Gramdan) the village would be treated as Gramdan village. If less than 50% of the land is made available, the village would be treated as a partial Gramdan village or a village family.² Analysing the opinion of Sarvoday leaders about Gramdan Vishwanath Tandon holds the following view.

“The Sarvoday thinkers in view of their circumstances have generally concerned themselves with the reconstruction of rural India. They advocate village proprietorship over land, though they do not prescribe any particular type of farming. It has been left to villages to experiment and discover for themselves the most desirable type of farming. However the prevailing trend in full Gramdan villages is to reserve some land for collective cultivation and divide the rest between families on the basis of their needs and the principle of equality. After some periods this distribution is expected to be revised in view of the then changed conditions. Vinobaji’s personal preference is for cooperative farming but he would begin it with voluntary service cooperatives.³

On 26 January 1955, after completing his tour in West Bengal, Vinoba Bhave arrived at Laxmannath, a place on the Odisha side of the border with a railway station and one of the oldest High schools of Odisha. There, in a well-attended public meeting, it was announced that in Odisha the Bhoodan/Gramdan movement has got a donation of one Lakh acres of land and forty six villages.⁴ Vinoba undertook a Padayatra in Balasore, Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar and Cuttack districts and arrived at Puri on 20 March 1955 to attend the all-India Sarvoday Conference. Staying at Puri for twelve days Vinoba went towards south Odisha. On 31 May 1955 he started his Padayatra in the Adivasi dominated Koraput district. In this district, in 1952 the Sarvoday leaders had organised a Satyagraha to give the Adivasis legitimate rights over the land. At the appeal of the Chief Minister Nabakrushna Chaudhury the Satyagraha was stopped and the Adivasis got justice through courts. Vinoba toured in Koraput district for four months. He stayed for seven days in the Kujendri centre of Bishwanath Pattanayak.

A number of Sarvoday activists – Gunanidhi Mohanty, Monmohan Chaudhury, Ramadevi, Ratan Das, Shanti Devi, Brundaban Jena, Alekh Patra, Nishakar Das, Baji Mahammad and Bishwanath Pattanayak worked for the success of Bhoodan/Gramdan movement in the Koraput district.

While working for this movement they strove for the eradication of a dreadful disease, called ‘Yaws’. For this purpose the Sarvoday and Navajivan Mandal workers had to receive special training. Dr. Nirmal Chandra Das, a physician, belonging to Rajkanika, who worked as a Sarvoday worker in Koraput district has pointed out that within three months four thousand ‘Yaws’ patients were cured. Like Leprosy ‘Yaws’ could



make a man invalid. For the treatment of this disease, through World Health Organisation, a training camp was opened at Malkangiri. The land gift movement got a gift of nearly one thousand villages in Koraput district. In 1957, in a large meeting, held in Jaypur, Shankarrao Deo, the Sarvoday leader declared the Koraput district a 'Zilladan district' i.e. a district, wholly donated to the land gift movement. Soon at Vinoba's call Annasaheb Sahasrabuddhe took up rural reconstruction in Koraput district. About the progress of the land gift movement in Koraput district Ratan Das, the Sarvoday activist who worked in this district has made the following observation; "The Gramdan movement was actively supported by the Adivasis, To share each other's happiness and distress is an essential feature of their living. Hence it was easy to collect lands from them and entrust the same to the village committee. The Gramdan villages, i.e. the villages donated to the Bhoodan movement in Koraput district were highest in India. I have toured in the entire district for the cause of Gramdan. I was the organiser for the district. During Vinobaji's Odisha tour in 1955, when he was on Padayatra in Koraput district, there was a flow of Gramdan. The enthusiasm that was seen at that time is indescribable."⁶

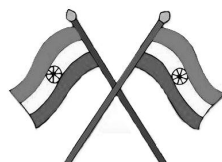
In the Balasore district through the efforts of Acharya Harihar Das, Ramadevi, Ishwarlal Vyas and Sharat Chandra Maharana 90,000 acres of land was collected and distributed among 3100 landless peasants.

In the Sarvoday conference, held at Palani, Tamilnadu in November 1956 Vinoba gave two important orientations to the Bhoodan workers- Nidhi Mukti and Tantra Mukti which gave a crucial turn to his movement. According to Nidhi Mukti the Bhoodan workers would cease to get monthly allowance or travel allowance from

the allied Gandhian organisations like Gandhi Memorial Fund, Kasturba Memorial fund or Utkal Khadi Mandal and they would on collect funds from the people for their work.⁷ Tantra Mukti meant that there would be no centralised direction to Bhoodan workers and that the latter, on their own initiative, would organise the people on the basis of their good will and fraternity; the basic assumption behind Tantra Mukti was that revolution could not be imposed from above; it should spontaneously arise from below.⁸ In fact the principle of Tantra Mukti called for a high degree of civic consciousness and public spirit which could be roused by leaders from above.

In October 1956 Nabakrushna Chaudhury resigned from the office of Chief Minister; he also resigned from the Congress Party. He joined the Sarvoday movement and was made the President of all-India Sarvodaya organisation (All India Sarba Seba Sangha). After Nabakrushna's resignation from the office of Chief Minister the land gift the office of Chief Minister the land gift movement could not get support or patronage from government because his successor- Chief Minister Harekrushna Mahtab was opposed to the Bhoodan movement which, he said, was distributing poverty by distribution of lands on the basis of equality. Earlier he had also ideological difference with the elder Chaudhury. Padmacharan Nayak, the biographer of Naba Krushna Chaudhury holds the following view about the result of the adverse attitude of Mahtab towards the Bhoodan Movement.

After his (Mahtab's) entry into the office of Chief Minister those who had signed donations under pressure did not part with their lands. On the whole, after Nabakrushna Chaudhury's exit from the office of Chief Minister there was an anti-Bhoodan wave. In Koraput district where about 800 Gramdans were said to have taken



place and where Volunteers from Odisha and the rest of India had created a new awakening among the aborigines and had been able to dispel fear from people's minds, after Nabakrushna Chaudhury's exit from Chief Ministership Vested interests like Government servants and money lenders became very vociferous against Bhoodan and Gramdan and the Volunteers engaged in such works." According to Nayak; in nearly fifty villages of the Koraput district. "even today there are some impressions of Gramdan."

Vinoba Bhave instructed the Bhoodan workers all over India to finish collection and distribution of lands by 1957 and then engage themselves in rural reconstruction. In 1958 Utkal Sarvoday Mandal was organised. On 29 April 1958 Gopabandhu Chaudhury died at Thoriasahi, Cuttack. After his death the Bhoodan movement progressed in slow pace in mainly four districts Koraput, Ganjam, Balasore and Mayurbhanja. In Koraput district Government cooperation could be possible because of Sadashiv Tripathy's interest. Fakir Mishra made efforts for the collection of funds. On 15 August 1958, at the age of eighty, despite failing eye sight Acharya Harihar Das started Padayatra from the Nampo village of Balasore district.

In August 1963 Vinoba Bhave came to Odisha for the second Padayatra. After Padayatra in Mayurbhanja, Balasore, Cuttack, Dhenkanal, Bonai Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Balangir Patna and Kalahandi he went towards Madhya Pradesh. In 1969 Vinoba came to Odisha for third time. By that time Naxalites had started mobilising the Adivasis according to their own ideology and programme. In October 1969 in the Garanda Village of Koraput district Dinabandhu Chaudhury was killed. Some people attributed the murder to the Naxalites.¹⁰ At last, being disappointed with the failure of Bhoodan movement, the Sarvoday leader Nabakrushna Chaudhury got interested in the Naxalite activities.

By 1960 the Bhoodan movement in Koraput district had lost its strength and tempo. This weakening of the movement is attributed to the conspiracy of vested interests and inactivity of the Government machinery. In 2003 an observer, associated with the Bhoodan Movement pointed out :

"Up to 1965 Vinoba's Gramdan movement proceeded slowly. By 1970 almost 16,000 villages of the country were within the purview of the movement. But to implement it in terms of records and concrete reality was very difficult. Only a few villages transferred their lands to the village council. Hence the movement could not assume its full shape. Even today in 100 villages this programme is at work. These villages have remained representative symbols of Gandhian movement".¹¹

The Gramdan Movement had two stages-collection of lands and distribution of the same. In both the stages there were lacunae. Many who had given verbal commitment for donation of lands did not actually sign Gramdan resolution. Manmohan Chaudhury writes; "sometimes it was being complained that many Gramdan resolutions were not genuine and were only fabricated to show the number. Such complaints were being made mostly about government employees and also about ordinary workers."¹² At the time of collection of lands Vinoba Bhave did not think of their distribution. The real problem arose at the time of distribution.

In principle the Bhoodan movement was based on people's involvement and collaboration. But "Vinoba always wanted government employees' cooperation in the 'Bhoodan-Gramdan movement.' He wanted that "they should join hands with Sarvoday workers political workers and other volunteers for Bhoodan-Gramdan propagation and collection of lands."



Assignment of Bhoodan work to government employees kept in tact the strength of the old power structure.¹³ The Government employees were legally obliged to their authorities. It was impolitic to expect them to implement the directions of Sarvoday Samaj which was an unconstitutional and revolutionary organisation.

In a democratic system the government is guided by the principles and directives of the party in power. In 1963, during Vinoba Bhave's second Padayatra in Odisha, at Talcher Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, the former Chief Minister of Odisha met the former and asked him about the political ideology of the Bhoodan Movement.

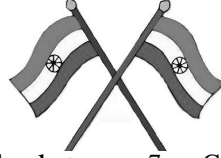
In reply Vinoba defined it as attainment of decentralised democratic socialism by non-violent and peaceful means.¹⁴ but this ideology was not acceptable to all parties. Although the Bhoodan ideologies and communists believed in socialism, the communists did not want to attain their goal by peaceful means.

There seems to be a want of clarity regarding the relation between the Sarvoday Samaj and government. Theoretically committed to truth and non-violence the Sarvoday Samaj was a moral and revolutionary organisation. Being politically motivated the parties in power might do something which their opponents would consider objectionable. In 1975, after Allahabad High Court judgement which declared Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's election from Rae Bareilly parliamentary constituency void, the non-Congress opposition parties threatened to launch civil disobedience movement to oust her from the office of Prime Minister. To counteract the opposition parties Indira Gandhi proclaimed Internal Emergency according to article 352 of the Constitution. At that time there was a

difference of opinion in the Sarvoday organisation on Indira Gandhi stand. Binoba Bhave welcomed Indira Gandhi's act as a necessary disciplinary measure (Anushasan). On the other hand, the Sarvoday leader Jaya Prakash Narayan gave leadership to the Civil Disobedience Movement against Indira Gandhi. In Odisha the Sarvoday leaders like Naba Krushna Chaudhury, Malati Devi and Manmohan Chaudhury, supported Jaya Prakash Narayan. Harmohan Pattanayak the Sarvoday leader from Dhenkanal opposed Jaya Prakash Narayan's stand.

In conclusion, let us spell out the basic objectives of Sarvoday movement in general and Bhoodan/Gramdan movement in particular. These are all-round development of the society, rural reconstruction and establishment of dignity of labour. Villages are the backbone of our socio-economic structure. The development, nay the survival of the country can not be conceived without the development of agriculture and rural industries. The Gramdan Movement lost its purpose and direction almost from the beginning. It was even alleged that the Bhoodan workers became corrupt. A Bhoodan worker told this writer that there are some ex-Bhoodan workers in Koraput district who have appropriated Bhoodan lands.

Quite a number of Gandhian leaders and young enthusiasts had joined the Bhoodan/Gramdan movement. A lot of hopes had been generated. Now everything appears to have ended in smoke. Naxalism is viewed by some as a reaction to the failure of Gramdan. What we need today more than ever before a well-thought out plan for rural development and total involvement of the public and government machinery in it. There is no scope for cynicism and despondency at all. It is high time to implement



what Gandhi said in 1934- Let us go back to village.

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The August Revolution in Odisha and the Role of Princely States

Dr. Janmejaya Choudhury

The 19th century reawakening in Odisha generated the desires for its territorial integrity as well as participation in the national struggle for independence. The Congress Movement in Odisha in the first two decades was mostly confined among elites like Madhusudan Das, Gauri Sankar Ray and Biswanath Kar and Zamindars etc. The end of World War-I brought in a radical change in the political scenario of India. The emergence of Gandhiji made the Congress a mass movement from 1919. In Odisha, Gopabandhu Das emerged as the remarkable leader of the Congress. A group of dedicated youth came forward to carry the spirit of the struggle to people at large. Gandhiji's first visit to Odisha in March 1921 intensified the Movement. Then the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee organized its first session at Cuttack in 1924 with P.C.Ray, the eminent scientist as the President. Gandhiji visited Odisha twice in August and December of 1925. It encouraged the Congress workers to carry on the programmes of the Party.

The failure of the Cripps' Mission gave a new turn to the Indian political situation. The Congress leaders were not silent spectators of the scene. They formed voluntary defence organizations throughout the province in order to counteract false propaganda and instill fearlessness in the minds of the people. At that time Gandhiji sent Mira Ben to work in Odisha. Thus the people of Odisha were being prepared to meet the enemy. In the meantime, the Wardha Session of the Congress Working Committee

adopted in their meeting a long resolution popularly known as the 'Quit India Resolution' which initiated a new phase of the freedom struggle in India. The final decision to launch a new movement was to be taken in the meeting of the All India Congress Committee scheduled to meet at Bombay on 7 August 1942. Such a move alarmed the British authorities. They made elaborate plans to nip in the bud. The provincial governments were immediately consulted on this matter. The Governor of Odisha, in his secret report to the Viceroy, outlined his plan to suppress the possible Congress rebellion. He believed that the Congress might give Odisha a prominent place in their campaign. The situation of Odisha in a potential war zone, absence of communal problems and the existence of a coalition ministry were some of the reasons for his conjecture. In his report, Lewis made another very important observation regarding the working of the coalition ministry. Such was the situation in Odisha before the outbreak of the historic rebellion in August 1942. The historic resolution on Quit India was adopted by the A.I.C.C. in the night of 8 August 1942. The Government swiftly moved its machinery of repression against the Congress leaders and their organizations throughout the country from the early morning of 9 August 1942. Most of the Congress leaders were, no doubt unprepared for such a sweeping action by the government. It was expected that Lord Linlithgow, the Governor-General, would grant an interview to Gandhi and some efforts might still be made by the government to bring about an



rapprochement with the Congress. But the British authorities were not prepared to make any such move and to take any risk in those critical days of the World War. The political parties lent unhesitating support to the movement. The Congress-Socialists played a significant role. The visit of R.N. Mishra, the Secretary of All India Congress- Socialist Party, in July 1942 encouraged the peasants to join in the movement. The Congress activists did all they could do to make the movement a success. Of the representatives- H.K.Mahatab, Malati Choudhury, P.R. Rath and L.N. Mishra attended the Bombay Congress Session, which passed the Quit India proposal on August 8, 1942. H.K.Mahatab was arrested along with members of the Congress Working Committee. On the following day, prominent Congress leaders like Naba Krushna Choudhury, Rama Devi, Raj Krisna Bose etc. were arrested in Odisha. On their return from Bombay, Malati Choudhury was jailed. Surendra Dwivedy became underground, but he carried on his organization to intensify the movement with the help of a few accomplices of the Congress Party viz, Banka Bihari Das, Biswanath Pandit and Banamali Mishra etc. Bhairab Chandra Mahanty took charge of the underground organization of Sambalpur. Biju Patnaik was associated with the secret network of the movement. It is regretting that the coalition Ministry was against the movement. Such was the situation in Odisha before the outbreak of the historic rebellion in August 1942.

The Quit India Movement spread to the some of the Feudatory States. In Dhenkanal, Talcher and Nilagiri it became formidable while mass political upheavals took place in others. The rulers started to counteract through suppressive measures. A state of emergency was clamped on Dhenkanal on 11 August 1942. State People's Conference was declared unlawful. Leaders were arrested by Defence of India Rules. Baishnab Pattanaik, of all the leaders, became conspicuous for his role. In fact, he became the role model for

the revolutionaries of all Princely States. He organized the Marana Sena (Suicide Squad) and armed them with deadly weapons to fight against the Government. He and some other members of Marana Sena burnt the police station, S.D.O's and other Govt. offices on 26 August 1942. They led a mob to Malpura, looted the Debottara granary and distributed the paddy among the people. They burnt the police station and Tahsil office at Chandpur. On Sep.1942, Baisnav was severely injured by the police bullet while two leaders, namely, Bira Sahu and Benu Sahu were killed.

In Talcher, Pabitra Mohan Pradhan was the mastermind behind the revolutionary activities. A Krusak Sena (peasant militia) of 40,000 people was formed under the chairmanship of Bichandra Pradhan. The Sena gheraoed Talcher town on 7 Sep,1942. The Sena was in its attempt to capture the seat of the ruler. The British military force found the situation aggravating. It resorted to aerial bombing and machine gun firing to disperse the mob. 4 people were shot dead, 100 were wounded and over 300 were arrested.

The revolutionary activities in Princely States instilled political consciousness among the people. People were up against both the native rulers and their sovereign, the British. The participation of the people was spontaneous and wholehearted. It is rightly said that 'a new dimension to the concept of the unity of India' was introduced by the Quit India Movement. From rural illiterate to urban elite, from poor to rich, masses were up for independence. A significant feature was the participation and suffering of women. Really the Quit India Movement marked the zenith of the Freedom Struggle.

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Meeting of Minds: Gandhi and Mandela on Non-Violence

Dr. Bishnupriya Padhi

This article is not a comparison between Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela as the latter once told, “It would not be right to compare me to Gandhi. None of us could equal his dedication or his humility. He showed us it’s necessary to brave imprisonment if truth and justice were to triumph over evil.” It is a modest attempt to recollect the legacies of both the leaders in terms of the impacts they each had on non-violence as a means of addressing problems of their times on the occasion of India’s 68th Independence Day. Both were men of different times, yet they drew upon similar principles in their quests to help humanity. While their causes were distinct to each of their homelands, they inspired similar reverence among followers, eventually standing as inspiration worldwide. While each of these men took unique paths to prominence, a shared sense of equality and belief that society’s oppressed citizens must stand together; provide fundamental cornerstones of their philosophies for bringing change for the masses. With the passing of Mandela, the Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik hailed him as a



‘symbol of anti-apartheid who dedicated his life to fight injustice and racial discrimination. He was a great advocate of humanism and a symbol of struggle for justice, service, dedication and sacrifice. He had strong faith in Gandhiji’s belief in truth and non-violence. The world has lost a great Gandhian.’¹

Was he a Gandhian? In a sense, yes. In many ways. He was a man of courage, of passion, of struggle and indomitable spirit like Gandhiji who learned from life at every turn and harboured no ill-will against

those who hurt him. Robert Koenig, in his article,² Gandhi inspired Mandela on South Africa’s -Long Road to Freedom, has said, one man was felled by an assassin’s bullet after a lifetime of nonviolent struggle to gain independence for his country, the other man survived until age 95 after emerging from prison to lead his nation’s mostly peaceful revolution to end apartheid and become its first black President. It was no coincidence that Gandhi and Mandela, whose paths never crossed directly, both embarked on their campaigns against discrimination in South Africa — the land of Alan Paton’s “Cry, the Beloved Country,” where



apartheid domination had oppressed the black majority as well as the South Asian minority for so many years. In a fitting coincidence of history, the two leaders were both lawyers who spent time in stinking jail cells in Johannesburg's Old Fort prison — Gandhi in 1906, Mandela in 1962. It later became a museum to reveal the brutality of apartheid abuses. On the same hilltop where the prison's notorious wards still stand, South Africa has built a gleaming new high court, the Constitutional Court.

Gandhi was “the archetypal anti-colonial revolutionary,” Mandela once wrote, describing the Indian leader as a role model. “Both Gandhi and I suffered colonial oppression, and both of us mobilized our respective peoples against governments that violated our freedoms.”³

Eventhough Gandhi was born in India and studied law in London, he made his name as a young man fighting discrimination against Indians in South Africa from 1893 to 1914. He was thrown off trains. He had organized protests and was jailed several times during his two decades of South African activism. While Gandhi at first supported the British colonial regime and urged Indians to fight on their side during the Anglo-Boer War (now called the South African War) in 1899-1902, he became disillusioned with British rule after he organized fellow Indians into a stretcher-bearer corps to carry wounded soldiers during a Zulu revolt in 1906.⁴ “British brutality against the Zulus roused his soul against violence as nothing had done before,” Mandela wrote later. “The sight of wounded and whipped Zulus, mercilessly abandoned by their British persecutors, so appalled him that he turned full circle from his admiration for all things British to celebrating the indigenous and ethnic.” After his experience as a stretcher-bearer, Gandhi became an outspoken but nonviolent advocate of the rights of South African Indians, championing

the Satyagraha campaign of nonviolent refusal to cooperate with the government; arranging marches against the discriminatory poll tax and marriage laws; and enduring months in jails for defying the authorities.

Gandhi received a hero's welcome when he returned to India in 1915 and started a decades-long campaign of nonviolent resistance against British colonialism that led to the nation's independence in 1947. Mandela, who was born to a Xhosa family in the village of Mvezo three years after Gandhi left South Africa, seemed to be an unlikely candidate to inherit the moral legacy of the great Indian leader – and it took many years for Mandela to adopt the nonviolent resistance strategy and to lead what he later called the “long walk to freedom.” He and his ally Oliver Tambo were expelled from South Africa's Fort Hare College – the first South African University for blacks – in 1940 for their political activism. He worked as a night watchman in a gold mine in Johannesburg, then clerked in a law firm, studied law and began his political career by joining the African National Congress. Accusing the ANC's leadership of “appeasement and compromise,” the fiery Mandela started up an ANC youth league, rising to become its president in 1951.

He and Tambo founded South African first black law practice, but the apartheid government – fearful of a revolution – late in 1956 arrested him and 155 other black leaders who had called for an end to apartheid. He was acquitted of treason in 1961, then went underground and formed an ANC military wing (“Spear of the Nation”) and commanded its guerrilla army.

After 17 month underground, Mandela was arrested again and sent to prison for another five years. And in 1964, he and seven other ANC activists were convicted again and sentenced to



life in prison. He would spend the next 18 years in Robben Island prison, off the coast of Cape Town.

After pressure mounted on the apartheid government, South African President P.W. Botha offered to free Mandela if he renounced violence; but Mandela refused unless the government ended apartheid. It took many more years, and behind-the-scenes negotiations with the nation's leaders, before the 71-year-old Mandela was released, without conditions, in 1990. The ANC suspended its guerilla campaign but street violence continued.

After years of negotiations – during which Mandela and President de Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize – a new constitution banning apartheid was finally agreed to in 1993 and Mandela won election as South Africa's first black president a year later. That is when the influence of Gandhi became apparent, as Mandela – instead of punishing those who had imprisoned him and his compatriots – moved to try to reconcile South Africa's black majority and white minority.

“His journey from a prisoner to a president embodied the promise that human beings — and countries — can change for the better. His commitment to transfer power and reconcile with those who jailed him set an example that all humanity should aspire to, whether in the lives of nations or our own personal lives.

“And the fact that he did it all with grace and good humor, and an ability to acknowledge his own imperfections, only makes the man that much more remarkable.”⁵

Non-violence : A way of life - Nonviolence which Gandhi followed is no ordinary idea or belief. It was born of conviction and was based on the purification of body and mind. It evolved through the control of the palate,

non possession of property or any other material or non material thing, restraining one's senses, adoption of the principle of non-stealing, abolition of untouchability, promotion of communal harmony and above all anchoring life on the moral principles and higher ideals.⁶ Sahu is of the opinion that non-violence does not mean the non-use of force, it is deeper in connotation and practice. It involves changing the whole way of life and consciousness and remaining in communion with the nature and feeling that everything in this world including the crawls of the world is throbbing with the divine spirit of which the individual is a part. This identification of the individual with the whole cosmos and at the same time retaining the individuality constituted the core meaning of non-violence.⁷ Nonviolence provides us with tools, the positive means to oppose and stop wars and preparations for war, to resist violence, to struggle against racial, sexual and economic oppression and discrimination and to seek social justice and genuine democracy for people throughout the world.

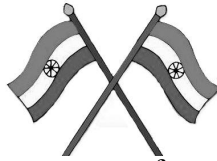
Gandhi provided the world with his timeless philosophy. It was not meant for the independence of India only. Nonviolence is itself normative. It applies to any situation. He was a fearless advocate of the dignity of the human person. This involves recognizing the unique endowments of the human person-in-community and providing a foundation for Human Rights. He is therefore called the emancipator of the oppressed. He helped millions of the discriminated poor to discover meaning in life and live a life worthy of the true human calling. The clarity of the conviction of the transcendental goal of everyman led him to affirm the dignity of the human person at every level.

In his article, Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi, Nitin Mehta, wrote ⁸ that the



death of Nelson Mandela has moved people all over the world. The outpouring of grief is similar to the one when Mahatma Gandhi died. It is one of those inexplicable quirks of history that both these giants who shaped the modern world started their long march for justice in South Africa. As a young man looking for a better future Gandhi could have found any of the many countries of South and East Africa that he could have settled in as did many Indians in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. But it seems some divine force brought Gandhi to South Africa which at the time epitomized the oppression of a people in their own country in the form of apartheid. It is in South Africa that Gandhi started a struggle against injustice and his experiences there were of immense importance in his strategy to confront the British Raj in India. Gandhi's nascent movement for justice in South Africa inspired and galvanized a whole generation of South African freedom fighters like Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Desmond Tutu and many others. After Gandhi departed for India he left his son Manilal back in South Africa to continue the struggle. Manilal was present at a crucial meeting of the ANC in 1949, where he pressed the party to unconditionally adopt nonviolence but with little success. The attitude of the party toward the Gandhian ideal of nonviolence was in subsequent years best summarized by Desmond Tutu who said: "Gandhi was to influence greatly Martin Luther King Jr., the leading light in the American Civil Rights Movement, as well as the South African National Congress of Nelson Mandela. So many people expected our country to go up in flames, enveloped by a catastrophe, a racial bloodbath. It never happened. Because in the struggle against an evil of injustice, ultimately it did not take recourse to violence and because you and so many others in the international community supported the struggle."

Nelson Mandela wrote an article for the 3rd January 2000 issue of the Time magazine. The issue celebrated People of the Century. Mandela wrote about one of his teachers: Gandhi. His story was called The Sacred Warrior and showed some of the ways Gandhi influenced him. This is what he wrote: Gandhi dared to exhort nonviolence in a time when the violence of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had exploded on us; he exhorted morality when science, technology and the capitalist order had made it redundant; he replaced self-interest with group interest without minimizing the importance of self. India is Gandhi's country of birth; South Africa his country of adoption. He was both an Indian and a South African citizen. Both countries contributed to his intellectual and moral genius, and he shaped the liberation movements in both colonial theatres. He was the archetypal, anticolonial revolutionary. His strategy of noncooperation, his assertion that we can be dominated only if we cooperate with our dominators and his nonviolent resistance inspired anticolonial and antiracist movements internationally and in our country. Both Gandhi and I suffered colonial oppression and both of us mobilized our respective peoples against governments that violated our freedoms. The Gandhian influence dominated freedom struggles on the African continent right up to the 1960s because of the power it generated and the unity it forged amongst the apparently powerless. Nonviolence was the official stance of all major African coalitions, and the South African ANC remained implacably opposed to violence for most of its existence. Gandhi remained committed to nonviolence; I followed the Gandhian strategy for as long as I could but then there came a point in our struggle when the brute force of the oppressor could no longer be countered through passive resistance alone. We founded Unkhonto we Sizwe and added a military dimension to our



struggle. Even then we chose sabotage because it did not involve the loss of life and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Militant action became part of the African agenda officially supported by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) following my address to the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) in 1962, in which I stated, “Force is the only language the imperialists can hear, and no country became free without some sort of violence.” Gandhi himself never ruled out violence absolutely and unreservedly. He conceded the necessity of arms in certain situations. He said, “Where choice is set between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence... I prefer to use arms in defense of honour rather than remain the vile witness of dishonour ...” Violence and nonviolence are not mutually exclusive; it is the predominance of the one or the other that labels a struggle.”

Nelson Mandela was indeed a great soul. Eventhough his people suffered so much under the apartheid regime and he himself had spent 27 years in jail in conditions that could destroy most people, he was able to forgive the oppressors and establish a rainbow nation of peace and harmony. It is the small and often many insignificant episodes in the lives of great souls that separate them from the rest and here is one such moving incident in the life of Nelson Mandela. In around June 1961 Mandela spent sometime in a farm at Lilies leaf in Rivonia a suburb of Johannesburg. His then wife Winnie brought him an old rifle for target practice. One day he shot a sparrow with it and was mortified when the five year old son of a friend rounded on him saying: “Why did you kill that bird? Its mother will be sad”. Mandela said, “My mood immediately shifted from one of pride to shame. I felt this small boy had far greater humanity than I did.” It was an odd sensation for a man who was the leader

of a nascent guerilla army. That regret he felt at his action and his willingness to learn from a five year old is the making of a great man. It is a matter of great pride for Indians that Mahatma Gandhi has had such an enormous impact on so many people all over the world. Mahatma Gandhi was able to articulate the glorious heritage of India which had been stifled by invading armies for around a thousand years.

Roger Cohen⁹ termed both Gandhi and Mandela as the anti-colonialist giants of the 20th century. Gandhi was branded with the racist insult of “coolie lawyer” in South Africa. Mandela was thrown into the same Johannesburg prison as Gandhi before him. Both had arrived to the same conclusion by different roads. Gandhi in his autobiography wrote: “When we come to think of it, the distinction between heterogeneous and homogeneous is discovered to be merely imaginary. We are all one family.”¹⁰

Gandhi was thrown out from a first-class compartment on a South African train at the Pietermaritzburg station. This was galvanized into nonviolent resistance by the racist anti-Indian legislation in the Transvaal in 1906. He is now seen as a founding father of Mandela’s rainbow South Africa of equal rights for all peoples. Gandhi, as chronicled in Joseph Lelyveld’s book, “Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and His Struggle with India,” took many years to embrace the black cause, only declaring on the eve of departure from South Africa that, “This land is theirs by birth.” He was focused on Indians’ rights. Mandela invoked Gandhi’s nonviolent campaigns as a reference for mass action — up to a point. “I called for nonviolent protest for as long as it was effective,” he noted.

Yet they came to a shared conviction that all suppressed people, whatever their differences of religion or ethnicity or caste, must stand

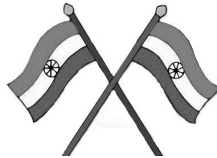


together against their oppressors and, in Gandhi's words, "cease to play the part of the ruled." Only a changed mindset could change the structure of white, colonial power. They reached their convictions through deep inward journeys, undertaken in circumstances of humiliation or imprisonment, journeys that took them beyond instincts of violent reprisal, and ushered them to the inner stillness that is the very thing an agitated world finds most riveting. In both Gandhi and Mandela a light shines that is the fruit of inward-focused constancy of a kind that is a stranger to hyper-connected status anxiety. Through this they live. Yet another link in the Gandhi-Mandela chain is the value of manual labour teaches. His legacy to the world is obvious from his quote, "On my last day, I want to know that those who remain behind will say: The man who lies here has done his duty for his country and his people."

Nelson Mandela,¹² on 6 June 1993 while unveiling the Gandhi memorial at Pietermaritzburg, had said: We are living during a time when the concept of non-violent resistance is facing a serious challenge. It is an honour for me to be here to unveil the very first statue of hope. The hope that once all South Africans are treated as equals, we will be able to forge a non violent society from the havoc wrought by apartheid and colonial-oppression. This event is also very significant because we are unveiling here the very first statue of an anti colonial figure and a hero of millions of people worldwide. Gandhiji influenced the activities of liberation movements, civil rights movements and religious organizations in all five continents of the world. He impacted on men and women who have achieved significant historical changes in their countries not least amongst whom are Martin Luther King. Mahatma Gandhi came to this country 100 years ago, to assist Indians brought to this country as indentured labourers and those who came to set up trading posts. He

came here to assist them to retain their right to be on a common voters roll. The Mahatma is an integral part of our history because it is here that he first experimented with truth; here that he demonstrated his characteristic firmness in pursuit of justice; here that he developed Satyagraha as a philosophy and a method of struggle. The Indian Congresses which have their origin in this period were fashioned by Gandhi as instruments with the assistance of people like Thambi Naidoo, Parsi Rustomji, E I Asvat and others to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity in a just cause.

Today as we strive to achieve a date for the first democratic elections in this country, the legacy of Gandhiji has an immediate relevance. He negotiated in good faith and without bitterness. But when the oppressor reneged he returned to mass resistance. He combined negotiation and mass action and illustrated that the end result through either means was effective. Gandhi is most revered for his commitment to non-violence and the Congress Movement was strongly influenced by this Gandhian philosophy, it was a philosophy that achieved the mobilization of millions of South Africans during the 1952 defiance campaign, which established the ANC as a mass based organization. The ANC and its Congress alliance partners worked jointly to protest the pass laws and the racist ideologies of the white political parties. The enemies that Gandhi fought ignorance, disease, unemployment, poverty and violence are today common place in a country that had the potential to lead and uplift Africa. Today we are faced with the formidable task of reconstructing our country anew. Now more than ever is the time when we have to pay heed to the lessons of Mahatma Gandhi... We need to come together again and revisit the source of the violence in our country. We need to meet collectively and achieve a permanent recommitment to end the violence."



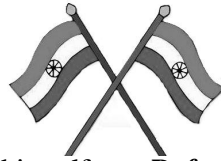
*Amitabh Pal*¹³ wrote that Gandhians have been eager, not too surprisingly, to claim Mandela. At a function organized in New Delhi last July on Mandela's ninety-fourth birthday, Gandhi's grandson Rajmohan asserted his grandfather's influence on Mandela was so immeasurable that when Rajmohan met South Africans, they regarded the Mahatma as a fellow countryman. "The locals were surprised to learn that Gandhi was an Indian," he said. "I want Indians, too, to embrace Mandela and make him an Indian hero."¹²

"While Nelson Mandela is the father of South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi is our grandfather," Harris Majeke, South Africa's Ex-High Commissioner to India, had stated once. "Mandela was inspired by the Satyagraha campaign led by Gandhi. The Gandhi scholar David Hardiman pointed out that Mandela never ceased regarding Gandhi as an inspiration, and, in fact, saw nonviolence as an integral part of the movement. Mandela learned from Gandhi the essential virtues of forgiveness and compassion, values that served him and his country very well on his assumption to power. Besides, how much of a role did violence play in the liberation of South Africa? While some scholars, such as Gay Seidman, emphasize the role that armed struggle played, many other scholars say that it was not very big. "Rioting, sabotage, murder of suspected collaborators and other violent tactics were very much part of the anti-apartheid resistance movement," writes Professor Stephen Zunes, "Yet, these were not as important as the ongoing and potentially greater noncooperation with the apartheid regime and the economic system that sustained it." And the predominance of nonviolence in the apartheid struggle was crucial in other ways. "Sanctions had discernible effects in supporting the successful opposition campaign in South Africa," write Erica Chenoweth and

Maria J. Stephan in "Why Civil Resistance Works." "The ANC leadership had demanded sanctions for decades but they came about only after mass nonviolent resistance had spread." Mandela and the African National Congress took a large amount of their inspiration and strategy from Mahatma Gandhi and his campaigns in South Africa and India. The world emerged a much better place for that.¹⁴

On 10 May 1994 Nelson Mandela became the first democratically elected State President of South Africa and remained so till June 1999. He declined to serve beyond a single five-year term. His great success lay in creating a government of national unity, in which F. W. de Klerk, the last apartheid-era President, was persuaded to become deputy president although Mandela's ANC had won a majority. This gave hope to the country's whites, who did not flee in fear. The other great innovation of Mandela was the setting up of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, before which former officials accused of rapes, assassinations and bombings were required to testify before victims' families and seek forgiveness. The whites were perhaps particularly touched by Nelson Mandela's edict that if people could be taught to hate persons of a different skin colour, they could be taught to love them.¹⁵ The great leader had a touch of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1999, Mandela received the Gandhi/King Award for Nonviolence from the World Movement for Nonviolence. The prize was presented by Ms. Ela Gandhi, granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi and a then-member of the South African Parliament, a position she could not have held prior to the end of apartheid. Ms. Gandhi described Mandela as the living legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, the Gandhi of South Africa.

Although they never met, Gandhi and Mandela are often mentioned together as giants



of 20th-century anti-colonialism. Mandela himself often cited Gandhi as an inspiration and claimed the Indian leader as a son of South Africa, stating that “India gave South Africa Gandhi the barrister and Africa gave India back Mahatma Gandhi the Great Soul.” The leadership qualities of Nelson Mandela had at its base Gandhi’s Spirit. When Mandela spent 27 years of his life in Robben Island in the prison, the room was full of books of Gandhi and many other classics. The twenty seven years he spent in jail were spent in meditation and reflection and it is said that throughout the years, the bitterness left his soul and he provided the leadership to steer South Africa to be a multi ethnic state. Gandhi’s influence on Mandela was shown by the then Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh. Visiting South Africa on the 137th anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi’s birthday, Singh described Mandela as the greatest Gandhian for transforming the lives of millions. Singh said Gandhi would have been “elated” to see his aspirations of peace and reconciliation realized in the transformation of South Africa under Mandela’s leadership. In the eyes of the world, the mantle of Gandhi seemed to have “descended” on Mandela. On 29, March, 2007, the former High Commissioner to South Africa, Rajiv Bhatia,¹⁶ had the opportunity to call on Mandela. “What happened to Gandhi’s assassin?” he asked Bhatia. On being told that Godse was hanged, Mandela seemed incredulous and insisted that hanging would be a negation of Gandhi’s principles. This was perhaps the lasting impact of Mahatma on him. Mandela called Gandhi ‘a sacred warrior’. Gandhi “threatened”, Mandela wrote, “the South African Government in the first and second decades of our century (i.e. 20th century) as no other man did.”¹⁷ Mandela stressed that in a world driven by strife, Gandhiji’s message of peace and non-violence might hold the key to human survival.

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Israel-Palestine Conflict Resolution Possible

M.A. Kharabela Swain

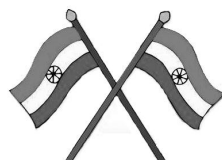
India's contradictory policy resolutions with regard to the some weeks old Israel-Palestine mini war in the Middle East has brought in unpleasant surprises to many. In this mini war, spread since almost one month, around 1,700 people have lost their lives out of whom more than 1,600 are the residents of Gaza. The pressure of the opposition in the Parliament of India forced the government to allow a debate on this issue. But the Modi Government disagreed to the proposal of passing a resolution in support of Palestine. The NDA Government explained, India is neutral on this issue. So the government is not in support of passing a resolution in support of a party in the Parliament.

In the past, starting from the Nehru Government upto the Congress led Manmohan Singh Government (excepting the 1977 Janata Party Government & Vajpayee Govt. of 1998) each government has supported the Palestinian cause. In a way they have accorded government recognition to the Palestine State. The former Palestine President and the head of the Al-Fatah movement Yasser Arafat has been accorded the protocol of a recognized Head of the State. Hence in the past Arafat had visited India time and again and had returned back along with royal treatment. Wherever possible, in most international fora, starting from the U.N., India has extended its

support to Palestine. So when the NDA Government refused to pass any resolution in this regard, it seemed, for the first time this non-Congress government did bring a fundamental shift to the India's foreign policy.

It was said earlier that by extending support to Palestine the Congress Party wanted to appease the Muslims and made an effort to get their votes in the elections. That was also a time when the entire Muslim community of the world supported the Palestinians en bloc.

But when no pro-Palestine resolution has been passed in the Parliament just two weeks ago, India has voted for a resolution brought in favour of Palestine, in the U.N. Human Rights Commission at Geneva just last week. India has baffled everybody by issuing contradictory signals within a very short span of one week only. By voting in favour of Palestine in the U.N. Body, the Modi Government has signaled that, the previous U.P.A. Government's policy formulation on this issue and his one, are just the same. And naturally a vast majority of pro-Israeli people in India are cut up with the government. They fail to understand as to why did the Modi Government take such a stand. They argue; even if the country did not desire to vote against Palestine, still it could have abstained from voting. The N.D.A.



Government which maintained a neutral stand in the Parliament of India could have maintained the similar stand in the U.N. by keeping itself away from voting. But by voting there in favour of a party, why did India project itself to be partisan?

The Central government counter argues that, India could not have abstained from voting even if it desired so. Because in the 'BRICKS' conference held in Brazil, in the third week of the July, where Prime Minister Narendra Modi had participated, there a resolution had been passed unanimously supporting Palestine. Developing countries like Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa have joined there as member nations. The resolution passed there says-"We call upon Israel and Palestine to résumé negotiations leading to a two state solutions with a contiguous and economically viable Palestinian State existing side by side in peace with Israel, within, mutually agreed and internationally recognized borders based on the 4 June 1967 lines with East Jerusalem as its capital....."

It is significant that, when a resolution is being passed in any group of states fora, the proposal is not prepared overnight. The high officials of the member states meet together and prepare a draft month before, which is given a final touch in the conference itself. It means that, some months before when the U.P.A. Government was in office, the Indian officials did sit with other nation officials to prepare the draft. And naturally, it represents the then government's view points also. Russia and China being other members of the group and they being very anti-America in their approach as reflected in the issues of Syria, Iran etc., they are very natural to pass a pro-Palestine resolution which will go against Israel, a friend of U.S.A. Of late Brazil has also inched towards Palestine in its foreign policy formations. Probably in the 'BRICKS' conference India has been left alone on this issue.

History details, two thousand years ago when Jesus Christ took birth, at that time Palestine was a Jewish kingdom. When Jesus Christ preached a new religion Christianity, he was stubbornly opposed by the Jewish king. Though Jesus himself was a Jew, the Jews killed him by crucification. But after the death of Jesus, the popularity of the Christianity was spread far and wide and the Christians being powerful, drove the Jews out of Palestine. And then, for the next 2000 years, the Jews had to disseminate throughout Asia, Europe and even America as refugees. They even settled in India for centuries.

Jews were but very intelligent and expert businessmen. Their prosperity made them the eyesore of the local people. In the classic English play 'Merchant of Venice' of Shakespeare, the hated greedy, tyrannical, and miser character 'Shylock' is a Jew. Retired. Lt. General Jacob a Jew, of the Indian Army was appointed as the Governor of the Punjab during Atal Vihari Vajpayee's regime. Since they were prosperous in Germany, Hitler, before the Second World War accused the Jews of the cause of all evils that befell the country and killed three lakhs of them by putting them into the gas chambers and the concentration camps.

After the Second World War, the victors, the British led Allies, granted them the land to establish their new state in Palestine. The Nazi tortured hapless Jews drew extensive sympathy from all over the world at that time. Of course at that time the Jews and the Muslims in Palestine were equal in number. The neighbouring Islamic countries like Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon etc.combindly came in aid of Palestinians. They were not in favour of a new non-Islamic state in their midst. They formed sort of a coalition to wage a war against Israel from all sides. At that period of time Palestine was under the



administrative control of the British. But when the British proclaimed a date of their departure from Palestine both the Jews and Muslims got themselves readied for the war so that they could occupy as much land as they could. Even before the withdrawal date of the British both the sides engaged into bitter conflicts. Though it was the British who had ceded land to the Jews for the formation of a new state, they (British) did not help the Jews in anyway for occupying the land on which they were to build their new state after two thousand years. Just like the British covertly supporting the Muslim League in India for the creation of a new Muslim state, Pakistan, the Britishers there also gave tacit support to the Muslims. But the Jews, by dint of their unity and unparalleled bravery, gave a valiant fight to the Muslims that would remain enshrined in the annals of the world history. It was most startling, since the totally new Jew immigrants who came from different parts of the world to Israel with different languages and totally different backgrounds, assimilated themselves to the war efforts. Without knowing even the Hebrew language they fought for the fatherland. While on the one side there was the united fights by the Jews, on the other side the Muslim States vied with each other for occupying more and more lands for themselves only. Not to allow their co-fighter States grab more Palestinian land was their main motto. Occupying land for Palestine was secondary for them. Taking advantage of the mutual distrust and secret cut throat competition of their opponents, the Jews could manage to occupy most of their desired places before the cease fire proclaimed by the U.N. Only the city of their dream Jerusalem remained out of their reach.

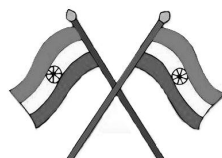
All these happened in 1949 when India got its independence only a few years before. And after the creation of Israel, most of the Islamic states of Middle East joined hands to obliterate

any sign of Israel from the face of the Earth. From 1949 upto 1967, these 19 years saw continuous Arab-Israel fights. However Israel could manage to survive and reinforce itself due to the unequivocal support of the America and its Western friends.

But when the combined neighbouring states decided a joint war against Israel to eliminate it in 1967, in the actual war Israel won an astounding decisive victory within 6 days in 1967 by virtually eliminating the entire air force of its enemies. Not only the war they won but occupied the Golan Heights of Syria, Sinai desert of Egypt and the West Bank and Gaza strip of Palestine. Not only that, the long cherished dream of them came true when they occupied Jerusalem and shifted their capital to there from Tel Aviv. Most of the Islamic countries who had been opposing Israel till then remained silent after issuing same statements only.

Then so many small conflicts have taken place which have ended in the victory of Israel all the time. But in the Berlin Olympics of 1972, the Palestine militants attacked the Israeli sports contingent there and killed most of them.

Till now, the desire for forming a separate State of Palestine has not materialized. But, the former President of Iran Mohammed Ahamedinejad, while making every effort to produce atomic weapons, on the other side made public vows to 'eliminate Israel from the face of the Earth' time and again which has kept the political atmosphere hot all the time. On the other side another militant organization 'Hamas' has raised its head in the Palestine that has been persistently claiming to 'eliminate Israel from the face of the Earth'. This militant organization has got the support of the countries like Iran and some other Islamic states. Repeatedly this organization



has resorted to kidnap the Jews, to cause bomb explosion in Israel by sending suicide bombers, kill the Jews whenever opportunities arrive, to fire rockets in thousands to Israel indiscriminately by causing a lot of harm to people and property. Israel has retaliated these most formidably and ruthlessly. They have avenged such incidents by sending troops to Gaza and West Bank and either seizing or killing the 'Hamas' militants. Their war planes have bombed the militant targets by razing them to the earth. They have tried to eliminate a hundred Palestinian when they have lost one of their own. They have done so not to encourage the Palestinians to raise a finger against Israel in future.

In 2012, when Hamas fired several rockets to Israel, it retaliated by entering into Palestine and by bombing totally devastated the Hamas shelters. Naturally, in such a process lots of common civilians do lay their lives. With much difficulty the peace was negotiated by U.S. and some other nations.

This time, the reason for the start of the Israel-Palestine war was the abduction of three Jews from Jerusalem by the Hamas. In retaliation the Israel army entered into West Bank and arrested several 'Hamas' activists. Hamas in retaliation fired several rockets to the Israeli territory which resulted in the counter attack by the Israeli army and air force thus virtually raising a major portion of Gaza Strip to dust.

In the disputed territory, lands not occupied by Israel are called Palestine. It is divided into two regions. The organization that has formed the government in West Bank is peeved against Hamas. While Mohammed Abbas is the President of Palestine Authority in the West Bank, Hamas has won the election in 2006 in Gaza Strip. Gaza Strip is a small area covering only 146 sq.km.

running aside Mediterranean Sea having raised its population to 18 lakhs by now since 1948 when it had a population of 80,000 only. After the political victory of 'Hamas', rivalry between Israel and Gaza has risen significantly while relationship with West Bank has remained comparatively cool.

It is significant to note that, no more the other Islamic neighbours are extending support to Hamas or Palestine. The 'Arab Spring' revolution of 2011 that brought down the dictatorial regime of Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Tunisia has put a deep sense of fear among the ruling class of the Middle East against the Islamic militant groups. They apprehend that in future the same Islamist who had taken major role in removing the long standing dictators from power may again turn against them. The 'Muslim Brotherhood' of neighbouring Egypt which was instrumental in replacing four decade old reign of Hosni Mubarak has remained a great source of support to the Hamas. The Egyptian army which dethroned the first democratically elected Muslim Brotherhood President last year, has now totally turned against the Hamas, treating them as a probable adversary in the future. Thus they have closed all the border checkpoints with Gaza and have destroyed the underground tunnels connecting Gaza. Previously, black marketing through these tunnels financially helped the Hamas who could bring in materials to Gaza in order to escape the on land blockade imposed by Israel. The President Rouhani of Iran has not yet issued any statement regarding this conflict. And the bitter conflict between West Bank Palestine Authority and Hamas of Gaza is nothing new.

So, the perception that Muslims would be annoyed if Hamas is not supported does not hold water. Rather, Hamas is a radical Islamist body that invokes revulsion in other parts of West Asia and is both feared and despised by the other



part of Palestine. This organization has consistently shunned all peace initiatives. The Government of India should not extend any moral support to such organization.

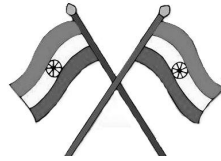
The way a new radical Islamic outfit ISIS has raised its head in Iraq and Syria and the way its leader Al-Bagdadi has proclaimed himself to be the 'Khalifa' of the Islamic world after occupying several important areas of Iraq and Syria should send very important signals to the Government. Israel's very hard way of meeting fire with fire raises from the threat extended by the Hamas from time to time for the destruction of these Jewish state. It is basically self defensive by nature. If 'Hamas' could express the desire for remaining in peace side by side Israel, most probably these bitter conflicts could be brought to an end. That also could lead to the formation of a new Palestine state. A resolution in U.N. has already been got passed for the creation of an independent, sovereign Palestine State. Only if Israel could be brought on the board, this long cherished desire could be accompanied.

In the past, from 1987 to 1993 the people of Gaza and West Bank had raised the first 'Intefada' (revolution) against the occupation of Israel. The children and the women led the stone throwing movement then by putting the Israeli army perplexed as to how to deal with such situation. But later on, during the Second Intefada, when Hamas sent suicide bombers to Israel, the Israeli army could easily crush it. So it is an open truth that no violence could lead to the formation of Palestine.

Israel is a natural friend of India. Both the States are democratic. Both are the major targets of Islamic terrorism. Of course, Israel's formidable intelligence agency 'MOSSAD' has chased the Islamic terrorists all over the world and assassinated them. Even, the Nazi killers of the Jews during the Second World War have been chased by them after the Second World War right upto the remotest part of the world in Argentina and killed. Of course India has not crossed thus far. But how agriculture products could be raised in the arid, hot and dried areas could be learnt from Israel. Even the Prime Minister Narendra Modi learnt such technology of raising crops with minimum water as the Chief minister of Gujrat in the past. In intelligence gathering about Islamic terrorists, Israel could prove a great help to India. In the past Israel has provided missile destructive weapons to India and can provide further defence weapons with advanced technology.

So, India should bring about a fundamental shift in its foreign policy. It should not project itself as anti-Israel in the world. Whatever Israel does, it is only for its own survival. Only that race and nation wants to survive on the face of the Earth. In the past centuries India has gladly sheltered the runaway Jews in its territory. Now it should help them to survive.

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Role of Women in the Quit India Movement in Odisha

Dr. Prabodh Kumar Rath

ABSTRACT

The failure of the Cripps mission to solve the political deadlock in India and the fear of Japanese aggression led the Congress to launch another mass movement under the leadership of Gandhiji against the British. A resolution to that effect was brought in the All India Congress Working Committee at Wardha in July, 1942 and it was placed before the Bombay Session of the Congress. Under the Presidentship of M.A.K. Azad it passed the historic 'Quit India' resolution on 8th August 1942. The Congress decided to launch a country-wide non-violent movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. The British Govt. arrested top ranking national and provincial Congress leaders, declared Congress offices as illegal and were seized. The people of Orissa suffering from War-time restrictions reacted strongly to the arrest of their leaders. The movement spread rapidly from Balasore in the North to Koraput in South. The active participation of Odia women like Rama Devi, Nandini Devi, Gurubari Meher, Pravabati Devi, Parbati Giri and many others opened a new chapter in the history of Orissa.

India's struggle for freedom under the leadership of Gandhiji is unparalleled in the history of mankind. Gandhiji launched five movements of all India character against the British rulers during his steward-ship of the Indian National Congress from 1919 to 1947. These are the Non-cooperation movements of 1919 and 1921, the Civil Disobedience movements of 1930 and 1932 and the "Quit India Movements of 1942". The movements of twenties and thirties had many things in common. Their goal was the attainment of Self Government or *Swaraj* through constitutional and non-violent struggle. During the course of these movements, the people were urged to promote *Swadeshi*, particularly to revive spinning and weaving, remove untouchability,

promote unity among Hindus and Muslims and exercise prohibition. During these movements Gandhiji used *Satyagrah* technology which was a process of purification and penance. The most important result of these movements was the intensification of political consciousness among the people which paved way for attainment of *Swaraj*.

In 1939 the Second World War broke out. The war time Viceroy Lord Linlithgow without consulting the Central Assembly or peoples representatives declared India to be at war. That declaration vehemently protested by the Congress and said it would co-operate in the war if India was declared as an independent country. On the



contrary, the colonial government was agreed to modify the 1935 Act after the war was over, in protest Congress ministries resigned in seven provinces. Due to the change of war scenario, Congress offered to co-operate with British Government if a provisional national Government was setup at Centre and the right to independence was recognized. In Aug. 40 British Government offered to expand the Executive Council of Viceroy with more Indian members and after war a representative Indian body to frame constitution. The Congress rejected this proposal. With the entry of Japan on the opposite side of England and their march nearer to India generated alarm. Due to pressure of president Roosevelt of United States of America and Chiang Kai Shek of China British Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps to solve the deadlock. The proposal of Cripps was failed to satisfy the demands of the people. So Gandhiji now asked for complete British withdrawal from India.

AICC met on 8 August at Bombay approved the Quit India resolution, "The Do or Die era commenced". Top ranking Congress leaders of Orissa such as H. K. Mahtab, Srimati Malati Choudhury, Surendranath Dwivedi, Prahalad Ray Lath, and Laxmi Narayan Mishra represented Orissa in the Bombay session of the Congress. Early next morning Gandhiji along with other leaders were taken into custody under the Defence of India Rules. H.K. Mahtab was arrested at Bombay and 24 top ranking leaders were arrested from various places of Orissa. Government declared District Congress committees, Town Congress Committees and Congress Ashramas numbering 38 as illegal. Surendranath Dwivedi at that time was the chief brain behind the Quit India Movement in Orissa. He published two bulletins *Congress Barta* and *Satya Sambad* to guide the movement.¹ At that juncture other parties of Orissa, such as the Socialists, the Forward Blocists, the Communists, and the student federationists combined together

to lend their support to the national cause. The demonstrations were expressed in the form of strikes, picketing, protest meetings and pasting of threatening posters on the walls. From 3rd week of August people all over Orissa openly defied the Government authorities, broke the law and paid no taxes. Without proper guidance people resorted to violence such as burning post offices, police stations, Government offices, looting and act of sabotage in different regions.

On 20 August 1942, the news of the arrest of Gopabandhu Choudhury and Rama Devi reached Bari and adjacent areas. Rama Devi had great influence on social, political and cultural life of the then Orissa.² The people of neighbouring villagers assembled in front of the granary office located at Kaipada. On that day Annapurna Maharana was addressing a meeting at Sanyasipur. Before her arrival at Kaipada, police reached there and detained some leaders, which was seriously protested by the people. This led to confrontation which resulted in blank firing. Police took the arrested persons to Kaipada Sevashram. People demanded their release and sent their representative Hadibandhu Panda for negotiation, but he was whipped and driven out. Police then proceeded to Binjharpur Police station. Thousands of people followed them. On the way the people met Annapurna Maharana. She also requested the police to release the arrested persons, but police arrested few more. So situation turned tense which led to firing and the mob dispersed.³

Nandini Devi at the age of 12 led an anti British procession and was arrested. She was dropped in Chandaka jungle on 16th August. Mangala Devi along with twelve women were arrested while burning uniforms of Choukidars and police officers. In Ersama area Bela Devi was arrested for inciting the people against the government. Sashibala Devi helped in the distribution of secret bulletins and pamphlets issued by underground organizations from



Cuttack. Kiranbala Mohanty preached the message of “Quit India” in the villages and was imprisoned in Cuttack Jail. In Ganjam women leaders like A. Laxmi Bai, Champa Devi, Suryamma, P. Tamma, and Sobha Devi joined the agitation. Bimala Devi, Musu Mate, Sunamani Devi, Uma Bharatiya, Gunamanjari Devi were prominent participants of Puri district. On 20th August in a meeting held on Goradiha hat near Delang, Sunamani Devi, Ushamani Devi and Uma Sundari Devi delivered provocative speeches against the government which was attended by thousands of people. Sulakshna Mali Jena, the wife of Zamindar of Manijang gave plan to occupy Nimapara Police Station, which led to police firing and a person Uchhab Mallik died on the spot.⁴

On 28 September, 1942 at Eram in Basudevpur police station of Balasore district about 6000 people assembled from neighbouring areas at Melana ground. Many among them were women. Revolutionary speeches were delivered and situation was turned tense. Police fired in which 29 people died, one woman Pari Bewa was killed on the spot.⁵

In Sonapur, people revolted against excessive revenue. They were on a procession. A patriotic woman Gurubari Meher at the front of the procession was shouting not to give revenue to the British Government. The police started firing at the procession and she had to sacrifice her life.⁶

Mesakasani and Subarna Lahara of Dabugaon Police Station of Koraput district had to give their lives after being subject to mass rape.⁷ This tragic incident occurred when they protested police exaction and torture.

The involvement of Malati Choudhury, the outstanding leader in the underground activities was significant. She guided the movement by sending instructions to different places.

In Sambalpur, prominent women leaders like Pravavati Devi, Jambubati Devi, Parbati Giri

actively participated in the Quit India Movement. Parbati Giri led a procession of women of Pradhanpada and organized a meeting at Hatapada, where she made an appeal to destroy the liquor shops in Bargarh town. She also led a procession to S.D.O.’s Office and overpowered the S.D.O. and tied him up. Then she was arrested and imprisoned.

Women leaders like Sunamani Devi, Priyambada Devi, Haripriya Devi, Haramani Devi, Haramani Kanungo, Sasibala Kanungo, Bela Devi, Nishamani Devi, Bilasi Devi, Usha Devi, Sakuntala Devi, Kshetramani Devi, Uttara Choudhury, Mangala Devi, Sobharani Panda, Bimala Devi, Sushila Devi and Prabhavati Devi rendered courageous and selfless service in the cause of India’s freedom. Their sufferings and sacrifices will continue to inspire the women of Odisha to work for the good of the country.⁸

These women leaders and thousands of their followers participated in the freedom struggle in the face of opposition from their family members. They suffered from social ostracism and prosecution.

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Sarala Devi as a Freedom Fighter

Dhyanimudra Kanungo

Participation of women folk of India was quite significant in Indian struggle of Independence. Mahatma Gandhi encouraged women folk to take part in this struggle. Odia women were not an exception to this and Odia women like Rama Devi, Sarala Devi, Janavi Devi and many of them voluntarily jumped into this struggle.

Sarala Devi played a heroic role among these women folk and could place her at a conspicuous place.

Sarala Devi was born on 9th August 1904 at village Narilo near Balikuda of Jagatsinghpur, the then undivided district of Cuttack. She was born in a well to do Zamindar family and she spent her childhood with her uncle who was a Deputy Magistrate in the colonial Govt. Her uncle took a lot of care for her studies and she was inspired from her childhood to become a poet a leader and a social worker. At Banki she could know about Rani Suka Devi and was quite influenced by her sacrifice and patriotic sprit. She thought from her childhood that “God has created male and female in human race without making distinction between the two”. This revolutionary thought from her childhood subsequently gave her



spirit to be equal with males. During this period, the girls were forbidden for higher studies and thus she read privately at her home and became fluent in Odia, Bengali, Hindi and English. She got married at the age of 14 as per the custom to Late Bhagirathi Mohapatra who was an advocate and was a soldier in the freedom struggle. The early marriage did not satisfy her. But she was fortunate enough to have a loving, caring and sympathetic husband like Bhagu Babu, who guided her to be a participant in the mainstream of national freedom movement.

Being an enlightened women, she felt very much for the subaltern position of women in India in general and in Odisha particular. She devoted her energy and potentiality how to emancipate the women from their downtrodden position. In true sense Odisha was lacking behind in the struggle of emancipation of women in comparison to Indian scenario. Sarala Devi became bold and brave and without caring the social customs and tradition, she emerged as an emancipator of women setting aside her domestic life. She was mostly influenced by Late Naba Krishna Choudhury (Late C.M of Odisha) and



met Mrs. Frida Das wife of Er. Sarangadhara Das who encouraged her to come out of home and to do something for motherland.

Sarala Devi joined in the 'Mahila Samaj' "Sponsored by Smt. Lavanyabati Devi, the daughter of prominent author of "Odia Bhasha Kosha", Gopal Krishan Praharaj. This organization encouraged the women fold of Odisha to join in the Freedom Movement. In 1924, the provincial conference was organized at Cuttack Municipality ground for the freedom struggle. Though a lot of women attended this meeting, but they were seated behind a bamboo curtain and listened to the speeches. One uncommon thing happened that Sarala Devi suddenly emerged out of the curtain and delivered a long firing speech. Her act was not appreciated by the other women like Rama Devi, Haimavati Devi, Sorojini Choudhury etc. She broke the Odia tradition by coming out from the four walls of the house and went to attend the 35th Congress Session at Nagpur. In the year 1921, while Mahatma Gandhi was addressing a meeting at the river bed of Kathjodi in Cuttack, nearly 40 women including Sarala Devi attended this meeting. The charisma of Gandhiji's speech moved the mind and heart of Odia women to such an extent that Rama Devi, Sarala Devi, Shailabala Das and Kuntala Kumari Sabat, donated in free hand to "Tilak Swaraj Fund". Always she sincerely worked for the Congress Party. The Dandi Yatra of 1930 steered by Gandhiji gave a good impact. In Odisha Gopabandhu Choudhury took active part in the salt satyagraha at Inchudi. In another part at Huma, Sarala Devi went with her force to take part in this Satyagraha. She carried out her campaigning at Berhampur. She established an Ashram named as "Udjoga Mandir" at Berhampur and made it her battle ground. At that time Ganjam was under Madras Presidency. Madras Govt. took Sarala Devi to police custody

and sent her to Vellore Jail. She was the 1st lady prisoner of Odisha and Sarojini Naidu was the 1st lady prisoner of India. Madras Police took her in the Madras mail and in every station thousands men and women greeted her. She was set free and came back to Cuttack. At Cuttack a great meeting was held. Kuntala Kumari Sabat presided over this meeting to pay ovation to Sarala Devi. During her stay at Vellore Jail she came in contact with Durga Deshmukh Devi and Padmabati Subhadra Devi. In this jail Sarala improved her English knowledge and she read a lot of English books and could write letters to her husband in English. She formed "Nikhila Utkal Parisada" in which women from various walks of life were included. During this period, to educate the women (both socially and politically) Sarala Devi started to perform several dramas by making road shows. In true sense this performance mobilized a lot of women who were initiated with the principle of self liberation. Sarala got involved in a number of different organizations, may it be a social or political organization. She gave eloquent speeches and sang patriotic songs in every meeting. In 1933, Sarala Devi organized a women voluntary organization for the 46th congress session which was held at Puri. Through this voluntary organization, she could organize branches in every town of Odisha. In 1933 Sarala Devi along with Nabakrishna Choudhury attended a huge peasant meeting at Anakhia. She encouraged peasant movement when she was an M.L.A. In the later part of her life she was attracted towards socialism and became an active member in the Utkal Congress Socialist Party in which leaders like Nabakrishna Choudhury, Malati Choudhury, Bhagabati Panigrahi were active members. She was mourning for the peasant and their poor living. She took all initiative to uplift them from the state of poverty. When Mahatma Gandhi came to Odisha in 1933 to organize



“Harijana Seva Sangha” in Odisha, Sarala Devi took an active part in this organization and visited village to village to propagate the ingrained ideology and for the upliftment of Harijana and eradication of untouchability.

Sarala Devi was the first lady to join in the non-co-operation movement. She was influenced by “Satyabadi Jatiya Vanabidyalaya” which was considered as a man making work shop, and this led her to establish “Alaka Ashram” at Jagatsinghpur with the help of her husband with a handsome donation of lands and cash.

In the year 1936 Odisha became separate province, Sarala Devi became a M.L.A. (from 1936 to 1941). In the assembly she could deliver speeches both in English and Odia very fluently. She took a prominent role and placed bills for women education and their upliftment, eradication of child marriage, dowry system. During her tenure the bill for establishing “Utkal University” was passed. She was a prominent member and officiated as a Speaker in the Assembly.

Thus Salara Devi struggled for more than 3 decades and could place herself in a conspicuous figure in Odisha. After independence she was not satisfied with the working style of the Congress Party and joined in Praja Socialist Party. Before joining the party she wrote a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru expressing her dissatisfaction for the

working style of the Congress Party. She used to write to Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru and even to Mr. Churchill the then P.M. of England. She was perhaps the 1st Odia lady who was not afraid of at all to express the views independently to anybody.

She suffered a lot in her life. The untimely death of her husband and only son gave her good deal of sorrow and agony. But she did not give way and worked as usual. She passed away in 1986 leaving behind a history for herself and Odisha.

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A Prelude to Gandhian Era : The Home Rule Movement

Dr. Lingaraj Rath

During the days of World War I when the Indian soldiers were shedding their blood in the side of Britain ostensibly for the cause of saving democracy, some nationalist leaders of India decided to demand the same for India from Britain. Eventually, they started an agitation against the political slavery of their countrymen. This agitation, known as “Home Rule Movement” thus served as a bold prelude to still bolder political movements in the coming days.

The mastermind behind this movement was an independent minded Irish lady, Mrs. Annie Besant in addition to the famous nationalist leader Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Mrs. Annie Besant was born in 1847 (in Britain), but she came to India in 1893 as a member of Theosophical Society having its headquarters at Madras. She very much loved the Indians. She also embraced Hinduism and devoted herself for the cause of social and educational upliftment of the Indian people. Later she joined politics in 1914 with a mission to serve as “an Indian tomtom waking up all the sleepers so that they may awake and work for their motherland”.

She was in England from 1908 to 1914 and was very much impressed by the movement for “Home Rule” by the Irish people against the

English. While in England she set up a Home Rule League and convened its first meeting in Queen’s Hall, London.

On her return to India in 1914, she propagated for the same movement’ and in no time, won the support of leaders like Jinnah and Lala Lajpat Rai. For the sake of propagating her views, she also started periodicals with the titles ‘Common weal’ and ‘New India’ which formed the backbone of the Home Rule Movement.

The goal of Home Rule movement as so often stressed by Mrs. Annie Besant and repeated by other leaders like Lalaji and Tilak was to have a sort of self-rule on the Irish lines. As Mrs Annie Besant said, “In political reforms, we aim at building up of the complete self-government from village councils through district and Municipal Boards and provincial Legislative Assemblies to a National Parliament, equal in its powers to the legislative bodies of self-Governing colonies “In the telling words of Lokamanya Tilak, “Home rule means only having the management of their home in their own hands. It is a means of changing the visible Government, while maintaining the invisible government as it is. A very simple definition of Home Rule which even a peasant would understand is that I should be in my own country what an Englishman is in England”.



That being so, what was the need to start another organization or movement apart from the Congress? After the Home Rule League was established, Tilak explained the question in a leading article in the "Marhatta". "It was generally recognized that the time had positively come for an organization to be started for educating public opinion and agitating for Home Rule throughout the country. The Congress was a body, which would naturally possess the greatest authority for undertaking such a work with responsibility. But the Congress, as it is generally, is too unwieldy to be easily moved to prepare a scheme for self-government and actively work for its practical success. The spadework has got to be done by someone. It can afford to wait no longer". And this 'some one' of Tilakji's conception was the Home Rule League designed to do the required 'spade work'. Tilak also clarified this point when he 'said, "The League may be regarded as a pioneer movement and is not intended in any sense to be an exhaustive movement."

Initially, the Home Rule Movement could not make noticeable headway until a great figure like Tilak joined it. The Irish lady failed to impress the Bombay Congress of 1915 with her programme and outlook in this regard. A great moderate leader like Surendra Nath Banerjee defeated the proposals of Mrs. Besant by saying that an Organisation like that of the Home Rule League, "would serve to overlap and perhaps weaken the Congress." Situation however underwent a transformation when a great national leader like Tilak supported the move and Lala Lajpat Rai also fell in line.

Establishment of Home Rule League:

On the eve the Bombay Congress Session (December, 1915) a Conference of Nationalists was held in Poona to discuss the

desirability of establishing a Home Rule League. Tilak had written a series of articles in the "Kesari" expounding the utility of an organization of this nature. Earlier, the attempt of Mrs. Besant in this regard was frustrated by the moderate Congress leadership as described above. But these Nationalists who were still out of Congress were not bound by the opinion of the Congress leaders and they endorsed the plan for establishing such an organization.

Thus, following the favourable recommendations of the Poona conference, the Home Rule League was formally established on April 28, 1916 at Belgaum with the object of, "attaining self-govt. within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize, public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same".

Though he was the moving spirit behind the formation of the League, Tilak did not become an office bearer. Joseph Baptista, who had taken a leading part in its organization, was elected its President and N.C. Kelkar, Secretary. Among the Committee members were G.S. Khaparde, Dr. B.S. Moonje, R.P. Karandikar and D.V. Belvi.

Parallel League of Mrs. Besant :

In September 1916 Mrs. Annie Besant too started a parallel Home Rule League in Madras. However, both the organizations had common aims and worked in close correspondence.

Spread of Home Rule Movement :

Immediately after the formation of the League, Tilak launched a massive membership-enrolment drive and established its branches in Bombay, Karnataka and central provinces. However Tilak's work was mainly confined to Bombay and



Central provinces, But Annie Besant toured the length and breadth of India and established branches at various places. She almost electrified the Indians by her passionate speeches. In south India, a large number of women too joined this movement. Thus, by the untiring efforts of Tilak and Besant, a new consciousness dawned and 'Home Rule' became a 'Mantra' for the people.

The Home Rule League was firmly established by the time the Lucknow Congress was held in the last week of December 1916 marking a watershed in the history of that organization. In the picturesque words of its president, Ambica Charan Majumdar, "if the united Congress was buried in the debris of the old French garden at Surat, it was reborn in the Kaiser Bagh of Lucknow, the garden of the gorgeous King Wajid Ali Shah."

In 1915, two important moderate leaders, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Feroj Shah Mehta passed away and with their demise, a long-standing effort of Annie Besant to take back the nationalist leaders like Tilak into Congress became successful. At Lucknow session, the Constitution of the Congress was amended so as to clear the way for the home-coming of militant nationalists like Tilak who were expelled from the party in Surat Session (1907) because of ideological differences. A still more welcome development of this session was the concord established between the Congress and the Muslim League, which held its session at Lucknow simultaneously with that of the Congress. An understanding and agreement for, carrying on joint action against the British Govt. was arrived at which later on became known as 'Lucknow Pact' in the history.

In the meanwhile, Tilak was served with notice and finally held guilty by the District

Magistrate, Poona for his speeches on Home Rule. The Magistrate held that "Tilak wanted to disaffect his audience against the government." But, on appeal, the Bombay High Court quashed the interpretation of the Magistrate in November 1916. Thus Tilak's acquittal gave a further fillip to the Home Rule Movement.

However, the unity established at Lucknow and the upsurge of nationalist fervour were viewed with alarm by the Government. Hence in February, 1917, the Punjab Government served an order under the Defence of India Act prohibiting Tilak's entry into that province. In June, Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues- Wadia and Arundale were interned by the order of Lord Pentand, the then Governor of Madras. But the arrest of Mrs. Besant contributed to her popularity and gave strength to this movement as her internment was widely resented. Meanwhile, in a secret circular issued to local Government, the Government of India indicated the policy to be perused in regard to Home Rule agitation. But the Government's policy of persecution only helped to intensify the Movement.

Giving a picture of the intensity of the Home Rule movement in a confidential report to the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford wrote: "Tilak, Mrs. Besant and others are fomenting with great vigour the agitation for immediate Home Rule and in the absence of any definite announcement by the Government of India as to the policy in the matter, it is attracting many of those who are known to have held less advanced views. The agitation is having a mischievous effect on public feeling throughout the country....."

The Home Rule agitation thus virtually forced the Viceroy to urge for an early declaration regarding the constitutional changes proposed



after the war. It was in response to this appeal that Edwin Montague, the then Secretary of State for India, made his historic announcement in Parliament on August 20, 1917. He declared, "the Policy of His Majesty's Govt. is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". This declaration ultimately led to the enactment of Government of India Act, 1919 introducing 'Dyarchy' .

Besides, branches of Home Rule League were also set up abroad in various places like London, New York and Sanfransisco in order to propagate the justifiability of the demands of Indians. Mrs. Besant become the Congress President.

Mrs. Besant becomes the Congress President:

Mrs. Annie Besant who was arrested in June 1917 was subsequently freed by the British Government in view of the mounting national resentment. It was a time when the popularity of her personality and the Home Rule movement was at its zenith. Hence at Calcutta Session of the Congress (1917) she was elected as the President. This event marked the culmination of the Home Rule movement.

This movement remains memorable for its two great contributions. First, it brought about unity in the ranks of the Congress. Mrs. Besant took much of the moderates and something of the extremists and fused them in such a way that the two wings of the Congress came closer. Thus she could undo what had happened in Surat in 1907. Secondly, it went a long way in changing the character of the Congress. It virtually forced the Congress to take apprenticeship in methods of 'demand' and 'agitation' abandoning its earlier methods of 'petition' and 'prayer'.

This change was very much appreciated by Lala Lajpat Rai when he said, "India of 1917 was different from India of 1907. In 1907, we were fighting for crumbs. In 1917, we no longer pray for concessions but are demanding rights".

After 1917, as Gandhiji took more and more active part in politics infusing greater tenacity and vigour in the activities of the Congress, the force and vigour of Home Rule Movement which was from the beginning contemplated to be a "pioneer movement" to do the 'spade work', got dissipated and ultimately lost its identity in the Non-cooperation Movement of 1921.

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The Eram Tragedy

Rabindra Kumar Behuria

On 8th August 1942, Gandhi's last battle for freedom began with an ultimatum to the British to 'Quit' India forthwith. Congratulating All India Congress Committee for passing the Quit India Resolution that fateful day, the Mahatma raised his clarion call :

"Take a pledge with God and your own conscience as witness, that you will no longer rest till freedom is achieved and will be prepared to lay down your lives in the attempt to achieve it. He who loses his life will gain it, he who will seek to save it shall lose it. Freedom is not for the coward or the faint-hearted."

So began Churchill's ruthless military operation against people in revolt. Firing, lathi charge, merciless beating, inhuman torture, burning of houses and machine gunning of people from air became a regular feature. Since strict war-time censorship was the order of the day the exact number of army and police atrocities will ever remain unknown. By November 1942, the official number of killed was shown as 1,028, and the number of seriously wounded as 3,125 - figures never taken as correct. Because, there were firings, according to the same official sources which are also not taken for granted, on as many as 538 occasions, besides the unknown number

of machine - gunning from the air on crowds of people. The truth of the casualty, in-deed, will never be known.

It was in such macabre dance of death that the largest massacre of people took place on 28 September 1942 at a remote rural spot named Eram in the district of Balasore presently at Bhadrak in Odisha where thousands of people had gathered that afternoon under an oath "we will die but not fear" and where 29 people fell dead and 56 severely wounded as the sun went down the horizon and police force retreated in darkness after exhausting their bullets.

Eram was perhaps the least expected of places to earn the credit of witnessing the largest killing in a single police action in the entire stage of Quit-India Revolution. And except for the Jalianawallabagh massacre, there was no other incident in the era of freedom struggle to show so many victims at one place in one operation.

The village Eram was like an epitome of rural India - remote, inaccessible, far from cities and towns, and far from modern communication, isolated, neglected and foreshaken, Eram and its adjoining villages lay thirty kilometers away from the nearest railway station. Surrounded by the Bay of Bengal, two small rivers named the Gamoi and Kansbans, and thick jungles, the place was



sleepy and silent, to reach it or to go out one had to cross a river by boat. Contact with outside world was difficult in all seasons, and was almost impossible during the rainy season. The whole area was marshy, swampy and muddy. Such a place nonetheless was densely populated for the fertility of its soil and for fishing facilities in the sea. The inhabitants suffered from devastating floods which destroyed their rich crop year after year. From Brahmins downward various castes inhabited the place, the lowest in the ladder being the community of fisherman who depended on the sea for their livelihood. And, towering above all, there was the house of the Zamidars, famous as the Eram Padhi family, holding big estates both there and elsewhere in the district.

From the days of the non-cooperation, thus, the people of Eram became politically conscious and the Congressmen from outside, making the place of their hideout, indoctrinated the people, Brahmins and fishermen alike, in the anti-British feeling. The powerful landlord, though loyal to the British, was obliged to close his eyes to the activities of the nationalists, may be out of personal goodness, but also to avoid people's wrath.

It is this background that the time was ripe for Eram for playing an appropriate role in the Quit India days. The revolutionary poet Banchhanidhi Mohanty who for years stirred the aspirations of the people for the bliss of freedom through his patriotic songs. His poems are as follows :

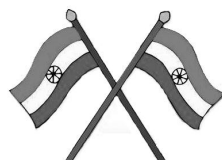
1. "Swaraj Bihune Nanhi Pratikar Asha
Swaraj Bihune Naghunchib Dukha Nisha."
2. "Utkalar suta hua hey Jagrat
Jananir Runa kar hey mukat
Karam karib Mukati Paiba
Swadhinata Dhuja Udib Nischaya."

3. "Kihaba Swarajya Ghani
Jadi Mora Napure peta
Khata khata Maleni mulia
Chasi Chasi Dana Kana Nianta."
4. "Kaha keun jati paichi mukati
Kari hari huri guhari
Kaha paichi ke sukha livaichi Dukha
Magi Magi Patha Bhikari."

He was in the forefront of the Salt Satyagraha movement on the Eram seashore in 1930 when thousands of common people braved the police atrocity. The poet had died of Smallpox at the age of forty-one. But his popular songs were being recited in chorun by the young and the old both within and outside the Eram in fervent zeal, "There is no hope against ills without Swaraj; There is no end to sorrows without Swaraj," sang that people's poet.

When the Quit India Revolution broke out, Eram and its surrounding villages woke up to action almost immediately. On 7 September 1942, a mass meeting was held in the Melan Ground of Eram to decide the course of action to be followed. It was decided by the local activists to form a 'Death Squad' to resist police invasion which appeared imminent. It was resolved that at the sight of any police force or English Officer anywhere nearer the Eram Zone, the women would blow the conch shell from house to house till all the villages in that wide area came to get the signal of the enemy's approach.

Kamala Prasad Kar was soon emerging almost as a legendary figure. After practising as a homeopathic practioner for some time Puruna bazaar at Bhadrak he was enrolled first as an individual Satyagrahi and known as 1/3 nos. Satyagrahi by UPCC. He came in close contact with Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Smt. Rama Devi, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nityananda Mohapatra, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, Bhagabat



Sahoo, Gokulananda Mohanty, Md. Hanif, Nilambar Das, Nanda Kishore Das, Muralidhar Jena etc. On 8th January, 1941 he was first arrested by police at Basudevpur market in individual Satyagraha and sent to Cuttack jail and then shifted to Berhampur jail and later released. Again on 10th April, 1942, he was arrested at Chudamani in individual Satyagrah and sent to Bhadrak jail and released on 17th August, 1942.

Kar then returned to the village after spending the jail life and worked out the plan of August Revolution in Basudevpur police station. Mahatma Gandhi had already given the call for Quit India Movement on 8th August 1942 and "Do or Die". He along with Gouranga Charan Mohanty, Aniruddha Mohanty, Krushna Chandra Pani, Pravakar Tripathy, Ganesh Prasad Tripathy, Shyam Sundar Panigrahi, Bhaskar Chandra Kar visited villages like Suan, Shankharo, Barapur, Betada, Eram, Brahmani Gaon, Padhuan, Jagannathpur, where they organised Karmee Sammilani and called upon the people to participate in the August Revolution.

During this time Arjun Biswal of Sadeipada gave permission to start a Congress Office in his house. As a result, from 27th August, 1942 Quit India Movement at Eram took a new shape. To organize *hartal* in the market place and educational institutions; burn the dresses of the Chaukidars, Dafadars and take steps for burning the Basudevpur police station were the part of this movement.

One of the notable features of the Quit India Movement was the attempt to form a "Parallel Govt." Eram emerged as a militant pocket or popular mobilisation. Here the local leadership under Kamala Prasad Kar was successful in establishing a virtual parallel authority. On 17th September 1942 Kar convened a grand

general meeting at Melan ground of Eram. Around two thousand people under the leadership of Gouranga Charan Mohanty of Barandua participated in this meeting after covering a distance of 12 miles in a grand procession. In this meeting Kar gave a proposal of establishing a parallel Independent govt. which was accepted with thunderous applause. This river bound area was named as Swadin Banchanidhi Chakala, liberated zone after the famous patriotic poet Banchanidhi Mohanty. This Swadhin Banchanidhi Chakala consisted of 26 villages under 6 Gram Panchayats. The four sides of this Chakala were river Kanshabansha in the north to river Gamei in the south, and Bay of Bengal in the East to river Kanshabansha again in the West.

For the smooth and proper functioning of the 'Swadhin Banchanidhi Chakala' an apex committee was formed with Gouranga Chandra Mohanty as President, Kamala Prasad Kar was made the Director and Supreme Commander, and Pravakar Tripathy, Anirudha Mohanty and Shyamasundar Panigrahi as members. A headquarters of the new Govt., a court and a prison were established. Three Govt. Departments, namely, of army, intelligence and supply were created. Ganesh Prasad Tripathy, as the head of the army, gave his call to his soldiers - 'Kareng yaa Mareng.' (We will do or die).

The Independent Government of Eram thereafter issued ordinances not to pay any tax to the government, not to pay dues to the landlord, to burn the uniforms of village Chaukidars, not to sell paddy to government agents for war purpose or any purpose, and to distribute paddy among the distressed people by taking it from the stock of the well-to-do persons. Kamala Prasad came forward to show an example of obeying this last ordinance by forcing upon his father's stock of paddy and distributing it to the needy.



The Quit India Movement culminated to a bloodshed episode on 28th September 1942 at Eram. Behind the episode there were many Congress Leaders, Satyagrahis and villagers of Basudevpur P.S. whose sacrifice and courage had earned the fruits of Independence. It was Kamala Prasad Kar under whose leadership more than five thousand people gathered in the Eram Melan ground. Such type of revolt against British Govt. is definitely special in the history of India. To counter the agitation of the people, the British police reached Eram and fired upon the innocent people killing 29. The victims were Dibakar Panigrahi, Bhaban Rout, Jati Sahoo, Gopal Chandra Das, Dhruva Charan Dey, Biswanath Das, Bijuli Das, Basudev Sahoo, Ballabha Behera, Hrushi Behera, Hari Behera, Magha Mahallick, Mani Behera, Krushna Swain, Kali Majhi, Bhua Majhi, Krupasindhu Behera, Madan Pallai, Brundaban Panda, Radhu Mahallick, Rama Majhi, Gobinda Rout, Upa Mallick, Mani Pradhan, Pari Das, Ratnakar Pani, Nidhi Mallick, Sankar Mallick along with a lone lady Pari Bewa. 56 persons lay on the field mortally wounded with bullets on their body. About another hundred escaped with injuries. Several people were beaten mercilessly. A lady Pari Bewa fell dead, which was a rare incident in the history of Freedom Struggle of India. As many as 304 shots were discharged in minutes as agonising cries rose from every corner. Yet, even amid the carnage some were heard shouting "We will die, but not fear."

When the police retreated, the Eram Melan ground presented the ghastly appearance of a hell, with the dead and the wounded scattered over a wide area and with thousands of men and women coming back to attend to the victims while bitterly crying and cursing the oppressors for their wanton act. According to the sources, the R.D.C.-

E.C. Ansonge and the inspector general of police B.A.O. Perkin without being enquired into the matter on the spot reported to Govt. far away from Bhadrak that the firing at Eram was justified.

Soon after the police arrested Kamala Prasad Kar, Anirudha Mohanty, Gouranga Charan Mohanty, Pravkar Tripathy, Ganesh Prasad Tripathy and others. Kar while tendering the train ticket at Soro Railway Station was arrested by CID police. He was convicted under 29 Sections and R.I. for 14 years. He was released from jail on September 1944. The great fighter breathed his last on 14th September 2002. In the words of Prof. M.N. Das "Kamala Prasad Kar was only 24 at the time of August Revolution. A dynamic and daring young man, putting on scanty dress like Gandhi moved from village to village to preach the message of revolution while expanding his ambition to include larger areas in the independent territory."

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Kabiraj Biswanath Panda : The Forgotten Freedom Fighter and Poet

Dr. Sarbeswar Sena

The most glorious event of a nation is its freedom struggle. That creates a very sensitive and tense situation throughout the country. The hot blood of nationalism and patriotism flows in the veins of the country men. The nationalists become spirited. They take a vow, "This life is for the motherland till the last drop of blood and respiration." Oppression of the foreign rulers and strong protest by the nationalists are two ways of different political streams that invite a very fighting situation. Brutal activities and atrocity of the police personnel lead to *Lathi* charge, firing and arrest. The situation of the freedom fighters becomes worse in the prison cells due to the torture of the police. Hence the history of freedom movement is written in the sweat and blood of the martyrs. This happens all over the world and so is also with India during subservient period.

History tells a lot about the frontline leaders. Similarly, during the freedom struggle in India the important leaders like *Gandhiji*, *Nehru*, *Netaji Subhas Bose* and some others come to our mind. Equally in Odisha the leaders like *Gopabandhu Das*, *Harekrushna Mahtab*, *Nabakrushna Chaudhury*, *Nityananda Mohapatra*, *Jadumani Mangaraj* and some other noted freedom fighters are much discussed but excluding them thousands of dedicated freedom fighters are there, but history is silent regarding them. Among those, *Kabiraj Biswanath Panda* is a dedicated freedom fighter

whose contribution in the field of freedom struggle and social services are no mean a sacrifice. But there is no mention regarding this in the pages of Odishan history. So he is just deleted to background and after some years his predecessors may forget this noble freedom fighter. Hence benevolent efforts are to be put to bring this national hero to the memory of the people of Odisha as well as India.

Nanpur was a remote *moffusil* of *Balichandrapur Grama Panchayat* in the undivided Cuttack district and later came under *Jajpur* district. In this unknown village *Biswanath Panda* took birth on 2nd February, 1904 and his mortal body disappeared on the 20th June, 1999. His childhood, youth and old age were a sum total of 95 years. His freedom fight, juicy literary creativity, eloquence in delivering speeches and selfless *Ayurvedic* services to the people free of cost were some of the remarkable features of his noble character. His father *Krushna Chandra Panda* was a staunch disciple of *Mahatmaji*. He had opened one primary school at *Kusupur* in 1884 and imparted teaching to the students and needless to mention that it was a 'man making industry' like *Satyabadi Banavidyalaya* of *Sakhigopal* in the district of *Puri* and the pioneer of this institution was none but the great freedom fighter *Utkalamani Gopabandhu Das*. *Biswanath* was deeply inspired by the ideology, principle and morality of his father and was



motivated to join the main stream of freedom movement.

In 1928, *Biswanath* started his *Ayurvedic* career in the school of the famous *Ayurvedic* practitioner *Mohamohapadhyay Bijaya Ratna Sen* of Kolkata. By that time the *Swadeshi* Movement and its impact on the state created an unprecedented awakening among the people. The Bengali Daily newspapers also played an important role in promoting nationalism and patriotism. In that year the Indian National Congress had its meeting at Kolkata presided over by *Motilal Nehru*, the president. *Netaji Subhas Bose* as the captain of one voluntary organisation greeted the president with a good number of volunteers. *Biswanath* attended the meeting and grasped the aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress relating to achieve independence. *Biswanath* was deeply impressed and joined the freedom movement.

Biswanath with his likeminded twenty friends had opened a “*Seva Dal training camp*” and imparted many fold training to the enthusiastic youths. British Government banned the Indian National Congress. *Biswanath* was compelled to close that training camp and joined the “*Swaraj Asharam*” at Cuttack leaving behind his native village, seventy year old father, a female infant of two months and his spouse.¹ Then he had not looked back. *Biswanath* started the life of a true *Satyagrahi*. He promised to drive out the *Britishers* and dreamt of the tri colour flag to flutter in place of the Union Jack. He joined the picketing before the wine shops and brothels and participated in setting fire to the foreign clothing and other materials. He was arrested and a punishment of six months imprisonment was imposed on him and another fifteen days extra prison cell punishment, failing to pay a fine of rupees two thousand. *Biswanath* narrated the pathetic condition inside the jail and the inhuman and beastly torture of the police. “For each of the

prisoners, two long shirts, two half pants, two long towels, two pieces of iron plates and two hairy blankets were provided. The prison cell was a long and unhealthy dormitory. For bathing three full plates of water, a small quantity of yellow *Khechedi* (a hotchpotch of rice and spices) as breakfast, at twelve noon and two p.m. meals of coarse rice, a little quantity of *Muga Dal* (a kind of pulse) and a pot herb of the jungle plants.”² The prisoners were brutally behaved and severe physical punishments were in the daily fate of them. Still *Biswanath* never withdrew himself from the path of the freedom movement. The jails were holy temples and police atrocity was accepted as garlands by the nationalist *Biswanath Panda*.

Biswanath was a true devotee of *Mahatmaj*i and accepted his principles and ideology. Social services and creative activities of *Biswanath* were highly admirable. He started preaching *Ghandhian* principles among the common mass daily in way of *Padayatra*. He had taken active participation in spreading the ideology, aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress and raised vehement protest against the feudatory states, inspired the poor to disobey the age old practice of ‘*Bethi*’, ‘*Begari*’ and oppression of the *Zamindars*. This mission was carried out by him with his other friends. He had kept burning the practice of creative activities like spinning thread in Charkha, putting on hand spun *Khadada*. The best of the *Ghandhian* principles of services was to keep the environment clean and to sweep the latrines by one self was carried out by this freedom fighter and without any hatred; he rendered services to the leprosy patients with passion, love and utmost care. Those were really the shining examples of humanism and the sermon “Service to mankind is service to God” was well marked in the character of the nationalist *Biswanathji*.

Untouchability was a nasty system in the society that created a huge difference in the social status of the people of the so called higher caste



and lower caste. *Gandhiji* had deeply observed that and started eradication of untouchability from the society. He gave the lower caste people a deserving status and called them as 'Harijan'. For this he had started a 'Padayatra' in Odisha called as 'Harijan Padayatra'. People from every class, religion and creed joined the same, and the sermon of abolishment of untouchability had a grand success. *Biswanath* also devoted most of the time in such social programmes. Besides, the vow to drive out the *Britishers* had made him a true freedom fighter.

During the freedom movement the young *Satyagrahis* called as the 'Banara Sena' were entrusted the responsibility to lodge picketing before the brothels and liquor shops. *Gandhiji* had emphasized to eradicate intoxication from the society. For the same the *Satyagrahis* had decided to cut the *Khajuri* trees (Date-palms) so that local wine distilleries were to be automatically closed. *Biswanath* also whole heartedly continued to cut the date-palms with his friends. Once, *Jatiya Kabi Birakishore* visited *Nanpur*, the birthplace of *Biswanath* and the mission of cutting the date-palms was started. The *Satyagrahis* were very much encouraged. On the next day one hundred date-palms were cut down and *Biswanath*, *Sachidananda Jena (Mahanga Gandhi)* and others completed the same with singing music, "oh! Brothers, come, let us cut down the date-palms, the fatty wine sellers are to be butchered by choppers,"³

Biswanath joined the last phase of freedom movement i.e. the Quit India Movement and was arrested. He tolerated the ruthless behaviour of the police and the jailer and never deviated from the path of freedom movements.

The sacrifice of a martyr never went in vain. By virtue of the selfless sacrifice of thousands like *Biswanath*, India achieved freedom. But the role played in this respect by *Biswanathji* was unforgettable but might not be eye-catching. Just

like a squirrel and its contribution in preparing the connecting "Setu Bandha" to Lanka, in the Bay of Bengal for killing *Ravan*, a ferocious demon by Lord *Ramachandra*. Might that be a legend of the famous mythology the Ramayan, but small contribution for noble purpose could not be neglected. This was the case with the great freedom fighter *Biswanath Panda*. Most importantly, the role he had played during the freedom movement that to in a remote *Moffusil* like *Balichandrapur* was not at all a small thing! With other villagers like *Nidhia*, *Padia*, *Madhia*, *Biswanath* uttered "Down down Union Jack, up National Flag up".

Historical *Lal Qilla* at Delhi, with overwhelming joy and utmost contentment the tri colour flag fluttered. *Biswanath* also hoisted the National Flag with his villagers. That was perhaps the golden moments of his fighting life.

Like some others *Biswanath* started his literary career from the prison cells. Not the contemporary life trend of the society but he was fascinated for *Riti* literature of the 16th century. He followed the footprints of *Dinakrushna*, *Abhimanyu*, *Upendra* and *Baladev Ratha* the noted *Riti* poets. Hence the literary essence of *Biswanath* was imaginary, descriptive, flowery and ornamental. Among his total creations, two had seen the limelight in the form of publication and that were *Kabyamadhuri* and *Urvasi*. The value based poetic appeal made those palatable and pleasant reading. But a vivid discussion of his creative writings is still awaited.

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1. Karamalika- Biswanath Panda
2. Preface – Kabyamadhuri - Biswanath Panda
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Human Development vis-a-vis Women's Development : A Progress Analysis in Odisha

Srabani Das

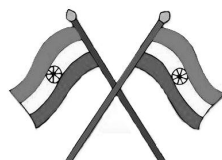
In 1990 the Human Development Report - (HDR) provided a clear definition of human development as a process of "enlarging people's choices," laying stress on the freedom to be healthy, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. But it also stressed that human development and wellbeing went far beyond these dimensions to encompass a much broader range of capabilities, including political freedoms, human rights and, echoing Adam Smith, "the ability to go about without shame."

This report was facilitated by UNDP. It enabled in enriching our understanding on the concept of Human Development for twenty one years now. This played a key role in shifting the focus of development from a uni-dimensional definition of development such as the Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to a multi-dimensional definition of development including crucial socio-economic indicators closely reflecting the well-being and freedom actually enjoyed the human being. The measuring mechanism was a composite index or Human Development Index (HDI) encompassing three basic dimensions of human development - education, health and standard of living.

The Human Development Index tries to capture capabilities of a country on the basis of

longevity (indicated by life expectancy at birth), educational attainment (indicated by adult literacy and the combined, primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio) and standard of living (indicated by GDP per capita in dollars). The Gender related Development Index (GDI) are covered in the HDI, that adjusts the average achievements in the above mentioned dimensions, to account for the inequalities between men and women. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) on the other hand focuses on ability of men and women to participate actively in economic and political life.

Strong commitments were made by the international community for women's equality and empowerment at the Millennium Declaration on 6th September 2000 at the UN Headquarters. India has been one of the signatories to achieve these goals by 2015. Advocacy steps were taken up to transform the noble goals of Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) into specific policy reforms and operational programmes that make a difference for women, poor women in particular. Millennium Development Goal 3 talks of Promoting Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women. This is measured in terms of education, employment and political participation of women.



Thus article attempts to get a picture of the progress of women, in other words, human development among women as per the three benchmarks of HDI – Education, Health and livelihood also referring to the Millennium Development Goals.

Education of Women:

To measure the educational attainment (indicated by adult literacy and the combined, primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio) of women we will also consider the Millennium Development Goals relating to Education in Goal 2 – Achieving Universal Primary Education and Target 1 of MDG 3 – Promoting Gender Equality and Empowering Women.

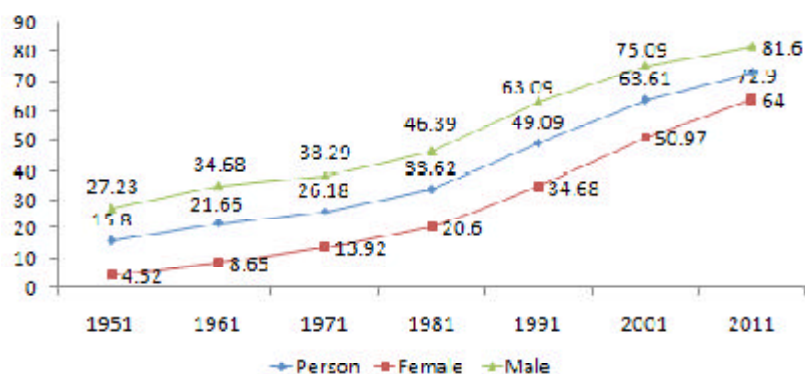
In India, the literacy rate of male to that of the females over the last sixty years - Table - 1 shows that although the overall literacy rates have been improving, yet women literacy rate falls far behind than that of men. We understand that women's empowerment is a core value for human development and achievement of MDGs. But Human Development as a process of expanding people's choices, cannot be achieved when the choices of half the population of India is restricted. Targeted actions aimed at empowering women and righting gender inequities in the social and economic sphere, as well as in terms of civil and political rights, must be taken alongside efforts to en-gender the development process.

Table 1: Literacy Rate in Odisha- 1951-2011

Year	Persons	Males	Females
1951	15.80	27.32	4.52
1961	21.66	34.68	8.65
1971	26.18	38.29	13.92
1981	33.62	46.39	20.6
1991	49.09	63.09	34.68
2001	63.08	75.35	50.51
2011	73.45	82.40	64.36

Note: Literacy rates for 1951, 1961 and 1971 related to population aged five years and above.

Literacy rate in Odisha 1951- 2011



Source: Government of India (2011), Census of India, Provisional Population Totals, Series-1: Odisha, Directorate of Census Operations, Odisha.

The rates for the years 1981 to 2011 related to the population aged seven years and above.

The above graph depicts that there has been a trend of more than 20 point gap or disparity in the literacy rate of male and female in the state across the last 60 years and this reveals the low education index of women in Odisha. Gender equality is not merely a desirable by-product of



human development; it is a core goal in its own right. Gender discrimination is the source of endemic poverty, of inequitable and low economic growth, of high HIV prevalence, and of inadequate governance. Any form of gender discrimination is a denial of human rights, an obstacle to human development. Gender mainstreaming means being deliberate in giving visibility and support to women’s contributions and addressing the differential impact of strategies, policies, programmes and projects on women compared with men. It requires a focus on actual results in terms of gender equality in the practice areas at all levels.

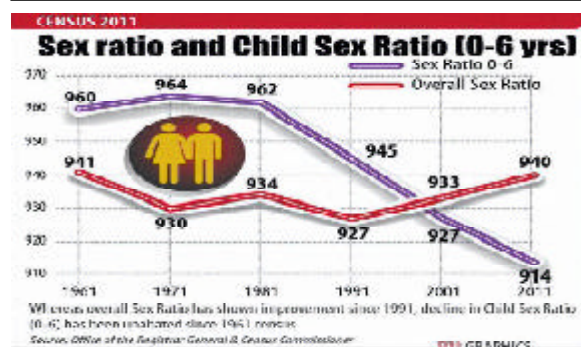
Longevity of Women

To assess the longevity (indicated by life expectancy at birth), we will also consider the MDGs pertaining to health viz. MDG 1- Eradicating Extreme Poverty, MDG 4- Reducing Child Mortality and MDG 5 - Improving Maternal Health.

Sex ratio of the last century when referred to gives a disturbing picture of the decline in the number of women per 1000 men both in the country as well as in the state.

Sex-Ratio for State : 1901-2011

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Odisha	1037	1056	1086	1067	1053	1022	1001	988	981	971	972	978
India	972	964	955	950	945	946	941	930	934	927	933	940



Scenario of Child Sex Ratio in the country is equally alarming. Over the past six decades number of girl children has been constantly dropping down. This simply does not reflect the rise in the cases of female foeticide. It also tells us of the Gender Discrimination and the different forms of Gender Based Violence that a woman faces from womb to tomb. Even if the Human Development talks of specific indicators and calls for segregated information, the Millennium Development Goals do not have any indicators pertaining to the issue of discrimination against women.

According to the 2005-2006 National Family Health Survey in India, thirty-seven percent of married women reported experiencing some form of domestic violence on at least one occasion during their marriage. What is even more disconcerting, however, is the fact that these statistics do not include the vast majority of cases which are unreported. Violence against women is a serious problem in India. Overall, one-third of women age 15- 49 have experienced physical violence and about 1 in 10 has experienced sexual violence. In total, 35 percent have experienced physical or sexual violence.

- 37% girl children in the age group of 0 – 14 years face discrimination in health care, education, nutrition. During this crucial period they need special care and attention.
- For 09.5% adolescent girls (15 – 18 years), special planning is essential to enable them to remain prepared for their future role as productive and reproductive agent.



- 45.1 % women belong to (15 – 44 years). Their need is more urgent to meet the requirements of reproductive role.
- 55.5% of women of 5 – 59 age group are economically active.
- 06.7 % of women are elderly. They are in need of geriatric care specific to females and emotional support.

Although efforts have been taken to improve the status of women, the constitutional dream of gender equality is miles away from becoming a reality. Even today, ‘the mainstream remains very much a male stream’. The dominant tendency has always been to confine women and women’s issues in the private domain. The traditional systems of control with its notion of ‘what is right and proper for women’ still reigns supreme and reinforces the use of violence as a means to punish its defiant female ‘offenders’ and their supporters.

Standard of Living

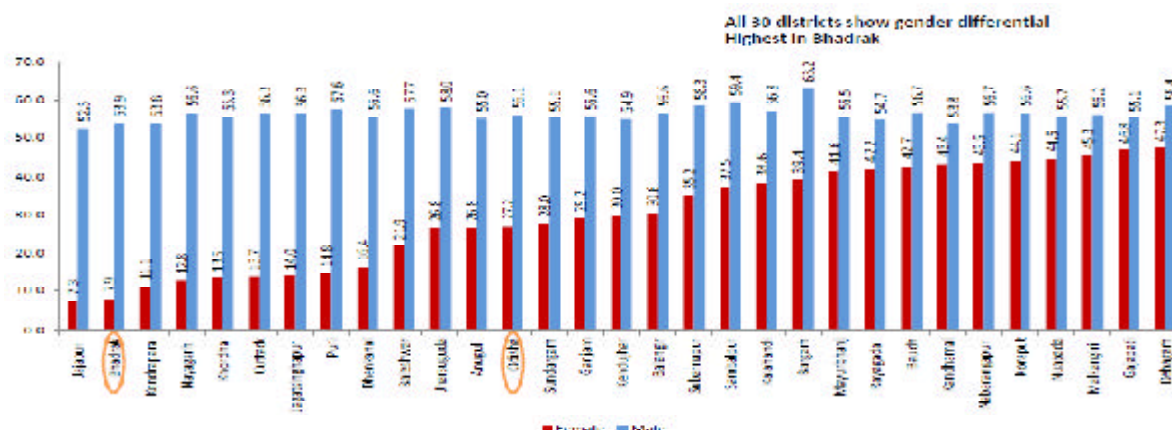
To understand the livelihood issues of women and the Human Development Indicator standard of living (indicated by GDP per capita

in dollars) we may fall short of Gender Segregated data. A district wise comparative analysis of work participation is one of the means to measure the standard of living of women.

The bar graph below clearly shows a gender differential across all districts in the state. Dearth of availability of gender segregated data at all level on indicators relating to MDG 1 and Target 2 and 3 of MDG 3 mentioned below shows that policy level and implementation level measures need to be strengthened further, so that human development can be calculated in real terms.

- Share of women in employment, both wage and self-employment, by type.
- Gender gaps in earnings in wage and self-employment.
- Unemployment rates, by sex.
- Percentage of workforce in informal economy, by sex.
- Proportion of workers who are employers, employees, self-employed, etc., by sex.

Work Participation Rate District Wise in Odisha - 2011



Source: Primary Census Abstract, Data Highlights, India Series 2, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, 2013



But these development indicators seem to be far from the reach of most marginalized section of the society, women. ILO report on Gender Equality reveals that women perform 2/3rd of the world's work, yet they earn 1/10th of the world's income; are 2/3rd of the world's illiterates and own just 1/100th of the world's property. According to the last ILO report on employment trends for women in 2004, it was estimated that women made up at least 60% of the world's working poor - people who work but do not earn enough to lift themselves and their families above the \$1-a-day line. In 2006, said the report, women globally still had a higher likelihood of being unemployed compared with men.

Conclusion:

Gender mainstreaming means being deliberate in giving visibility and support to women's contributions rather than making the assumption that women will benefit equally from gender-neutral development interventions. Policies and programmes that ignore differential impact on gender groups are often gender-blind; potentially harmful for human development. Gender mainstreaming requires a focus on results to improve the well-being of poor women.

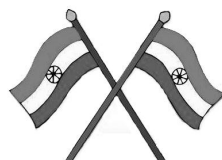
It is no longer the 'why' but the 'how' of gender work that needs to be addressed to make it a practical reality. Where are the most promising

entry points? How does gender fit into the six practice areas? What are the resources to help with gender mainstreaming?

As a crosscutting issue, gender must be addressed in everything the organisation does. Why? Because equality between women and men is just, fair and right — it is a worthy goal in and of itself, one that lies at the heart of human development and human rights. And because gender inequality is an obstacle to progress, it is a roadblock on the path of human development. When development is not 'en-gendered' it is 'en-dangered'.

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- <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/Gender-complete.pdf>
- <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/>
- <http://www.kvinfo.dk/side/674/article/67/>
- Discussion points with UNDP
- NSS Data
- Census 2011
- Economic Survey



Gender Equality in Education : Evidences from an Emperical Research in Odisha

*Premananda Mishra
Radhakanta Gartia*

Commitments to gender equality in education can be seen internationally, as three (goal 2, goal 4 and goal 5) out of six EFA goals are concerned with gender equality in education. Based on these international commitments, bridging the gender gap in basic education has been a major concern for most developing countries. India accounts for 30% of the world's total illiterate population and around 70% of these illiterates are women. As per 2001 Census data, women constitute 48% of the total population in India, but around 46% of women are still found to be illiterate. Problems of gender disparity and discrimination begin with access to schooling. Achieving gender equity in and through education has been a long standing goal of the education policy in India (GoI, NPE, 1986). The Government, in accordance with its constitutional mandate and policy recommendations of NPE, has taken several initiatives to provide educational facilities to all sections of society. The gender concerns have been brought at the centre stage of policymaking prompting adoption of special measures for girls' education in India (UNICEF, 2009). The demand for elementary education and schooling has considerably increased with an increase in female literacy, which was much lower in earlier decades, leading to an upsurge in enrolment of boys as well as girls (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2011a).

Despite having enabling policies and considerable push made during the last decade, girls in India suffer from widespread prejudices. The daughter of a poor and illiterate mother is more likely to be out of school as compared to children of educated mother (Nayar, 1999, Ramachandran, 2004). Many studies (Ramachandran, 2004; Wazir, 2002) have already established close linkage between gender and school participation. In spite of the general improvement, the situation in specific states continues to remain a matter of concern for policy makers. In states like Rajasthan, Assam, West Bengal, Odisha and Andhra Pradesh, for instance, disparities have increased steadily at higher levels of education. Hence, this paper aims to review the present situation of the participation of children in elementary education in Odisha, with a special focus on gender equality.

OBJECTIVES

1. To assess the gender equality in primary education in Odisha with reference to enrolment.
2. To evaluate grade and category wise gender representation of students in primary education in Odisha.
3. To evaluate gender-wise teacher representation in Primary Education in Odisha.



2.0. POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The population for the study consisted of all the primary/upper primary schools located in Odisha. The sample for the study consisted of 220 schools spread over 4 districts viz. Jagatsinghpur, Bhadrak, Nayagarh and Puri of the state. Multi-stage sampling technique was employed in the selection of schools. In the first stage, 4 districts were selected employing a simple random technique. In the second stage, the unit of sampling was 'Blocks'. Eight blocks from each of the four districts were again selected on a further simple random technique. In the third stage, the unit of sampling was 'Schools'. In the final stage, required number of students and

teachers were selected carefully to include people from different categories such as males and females, members belonging to different social class (SC, ST, and OBC).

3.0. TOOL FOR THE COLLECTION OF DATA

The following tools were used for the present study;

- (i) A semi-structured interview schedule was used for the teachers inquiring about their perception of gender disparity and representation of students in the school from different sections of the society.

4.0. RESULTS

4.1 Enrolment of boys and girls from different students segment

Table 1. Grade-wise Means and SDs for Enrolment of Boys and Girls from Different Student Segments (N=220 Schools)

Class		General Caste		Schedule Caste		Schedule Tribe		Total Strength	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
I	Mean	9.37	6.84	3.36	1.85	0.92	0.57	13.65	9.26
	SD	2.13	2.05	0.97	0.68	0.71	0.34	3.68	3.56
II	Mean	9.27	5.95	3.42	1.64	1.28	0.53	13.97	8.12
	SD	3.11	2.28	1.24	0.77	0.73	0.23	3.16	2.72
III	Mean	8.96	6.22	3.09	1.18	1.23	0.68	13.28	8.08
	SD	2.84	2.12	1.31	0.73	0.47	0.31	3.66	2.25
IV	Mean	6.57	5.79	1.97	0.83	1.02	0.62	9.56	7.24
	SD	2.53	1.87	1.05	0.67	0.55	0.42	2.28	1.56
V	Mean	6.78	5.73	2.21	1.24	0.95	0.56	9.94	7.53
	SD	2.29	1.57	0.81	0.44	0.51	0.27	2.14	2.08
Grand	Mean	40.95	30.53	14.05	6.74	5.40	2.96	60.4	40.23
Total	SD	4.15	3.86	2.21	1.57	1.58	0.95	4.11	4.17

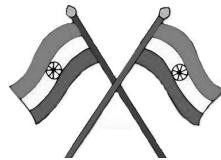


Table 1 presents results in descriptive statistics in terms of mean and standard deviations for gender groups and social class-wise student strength in different elementary classes. The results indicate that general caste students substantially outnumber the schedule caste and schedule tribe students in all the primary classes. Likewise, boys also substantially outnumber girls not only in the total sample, but also with respect to each of the class and with respect to the three social-class groups examined in the study. However, it was observed that girls are little behind in representing their population strength in primary schools, while their strength in the total of the state population is 45%, their presence in the primary schools is 39.40%. The schedule caste students have a 20.79% representation in the primary schools against their population strength of only 14%. Likewise, the schedule tribe students have also a representation of 8.36% against their population strength as 4.88%. Hence, it could be inferred that the government programmes to increase attendance of the students in the primary schools from the disadvantaged sections of the society have worked in the state. But at the same time, the data poses a matter of concern about children of general caste who represent 71.98% in the primary schools as against their 81% representation in the population. Likewise, it is also a matter of concern about girls who represent 5.60% less in primary schools as compared to their population strength. Another important observation in Table 1 is about dropouts across the grades. It is found that the dropout rate suddenly rises just after class three from an average of 21.36 in class III to 16.80 in class IV. It could be explained from observations that upper primary schools being located little away from some villages, parents of girl students prefer their children stay home and perform household chores as by that time most of girls reach their puberty.

Some boys also drop out because of lack of concern by their parents for continuing in school.

4.2 Student representation with reference to their population

Figure 1. Representation of students in primary schools in respect of their population

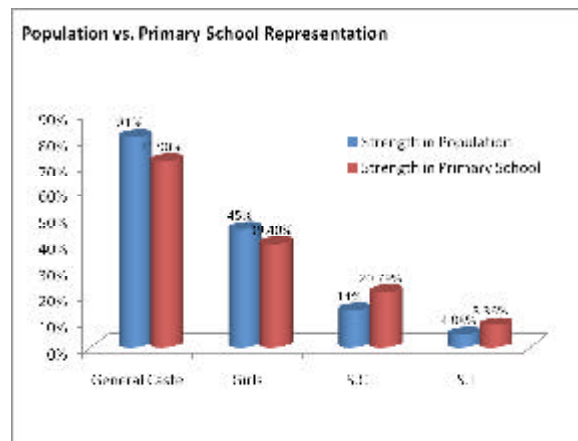
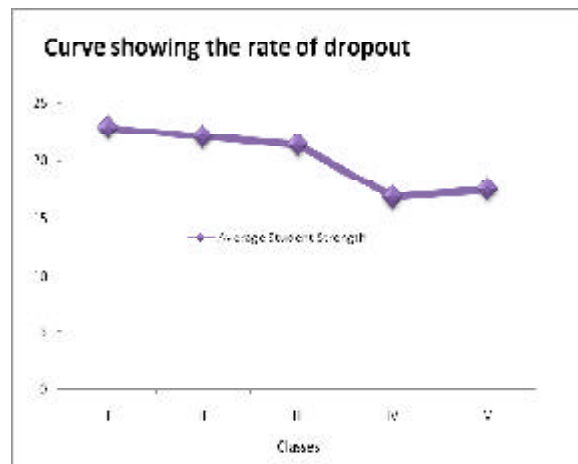


Figure 1 presents the data about strength of different groups in the population of the state and their presence in the elementary education. Interestingly, it is found that while schedule caste and schedule tribe students are more represented compared to their population strength, girls and general caste students are less represented.

Figure 2. Rate of dropout across classes



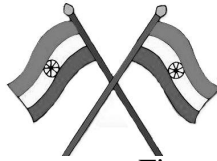


Figure 2 presents the data relating to dropout across the grades which indicate a sharp rise after class III.

4.3. Grade and category wise gender representation of students

Figure 3. Showing grade and category wise gender representation of students

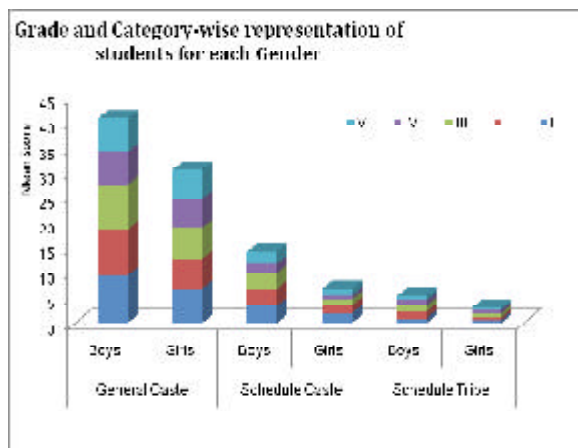


Figure 3 reports grade and category wise gender representation which indicate low presence of girls in all classes and in all categories.

4.4. Gender and category wise representation of students

Figure 4. Showing gender and category representation of students across grades

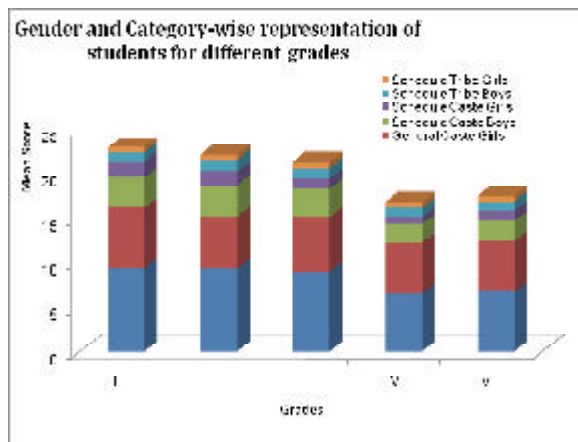


Figure 4 indicates grade and category wise representation of students across the classes. It is revealed that the representation of Scheduled Tribe boys and Scheduled Caste boys to the next higher grades remarkably degrades gradually.

4.5. Gender comparison with reference to student strength

Figure 5. Showing gender comparison of student strength across classes

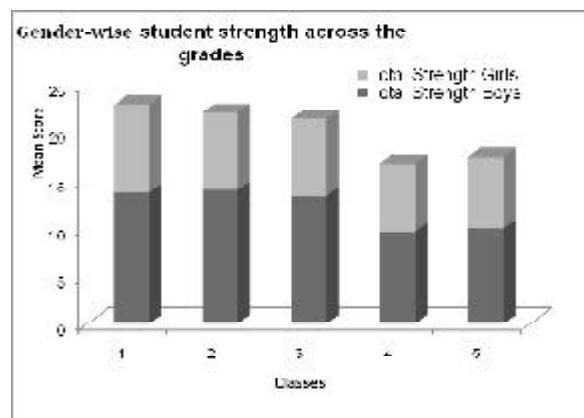


Figure 5 shows the comparative strength of total boys and girls across the classes. It is depicted that the strength of girl students in different grades remains reliable, whereas the strength of boy students in the next higher classes decreases gradually.

4.6. General distribution of students

Figure 6. Showing the general distribution of students

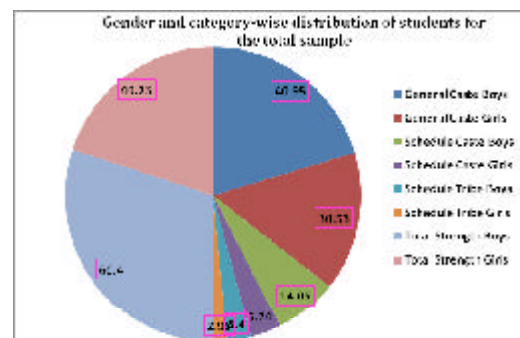




Figure 6 shows the general and over all distribution of students. Although, the data in the figures overlap in some respect, those are presented to study the student enrolment in respect of different dimensions and attributes.

4.7. Gender wise teacher representation in schools

Table-2 Means and SDs of gender-wise teacher representation in schools

Teachers' Data	Male Teachers	Female Teachers
Mean per School	1.51	2.59
SD	0.48	0.77

As observed in the table, female teachers substantially outnumber the male teachers. The average of female teachers is 2.59 per school while that of male teacher is 1.51. Although some studies indicate that female teachers are better able to manage elementary classes, several other studies have reported that male and female teachers in equal proportion create a better school and classroom environment and provide better qualitative learning in the school. Hence, such a distribution in significant favor of the female teachers could be a matter of concern for promotion of quality education in the elementary schools.

Figure 7. Ratio of male and female teachers in the primary schools

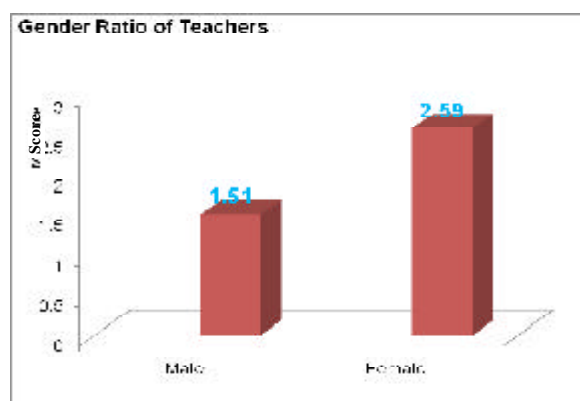


Figure 7 clearly indicated a trend of gender disparity in the representation of teachers in the primary schools in the state of Odisha.

CONCLUSION

India is poised to become a super power; a developed country by 2020, and this aspect must be supported by ensuring universalized gender free education. The primary education enrolment rates of girls have a positive impact on economic well-being of women, their families and society in the long run. Since the mother carries the main burden of looking after the health of her child, how well she does this task depends on the knowledge and confidence that she gains from education. Female literacy rate correlates with lower fertility and infant mortality rates. The mother's education appears to reduce the negative effects of poor community sanitation and hygiene. Educated women generally marry late and likely to practice family planning and have smaller families. Many developing countries including India have displayed gender inequality in education, employment and health. It is common to find girls and women suffering from high mortality rates. There are vast differences in education level of two sexes. In case of Odisha, Herculean tasks are awaiting as it is expected that the percentage of female population will grow up to 49.63% in 2021 and that of male will be reduced to 50.37% from 50.70% in 2001. The percentage of rural female is expected to increase from 49.66% in 2001 to 49.77% in 2021, an increase of 0.11 percentage points, where as urban female population will increase from 47.23% in 2001 to 49.03% in 2021, an increase of 1.8 percentage points (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Odisha, Bhubaneswar, 2010). It is clarion call for all the stakeholders of the state to work with commitment and dedication to give a special position to the state in national map of gender equality.



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COMMITTEE FOR COST EVALUATION OF E-WATER

A Committee has been formed under the Chairmanship of Special Secretary to Government, Housing and Urban Development Department with representative of Finance Department, representative of Works Deptt., representative of Information Technology Deptt., representative of OCAC as Members and Under Secretary (Project & Reforms), H & UD Deptt as Member Convener for cost evaluation and award of contract of the project "e-water" being developed with features similar to that of e-Nirman of Works Department for tracking of the water supply Sewerage and Drainage projects of Housing & Urban Development Department.

Hemanta Kumar Nayak, Information Officer



The Clarion Calls of Freedom : Quit India - Do or Die

Girish Swain

Words often stage radical transformations in holding lasting impressions on the minds and imagination of the most timid millions, who miraculously turn to be mighty heroes. This is aptly evident from the lines those changed the course of world history. Perhaps the most significant of them is the ground breaking statement of French political philosopher Jean Jacques's Rousseau who said "Man is born free but everywhere in chains". The modified version of Karl Marx equally progenited the 'Withering away of the State and Dictatorship of the Proletariat' by proclaiming "Workers of the world, Unite, You have nothing to lose except the Chains". The dictum by Voltaire "Man is free the moment he wishes to be" is still reckoned as the line that ignited many revolutions across the globe. In the great Indian freedom struggle, the two clarion calls those caused India's metamorphosis from the wombs of oppressing colonialism to the resurgence of a vibrant sub-continent were 'Quit India' and 'Do or Die'. The analytical exposition of these two awakening statements can be drawn through zooming in the series of events those witnessed the paradigm shift in the philosophy ruling our emancipation from the clutches of imperialism.

Without the consent of millions of Indians, our country was dragged to World War I since its outbreak in 1939. It was choosing between

two of the worst alternatives - Nazi fascism and British imperialism just like choosing to be in a frying pan or oven. We had no choice and India as a part of British Empire became a party to the Allies'. Maintaining a neutral stand although Congress showed its allegiance to the Gandhian philosophy, it also did breathe the aspiration of freedom in letter and spirit that the end of the war will dawn a new era in the horizon of India. But to the utter surprise of our pioneering leaders the British regime was shuffling its cards in cognito. They sent Sir Stafford Cripps the senior left wing British Leader and a minister in the then Churchill's war cabinet during March 1942 to propose an alluring step towards a constitution for India , an event that was marked in world history as the ill-famed Cripps' Mission. The hidden agenda was to gain India's support for their war by hoodwinking the frontline leaders of the ongoing movement.

Mahatma Gandhi had an unfathomable wit to counter the nasty tricks played by the nation of shop keepers as Napoleon termed the Britishers. He rejected Cripps' proposal seeking for slow and gradual devolution of power culminating in a dominion status for India with the ending of the war. Gandhi had tremendous adherence to strike an impeccable balance in the unending dichotomy of means and ends. For him



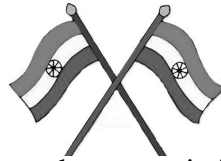
the process of ushering in to freedom was more important than the outcome, as the journey quite often assumes more significance than the destination. The very word ‘dominion’ was phenomenally unacceptable to the apostle of truth and non-violence. His words of polite sarcasm startled the world when Gandhi labelled the proposal of Cripps as ‘a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank’. Earlier his unexampled humour had ridiculed the protagonists of aggressive capitalism when he named his oxen driven junked Ford automobile at Tolstoy Farm as the ‘Ox Ford’. But this time the tag of ‘crashing bank’ signalled that the imperial rule has neared the brinks of abyss soon tending to be dwindling in to oblivion.

Gandhi’s loud and clear call to the rulers in May 1942 was to leave India to God or if it was too much to anarchy was unbelievable to couple of English hardliners who perceived him as the ‘half naked fakir’. The Wardha Session of Congress Working Committee on 14 July 1942 electrifyingly amplified Gandhi’s soft voice by passing unanimously a resolution for ‘Immediate ending of British Rule in India’. Gandhi wanted to give a catchy slogan to the movement that would work as an elixir in the rising of the national spirit from slumber.

While discussing about the slogan the first one that came abruptly was ‘Get Out’. Gandhi had hatred for the imperialism but not for the English race as a part of humanity. So he could not vouch for the phrase impregnating impoliteness. The intellectual icon of freedom movement and a great scholar Chakravarty Rajagopalachari put forward two alternatives like ‘Retreat’ or ‘Withdraw’. It seems these words for Gandhi were too verbose to have any magnetic effect in pulling the millions of countrymen. But the turning point was presentation of a bow to

Gandhi by Yusuf Meherally, the socialist leader and freedom fighter as a symbolic representation of the radical urge for independence. On the bow two words were inscribed. Quit India. The words touched Gandhi as well as the core freedom fighters. Quit India became the slogan of ‘August Kranti’. Yusuf Meherally was the same noted activist who had coined the term ‘Simon Go Back’ in 1928.

In the historic session of the then All India Congress Committee held on August 7 and 8 the movement took a decisive turn. On midnight of 8th-9th August 1942 the trendsetting Quit India Resolution was passed. Addressing the large gathering at Gowalia Tank Maidan of Bombay, Gandhi said “There is a *mantra*, short one that I give you. You imprint it on your heart and let every breath of yours give an expression to it. The *mantra* is “do or die”. Critics ascribed it to a shift in the Gandhian faith in non-violence. Gandhi made his mind clear in the charged appeal he made in the speech by saying “Before you discuss the resolution, let me place before you one or two things. There are people who ask me whether I am the same man that I was in 1920, or whether there has been any change in me. You are right in asking that question. Let me; however, hasten to assure that I am the same Gandhi as I was in 1920. I have not changed in any fundamental respect. I attach the same importance to non-violence that I did then. If at all, my emphasis on it has grown stronger. There is no real contradiction between the present resolution and my previous writings and utterances. I want you to know and feel that there is nothing but purest Ahimsa in all that I am saying and doing today. God has vouchsafed to me a priceless gift in the weapon of Ahimsa. I and my Ahimsa are on our trail today. If in the present crisis, when the earth is being scorched by the flames of Himsa and crying for deliverance, I failed to make use of the God given talent, God



will not forgive me and I shall be judged unworthy of the great gift."

Gandhi had unstinted faith in nonviolence. But he had no affinity towards cowardice either. He used to stress on the opinion that given to choose between cowardice and violence, he would rather prefer violence as cowardice may prove fatal but cowardice is death. But very strategically he deliberated upon the unique proposition of 'Quit India Movement' by differentiating it from a violent struggle. Gandhi in his speech said "Ours is not a drive for power, but purely a non-violent fight for India's independence. In a violent struggle, a successful general has been often known to effect a military coup and to set up a dictatorship. But under the Congress scheme of things, essentially non-violent as it is, there can be no room for dictatorship. A non-violent soldier of freedom will covet nothing for himself; he fights only for the freedom of his country."

Quit India and Do or Die swept the nation with an unprecedented wave of unity. Although

majority of leaders like Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Azad were arrested by the British rulers in the early hours of 9th August, the movement continued with the fervour furthered by the undergrounded leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia and Jay Prakash Narain. But a great role was played by the Congress Radio that was being broadcast by an educated Indian girl Usha Mehta through the frequency 42.34. One may be astonished at the historic co-incidence. In 1934 the Civil Disobedience Movement was called off and in 1942 the Quit India Movement took off. The frequency to the utter amazement of Indians and Britishers as well carried the set of two digits representing two turning points of Indian history leading towards our much awaited freedom. These two slogans also had ripple effects in the minds of great freedom fighters of Odisha. A series of unrest and radical uprising by Odia heroes evidently testify the veracity of the effects as reposed through the sounding of these punch lines.

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Odisha State Policy for Girls and Women, 2014 - Key features

*Dr. Amrita Patel
Namita Palo*

The Odisha State Policy for Girls and Women has been formulated in order to provide a comprehensive and actionable framework for the overall development of girls and women. This is a document that is actionable and lays out specific issues that can be addressed comprehensively within a framework. The policy is inclusive of different opinions and has been framed subsequent to a desk review, review of national and other state policies on women & girls and series of consultations with various stakeholders which provided the insights for the formulation of this policy. The Policy considers a life cycle approach, covering concerns of girls and women at birth, infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood and during old age.

The Policy is divided into 7 key focus areas of survival, health and nutrition; education; livelihood (women in formal sector and informal sector); asset ownership; decision making, participation and political representation; safety, security and protection, and girls and women with special needs. Each focus area considers the situation analysis, followed by policy directives and further guiding principles and action points that translate the policy into action.

The Policy emphasises increased capacity building and strengthened institutional and legal

framework for girls and women. The Policy will operate as an overarching guiding framework for planning and implementation by various state and non-state actors, so that the needs of girls and women are addressed affirmatively.

During the drafting, forty seven consultations were held: 19 at state and 28 at district levels, to draw inputs for the policy directives. The findings from these consultations along with desk review of schemes, programmes and initiatives for girls and women in the state and the gender gaps in health and social development indicators was the basis of the policy. The draft policy was shared with all the departments and meetings were held for feedback on specific policy directives with respect to each department. The members of civil society organisations, subject experts, academics, students, government field functionaries contributed in the policy formulation process.

Some key recommendations in the 7 focus areas

1. Survival, Health and Nutrition:

- i. Address adverse child sex ratio through area specific action plans; strengthen implementation of Pre Conception & Pre Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PCPNDT) Act, 1994 and



organize community mobilization campaigns to promote value of girl child.

ii. Promote the health of adolescent girls through facility and community based initiatives with specific interventions to address sexual and reproductive health issues, early marriage and pregnancy.

iii. Broad base “*Mamata*” scheme to incentivize birth of girl child and remove the conditionality of two live births for the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG) for an initial period of five years.

iv. Address maternal mortality by creating conditions for safe delivery, especially in high burden areas. Mandate the conduct of maternal death audits.

v. Establish and expand interventions to create awareness, prevent and treat cancers of reproductive organs like cervix and breast.

2. Education:

i. Create Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) like hostels at each block, and upgrade existing KGBVs to secondary level by expanding capacity.

ii. Provide incentives such as free text books, uniforms, safe transport and waiver of fees at secondary and higher secondary levels to all girls.

iii. Provide scholarship to girls on merit cum means basis to continue education at higher secondary level and beyond.

iv. Increase residential facilities for girls in junior colleges, degree colleges and universities, over a period of five years.

v. Adopt a zero tolerance policy to ensure safety of girls and women in educational institutions through appropriate measures. Have adequate

women staff at appropriate levels in educational institutions where girls reside in large numbers. Develop protocols and monitor standards of care to check and report any abuse.

3. Livelihood:

Formal sector

i. Create a dedicated unit in Odisha State Employment Mission to promote and monitor women’s skill development and job linked training.

ii. Work towards flexible work schedules, maternity benefits, childcare support, separate toilet and crèche facilities at work places.

Informal sector

iii. Encourage and promote women farmers. Accord high priority to technical skill building in agriculture related activities for women farmers.

iv. Set up single window systems to provide comprehensive support to women farmers on crops, financial services, technology, inputs and market linkage.

v. Promote resource centres at village level focusing on community led livelihoods for women.

vi. Establish migrant support services for girls and women at source and destinations to enable them secure their rights and entitlements.

vii. Promote training and technological interventions in cottage industries, traditional handicrafts and handloom and occupations such as fisheries, dairy, poultry and animal husbandry.

4. Asset Ownership:

i. Reduce stamp duty for registration of land and house purchased in a woman’s name and gift deeds of immovable property executed in favour of women.

ii. Allot Ac. 0.04 decimal of homestead land in rural areas to women belonging to low income



group and not possessing any house/ flat or homestead land who are either (i) widowed, unmarried, divorced or separated from husband by a decree or order of a Court or under any custom or usage having the force of law, having attained 45 years of age or more, or (ii) women with more than 40 percent disability, who have attained 30 years of age or more.

iii. Extend land lease at nominal rates in favour of women's groups for productive activities. Allot cultivable/arable Government land on temporary lease basis to WSHGs for agriculture and horticulture purposes.

5. Decision Making, Participation and Political Representation:

i. Organise Mahila Sabhas at Gram Panchayat (GP) level, promote women participation in *palli* and Gram Sabha. Make issues relating to girls and women including violence, a specific agenda in the Palli Sabha and Gram Sabha.

ii. Move appropriate and suitable amendments in the Odisha Gram Panchayat (GP), Panchayat Samiti (PS) and Zilla Parisad (ZP) Rules and Acts to remove any discriminatory practices that prohibit or restrict women to participate effectively.

iii. Institute special recognitions and awards for women achievers in different fields.

6. Safety, Security and Protection:

i. Establish a designated unit in the Home Department to guide, monitor and support investigations pertaining to violence against girls and women.

ii. Establish one stop crisis centres for survivors/victims of violence. Adopt standard protocol for comprehensive medico-legal

response to sexual violence against girls and women.

iii. Design and operationalise a survivor protection scheme for girls and women victims/ survivors of violence encompassing counselling, safe accommodation, rehabilitation and reintegration.

iv. Create appropriate mechanisms for universal registration of marriage.

v. Involve WSHGs as para legal workers and promote community level fora to track, monitor and report instances of violence and trafficking of girls and women.

7. Girls and Women with Special Needs

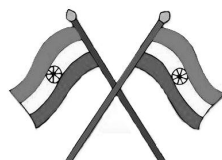
i. Accord high priority to care, protection, education and overall development of young orphans and abandoned girls.

ii. Take up special drive and or design specific programmes for enrollment in job oriented and placement linked skill building and training courses and programmes to cover girls and women with special needs so as to facilitate their gainful employment. Initiate special efforts towards covering girls and women in distress, in institutions, in contact and in conflict with law.

iii. Promote women's collectives and SHGs of women with disability, women in urban slums, from minority communities, disaster and conflict affected, and in institutions.

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Agriculture towards self sufficiency in Odisha

Gurukalyan Mohapatra

The agriculture sector is not confined to agriculture only, but also to the animal husbandry, fisheries and forestry sub-sectors. The agriculture sector is the mainstay of our State's economy and provide employment and sustenance, directly or indirectly to more than 60 per cent of the population.

The agricultural sector suffers from frequent natural shocks like cyclones, droughts and flash floods. Despite wide annual variations in its growth, the agriculture sector grew in real terms at 2004-05 prices, at a rate of 12.72 per cent during 2012-13. However, a negative growth of 3.53 percent is anticipated during 2013-14 during cyclonic storm Phailin and flash floods in the State in October 2013. Our State has given importance to agriculture for last thirteen years. But last year, our Chief Minister Sri Naveen Patnaik wanted a separate budget for our State like Karnataka and therefore, a separate Agriculture Budget was placed in our assembly for the first time by the then Finance Minister.

Our State has achieved the highest food grain production and productivity in 2012-13. It has also received prestigious "Krishi Karman Award" from the Government of India for its higher agricultural production. We feel immensely proud of that achievement but unfortunately the year

2013-14 was not as healthy, due to cyclone 'Phailin' that caused widespread devastation of the agricultural crops, fruits and vegetable cultivation. In addition to the loss to the crops and plantations the disaster caused damages to the infrastructure facilities including nurseries and protected structures. In spite of the heavy losses suffered during the cyclone 'Phailin' and subsequent floods in 2013-14, we could still achieve one of the highest ever production of food grains. The State has achieved a consistently high rate of growth in agriculture in the 11th five year plan period. It shall be our endeavour to continue the momentum and growth in the 12th five year plan too. The achievement establishes the fact that the agriculture sector in Odisha has become robust in the past decade.'

The budget allocation for the year 2014-2015 by our Union Government is 22652. 25 crores, whereas last 2013-2014's revised budget allocation was Rs19306.82 crores. In our State this current year's 2014-15) Agriculture Budget allocation is Rs.2727.99 crore. The National Agriculture Policy envisages a growth rate of more than 4 percent in agricultural GDP which requires for achieving the overall growth rate of 9% for the economy and this necessitates greater attention to both demand and supply sides of the agriculture sector, said our Finance Minister Mr. Amat in his



Budget speech on 17th June, 2014 and explained that on the demand side, such growth rate can absorb growth of food grains at about 2% per year and non food grains like horticulture, livestock, dairy, poultry and fisheries growing at 5-6% per annum. He also explained than on the supply side, the challenge is to meet the strong demand for food-grains as well as fruits, vegetables, milk, eggs, meat and fish which also form a substantial part of the food consumption basket and above all ensure long term food security. There is need for increasing farm productivity and investment in infrastructure through superior water management, soil nutrient management, and development of dairy farming, livestock rearing and fisheries.

According to the ‘Status of Agriculture in Odisha (2013-14)’ which is published by State’s Agriculture Department mentions Agriculture in Odisha is the mainstay of majority of the populace and thus, holds the key to socio-economic development of the State. It suffers from frequent natural calamities like cyclones, drought and flash floods. The status report also mentions that the Agriculture sector provides employment to more than 60% of the total work force directly or indirectly. About 60% population of the State draws its sustenance fully or party from agriculture sector can’t be denied. This report rightly says, ‘hence development of Agriculture plays a critical role in the economy and livelihood of majority of its populace.’

In 1969, Odisha conferred the same status of industry to agriculture and the Agriculture Policy was formulated. Of course with some changes the New Agriculture Policy was formulated in 2008 by our Government. The main objective of this new policy was to bring a shift in the agriculture sector for commercial profit so that people would accept agriculture as a vocation. Then after five years the State government again

formulated the New State Agriculture Policy in 2013. The main objective of 2013’s policy was to improve production and productivity with sustainable agriculture practices and fostering inclusive growth to strengthen agricultural economy and income of the farmers with higher investment along with efficient production technology, post harvest solutions, effective value addition and remunerative market options.

So far our State has cultivated 61.80 lakh hectares out of which 29.14 lakh hectares is high land, 17.55 lakh hectares is medium land 15.11 lakh hectares is low land.

In our State, although the quantum of rain fall in quite high, its distribution during the monsoon period in highly uneven and erratic and flood, drought and cyclone’s occurrence affect kharif as well as Rabi productions in the State. Our State’s climate has been depicted as tropical which is characterised by high temperature, high humidity, medium to high rainfall and short and mild winters. The normal rainfall in the State has been calculated as 1451.2mm. This table below shows the month- wise rainfall.

Month	Normal Rainfall (mm)
January	11.4
February	22.9
March	25.5
April	33.1
May	63.3
June	216.5
July	339.9
August	356.0
September	231.9
October	114.7
November	31.5
December	4.5
State Average	1451.2



In this Agriculture Budget, 2014-15 a number of reform measures have been taken up for the socio-economic development of the farmers. In order to attract young generation towards agricultural occupations, our budget has emphasised to make our State self-reliant and self-sufficient by harnessing the irrigation potential, supply of quality seeds and planting materials and other inputs and installation of post-harvest and marketing facilities.

It is a matter of regret that our educated youth is more attracted towards management,

engineering and other technical courses for their studies than the agricultural studies for which the vegetable, fruits, fish and egg we have been importing from other State. In order to attract the youths to agricultural sector, the State Government has decided to make the agriculture policy more farmer - friendly.

Gurukalyan Mohapatra, Freelance Journalist, VA 29/3, Unit-II, Bhubaneswar-9.

JOB FAIR FOR PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES (PWDs)

A job fair for persons with disabilities (PWDs) was organised by the Directorate for welfare of Persons with Disabilities, Odisha Vocational Rehabilitation Centre for Handicapped (VRCH) and Sarthak Educational Trust, New Delhi at VRC Campus on 8th August.

Ten companies like Tech Mahindra, Jindal Steel, Vishal Megamart etc. participated in the job fair. Total 550 PWDs participated in the Job Fair. Amongst them 140 people will be shortlisted. Chief Secretary of Odisha, Shri G.C. Pati, Commissioner-cum-Secretary, Women and Child Development, Smt. Arti Ahuja interacted and encouraged the candidates at the fair. VRC will impart self-employment oriented training to 280 PWDs in trades like tailoring, domestic appliances repairing, computer & software skills from this year said Shri B.B. Patnaik, Director, Directorate for Welfare of Persons with Disabilities.

Dr. Jyotirmati Samantaray, Information Officer.



Remembering the day, Awakening the People....!!!

Subhrata Pattnaik

Independence is having the freedom of choice in whatever I may do, in whatever I may wish to do, and similarly, freedom with reference to our great heroes is the biggest gift that our forefathers could have ever given us. The very thought that believed in making the future generations see the light of an independent India, was a great vision and expressed the freedom of the mind. Independence is the freedom of the soul, a perception of the mind and a feeling understood by the heart. This freedom, perception and more importantly, this feeling is that of liberation, patriotism, self-dependence and other such things. When all such terms are put together and imposed upon the majority, it is a big responsibility on the youth of that nation and on those who create it. That nation is India "I'm proud to be an Indian." How often have you heard that phrase? and felt the emotion coming through, like a quiver of arrows? May be once, may be twice or may be you never gave it a thought. Now that is freedom of thought. But, is it any good?

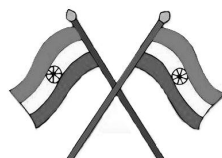
Coming back to those rare instances of pride being linked to our nationality, as a part of our identity, we begin to wonder why each and every one of us doesn't feel that way, every single time our nation is being criticized. Why is it only on the 15th of August or 26th of January we feel 'Indian'? Why does the pride and patriotism

towards our motherland only come out during an India-Pakistan cricket match?

The midnight of August 15th, 1947 is memorable for every Indian on earth, as it is the time, when India gained independence from the stronghold of the mighty British. The otherwise suppressed tri-colored flag of India was given its due respect, when it was hoisted in the midnight on the Independence Day.

Since then, the red-letter day is celebrated with pomp and gaiety, across the length and breadth of India. On 15th August, 1947 India won freedom from the clutches of the British, who ruled us for 190 years, and became independent. On 15th August, 2014 India will be celebrating its 67th year of independence. Like every other year, this year also we would wake up in the morning, wish others Happy Independence Day, put it up as our status message on Face book, listen to patriotic songs all day long, and go to sleep in the night. Some may also attend flag hoisting in their city. In the end, it will be like any other day of the week. Nothing special.

But, are we actually independent in the true sense of the term? Are we actually free from all worries? Was this the India our founding fathers dreamt of? Was the current situation we live in today their dream for the generations to



come ? The answer to all the above questions is 'NO'.

We are not free from corruption at every level. We are not free from the fear of terrorism/terrorist attacks. We are not free from inflation. We are not free from the delay in justice. We are not free from red tapism. We are not free to speak out of our heart and mind without the fear of getting arrested. Like these examples there may be many, many more. But we don't know when we will be free and independent of them. It is true that we were born free, but it is also true that in the present times we are living in chains.

The Face of Independent India :

In the initial euphoria of attaining independence in 1947, lot of well meaning decisions on governance, economy, foreign policy etc. were taken and the expectation was we'll correct any mistake along the way. Most leaders then were inspiring and people welfare - oriented. But things started unraveling due to both external and internal events. We started taking pride in saying India is the world's largest democracy, not realizing that mere holding of elections does not constitute democracy. In recent years, the so far silent middle class majority seems to be saying enough is enough and has started voicing its support for anti corruption movement, atrocities against women, etc. On August 15, 1947, India gained political independence from its colonial rulers, and on January 26, 1950, we adopted the "democratic" Constitution and became a republic, at least formally. Today, however, the veracity of these sentences stands challenged. Not because the dates are disputed, but because we Indians doubt whether we are given the liberty' the citizens of an independent nation should be given, or whether the makers of the voluminous Indian Constitution ever knew how gross injustice its future guardians were going to do to it .The chief

challenges faced are— widespread poverty, illiteracy, communal violence and rampant gender discrimination which hamper the growth of our nation. So, are we really independent? Your guess is as good as mine.

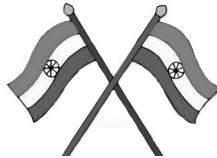
Today when we celebrate our 67th independence day, we are proud that even after being looted, cheated and harassed by the British rulers India could not only survive but also emerge as a strong developing country in the world. Yet India is free constitutionally, it has to still free itself from the bondage of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, crimes, gender inequality and corruption. As Mahatma Gandhi said, "Be the change you want to see". Therefore, we need to bring about changes in ourselves. When each one will take up this responsibility, then India will be free in its true sense.

We got independence in 1947. But are we really free? Are we not bound by the handcuffs of poverty, illiteracy, corruption and caste system? We call ourselves secular but still there are communal tensions in many parts of the country; self-sufficient but still hundreds of children die every year due to malnutrition. Even as the largest democracy in the world, do we really have a fair choice? Are we really aware of whom we are voting for? We call ourselves educated but continue to be conservative where parents kill their own children for the sake of their honour. Freedom and liberty are just the dictionary meaning of independence. Realization of its true meaning will be our first step towards real independence.

Let us now focus on the main issues prevailing in Independent India.

Status of Women in Independent India :

India, a nation which had Mahatma Gandhi as its role model of rectitude became so



unbelievably violent and corrupt that the women can no longer be safe within their bodies. Gandhi who defeated the whites to save the browns by relying on non-violence is considered as the Father of the Nation, but his values are being betrayed so easily that a woman is raped every twenty minutes in the world’s largest democracy and even children of five years are subjected to rape. Economists predict that the future belongs to India as the country is obsessed with inclusive growth and the men with status and power, but the women who give birth to these men live in fear of discrimination and sexual violence. Who will protect the nation’s women?

In India, rape is the fastest growing crime and reports indicate that rape of women and young girls in India has increased considerably especially in recent years. Experts claim that the actual number of instances of rape is far from being recorded since the unreported number of cases is extremely high.

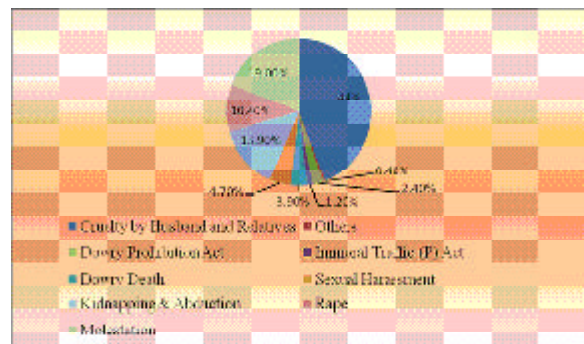
Eventhough the economic, political and social conditions in India are changing swiftly, still for women the circumstances are rare to be able to feel safe within their bodies with the startling increase in the number of rape cases in recent years. In India patriarchy exists and through sexual violence and rape, men exert their patriarchal power over women to display domination.

Gender Discrimination in Independent India :

Women’s security is closely connected to global security still they suffer simply because they differ in gender. To understand the status of the Indian women it is important to understand the gender discrimination in the country. In 1947, the Indian history of violence against women was perceivable in the violent nature of the nation’s partition. This tactic of humiliating the opponent

by using women’s bodies as a tool of power dominance is still being practiced in the Indian society and is visible in the cases of Nirbhaya and many others. Mother India, commonly termed as Bharat Mata in Sanskrit is the national personification of India as a mother goddess which is widely depicted as a woman clad in a saffron sari holding the national flag. The position of women was high in India and some might argue that degrading positioning of women in the society is influenced by the impact of colonialism. However, the women’s status in India declined prior to the arrival of the colonial power with the existence of corruption and caste system. The people’s obsession with hierarchy and with the extent of gender discrimination and sexual violence, humanity got stripped away from mother India.

Let us go through the statistics:-



Nature of crime	Year - 2012	Year – 2013
1. Murder	1548	1454
2. Dacoit	501	562
3. Robbery	1613	1678
4. Burglary	3430	3747
5. Theft	9630	10044
6. Fraud (swindling)	1633	2204
7. Riots	2205	1937
8. Rape Cases	1458	1832



Status of Girl Child in Independent India :

The birth of a girl child is considered as a curse for the family even now within some educated and modernized community. In the Indian community women are not conceived as complete citizens because they are considered as men's sexual property. For instance, honor killings occur as intimation that women's sexuality should be contained when they make the choice to infringe the boundaries of the families and the community. On the contrary, when men unleash their sexuality and involve in sexual violence then women the victim is blamed for provoking their attacks especially with the subject of clothing. The victim of rape is commonly assumed or accused by courts, religious groups, and the society in general of bearing some kind of responsibilities for her rape. In India, the women are commonly addressed in the national language Hindi as 'aurat' which is a word acquired from the Arabic term 'awrah'. In Arabic it means, the parts of the body to be clothed in order to take care of one's dignity. This is what we called independence...? Putting question on one's dignity and identity.....

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN

The crimes against women fly directly against orchestrating women empowerment in India. A report on the crimes against women by the National Crime Records Bureau comes up with some alarming statistics:-

India stands in 3rd position in rape cases and 2nd in murder cases next to America and Brazil in the world.

Corruption in Independent India : Corruption is a cancer, which every Indian must strive to cure. Many new leaders when come into power declare their determination to eradicate corruption but

soon they themselves become corrupt and start amassing huge wealth.

There are many myths about corruption, which have to be exploded if we really want to combat it. Some of these myths are: Corruption is a way of life and nothing can be done about it. Only people from underdeveloped or developing countries are prone to corruption. We will have to guard against all these crude fallacies while planning measures to fight corruption.

It is not possible to kill or remove the corruption by improving the Socio-economic conditions of the country. Because we all know that most of the people who are corrupt are not economically or socially backward, surely they will be having a notable social status. "Despite a decade of progress in establishing anti-corruption laws and regulations, these results indicate that much remains to be done before we see meaningful improvements in the lives of the world's poorest citizens."

Thanks to newer scams that surfaced in 2013 and no concrete action taken to tackle corruption, India ranks 94th among 177 nations in the global corruption index released by the Transparency International.

India ranks among the highly corrupt nations and its rank remains unchanged as compared to 2012. Some of its neighbours seem to have improved their ranking on the corruption index.

As per the 2013 corruption index, Bhutan ranks 31st, Sri Lanka 91, Nepal 116, Pakistan 127 and Bangladesh 136. In 2012, Bhutan stood at 33rd rank, Sri Lanka at 79, Nepal 139, Pakistan 139 and Bangladesh 144. India, however, maintained a status quo with 94 Rank both in 2013 and 2012.



Child abuse in Independent India :

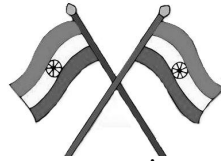
Child abuse is shrouded in secrecy and there is a conspiracy of silence around the entire subject. In fact, there is a well entrenched belief that there is no child abuse in India and certainly there is no sexual abuse in the country. Further, certain kinds of traditional practices that are accepted across the country, knowingly or unknowingly amount to child abuse. Existing socio-economic conditions also render some children vulnerable and more at risk to abuse, exploitation and neglect. It is high time that we recognize this and take remedial measures. Lack of empirical evidence and qualitative information on the dimensions of child abuse and neglect makes it difficult to address the issue in a comprehensive manner.

Nineteen percent of the world’s children live in India. This is an enormous number of children that the country has to take care of. While articulating its vision of progress, development and equity, India has expressed its recognition of the fact that when its children are educated, healthy, happy and have access to opportunities, they are the country’s greatest human resource.

Statistics of child labour in India:

Category	Children of Age Group (5-14 years)					
	Number of Children (Lacs)			Sum of Children (Lacs)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Children engaged in full time activities	4.28	3.24	7.52	52067	45643	98902
Adolescent state duties only	0.30	1.13	1.43	3770	37038	40788
Adolescent state duties and full activities of girls, full time, seasonal part-time only	0.25	1.72	1.97	3.78	22503	25897
Children at work	4.73	3.71	8.44	50023	405510	465077
Attending school	77.90	61.41	139.31	97777	77794	1651101
Children at school work for at school	17.26	20.42	37.68	2.3857	241255	460205

- * At present there are 17 million children labour in India.
- * A study found that children were sent to work by compulsion and not by choice, mostly by parents, but with employer playing a crucial role in influencing decision.
- * When working outside the family, children were put in an average of 21 hours of labour per week.
- * 19% of children employed work as domestic help.
- * 90% working children are in rural India.
- * 85% of working children are in the unorganized sectors.
- * About 80% of child labour is engaged in agricultural work.
- * Millions of children work to help their families because the adults do not have appropriate employment and income thus forfeiting schooling and providing opportunities to play and rest.
- * Children also work because there is demand for cheap labour.
- * Large number of children work because they do not have access to good quality schools.
- * Poor and bonded families often “sell” their children to contractors who promise profitable jobs in the cities and the children end up being employed in brothels, hotels and domestic work.
- * There are approximately 2 million child commercial sex workers between the age of 5 and 15 years and about 3.3 million between 15 and 18 years.
- 5,00,000 children are forced into this trade every year.



Lets us go through the Opinions of Different Personalities of our Society :

MR. SUCHIT DAS, IPS

(Retired DG POLICE)



Now it is a global world. Interdependence is prevailing throughout the country. Each and every country is dependent upon each other. In India, we have other aspects like poverty, gender inequality, etc. Because of the presence of these aspects, we are struggling with imperfections but we are at the same time independent. Now the question arises, "How we are independent"? We have the thriving democracy which now-a-days we find nowhere but in India. Most government have completely lost. There is no military takeover in our country. We have freedom of speech and expression along with cultural liberties which we don't find in many counties across the globe.

As per our law we enjoy equal rights and freedoms. We are diverse, there is no homogeneity. So much of diversity, no country could survive but India is the only country, yet we are surviving. Nothing but our mindset requires a change. Women should be treated properly. Education must spread. There should be affirmative action. We find good number of women working in MNCs. Women is getting ample of opportunities; the only thing required is to make them aware of it.

It should be the duty of the families to teach their children about "values". Families should create awareness. A boy is more pampered than a girl. A boy child is given more importance than a girl child. What starts within the family goes over outside.....Family has to play a vital role.

There are committees who are looking after the discrimination of women. Most

importantly, media has played a very positive role by highlighting each and every incidents, crimes, etc. For that reason they are known as the "watchdog" of our democracy. No doubt we have a long way to go. Progress will be easier when we will have efficient bureaucrats, politicians who carry a big responsibility....A responsibility of running our country....then only India can head towards prosperity.

Mr Bibhu Dutta Das, MA, LLB
Advocate and Legal Consultant.
Supreme Court of India



First of all, the question asked how relevant is independence for us, in this context, basically freedom of expression is related to the right to freedom of information. Unless I know, I cannot express. Therefore after the independence, a lot of discussion was made in the Honorable Supreme Court of India regarding this issue. A law was made which is Right to Information Act. Under this Act, one can gather any information from any office that is the public authority. But unfortunately, our people are not educated and aware. This is available at a very low price, even for the BPL it is free of cost. The rules and regulations given for freedom of expression is not being properly utilized. So as a result, though there are resources available, it doesn't reach to the people. So yes relevance is there it is for the people who are literate, people who are legally aware about their rights and freedom. But mostly 70% of our people living in the rural areas do not know how to exercise their rights and how to put them into action. So I think people need to be educated more and legally aware.

Corruption is an international issue. Though India has been ranked in the 3rd position, this cannot be rooted out unless there is complete



transparency in the Parliament. Whenever a work is done, corruption is linked. And a poor man does not find a way to get relief rather he prefers to pay bribe to get his job done. Just for getting a BPL card a poor man borrows money and pays bribe because he knows if he will not pay the bribe he will not get his BPL card. So I think government has taken some effective step that by electronic method you can apply for ration card, record of rights, caste certificate, residence certificate, time bound things, etc by which the corruption is controlled because of the new software developed and being utilized. But again the question arises how many people are making use of it. The time has come to make people aware of the resources, the facilities, the law, the software. Even the government is propagating through panchayat at different level to make aware our people and to popularize all their facilities through the electronic media. Moreover the payment which was made by the government to the people is no more made by cash. Now in every government money is paid through the bank and e-banking. So this is one way of reducing corruption. In order to reduce the corruption, the government has also made a new rule about the “disclosure of the assets” starting from any public authority up to the parliamentarian. Finally the judiciary also came out and said that they will be declaring their assets. But to have a completely corrupt free India, I think the moral and ethical values should come from within. By any law we cannot change the mindset of the people. Our mindset is so corrupt we think that without paying money so and so thing cannot be done as per our present scenario. For this more and more awareness is required to bring up a corrupt free India by using new methodology that has been adopted and also assisting the people to have patience. A friendly relation should be developed between the police and general public because of the lackadaisical attitude of the police authorities. But now there is human rights

protection cell but these avenues are not known to many of our people through which the corruption level can come down.

Foreign investment is again a very sensitive issue. FDI being the main focus is likely to give a kind of increase in the financial structure of the country. But in the long way definitely it is going to create adverse effect.

Regarding the national income there is an immediate relaxation because there is money flowing in the name of foreign currency. But in the long way our financial independence will be dependent upon them.



**Dr. Dhuleswar Pradhan, MBBS,
MD(O&G)
Specialist, City Hospital, CTC**

When I go through newspapers and magazines, and especially when I surf internet, I come across many information regarding Independence Day, freedom and patriotism, they reinforce that each one of us should really take pride in the fact that we are a free country.

I just wonder, how short is the public memory or is it just me who feels in a country where every second day there is a case of honour killing, caste discrimination and words scheduled caste and dalits are still a common parlance, what freedom are we really talking about.....!! If I forget the larger picture, even after 66 years of independence I don't think women of this country are having enough of courage in themselves to feel like stepping out of the house alone after 8pm. Is this called freedom.....? Living with fear and insecurity.....! What freedom are we talking about, when there is a rape taking place in every 10 minutes somewhere or the other in the country. These incidents force me to think practically. No doubt, we have sufficient resources for our country but these resources are of no use unless the people



of our country won't feel that they are protected and secured.

My heart comes in my mouth when I get to hear that small girl children are being raped in every second day. We can take the recent case of Bangalore. How disgraceful it is....? What is their mistake that children of their age group are not being spared and getting raped shamelessly.....!! I guess the people who are eagerly waiting to jump over the girls to rape are insane or I guess even more than that.....it brings nothing but only disgrace to the country because of these inhuman activities.

Now what to comment on corruption, I would say, corruption is a trend which has been prevailing in this country even then (before independence) and continues to exist even today (after independence) with varying proportion and intensity.

Mr Sadananda Mahapatra
Deputy Director of Fisheries,
Cuttack



How relevant is independence for us? This question is very much debatable in the context of corruption, child abuse, atrocities and rape which is increasing day by day in our country. So we are certainly not....! We are still waiting for a real independence day on which a girl can move without fear in the night.

There are many reasons to say that we are still waiting for the Independence Day that was dreamt by the freedom fighters of India.

Namrata Pattnaik
HR Executive
Ronco Mechanicals, New Delhi



India celebrates
Independence Day on August 15

each year. But is our independence limited to flag hoisting and listening to a speech? Is it all about patriotic songs and movies? Or is it much more? Independence was not gifted to us but our leaders fought for it but the progress is limited to certain fields. There are plenty of issues from which the country needs to be liberated from, some of these are — poverty, illiteracy, corruption and violence against the weak. The social evils doing the devil dance in India have crippled us, our identities as proud Indians. This is because even after gaining independence we are neither self-governing, nor self-sufficient. The government should eradicate poverty, educate the masses and the youth should be given charge of uprooting corruption. People of every religion should live in peace and the day all this is done, that day will be the Independence Day for India.

Slipa Kanungo
Student
Allen Career Institute, KOTA



During Freedom Struggle all the leaders and the freedom fighters who had sacrificed a lot for their native country had brought a drastic change during those days. But as the days are passing by, these changes are getting transformed into corruption which has been putting a very bad impact on our country and society.

Sayed Azmat Ali,
Student, Christ College, Cuttack



The obvious question which arises again, if we are still not free when we will be free? “where the mind is without fear and the head is held high”.....not for the selected few.....but for all, irrespective of caste, religion, colour, creed, sex, region.....when opportunities exist and when the right to question



and query is not difficult.....when society is mutually accountable and mutually responsible.....when food, clothing, shelter, security, education, and equality become the unquestionable norms and Indians look ahead to larger necessities for life in general.....then and only then shall we be truly and justifiably be on the road to freedom.

Conclusion :

India became independent 66 years ago. But since then we are living in chains. The day India becomes free from corruption, terrorism, inflation, and such other vices, which have been eating away this country from inside, that will be the day we would become independent once again, and that too in the true sense of the word. India was once known as the 'golden bird'. It can be known as the 'golden bird' once again if it is liberated from poverty, illiteracy, corruption and violence.

The meaning of independence is not the same as envisaged before we got independence. Politically, every year we celebrate Independence Day on 15th of August. The meaning of independence kept changing consequently after we got independence. Every one described it according to their convenience. For the poor, meaning of freedom is freedom from poverty, for the illiterate it means freedom from illiteracy. Similarly, every category of individual had different meaning.

Today in our country, cowardice, submissiveness, flattery etc. prevail thus impeding the national interests. "India will become self reliant through self dependence". National industries, national education, national way of dressing and eating, national language can pave the way to progress.

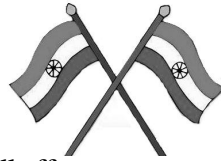
There are five main aims for making India healthy, prosperous and cultured. They are healthy India, clean India, self reliance through nationalism, curbing poverty and removal of starvation and unemployment by controlling population, freedom from political corruption through 100 per cent voting, thereby augmenting the pride of the country and again make her the leader of the world and the Golden Bird. For doing this we all have to wage a tough war and fight for ourselves.

The next evil of the country is the female foeticide. Even in the 21st century people take a girl child to be a burden and force the pregnant lady for abortion after undergoing a sex determination check. On one hand we have role models like Chanda Kochhar- who was the only female CEO amongst all other men in the list of Top 10 CEO's of India – and on the contrary, the male-female ratio even today is in fact a matter of concern.

Human Rights Violation by Sexual Violence in Independent India :

Gender discrimination is a global issue and violence against women is not only a crime but also a violation of women's human rights; rape or sexual violence for instance is not only an affront to the chastity of womankind but also a profound violation of her bodily integrity, security, and freedom from discrimination. We must stand firmly for the cause of the safety of the women and help protect the women's human rights.

Independent India has taken large strides in addressing issues like child education, health and development. However, child protection has remained largely unaddressed. There is now a realization that if issues of child abuse and neglect like female foeticide and infanticide, girl child discrimination, child marriage, trafficking of



children and so on are not addressed, it will affect the overall progress of the country.

It has been 67 years since we have achieved Independence and yet we have forgotten the real essence of being independent and the boon of being a free individual. Even after 67 years of Independence we have not fully reaped the fruit of independence. As time is passing by we hardly remember that Independence brings with itself a bunch of responsibilities and a vision to contribute in the country's progress and glorify its entity.

In the global scenario, India has gained a commendable position. We have excelled in science, art, commerce, military power. Yet, this

progress can be doubled if all Indians contribute at the same pace and with utmost dedication.

Let's take an oath today that we all will perform our duties and bear our responsibility in an honest way towards our family, society and nation.

Freedom in mind, Faith in words,
Pride in our heart, Memories in our souls...!!!!!!

Subhrata Pattnaik, "Satya Niwas", Sutahat Christian Sahi, Cuttack -1, Email-subhratapattnaik@gmail.com.



MSME Growth Dilemma : Create More or Reduce Mortality ?

Prof. B.B Kar

Prof. R.N Subudhi

Introduction:

We often hear about things like; if we have to achieve a GDP growth rate of 10 percent, then we need this many engineers, this many IT professionals, doctors, paramedics, nurses etc. Studies show that there exists a correlation between the expected growth rate and requirement of professionals to achieve such a growth rate. Even in case of a no-growth condition, we still theoretically need to have professionals, who are going to replace the professionals who would be retiring soon, out of the market. Similarly in case firms, new firm formation growth has to be sufficient, in order to achieve the economic growth. The new firm formation goes through a complex grid of economic, social, cultural and policy driven factors. Odisha, being a resource rich but economically poor state, needs more economic change agents (entrepreneurs) to convert resources to economic benefits, and drive the required growth. Government has brought many policies to give incentives to entrepreneurship in form of specific industry policies to MSME. New firm formations are more effectuated as MSMEs. So it becomes important to analyse the factors involved in the formation and mortality of MSMEs.

Here, in this article, we analyse these factors, in the context of Odisha.

Contribution of MSME to Economy

In India, MSMEs contribute about 40% to Exports, 8% to GDP. Based on the data of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), published by Central Statistics Office, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, the estimated contribution of Micro and Small Enterprises (MSEs) to GDP during 2008-09 (latest available) is around 8.72 percent.

Economic survey indicates that the number of units of MSME/ SSI formed during 1995-96 was 2507 and it reached 5505 during 2011-12. There is no data indicated for the period 1995-96 to 1999-2000. However, the MSME/ SSI formation data is continuous from 2000-01 to 2011-2012. If data from 1995 is considered, it gives a CAGR of 4.7%; if the data from 2000-01 is considered it gives a CAGR of 3.4%; and if the data is taken post MSME Act 2006 period the formation rate has the CAGR of 3.2%. There is a drop in the rate of formation post 2006, which is quite opposite to the anticipation and intervention of the government in terms of policies and governance measures. (Source: Annexure 4.2:



SSI/MSME Industries in Odisha, Economic Survey of Odisha 2012-13)

These raise few pertinent points like:

1. If there is an expected of GDP growth, at what rate the number of MSMEs should grow? One way to look at the anticipated growth can be, to maintain the proportion of contribution of MSMEs to GDP, whereas if the percentage contribution of MSMEs in the developed economies is looked at then the percentage contributed to GDP itself should grow. This can be a benchmark growth rate.
2. The growth of MSME means the net of the rates at which the MSMEs are formed and the rate at which they go out of business. If we are able to assess the mortality rate or the formation rate, correspondingly the other rate has to be adjusted to get the desired growth rate.
3. These rates (formation rate and mortality rate) would itself be changing with different socio-economic, cultural and demographic factors and contexts.
4. Macro Economic trend can be used to guide the MSME formation rate in the desired proportion. This becomes important because the entrepreneur with low market research capability is guided by instinct for a specific opportunity. The overall targeted growth of MSME can be further sub divided into different sectors and according to the proportion anticipated.

Expansion and Contraction in business; Large scale industries vs MSME:

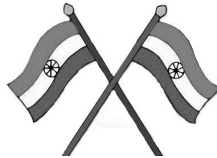
The difference between these two sectors is that; the large scale sector is more stable and is considered to be ongoing concern, compared to the MSME sector. However the theoretical “ongoing concern” is not considered sacrosanct.

Large conglomerates have vanished into thin air, because of the economic conundrum. Thus there is also a significant mortality rate for the large organizations as well.

The large organizations have another flexibility compared to that of MSMEs, they can reduce their size in case of economic problems, they can resize, merge, split etc. So the size and existence of large organizations are long term in nature. However, MSMEs being in the level of bare minimum state of existence does not have flexibility of financial or organizational metamorphosis. Thus they possibly operate at a binary state, they exist or don't exist; another state can be of hibernation, where in they exist in pen and paper but not on ground. This limitation exposes them to unfavourable comparison to large organization. If a division of large organization is shut down, it does not impact the existence. MSMEs don't have that flexibility in case of economic adversity; they either close down or hibernate.

It leads us to an important differentiation of large versus small organization in terms of organizational mortality.

In case of economic slowdown it is natural that the large organizations will shrink, so also it is true that MSME formation rate will be impacted and there will be shrinkage of the existing number of units. The formation rate will be impacted because there will be lack of exploitable opportunities, and the perceived risk for organization formation will be higher. The contra view is that in case of economic slowdown, there will be larger unemployment. The available pool for entrepreneurship will increase, thus there will be larger creation of forced entrepreneurship. Individuals will seek employment through creation of their own organization. Organizations created



in this process may indicate cyclicity. Such organizations formed during economic stress may not exist when there is economic growth, because such small organizations may not be of scale and may not support the entrepreneur's life style or expectation. Thus such organizations will exhibit higher mortality.

A dynamic formation and mortality rate for MSMEs would become stable in a stable economic condition, and the formation rate would tend to be the threshold rate. The mortality rate would also tend to stabilize. However it will be so only in case of stable economic condition and under no incentivisation condition from the Government.

Factors Impacting the Formation

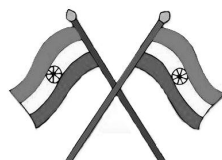
Rate: The rate of MSME/ entrepreneurship formation is dependent on factors which are quite basic and inherent to individual, social and cultural factors. These factors are much less impacted by incentives or programmes of government.

Entrepreneurial Perception: An individual takes up the act of entrepreneurship when s/he has the intention. The intention gets fructified when there are other suitable conditions like opportunity, group, finance etc. An individual is less likely to take up entrepreneurship because there are incentives available, the individual would rather wait a bit, put little more effort in securing a job rather than take up entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial intent would seek and identify entrepreneurial opportunity. Incentivization lowers the entry barrier perception and lack of employment opportunities would raise the exit barrier. A person is more likely to take up a part time temporary job rather than build organization which is neither part time nor temporary. The formation of organization is not part time or

temporary. Entrepreneurs are more likely to have long term focus than the employees. The time dimension and perception of the length of time in case of entrepreneurship brings out the risk arising because of time. A long duration project is riskier than a short term project.

Risk Perception: The risk propensity would determine a risk assessment, which could become much higher if the individual assessing the opportunity is not entrepreneurial. There are risk associated with entrepreneurial endeavour because of uncertainty in quantum and periodicity of cash flows. A periodic and low level of future cash flows is considered less risky than irregular but a high level of cash flow. A person thus should have ability to survive on low level of cash flows and should be able to wait different lengths of time than commonly assumed.

Time to be Successful: The assumed duration by which the entrepreneurs would expect to become successful should be less than the continuance period that the entrepreneur allows for himself. If the entrepreneur thinks that he would be successful by 4th year, if he persists, and he has the sustenance for more than 4 years, then the person would like to take up entrepreneurship rather than a person who thinks that at the level of the anticipated expenses or sustenance, he has less resources than the expected period to become successful. In India, it is noticed that in few communities, entrepreneurship is often started early, even it is given more preference to education. If we think about this fact, it indicates that the time required for becoming entrepreneurially successful and the life cycle stage should coincide. Each individual has some degree of entrepreneurial intent, this degree varies depending on the life cycle stages of the individual. In entrepreneurial endeavour



time to be successful is not deterministic. So if a person starts early, s/he has more chance to experiment and be successful.

Education: It is generally expected that education will help people to raise their level of expectation and make them successful. People with professional education are more likely to become successful entrepreneur. However if we look at few studies, people with higher and professional education lack the attitude and intent to be entrepreneurs. This is because, education helps them to have more alternative stable employment. The opportunity cost becomes substantially higher for highly educated and professionals to enter into entrepreneurship. Low skilled persons get into entrepreneurship by lack of choice and can not scale up later.

Networking: It is observed that immediate family, friends and network has more impact on the success of entrepreneur. It helps in forming the network, sourcing, finding opportunities, learning the “tricks of trade”. These factors are difficult to be imparted by just formal education or government policies and incentives. The risk perception gets reduced if the success story is available as an example at close quarters. These examples get emulated by the new entrepreneurs and the perceived risk gets shared and supported at a close network level. Higher propensity of few families or communities for business can be attributed to these factors.

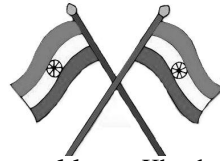
Discussion: From our discussions above we can infer that the rate of new MSME formation is less amenable to the available external incentives like policy of government or easy bank credit, it is more important that the mortality rate of the MSMEs be addressed. Susceptibility of the MSMEs during their infancy stages are more. It can be compared with the infant mortality rate as

well. The rate of formation can be less impacted by policies whereas the mortality rate of MSMEs at Infancy (MRMI) can be more controlled by the policies and incentives. The formation rate of MSMEs is less elastic to the government policies.

MSMEs being a substantial and integral part of the economy, can contribute after the stage of infancy. There is a learning curve for each MSMEs after which, they achieve a state of scale efficiency, competitiveness and acceptability. There is a phase or time lag from the time MSME is established and the time by which it becomes self sustainable. This period will be a variable depending on factors like innovativeness, investment, technology, scale, network, people, execution etc. It is difficult to predict a fixed number of years, the time from investment to the time the organization becomes financially self sustaining, but it can be estimated within a range. This information will greatly benefit to predict the level of investment and gestation period. Depending on the entrepreneurs risk appetite, it would be possible to indicate the choice of segment an entrepreneur should enter into. In few of the cases the entrepreneurs quit before time, because of this mismatch of entrepreneurs expected time to be successful and average time required to be successful.

The rate of formation can be guided in certain sectors of choice by the opportunity potential and support. Over emphasis or under emphasis through policy measures, towards a certain industry sector would skew the entrepreneur choice. The felt opportunity by the entrepreneur and policy emphasized opportunity will mismatch. This mismatch will not be in the long term interest of the economy.

Policy prescription may emphasize more on addressing the mortality of MSMEs than



formation. From a planning prospective, this could indicate the targeted net growth of MSME numbers.

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"Delighting in the Delightful : The Aesthetics of Gita Govinda and Odissi Dance"

Dr. Itishree Devi

Gita Govinda to me, is the culmination of the concentrated spiritual aspiration of a nation; of the masses of people who had no direct access to nor understanding of the highly philosophical ancient Hindu religious-spiritual texts like the Vedas, the Upanishads or even the Bhagavad Gita. Its appeal, as surely the poet Jayadeva meant it to be, was to the emotion, to the Bhava, the devotional fervour which can circumvent the rigours of formal education to reach the highest human goal: the realisation of the Oneness of the Supreme Godhead and his Creation. The *Gita Govinda*, in as much as it was written by Jayadeva, is yet the cultural self-expression of a people restless and seeking a simple yet effective path of self realisation.

The word culture has been comprehensively defined by the Seer- poet and Yogi Sri Aurobindo as “ the expression of a consciousness of life which formulates itself in three aspects.”

1. There is a side of thought, of ideal, of upward will and the soul’s aspiration (expressed in its philosophy & religion).
2. There is a side of creative self-expression and appreciative aesthesis, intelligence and imagination (expressed in art, poetry and literature).

3. There is a side of practical and outward formulation (seen in its society, politics and behaviour).

While the first derives from analytical intellect and thought, and the last from a spontaneous social tendency of a community developed over the years, it is the second aspect, dealing with creativity in art and literature, that has its source in the love of beauty, the purely aesthetic, manifested by a combination of intelligence, imagination and inspiration. Its appeal is as much to the senses as to the emotion and sensibilities.

The Gita Govinda describes the chief among all emotions, “Love”; hence its common and widespread appeal throughout the nation, paralleled only by the philosophical text of the Bhagavad Gita. “Rasa”, the flavour of a pervading emotion or “Bhava”, is at the heart of the Gita Govinda. But what we are discussing here is the relationship of Gita Govinda to Odissi Dance. As I see it, the two most beautiful art forms that have withstood the test of time in Odisha are dance and sculpture. Which form predates which is debatable only through intense scholarly pursuit? For us it suffices to say that for centuries they have mutually, both ‘complemented’ and ‘complimented’ each other. The supremely artistic



and emotive creation of the *Gita Govinda*, in the 12th Century formed the perfect third apex of the “Prism” that absorbed and reflected the Divine essence, creating a myriad-coloured spectrum of the rainbow.

The Western mind, unacquainted with the workings of the religious-spiritual ethos of India, has often criticised or smiled with contemptuous tolerance at the obsession with the erotic in Indian art. In extreme cases Indian art has been accused of gross vulgarity, especially in the overtly erotic temple sculptures. Sadly enough even some Indian critics conform to this view in their over-enthusiasm to not appear hypocritical. Viewed from such priggish sensibilities the *Gita Govinda* would fall under similar standards of the so-called profane and the vulgar. Happily things have changed in recent times and such flawed views have been refuted through research and reasoning, ironically by Western scholars again; known for their pursuit of knowledge and truth.

However, this jaundiced perception may be attributed to the highly puritanical philosophy of Christianity, which marks a clear distinction between the spiritual and the mundane and lays down celibacy as a precondition for the pursuit of the spirit. Whereas Hinduism or the Sanatana Dhrama embraces the mundane and earthly as part of reality that need not be ignored nor repudiated, but rather raised to the level of the Divine, until it becomes redundant in the final transformation of human love into its ultimate consummation in Divine love.

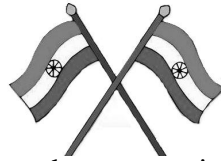
As Barbara Stoller-Miller points out: “The Sanskrit poets came to realise the unique power and the aesthetic potential of sexual passion (*rati-bhava*) in its aspects of pain and pleasure. The erotic mood that emerges from passion was expressed in the antithetical modes of separation

and consummation. To experience this mood in the interplay of its two modes was considered the highest of aesthetic joy. Jayadeva created the religiously potent atmosphere of the *Gita Govinda* by exploring the poignant mood of separation within the broader play of the divine passion in consummation.”

What made Odissi Dance the perfect vehicle for expression and propagation of the *Gita Govinda* was the pervasiveness of the Vaishnavite cult which was sweepingly over-riding its predecessors- Buddhism, Tantrism and Shaivism prevalent at the time. Unlike the awe-inspiring austerity of Buddhism and Shaivism, the cult of Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu, a cowherd prince engaged in romantic dalliance with village maidens, was more endearing, more readily acceptable.

The eroticism of temple sculptures and the *Gita Govinda*, through its physical and emotional rendering in dance by Devadasis (female servitors assigned to temples) in ritualistic practices dedicated to Lord Jagannath, dispelled any lingering doubts and raised art to its true spiritual level. The fluidity of movements, the devotional aspect of temple rituals, and the emotional intensity of human love and Divine love represented through Radha & Krishna in the *Gita Govinda*, gave a final sanction to the ascension of the aesthetic into the sublimely spiritual. This was the whole intent and purport of the *Gita Govinda*. The intensity of human passion, (when performed) through Odissi dance, became synonymous with spiritual intensity.

I quote from Barbara Stoller-Miller: “Passion is made palpable through sensuous descriptions of movements and physical forms. Seasonal changes in Nature and bodily signs of inner feelings are coloured richly to create a dense



atmosphere of passion.” She further states that “The theorists dictated that the gestures exposing a character’s mental states must be subtle, expressive enough to arouse a sensitive audience but never so crudely detailed that they simulate wanton desire. In the Gita Govinda this restraint functions to make potentially pornographic subject matter the material of aesthetic and religious experience.” How strictly the legendary Dance *gurus* have adhered to this subtlety of expression is evident from their choreography of the songs from the “Gita Govinda”.

While Odissi has seen a transition from the temple to the stage in modern times, the onus of not compromising its spiritual essence rests on the shoulders of the artists. To my mind one artist who has succeeded eminently in carrying this burden with élan, and in paving the way for others, is none other than Guru Kelucharan Mohapatra. Anyone who has seen him perform one of the most erotic pieces of Gita Govinda - “Kuru Yadu Nandana”, cannot but agree with me.

Sri Aurobindo writes: “The first and lowest use of art is the purely aesthetic, the second is the intellect or educative, the third and the highest the spiritual.” However, while saying this he does not undermine the value of aesthetics in humanity. In fact he relates Aristotle’s idea on art as ‘a means for the purification of feelings,

passions and emotions’ with the justification of the aesthetic side of art. He says, “The beautiful and the good are held by many thinkers to be the same”. We can draw here a parallel with the famous lines by John Keats “Beauty is truth, truth beauty - that is all ye know on earth and all ye need to know”.

To quote Sri Aurobindo again: “According to our philosophy the whole world came out of “Ananda” and returns into Ananda, and the triple term in which Ananda may be stated is Joy, Love, Beauty. To see divine beauty in the whole world, man, life, nature, to love that (which) we have seen and to have pure unalloyed bliss in that love and that beauty, is the appointed road by which mankind as a race must climb to God.” It is this pure unalloyed love, beauty and bliss that the Gita Govinda achieves and that all dance exponents must assay to achieve through their performance, both for themselves and for the audience.

The pleasure of the senses must be replaced by the “Akhanda Rasa”, undifferentiated and unabridged delight in the delightfulness of things”- says Sri Aurobindo. Undoubtedly the “Gita Govinda”, in its renderings in music and dance has been eminently successful in delighting us with this delight, arousing in us the “Akhanda Rasa”.



Democracy in SriRam Chandra Bhanja Deo's State Politics: An Analysis

Harapriya Das

The Chinese Proverb “the great men are public misfortune” has really become a matter of challenge when it is compared with the life and career of Maharaja SriRam Chandra Bhanja Deo. He belonged to a royal family and was brought up with all requisite qualities of a princely character. During the colonial rule in India, he was the head of a feudatory State called Mayurbhanj of Odisha. In spite of his blueblood lineage, he claimed himself as a man of common origin. His sincere love to Odia society and culture truly promoted Odia nationalism in the distracted land of the then Odisha. On the other hand, Carlyle’s statement i.e. “History is nothing but the biography of great men” seems partly to bear an empirical judgment because the history of Mayurbhanj during colonial rule is known for the biography of Maharaja SriRam Chandra Bhanja Deo. Born on 17th December 1870¹, he proved himself as a man of perfect knowledge and wisdom. Taking the cause of his minority (1882 to 1890), the State of Mayurbhanj was ruled under the “Court of wards”². After the eight years of management of the Mayurbhanj State, the British Government handed over the charge of administration to the young King SriRam Chandra Bhanja Deo in September 1890, with some restrictions of powers which were withdrawn later and the new King directly assumed the charge on 15th August 1892 at the age of 21³. With the help and co-

operation of the colonial power, from the very beginning, the new King took all possible measures to build Mayurbhanj, as an exemplary State among all other feudatory States of his time. SriRam Chandra Bhanja Deo, followed liberalism and humanism as the basic principles of his administration and ruled accordingly.

As the Chief of the State, he first separated the judiciary from the executive organs⁴. For the administrative convenience the State was divided into four Sub-Divisions i.e. Sadar, Bamanghatti, Panchpir and newly created Kaptipada⁵. The Courts were set up to administer the laws as in British India. Each Sub-Division was kept under the charge of a Sub-Divisional Officer, who exercised the magisterial powers whereas the Sadar Sub-Division was placed under the State Collector. The King directly controlled the police, public works, forest, education and the health department. Revenue, settlement, agriculture and Zamindari departments were kept under the jurisdiction of Dewan. All the Sub-Divisional Officers were worked under the Dewan, as the Collector of their respective Sub-Divisions. In judicial matters, the State Judges were the head of their respective departments and controlled the Sub-judge, Magistrates, Sub-Divisional Officers, Deputy Magistrates and Munsifs. In the Sub-Division of Bamanghatti and Panchpir the Sub-Divisional



Officers exercised both judicial and executive powers⁶. For the first time a regular graded service system having benefit of pension was introduced by the Maharaja in the State⁷.

In monarchical government the democratic touch of legislative council was founded by the King according to the British method. To run the State in a democratic way, the King established the Mayurbhanj State Council to help him in administration. It was an advance idea for the State, which did not exist in other feudatory States in Odisha. The Mayurbhanj State Council was set up on 15th August 1892, with the King as the President of the Council⁸. He was assisted by the Dewan, the State Judge, the Superintendent of Police, the State Engineer and two non-official members, who were nominated by the President⁹. Among the nominated members, one member from the Royal family and another from the citizen of the State were selected. In 1892, Maharaja nominated Brundaban Chandra Bhanja Deo and Babu Ram Hari Jit Beborta, as two non-official members of the Council¹⁰. In all administrative measures Mr. H.B. Kiddlle, the Superintendent of Police and Mr. J.A. Martin the State Engineer, were directly associated with the Chief. The Mayurbhanj State Council regularly met to discuss the following matters, i.e; (I) the annual budget estimate; (II) the legislative matters; (III) the administrative rule for all departments; (IV) taxation; (V) annual reports of all departments; and (VI) any other matters which could be referred to by the Maharaja¹¹. Under the benign care of the Maharaja, Mayurbhanj was geared up to flow the path of benevolent administration.

From the inaugural session of the Mayurbhanj State Council, there were total 21 sittings held, in which the Maharaja presided with a very enthusiastic manner. He invited all the members (official and non-official) to participate and gave their valuable suggestions for the

development of the council as well as the State. As the non-official member of the Mayurbhanj State Council, Gopabandhu Das attained three sittings of the council:- on 25th February 1910;¹² 7th April 1910¹³ and on 7th April 1911¹⁴.

During his 1st sitting, Gopabandhu Das, opposed the introduction of court fees Act, by saying; “the increased fee would give the rich an opportunity to oppress the poor” and for the introduction of the Arm Regulation, he said, “the bill had been intended to face Arm danger, but there were event occurred in Mayurbhanj to justify its introduction”. The 3rd meeting was held on 7th April 1911, Gopabandhu Das, congratulated the Chief on behalf of the subjects of Mayurbhanj, for his successful tour round the world. During the budgetary discussion, Gopabandhu Das deplored the low budgetary allocation for education, which amounted to only 3.5% of the total revenue of the State. Gopabandhu Das, took an effective part in the deliberation of the councils and expressed his feelings freely for the poorer sections of the society, which was always welcomed and praised by the Maharaja.

Besides the regular discussions, the Mayurbhanj State Council passed a number of regulations for the development of the State as well as of the people. On 1st August 1892, the 1st Regulation was passed by the Mayurbhanj State Council known as the “Regulation II of 1892”.¹⁵ Under this regulation seven Acts were passed including the Indian penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Civil Procedure Code and Evidence Act. The enactments were binding on all courts of the state. The judicial committee was first of its kind in the then Odisha to function as the High Court. The State Council was empowered to hear appeals even against the orders of the Maharaja exercising casting votes in the council as its President. Another important Regulation was passed by the Council in the year 1896, known as the regulation I of 1896¹⁶. It



gave to the peasant's occupancy rights over the lands cultivated by him. Every raiyat who cultivated or held land continuously for a period of six years had a right to occupancy on the land to hold. Important laws, relating to survey and settlement, land revenue, civil and criminal court regulation, registration regulation, stamp and court fee law, law relating to administration of Hindu religious endowment were also passed by the council.

In 1908, the Mayurbhanj State Council under the regulation I, II and III of 1908¹⁷ passed important legislations viz. (1) The Mayurbhanj Emigration regulation, which prevented the emigration of tribal as labourer to the tea gardens of Assam; (2) The regulation for the exclusion of the undesirables, which was passed to empower the Maharaja with certain arbitrary power to expel any person from the state without assigning any reason and ask the personnel not grant to leave the state within 24 hours. The law was popularly known as "Twenty four hours law". In February 1910¹⁸, the regulation II of 1910 was passed by the Mayurbhanj State Council. The Arm regulation; the Amending regulation; the delegation of Power Regulation and the Mutation regulation were passed. In the last sitting of the Mayurbhanj State Council held on 7th April 1911, Maharaja said that, "Next year there would be more room for the better study of the budget, we hoped. He had, heard with interest the discussion on education and sanitation, which the speaker had delivered. He himself had not been less enthusiastic on education but experience had succeeded in rubbing out that idealism. All knew the value of education and they were doing their best for its furtherance, but to bring about a millennium was, he said impossibility, at least within two or three generation to come"¹⁹. Though Maharaja received a premature death in 1912, but he emerged as a very philanthropic King, who

was very eager for the development and betterment of his subjects.

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Empowering India with Gender Equality

Dr. Sanghamitra Deobhanj

“To call woman the weaker sex is a libel; it is man’s injustice to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength, then, indeed, is woman less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man’s superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self-sacrificing, has she not greater powers of endurance, has she not greater courage? Without her, man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman. Who can make a more effective appeal to the heart than woman?”

– Mahatma Gandhi

[*To the Women of India (Young India, Oct. 4, 1930)*]

Introduction:

Achieving gender equality has become a development challenge for India. Women are entitled to live with dignity in society and enjoy freedom from humiliation, fear, exploitation and every type of violence. A girl child born today still faces inequality and discrimination in many ways. In spite of the social, political, legal and constitutional efforts, women in our country still face discrimination in access to education, jobs and participation in decision-making both in family and in society. In many other countries similar situations are also prevailing, but India must take sincere action to bridge the gap and be an example for others. After six decades and seven years of independence from the British rule, India is still way behind from the threshold of achieving gender equality in many vital sectors like education, health and economy.

The Background:

Gender equality is defined as the measurable equal representation of women and men. Gender equality does not imply that women and men are the same, but that they have equal value and should be accorded equal respect and treatment. It refers to the view that men and women should receive equal benefit, and should not be discriminated on the basis of gender, unless there is a sound biological reason for different treatment. The United Nations regards gender equality as a human right.

If we look back into past years in the history, we can see that in the wider society, the movement towards gender equality, especially in Western countries, began with the suffragette movement of the late-19th century, which sought to allow women to vote and hold elected offices. Suffragettes were members of women’s



organization (fighting for the right to vote) movements in the late 19th and early 20th century, particularly in the United Kingdom and United States. In the 1960s, a more general movement for gender equality developed based on women's liberation and feminism. The central issue was that the rights of women should be equal to men. Gradually, there have been substantial changes to women's property rights, particularly in relation to their marital status. There was also a change in social views, including "equal pay for equal work" as well as most occupations being made equally accessible to men and women, in many countries. For example, many countries now approve women to serve in the armed forces, the police forces, and to be fire fighters and airline pilots – occupations traditionally reserved for men. Although these continue to be male dominated occupations an increasing number of women are now active, especially in directive fields such as politics and occupy high positions in business.

Global Interventions:

The United Nations Population Fund has declared that men and women have a right to equality. The United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which are eight in number are considered to be the most successful global anti-poverty push in the history of development. Amongst all these MDG goals the third vital goal is to 'Promote Gender Equality and Empower of Women'. Gender equality and women empowerment is acknowledged as being a key to achieving the other seven goals. The United Nations Millennium Project has the aim to end world poverty by 2015; the project claims, "Every single Goal is directly related to women's rights and societies where women are not afforded equal rights as men can never achieve development in a sustainable manner.

UNICEF describes that gender equality "means that women and men, and girls and boys, enjoy the same rights, resources, opportunities and protections. It does not require that girls and boys, or women and men, be the same, or that they be treated exactly alike. The United Nations Population Fund has declared that men and women have a right to equality. "Gender equity" is one of the goals of Gender equality is part of the national curriculum in Great Britain and many other European countries. Personal, Social and Health Education, religious studies and Language acquisition curricula tend to address gender equality issues as a very serious topic for discussion and analysis of its effect in society.

UN Women's work in India on promoting political leadership and governance is the largest programmatic intervention globally on this issue. UN Women is conducting far reaching and exciting work. UN Women works with women and men across five states: Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and Rajasthan. UN Women has partnered with local civil society organisations to train women and men involved in the Gram Sabhas. Over half a million elected women representatives have participated in leadership training workshops. As part of the training, women learn about their rights and responsibilities. They learn skills to lead and represent their villages. Women draw attention to issues as far ranging as child marriage, violence against women, sanitation, education, access to water and financial independence. By increasing the rates of women's participation and building their skills to become more influential leaders, these women will be able to more readily influence resource allocation and public policy. It has been viewed that during the panchayat elections in Odisha in February 2012, as a result of SWEEP campaigns organized by UN Women and the Hunger Project, more women were elected from



seats that were open to both men and women in Gajapati and Dhenkanal districts of Odisha.

National Level Efforts:

A signatory to the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), India has a number of progressive laws that support gender equality and aims for ending discrimination and violence against women. In 2012, the President of India launched the National Mission for the Empowerment of Women (NMEW) which has a five year mandate to achieve inter-sectorial convergence of all pro-women and women-centric programmes across Ministries. More recently, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 2013 expands the scope of sexual and gender based crimes against women. Under the Sexual Harassment of Women at the Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act 2013, the Government of India has pledged to establish 100 One Stop Crisis Centres and the creation of a 1000 Crore Nirbhaya Fund to respond to Violence against Women and Girls.

Special initiatives for women like National Commission for Women, Reservation for Women in Local Self –Government, National Policy for the Empowerment of Women, 2001 has been undertaken during the past years.

Constitutional and Legal Safeguards:

The Constitution of India grants equality to women and also empowers the State to adopt measures in favour of women for equalising the cumulative socio economic, education and political disadvantages faced by them. The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles of State Policy. Article 14 of the Indian

Constitution which deals with the equality before law states that, the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Articles 15, 15(3), 16, 39(a), 39(b), 39(c), 42, 46, 47, 51 (A) (e), 243 D(3), 243 D (4), 243 T (3), 243 T (4) of the Constitution are also of specific importance in this regard.

To uphold the Constitutional provisions, India has enacted various legislative measures intended to ensure equal rights, to challenge social discrimination and various forms of violence and atrocities and to provide support services especially to working women. Although all laws are not gender specific, the provisions of law affecting women significantly have been reviewed periodically and amendments are carried out regularly to keep pace with the emerging requirements. The Personal Laws (Amendment) Act, 2010, notified very recently, has removed the gender discriminatory provisions from two different laws - the Guardians and Wards Act, 1890 and Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956.

Statistical Scenario:

The Global Gender Gap Report 2013 released by the World Economic Forum (WEF) has put India's ranking at 101st position amongst 136 countries. The Global Gender Gap Index tries to measure the 'relative gaps between women and men' across countries. India's gender gap index was 0.655 on a zero to 1 scale, with zero denoting inequality and 1, denoting equality.

The rankings are based on four of sub-indices that measure economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment. It is in the



political empowerment sector that India has scored strong, being ranked 9th. India has got the positions of 124 in terms of economic participation and equality, 120 for educational attainment and 135 for health and survival. Iceland has been named the country with the narrowest gender gap in the world, for the fifth consecutive year, by the WEF. The annual gender gap index places Iceland in first place with Finland following in second. Norway, Sweden and the Philippines take third, fourth and fifth place respectively in the index.

As per the findings of Grant Thornton's International Business Report (2012), Russia has the highest proportion of women in senior management posts which is 46% followed by Botswana, Philippines and Thailand (39%, each). Japan has only 5%, India 14%, and the United Arab Emirates 15% women seniors.

According to a 2013 report based on a survey conducted by Pay check India, researchers at IIM-Ahmedabad said women in top positions earn 38.59 per cent less than men in India. The report also states that Women employed in Accommodation and Food Service earned 4.19 per cent less than men whereas those employed in Arts, Entertainment and the Recreation industry

earned 41.17 per cent less than men. Less pay for equal work in case of female workers is prevalent in many other countries also.

As per December 2009 report by UGC, the total number of women vice-chancellors were 13 out of 431 universities which comes to a mere 3% of the total figure. Out of these 13 women vice chancellors 6 were from universities having women colleges only.

“Saksham,” is the report of the Task Force set up by UGC to review the measures for ensuring safety and security of women in campuses and programmes for gender sensitization. According to the report, only 4 per cent educational institutions or campuses had a helpline number that women students and faculty could call, 8.3 per cent had a complaint box, around 10 per cent had installed CCTV cameras, 10.9 percent campuses had patrolling guards who keep watch on girls' hostels and women's departments, 18.5 percent had female security guards, 26.6 percent had vigilance committees and other measures.

Gender inequality in education and health can be explained to a considerable extent by social preference, regional factors, and freedom for decision making.

Table-1: Sex Ratio and Gender Gap in Literacy Rate

Years	Literacy Rate			Sex Ratio (Females per 1000 Males)
	Total	Male	Female	
1951	18.33	27.16	8.86	946
1961	28.30	40.40	15.35	941
1971	34.45	45.95	21.97	930
1981	43.57	56.38	29.76	934
1991	52.21	64.13	39.29	927
2001	64.83	75.26	53.67	933
2011	74.04	82.14	65.46	940

Source: 2011 Census Data, Govt. of India.



The Table1 depicts the gender gap in literacy rates and the status of sex ratio figures since independence through the census data.

This evidence of statistical data and research findings are strong enough for policy makers and planners to take action on inequality – eventhough more research is needed on particular types of inequality, for example those related to gender, security and justice.

Conclusion:

Human resources are the most valuable asset of a country to improve its economy and social development. Women should not be neglected on any front for the progress of mankind. Educated, skilled, motivated, matured and disciplined men and women are the keys to the prospering economic development of a country. Equality has been recognized as an important value in the United Nations Millennium Declaration and underlines various human rights treaties. Now it is the time to devise concrete policies and measures to assess progress in the implementation of those policies for gender equality.

Addressing inequalities is also important from a peace and security perspective. The need for raising the minimum wages of women workers engaged in agricultural and industrial sector is of

great importance. Women need universal access to essential services like education, information, transport, water and sanitation, etc. December 16 gang rape highlighted that women are not safe in big cities and more strict action needs to be taken to provide a safe environment to live in with dignity and respect. Some specific gang rape cases hint that caste factor still rules in rural areas and large numbers of women are falling victims to it. Diversities in ethnic, linguistic, regional, religious, economic, class and caste groups have given India a large variety of intermingled culture. Amidst the complexities of Indian life, gender equality enhances harmony and co-existence and tries to promote the values for a sustainable society and has the potential to empower India to march ahead towards peace and prosperity.

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Career Guidance in Mining Sector

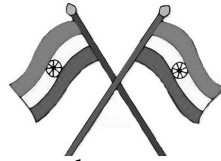
Hemanta Kumar Nayak

Mining Sector offers opportunities for all classes of workforce i.e. skilled and semi-skilled, the vocationally trained mining technicians, a polytechnic pass out, the professionally trained, mining engineers from various engineering institutes like Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad, Odisha School of Mining Engineering, Keonjhar etc. as also the non-technical class of people with both professional and semi-professional qualifications. The mining sector requires persons with technical background to carry out the mining operations in large numbers and it also requires huge manpower for allied operations which are needed for servicing the mining job. This sector needs drillers for both surface and underground mining; it needs technical mining hand in the supervisory level and professionally trained mining engineers for effectively managing the mining operations.

The greatest myth about the mining sector is that it is a risky venture, where safety of life and limb is endangered. Nothing can be farther from truth. The fact is that mining is a career where there are opportunities for growth, development and more importantly it provides a better chance to contribute to national prosperity and progress. The large canvass of mining sector provides for opportunities to people with diverse skills. The belief that careers in the mining sector is all about

mining and only mining operations is again misleading. Mining is the oldest industry after agriculture and over the ages it has evolved and matured into a kind of sector where people of different orientations and skills are required. Further, mining in India being more labour intensive in comparison to other sectors, it opens avenues for wide and varied segments of human resources. Given its strategic importance for India, the sector is set to grow and open up new avenues for the young and the desiring. The sector is one of the largest employers that has been witnessing fast rate of job growth.

Institutions like Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad provide degree programmes in many of these courses at both undergraduate and post graduate level that are offered by several leading Government and private institutions like IITs, BIT, Sindri, University of Petroleum and Energy Studies, Dehradun, Odisha School of Mining Engineering, Keonjhar, etc that provide customized courses/training for the mining sector. The country is producing less number of mining trained personnel in comparison to others like the general MBAs etc. As a result of which the other sectors are getting saturated. Mining is facing a dearth of trained manpower particularly in the supervisory level. A case in point is the category of mining overman and mining sirdar in the Indian



coal industry. This sector is alone facing a crunch in these two categories to the tune of several hundreds.

One weakness of the mining sector in the country is that it is often associated with pollution, environmental degradation and conflict with the community. A new cadre has emerged in the mining sector which is the environment cadre. There is a great demand for environment professionals in the mining sector and many institutions have already opened up degree engineering programmes in environmental engineering, some have even customized it to the extent of Mining Environment Engineering. Similarly, conflict with the community as to displacement and other issues has opened up

opportunities for social science and management professional who specialise in rehabilitation and resettlement, community development and corporate social responsibility. Mining has withstood the test of times and survived through ages to retain its importance as an instrument of industrial development. The trend is still continuing and for those willing to take the plunge, sky is the limit in the mining sector.

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Odisha Update

THREE THOUSAND LADY MATRONS FOR S.T. & S.C GIRLS' HOSTELS

Three thousand Lady Matrons will be engaged in the S.T. & S.C Girls' Hostels under S.T. & S.C. Development Department with effect from 2014-15 Financial Year. Creation of these posts has been concurred in by the Finance Deptt. vide their UOR No.91-SS-II dtd.13.5.14. Contractual Lady Matron Posts will carry consolidated remuneration @ Rs.7,500/- per month for engagement in ST & SC Girls Hostels functioning all over the State under ST & SC Development Deptt. The District Collectors are requested to take necessary immediate steps for engagement of Lady Matrons in the Girls Hostels functioning under SSD Deptt. in order to look after the Girl students. For district-wise selection of Lady Matrons and to ascertain their duty-chart, a Guideline has been prepared by ST I& SC Development Department, says Prof. A.B.Ota, Director (ST) of the Department.

Dr. Jyotirmati Samantaray, Information Officer

GOVERNMENT CONSTITUTES "ODISHA WATER SUPPLY & SEWERAGE BOARD" FOR THE COMING THREE YEARS

In exercise of the power conferred on by Sub-Section (1) of Section-4 of Odisha Water Supply and Sewerage Board Act, 1991 and in modification to Housing & Urban Development Notification No.1221/HUD, dated 16.01.2010 & No.22533/HUD, dated 15.07.2013, Government have been pleased to constitute "Odisha Water Supply & Sewerage Board" consisting of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and the following members.

The Vice-Chairman appointed under clause (b) and the members nominated under clause(g) of Sub-Section(1) of Section -4 shall hold office for three years from the date of issue of this notification i.e. from 23.07.2014.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1. Minister, Housing & Urban Development | - Chairman |
| 2. Commissioner-cum-Secretary to Govt, H&UD Deptt | - Vice-Chairman |
| 3. Additional Secretary, Finance-cum-Director, Institutional Finance | - Ex-officio Member |
| 4. Director, Municipal Administration, H&UD Department | - Ex-officio Member |
| 5. Sri Chitta Ranjan Mohanty, Ex-Chief Engineer, PH(Retd.) | - Non-official Member |
| 6. Sri Surendra Kumar Mohanty, Ex-EIC, PH (Retd.) | - Non-official Member |
| 7. Chief Engineer, PH(Urban), Odisha, Bhubaneswar | - Member(Technical) |
| 8. Chief Engineer-cum-Additional Secy to Govt., H&UD Department | - Member(Technical) |
| 9. EIC-cum-Member Secretary, OWS & SB, Bhubaneswar | - Member Secretary |

Hemanta Kumar Nayak, Information Officer