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NIKUNJA KISHORE SUNDARAY, I.A.S.
Commissioner-cum- Secretary

BAISHNAB PRASAD MOHANTY
Director-cum-Joint Secretary

LENIN MOHANTY
Editor

Editorial Assistance
Bibhu Chandra Mishra
Bikram Maharana

Production Assistance
Debasis Pattnaik
Sadhana Mishra

Manas R. Nayak
Cover Design & Illustration

Hemanta Kumar Sahoo
D.T.P. & Design

Raju Singh
Manas Ranjan Mohanty
Photo

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E-mail : iprsec.or@nic.in
iprsec@rediffmail.com
Visit : <http://orissa.gov.in>
Contact : 9937057528(M)

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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.

Message of
SHRI M.C. BHANDARE,
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF ODISHA
ON THE OCCASION OF REPUBLIC DAY-2012

Dear Sisters & Brothers,

On the auspicious occasion of the celebration of Republic Day 2012, I convey my warm greetings and good wishes to the people of Odisha.

On this historic day in 1950, India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic. It is a day of great pride and joy for every Indian. This occasion is always a solemn reminder of the sacrifice of the martyrs who dedicated their lives during the freedom movement. On this sacred day we fondly remember those immortal souls, freedom fighters and martyrs for whose sacrifice we attained the goal of freedom.

On this august occasion, we also remember with gratitude the greatest contribution of the Framers of our Constitution, which provided us with a frame work for democratic governance of the world's largest democracy.

Our Constitution is not just a mere set of fundamental laws that form the basis of governance of our country but it embodies and reflects strong democratic values, philosophy and objectives. The makers of Indian Constitution have reflected the hopes, aspirations and dream of each caste, class and community of the country in our Constitution.

Here it is quite relevant to quote Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement during a debate in the Constituent Assembly that "A Constitution, if it is out of touch with the people's life, aims and aspirations, becomes rather empty."

In the making of the Constitution, a very valuable role was played by the Drafting Committee. The Committee was constituted on 29th August 1947 with Dr. B.R.Ambedkar as its Chairman. The members of the Committee were B.L.Mitter, N.Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, Alladi Krishna Swami Ayyar, K.M.Munshi, S.M.Saadulla, N.Madhab Rao and D.P.Khaitan. After the death of D.P.Khaitan, T.T Krishnamachari was its member. A draft constitution was prepared by the Committee in a period of 2 years, 11 months and 18 days. After many deliberations and some modifications the Constitution of India came into effect on 26th January 1950.

The significance of Republic Day is borne in the assertion of sovereignty of the people. It is on this day, that the sovereignty of the people came into force. We became the masters of our own destiny. All the individuals irrespective of race, religion, sex, colour, position and power became equal in the eyes of law and all were assured of equal protection by law.

The Republic Day gives scope to the countrymen to assess how much have been achieved and how much is still to be achieved. Prosperity for any Nation has never come on a easy way. It is only through discipline and hard work that we can successfully meet the challenges ahead. Today, my appeal to all of you is to rise above all petty considerations and work unitedly with determination to achieve the task that lies before us to make Odisha a front-runner State of our Country.

Jai Hind.

Message of
SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK,
HON'BLE CHIEF MINISTER
ON THE OCCASION OF
REPUBLIC DAY - 2012

Dear sisters and brothers,

Today is the Republic Day. On this occasion I convey my greetings to the brothers and sisters of Odisha.

On this sacred day, I offer my profound homage to the great patriots and freedom fighters like Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, Netajee Subhas Chandra Bose, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, Utkalmani Pundit Gopabandhu Das, Utkal Gourav Madhusudan Das, Veer Surendra Sai, Saheed Laxman Nayak, Gopabandhu Choudhury and Ma Ramadevi.

On this august occasion, I also pay my tribute to the valiant Jawans who had sacrificed their lives for the sake of country's protection and peace.

Our Constitution was enforced on 26th January 1950. Dr. Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ambedkar was the founding father of our Constitution. On this occasion I express my deep respect towards him and all the Constituent Assembly members.

Our Constitution is an ideal Constitution. Justice, Equality and Freedom are its fundamentals. Importance has been laid on protection of the rights of all the citizens along with development of all the regions. Its aim is to form an exploitation-free and progressive society. It has unitedly tied the multi-language, religion and caste of the great country like India. It is our prime responsibility to upkeep this spirit and glory of our Constitution.

The Freedom Movement of India has shown a new path of struggle to the world history. Under the leadership of Gandhijee and on the basis of truth and non-violence, the struggle of the Indians against the mighty British Government has no comparison. In this freedom struggle, Odisha had significant contribution. The freedom fighters from Odisha participated in the movement during different phases of the freedom struggle from 1817 to 1942 and have strengthened this movement. The sacrifice and courage of our freedom fighters for independence of the country will always inspire us.

Republic Day carries significance in our national life. It makes us aware of our responsibility towards the country. Morality and ideality are the basic theme of our governance system. Rights and responsibilities are most important in it. Along with these rights we have to be conscious towards our duties.

Corruption is the enemy of the democracy. Corruption destroys the essence of the democratic system. So it is essential on the part of the general public to be alert in curbing corruption at each level. Democracy will further be strengthened by developing the qualities like determination, honesty, awareness and respecting others opinion.

India has shown the whole world the path of Peace, Truth and Non-violence. Emperor Ashoka had spread the message of peace and non-violence from our land to the whole of the world. Our culture and tradition have eulogized universal love and humanity. Our artistic exploration has enhanced our pride in the country and abroad. The prestige of India as a successful democracy has been increased in the world. We feel proud to be a citizen of independent India.

After the independence, our country as well as our State has achieved development in various spheres. People's confidence on democracy has been augmented. Consciousness has been infused in the mind of the people. With the expansion of Science and Technology, prosperity has come in the lifestyle of the people. Our reputation has been increased in the fields of economy, science and research. After the independence, though growth has been ensured in various spheres of our country as well as the State, still there are enough works to be done for justifying the aims of the independence.

Mahatma Gandhi was always giving importance on the development of villages. In the words of Gandhijee the soul of India is remaining in the village. He was paying more attention for strengthening the economy of the village. His 'Khadi' programme had created an awakening in the entire country. Through 'Khadi' movement he had spread the message of self-esteem in villages.

Let us come and join hands to further strengthen our efforts for realizing the dream of Mahatma Gandhi to form an empowered and self-respecting India.

Jai Hind.

Message of
Shri Surya Narayan Patro,
Hon'ble Minister, Revenue & Disaster Management,
Information & Public Relations on the occasion of
Republic Day - 2012

I convey my best wishes and hearty greetings to the people of Odisha on the occasion of the Republic Day of India.

The Republic Day is a momentous occasion in our National life. On this day in 1950 India adopted its own constitution which proclaims India as a Sovereign, Democratic, Secular and Socialist Republic. Since then, we have been collectively striving hard to realize the declared objectives of our constitution and now this constitution has boosted the image of India as a premier democratic country in the whole world.

On this auspicious occasion we pay our respectful homage to the makers of our Constitution. We also pay our tribute to the memory of those illustrious freedom fighters whose sacrifice and dedication brought the light of freedom to us.

On this memorable day, I make an humble appeal to all my brothers and sisters of Odisha to rededicate ourselves and rebuild our State with renewed enthusiasm and preserve the democratic way of our life.

JAI HIND.

Editor's Note



More than 100 crore Indians would celebrate the 63rd Republic Day of our country with great pomp and patriotic fervor. It is one of those rare days which is also celebrated as a national holiday. On this day each one of us salute our Constitution for striving to establish a Sovereign, Democratic, Secular and Socialist Republic of India. On January 26th 1950 the Constitution of India framed by the Constituent Assembly came into force. As the Hon'ble President takes salute at New Delhi, it is also celebrated in multiple ways in State Capitals and in almost all the places of our country.

Austin rightly described Indian Constitution as first and foremost a social document because a majority of its provisions are either directly arrived at furthering social revolution or is an attempt to foster this revolution by establishing conditions necessary for its achievement. The whole country pays homage to our fore-fathers to give us this legacy and salute all those who laid down their lives for the sake of our motherland.

As a country where unity is visible amidst diversity, we have started our march towards realizing the goals of eradicating poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, combating diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability, utilizing the benefits of new technologies and last but not the least creative use of our vast youth force. We as a nation also respect law for a conflict-free life so that we can lead an orderly life together. Within the last 62 years we have viewed law

from the perspective of a command of sovereign to something born out of democratically constituted society. However, still the real world is highly unequal and there exists unbridgeable social and economic gaps. There is still a need to reconstitute ourselves into a moral society because there are many bright dreams to be dreamt about India and many bright deeds to be done in India, if only all of us agree to do it. We need dreamers with vision in every field who know how to make their dreams come true and how to change visions into realities.

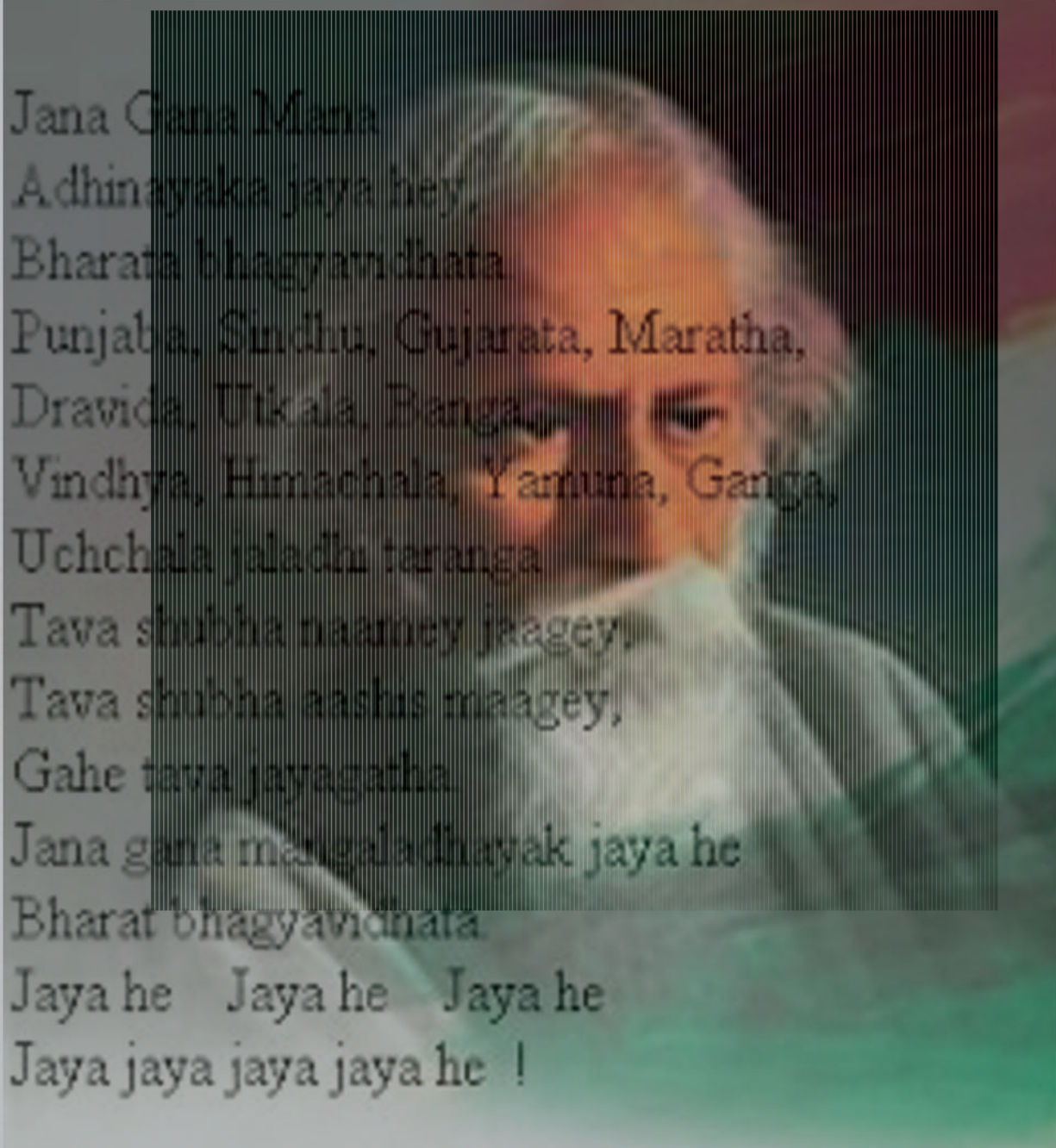
From Odisha Review team we wish every citizen a Happy and meaningful Republic Day.

***Vande Mataram.
Bande Utkal Janani.***



Editor, Odisha Review

Biswa Kabi Rabindranath Tagore



Jana Gana Mana
Adhinayaka jaya hey,
Bharata bhagyavidhata
Punjaba, Sindhu, Gujarata, Maratha,
Dravida, Utkala, Banga
Vindhya, Himachala, Yamuna, Ganga,
Uchchala jaladhi teranga
Tava shubha naamey jaagey,
Tava shubha aashis maagey,
Gahe tava jayagatha
Jana gana mangaladhayak jaya he
Bharat bhagyavidhata
Jaya he Jaya he Jaya he
Jaya jaya jaya jaya he !

(7th May 1861 – 7th August 1941)

The Jana Gana Mana was composed by Shri Rabindranath Tagore and was adopted as the National Anthem of India on 24th January, 1950 by the Constituent Assembly. The first stanza(out of five stanzas) of the song forms the National Anthem.



Indian Federalism and Coalition Politics

Prof. Surya Narayan Misra

The Lokpal Bill has exposed the innerside of party politics in India. During the winter session the Lokpal and Lokayukta Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha. For the introduction of the Bill there was visible pressure of the 'Anna Team' and the 'Fast Politics' had decided the party and public opinion in the country. Anna's demand was for a strong Jan Lokpal to root out corruption in the different layers of the decision making system. After prolonged discussion between the Standing Committee and the Anna Team the Lokpal issue became the most heated and hated controversy. The Congress leadership of the UPA group wanted a constitutional status for Lokpal for which amendment of the Constitution was a necessity. The Bill also had a component for the institution of Lokayukta for the states, over which the coalition nature of the Indian politics found its bitterest outburst in both the debates held in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The Trinamul Congress of UPA and BJD were most critical over the Indian Parliament's attempt to subvert the federal balance in the Constitution. The Congress leadership took shelter under the provision available in the Legislative relation between Union and the states to give effect to international agreements. The voice of the states was echoed by the BJP who wished the Bill to be discussed under some other provision which was a dilatory move to put the

Congress into an embarrassing situation for not passing the Lokpal Bill. The politics crossed all its limits in Rajya Sabha and the inevitable happened. In the name of Federal structure, principle and balance the coalition politics in the country forgot all kinds of Constitutional principles and proprieties. In this background it has become necessary to have a fresh look at the structure, nature and compulsions of the Indian federal system.

The basic essence of federalism is the notion of two or more orders of government combining the elements of 'shared rule' for some purpose and regional 'self rule' for others. It is based on the objective of combining unity and diversity. This means accommodating, preserving and promoting distinct identities within a larger political union.

The structural characteristics generally common to federations are - (a) Two orders of government each acting directly on their citizens, (b) A formal Constitutional distribution of legislative and executive authority and allocation of revenue resources between the orders of government ensuring some areas of genuine autonomy for each other, (c) provision for designated representation of distinct regional views within the federal policy-making institutions,



usually provided by a federal second chamber composed of representatives of the Units, (d) A Supreme Written Constitution where federal provisions are to be amended by the consent of both (significant proportion of Constituent Units), (e) an Umpire (Supreme Court) to rule on interpretation or valid application of the constitution; and (f) processes and institutions to facilitate inter-state relations.

The Indian federal system, unlike other major federations, is tilted towards the Union, because of the fact that primacy and supremacy was vested in the Union. This led to the statement by few commentators that there is "Unionised federation" in India. The distribution of powers between the Union and States are undemocratically done as the Union is given more weight in the scheme of things. The Central order is more visible than the State image. The provisions relating to the appointment of Governor, the amendment of the Constitution, the draconian law like imposition of President's Rule in the States, the CRP, CISF and BSF matters and other fiscal provisions are unfederal in nature.

The one-party dominant era could consume the Central dominance and we toyed with the idea of 'Cooperative Federalism'. But the electoral dynamics of the country and the new political compulsions appeared after the fourth general elections of 1967 exposed the tension areas of the Indian federal system. The DMK government in Tamilnadu, Left Front in West Bengal and other non-Congress dispensations raised the bogey of 'Fiscal imbalance', 'central misrule', 'politics of planning', 'impartial governor' and 'fair deal to the States' etc. These could not disturb the political balance till the Congress had majority and there was lack of understanding among the non-Congress Opposition Parties. The first non-Congress government at New Delhi

attempted to have a re-look at the Federal system but it could not achieve success. During the Janata Party rule at the Centre the rise of new regional parties and the existing tirade against central dominance could experience the demand for autonomy by the States like West Bengal, Tamilnadu, Punjab, J & K etc. Again the political scenario in the country was changed in 1989. This ushered in the Coalition era in the Indian politics. The political map of the country was drastically changed and Congress had a symbolic presence with only 30 % of the country under its political control. The beginning of 1990s could experience the Constitution of Inter-state Council under Article-263 for the first time. Some of the political allegations of use of electronic media and Election Commission also found a positive climate for discussion at the national level. This could see the Prasar Bharti Act and multi-member election commission in operation later.

There was a basic difference between 1977 and post-1984. The difference was combined opposition and combination of opposite parties. The other character was non-Congress government and Coalition government. The new situation gave political advantage to the regional parties and their leaders. The concept of regional aspirations could be experienced in elections held after 1989. The new political equations could promote a fresh federal agenda. It came at a time when the thrust of the country's economic reform process had shifted from the centre to the States. Gone were the days when Chief Ministers were chosen by the Prime Minister. A situation arose since 1989 for about two decades when opinion and role of Chief Ministers became important in the process of selection of Prime Ministers.

A cursory glance over the attitude of the major political parties towards the structure and nature of our federation gives us the idea that the



Congress and BJP were in favour of a strong Centre and the Left Parties preferred removal of all injustice and discrimination against the States. The Left also demanded more autonomy for the States. The DMK emphasised the need for the preservation of State's rights without infringement by the Centre. It also demanded a constitutional amendment to vest residuary powers in the states. The Akali Dal pleaded for autonomous states with Centre retaining the federal functions in respect of Defence, External Affairs, Communication and Railways. The Janata Party and its various incarnations believed in a political system based on the principles of decentralisation of economic and political power. Thus the stand taken by national parties and other important regional parties have given rise to three peculiar federal vision. The Congress believed in status-quo. The BJP needed a strong Centre but urged changes in the centre-state relations. Others are for recasting of the whole issue of federal structure. In this background the opinion of the Sarkaria Commission Report (1988) is important. The Commission made 247 recommendations to improve centre-state relations. It suggested 12 amendments to the Constitution and 20 new legislations. Majority of the recommendations were put in the cold storage as the party which appointed the Commission lost its power, glory and strength and as such found it difficult to implement them. The Inter-State Council in its meetings have examined 230 out of 247 recommendations. The changed political climate could not take appropriate action.

It is to be remembered that the study of Indian federalism had been basically shaped by the juridical approach by scholars like A.V. Dicey and K.C. Wheare. The viewpoint has promoted legal orientation to the analysis. The publication of the book 'Federalism and Constitutional change' by William S. Livingston led to new

thinking on federalism all over the world. According to Livingstone the essence of federalism lies not in the institutional structure but in the society itself. Federal Government is a device by which the federal qualities of the society are articulated and protected. Ivo D. Duchacek mentions, it is now recognised that federation is shaped by the political culture of each nation. He also observed that a federal national is an unfinished nation.

The noted constitutional authority, Durga Das Basu wrote that Constitution of India is basically federal, but of course with striking unitary features. According to Nani Palkivala, Indian Constitution provides for a cooperative federalism among states with a bias in favour of the Centre. He was of the view that if the Constitution is worked in the right spirit, there would be no need to consider any amendment as far as centre-state relation is concerned. He further said that the problem has arisen to-day in an acute form because over a period of years the Centre has acted in a manner in which at best has been contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. Article-1 of the Constitution mentioned that 'India, that is, Bharat shall be Union of States'. If this article is analysed it provides the message that there should be more of cooperation and understanding than the concept of domination and conflict.

The conflict that occurred in the Indian Federal process are due to the conflict between party in the power at the Centre and the parties in opposition to it which control some of the states. In all federal system, and, in particular, what are called polyethnic unions there is a conflict of values between those of the nation and the sub-nations which constitute the Union.

Nayar (1986) in one of his research papers on Indian Federalism made an analysis of



the conflicts in the federal process. He was of the view that the conflict of values leads inevitably to an analysis of the federal culture of India as well as the political culture of the regions. The values of federal culture have been shaped by nationalism as well as by the institutional legacy of the British rule. In fact the Constitution of India was framed accepting Centre-State relations as provided under 1935 Act. The All India services were retained giving some amount of administrative control over the civil service of the states. The defence services have been considerably strengthened giving them a strong national character. The higher judiciary is much more unified than the case of the British era. It is in the area of economic development which the British neglected, it was taken up by the Union through the planned economic development by the Planning Commission. The whole concept of social development was overlooked in the Act of 1935 as it was the brain child of a conservative government which intended the social development to be processed out of the resources of the provinces.

Eversince the British control over India commenced in 1858, the British interest had some open actions and few hidden agenda. Accordingly political reforms were promoted. By 1935 they sensed the popular wrath and sincerely wished a federation where the Central government would protect British interest and the provincial governments would meet peoples needs. The 1935 Act went so far as to give responsible government at the federal level while retaining defence and foreign affairs in the hands of the Viceroy. The federal culture of the British rule was based on India's subordination to White Hall, the domination of an all powerful Viceroy, the control of the Indian armed forces by the British, the presence of the British garrisons in India and the

presence of All-India services with a substantial British component. The federal values were faith in the invincibility of the British empire, belief in the supremacy of the British administrative system, in the integrity of the higher class of civil servants, and in the impartiality of the judicial system. There was also cultural influence exerted on the Indian elite by the English language, the study of the western political philosophy and British political institutions. Above everything there was image of a powerful Centre, with all powers concentrated in the executive exercising a direct influence over the provinces through the Provincial Governors and having paramountcy over the princely states exercised through the Indian Political Service.

On the other hand, the post-independence Indian federal culture was based upon nationalism. Because of the partition of India, the Constituent Assembly could not face any federation related problems and the princely states had to merge and unite with the Indian Union. India could have proposed for a Unitary model but it preferred a status quo. There was a feeling that with the Congress Party in power in the states and federal centre the forces of nationalism had triumphed all over India. The Congress model of nationalism was based on nineteenth century liberalism with its commitment to representative institutions and periodic elections and Gandhism which created symbols of nationalism such as adoption of Hindi as the national language, rural upliftment and programmes of development for the under-privileged castes and tribes.

The scheme of things moved properly during first few decades of our federal journey. The changing map at the state level and the emergence of new political forces and their proximity with people through promises and threat created a new anti-federal wave. The natural end



was end of the Congress rule at the Centre and Congress learning the coalition behaviour. The party which played both visible and invisible role to disturb political stability of coalition governments in different states is now testing the bitter sweet of coalition at the central level. The electoral arithmetic has not provided a strong coalition and the dependency syndrome on the coalition partners has pushed the Congress Party and its leadership to various types of concession, understanding and accommodation. In the process, few established constitutional values have been affected, for example, the collective responsibility at the governance level. The coalition partners in house and outside behaviour may entertain people by all kinds of media presentation but it eats away the vitals of constitutional democracy and sends wrong messages to the people.

India needs a strong Centre with strong States. The constitutional model precludes this

aspect. We may face fresh tremors in future unless necessary amendments or mending of political culture are done. India is pluri-cultural in essence and substance. It has to maintain this fact while progressing under the parliamentary democratic order with sharing of power with the states.

Suggested Readings -

1. W.H. Morris - Jones - The Government and Politics of India (1974)
2. K.C. Wheare - Federal Government (1956)
3. I.D. Duchacek - Comparative Federalism (1970)
4. G.W. Sawyer - Modern Federalism (1969)
5. Surjit Mansingh - India's Search for Power (1984)

Prof. Surya Narayan Misra, Emeritus Professor, KIIT Law School, KIIT University, Bhubaneswar.





Parliamentary Democracy in India - Looking at Recent Trends

Dr. Shridhar Charan Sahoo

In the Constituent Assembly a plea was made that India should opt for the U.S. Presidential model of democracy. This plea however could not prevail and ultimately the country adopted a Parliamentary democratic system after a “purposive and elaborate debate”.

As we observe the 62nd anniversary of the birth of our Republic coinciding with the coming into force of our Constitution it would be relevant to delve a little into the working of our Parliamentary democracy.

Why did the founding fathers prefer Parliamentary Democracy to the U.S. Presidential model? India had some experience of operating the Parliamentary system of democracy under British rule. “After this experience”, there was no need to ‘go back upon the tradition that had been built for over a hundred years and buy a novel experience’. Apart from experience, the question of suitability in the context of the specificity of Indian society also weighed in their mind. They believed that ‘in the world’s most complex plural society, as we have in India, Parliamentary Government offers greater scope for giving representation to various interests, and regions’. Over and above the founding fathers ‘after a long struggle for responsible government and against arbitrary executive authority under British Raj

were naturally allergic to a fixed term irremovable executive’. In fact, they preferred a more responsible executive of the Parliamentary system to a more stable executive of U.S. Presidential model. ‘Hence the draft Constitution in recommending the Parliamentary system of executive has preferred more responsibility to more stability’.

Sir Anthony Eden, Ex-Prime Minister of United Kingdom from April 1955 to January 1957 spoke some significant words regarding India opting for the Parliamentary democracy. In his view, ‘of all the experiments attempted since the beginning of time, the Indian venture into Parliamentary Government is most exciting. A vast subcontinent is attempting to apply to its tens and thousands of millions a system of free democracy. It is a brave thing to try to do so - If it succeeds, its influence in Asia, is incalculable for good’.

True indeed were Anthony’s words. In fact working out and operating a democratic Government with its scale and magnitude in India was virtually a challenging experiment. There were many who thought that democracy would not be suitable for a country of continental dimensions with an enormously large population. It was apprehended that “with our appalling poverty, expanding population, extensive illiteracy and



multi-dimensional composition of people, India may relapse sooner or later to an autocracy exercising arbitrary powers’.

India’s Parliamentary democracy has not only belied all such fears and apprehensions, it has stood the test of time. As of today one can say with confidence that it has come to stay even though one may have reservations about the system and want it reformed. We have almost successfully conducted 15 general elections in the largest democracy on earth. Moreover, our Parliamentary system has ensured ‘peaceful transfer of power, more than once from one party to another party or alliance’ surviving of course many pressures, stresses and strains. It is by all means a remarkable achievement of India’s Parliamentary democracy. Even inspite of the coalition Governments which have become almost an inescapable reality in India’s multi-party system and the instability syndrome which at times has undermined the faith of well-meaning critics in Parliamentary democracy, we have till date experienced a good deal of political stability.

But then, the journey traversed by Indian democracy has not always been a smooth-sailing affair. As it were, it had to weather many a storm “especially during the dark period of emergency (1975 – 1977) when a concerted attempt was made to undermine the country’s democratic structure” and also during the six year time span from 1998 to 2004 when the nation had to face an ‘onslaught on its secular ethos’.

In the midst of this encircling gloom, the vast electorate of Indian People showed to the world their unquestionable commitment to the democratic system. The 1977 election which overthrew the Indira regime and brought to power a non-Congress Government showed to the world that the Indian Electorate had ‘an enormous

sense of responsibility and uncanny wisdom’ to rise to the occasion and safeguard India’s Parliamentary democracy. It was hardly surprising therefore that the Newyork Times called the results “an inspiration to all democracies”. The U.S. President, Jimmy Carter in his congratulatory message said. ‘The reaffirmation of the democratic process in India through a free, open and vigorous election had been an inspiration to Americans and to peoples in all parts of the world’. That the Indian electorate – ‘the faceless Indian voter could not be taken for granted and could act with a fair degree of wisdom has been shown in subsequent elections. Whenever required they have used their ballot like bullet overthrowing a party in power if it ventured to undermine India’s Constitution, its secular ethos or followed divisive and anti-people policies or misused the popular mandate. Hence, it has been rightly said that ‘the driving force behind the Indian democracy has been our people - the vast electorate that has shown to the world its unquestionable capability and commitment to work the democratic system that the Constitution has provided for governance’.

The resurgent civil society movement against corruption, during the recent months has further strengthened and deepened Indian democracy. It has been rightly said that ‘potentially it strengthens our democratic foundations and widens the process of participation in public affairs. It gives voice to the people and empowering. It contributes to the checks and balances and oversight capacity required in a progressive society’.

Inspite of what has been favourably said outlining positive dimensions of India’s Parliamentary democracy, we need to make an honest self-introspection and identify also its weaknesses and areas of concern which negatively affect the health and well being of our



democracy. The major problem areas which affect the health of India's Parliamentary democracy are :

(a) Instability syndrome (b) Criminalization of politics (c) The nature of recent functioning of India's Parliament.

Since the Congress party lost power in 1989, no single party has been able to secure an absolute majority in the Lok Sabha. It has virtually made Coalition Governments inevitable. Those Coalition Governments have a built-in-element of fragility. That has added to the instability syndrome. To be more specific, by and large Coalition Governments have become precariously unstable barring some exceptions like the non-Congress Coalition Govt. of Atal Bihari Vajpayee which completed its term (1999 – 2004) and Congress led UPA Government of Dr. Manmohan Singh which has been continuing from 2004 till today with its second term commencing in 2009.

How making and breaking of Governments became a recurring phenomenon forcing elections on the country with horrendous expenses would be evident from the following examples. During the Ninth Lok Sabha (1989 – 91) period, the minority Govt. of V.P. Singh propped up by the support of BJP and left parties from outside could not continue even a year in office. BJP and its allies withdrew their support to his government in retaliation against the arrest of L.K. Advani and stoppage of his Rath Jatra for construction of Ram Temple. The Chandrasekhar Government following V.P. Singh's Govt. equally became short-lived. The Eleventh Lok Sabha (1996 – 97) had also its shortest life span. Political parties became unable to form a stable Government with support of majority of members. As many as 28 political parties were represented in the house "it saw three Governments and Prime-Ministers come and

go. Atal Bihari Vajpayee for 13 days followed by Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujral".

This instability syndrome has eaten into the vitals of our body politic forcing upon the nation frequent elections with horrendous expenditure which could have been profitably used for the country's growth and development. This has led even well-meaning critics to think that the Parliamentary system has outlived its utility and that there is need to change over to the presidential model.

Shashi Tharoor is one such well-meaning critic who in his article. "It is time to rethink Parliamentary system" brought out very aptly this instability syndrome. In his view, "the Parliamentary system, we borrowed from the British has become in Indian conditions nothing but a recipe for Governmental instability, and an instability is precisely what India, with its critical economic and social changes can not afford. We must have a system of Government whose leaders can focus on governance rather than on staying in power. But quite apart from the horrendous costs, can we as a country afford to keep expecting elections to provide miraculous results when we know that they are but certain to produce inconclusive outcomes and more Coalition Governments ? Is not it time we realized the problem is with the system itself ?"

This viewpoint of thinking beyond the Westminster model of Parliamentary democracy and switching over to the presidential system has been advanced subsequently by some others taking into account the experience of Coalition Governments at the Centre in the past and even in the present. Atal Bihari Vajpayee our Ex-Prime Minister, during a special session on Jan 28, 2000 proposed the establishment of a commission to review the Constitution and make



recommendations aimed at ensuring stability at the Centre.

In this connection, what president K.R. Narayan said in the same Parliamentary session is quite significant ‘we have to consider’ he said, ‘whether it is the Constitution that has failed us or whether it is we who have failed the Constitution. Our experience of instability in Government is perhaps not sufficient reason to discard the Parliamentary system in favour of the Presidential or any other system.’ Not only President Narayan but even the opposition parties in India including Congress CPI and CPI (M) are against any change in our Parliamentary system. I recall back to memory a sentence which I read somewhere ‘for forms of Government let alone fools contest and whatever is best administered is the best. What is really important is how the people who operate a Constitutional system act-whether they have short term political interest in view or larger interest of the Indian Democracy.

The way the present UPA-II Government is functioning has forced important personalities and even the media tycoons to think of what could be done to ensure stable tenure for the coalitions. The country is watching how small coalition partners like Trinamool Congress “have consistently leveraged their bargaining clout to stall necessary reforms and legislation which in turn has dulled Parliament’s vibrancy and functioning” If Government is unable to effectively carry forward its policies and reforms to its successful conclusion ‘it is because of the nagging anxiety about being forced to face a no-confidence motion in Parliament’. In fact, “the opposition’s deliberate obstructionism plays on the ruling party’s fear of losing the numbers game” which may lead to the break down of the Government more so when some of its own alliance partners are voicing a

discordant and hostile note even after a decided policy is put up on the floor of Parliament.

It has been suggested that without any change of our Parliamentary system we should adopt the German concept of ‘a constructive vote of no-confidence’. ‘This constructive vote of no-confidence is a variation on the motion of no confidence. It allows a Parliament to withdraw confidence from a head of Government only if there is a positive majority for a prospective successor. This concept which is being suggested for India in view of the instability syndrome was invented in Germany but it is also used today in other nations such as Belgium, Spain, Hungary, Slovenia, etc’. M.P. Sri Bajjayant Jay Panda has advocated this system for India with remarkable clarity and insight. In his own words ‘Governments need stable tenures in order to go about their business confidently which Parliamentary systems can not assure. This is even more pronounced in the era of coalitions. One way to instill greater stability would be to adopt the German model of a constructive vote of no-confidence, which requires voting for a specific new leader rather than just challenging the incumbent (which is our system).

Our model fosters uncertainty and encourages would be challengers hoping to benefit from muddy waters or mid-term elections. The German model would make challenges to the Government’s continuance far rarer and even when it occurred would eliminate both uncertainty and premature elections’.

Criminalization of politics and politicization of criminals is another area of serious concern for the health of India’s Parliamentary democracy. In a democratic system the quality of governance is rightly said to be ‘proportional to the quality of legislators’. But over the years, an



‘unholy criminal-politician nexus’ has been a marked phenomenon in India’s political system vitiating the purity of our Parliamentary democracy. Possibly “no political party can honestly claim that it has no criminal elements within its fold. The criminal elements, as has been said” have not entered the august portals of the Parliament and State legislatures by accident. Rather it is the other way round. Today they hold the key to electoral success and grabbing power’.

The gravity of the situation would be evident from the nature of composition of the present Lok Sabha. As per available data-76 MPs including 13 Congress and 19 BJP MPs– in the current Lok Sabha (14% of its total strength) have serious criminal charges framed against them by a Court of Law. These are not politically motivated charges. They include as per affidavits filed with the EC “murder, rape, kidnapping, extortion, forgery, bribery, dacoity and causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons’. Looking at this sad scenario, it has been rightly said: “When 14% of own law-makers are charged as law breakers, Parliament stands undermined. The presence of tainted elected Lok Sabha MPs poses a greater threat to Indian Parliamentary democracy than any number of unelected citizen activists’.

Even in the State level, the position is no better as regards criminalization of politics. Political parties might be criticizing each other for fielding criminal candidates, but the fact is that none of them is clean in this regard.

U.P. election watch and National Election watch have analyzed the candidates declared till January 4, 2012, for the U.P. Assembly Election 2012. Excluding the ruling BSP, which is yet to release the official list of candidates all the parties have fielded candidates with criminal records.

While the BJP and Congress lists each contain 26 such candidates, SP and RLD lists contain 24 and one candidate respectively with criminal records (based on 2007 and subsequent affidavits). In view of this sorry State of affairs, there is an urgent need to swiftly take steps to debar criminals from entering politics. Salman Khurshid, the Law Minister of Government of India is reported to have had assured the Chief Election Commissioner S.Y. Quarashi that the Government would bring major reforms in the winter session that included proposals to debar criminals and transparency of political funding. Since, somehow that could not be possible, due to round-the-clock pre-occupation of Government with the Lokpal Bill, let us hope that Government brings in the electoral reforms Bill in the coming budget session. Apart from law, what is virtually more important is the attitude of political parties if criminalization of politics has got to be checked. If all political parties deny tickets to criminals, if criminals are not used by them for booth capturing and grabbing of power, possibly there will be no need for any amendment in the Representation of People’s Act, in the Constitution. Will the political parties sit together and evolve a code of conduct in this regard ? That is of course a million dollar question.

Our Parliament which represents the collective will of the people of India and is the pivot of our political system has ‘contributed the most to the consolidation and strengthening of democracy in the country’. During the years 1952-57, the Lok Sabha was in a formative period. It laid down healthy foundations for building the strong edifice of Parliamentary institutions and procedures. New situations had to be faced, fresh procedures evolved and appropriate rules laid down. And in all this it fared well.



In terms quality, the first Lok Sabha consisted of outstanding Parliamentarians. They were talented, accomplished and skilled in the art of Parliamentary debate. The debates and discussions on the floor of Parliament were of very high standard and quality. In terms of discipline, decorum and optimum utilization of Parliamentary time, it left behind an exemplary mark in Parliamentary history. More or less, the same type of healthy debate and discussion with an exemplary degree of Parliamentary discipline and decorum continued in the early Parliaments.

But unfortunately, at present 'healthy debate and discussions, the hallmark of Parliamentary democracy' are overshadowed by disruption, confrontation, and forced adjournments of the house. The Parliament gets stalled and forced to close the session before its original schedule to conclude. This results in the massive wastage of public money and loss of working hours Parliament finds itself disabled to discuss and deliberate on important issues such as poverty, unemployment and price rise which affect the people most.

In view of what has been said above on the functioning of the Parliament in recent years, 'questions are being raised about the utility and relevance of Parliament in our polity and indeed about the workability of our democratic set up based on the Parliamentary system'.

'If Parliament does not function effectively and loses public trust, Parliamentary democracy too will begin to wilt' says Somnath Chatterji. The findings of a study conducted by PRs Legislative research on the functioning of the current Lok Sabha (15th) deserve a closer look. The 15th Lok Sabha completing two-and-a half years is the most disrupted as it utilized just 72 percent of the allotted time so far.' Many of the bills passed in

the 15th Lok Sabha were debated for less than 5 minutes. 'In terms of legislation, 57 of the 200 bills planned, have been passed since the beginning of the 15th Lok Sabha :

The last winter session was no better. It has been estimated that the exchequer tends to lose Rs.25 Lakhs for every hour the house is disrupted. Disruptions in the winter session of Parliament is said to have already caused a loss of about twelve crores to the exchequer. The winter session 'hardly covered itself in glory'. As has been said : "Despite the three day extension and lengthy debates on the Lokpal in the last session, Lok Sabha worked only 67% of planned time and Rajya Sabha for 71%. Much of the first two weeks of the session was lost to disruptions on issues such as the adjournment motion on price rise, FDI in retail, Telengana and the Mullaperiyar dam. This meant that of the 86 bills pending before Parliament prior to the winter session and the 30 introduced during it, only 17 were passed'.

Because of the current turmoil in the functioning of the Parliament the public especially the youth is disillusioned about the relevance of the Parliamentary system. They find that the Parliament is not functioning in the right and proper manner. In fact, this type of functioning of Parliament has been a matter of serious concern to lovers of Parliamentary democracy. Political parties have adopted the technique of paralyzing the Parliament with a view to oppose the Government and its policies. It appears as if doggedness in terms of opposition for opposition sake and not to allow the Parliament to function and paralyse it, has become part of the recent political strategy.

The people of the country are watching the functioning of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The Parliamentary paralysis is having a



negative impact on the whole nation. A sense of disgust and alienation is created in the mind of people. That our Parliament is not being allowed to function for whatever the compulsion does not appear to be a healthy example to our neighbouring countries wherein democracy is beset with problems. What would be the feeling of the common man in Lahore, Dhaka, Colombo and Kathamandu when he finds that the Parliament of the greatest democracy of the world is becoming dysfunctional ? This is the question being raised by Kuldip Nayar in a recently published article.

To improve the functioning of the Parliament the following issues need to be addressed.

- (a) Quality of debates and discussion on the floor of Parliament need to be improved.
- (b) Absenteeism among members which has assumed alarming proportions needs to be checked if we are not to make a mockery of our Parliamentary democracy.
- (c) The increasing indiscipline and unruly behaviour of Members and the increasing tendency to disrupt the House and stall Parliamentary proceedings has got to be checked. It amounts to paralyzing the activity of governance and legislation.
- (d) “More time is to be devoted to Law-making and make the committee system more effective to better oversee the Government’s functions—”.
- (e) “A strict code of conduct for people’s representatives, implementing the policy of ‘No work, No pay’, if Parliament session was disturbed by members,

devoting most of the time in quality debate and discussions and disqualifying the tainted MPs are some of the urgent measures which should be implemented. That would definitely make the Parliamentary Democracy more useful and meaningful”.

What deserves mention here is that 10 Members of Parliament were rightly expelled in 2005 in the ‘cash-for-query scam’. ‘It is a watershed event in Parliamentary history across the world, nowhere have so many elected legislators in a national Parliament been expelled for misdemeanor by a vote of the House’.

Conclusion :

Our Constitution gave us a Parliamentary democratic system of governance. When India went for it, there were many who thought that democracy would not be suitable for India in view of its appalling poverty, extensive illiteracy, huge and multi-dimensional population with diversity of caste, creed, religion and language. Those prophets of pessimism have been proved wrong. India’s Parliamentary democracy working over all these years since our Constitution came into form on 26.01.1950 has stood the test of time and has come to stay as a functioning democracy.

The vast electorate of Indian people has shown to the world their commitment and dedication to the democratic system with an ‘enormous sense of responsibility and uncanny wisdom’ whenever required, they have used their ballot like a bullet overthrowing a party in power which ventured to undermine its Constitution or democratic structure or its secular ethos.

The recent emergence of a pro-active civil society and its movement against corruption, which has brought in the people’s power to the



forefront has further strengthened and deepened our democracy.

Some well-meaning critics have advocated a switch-over from our Parliamentary democracy to the U.S. Presidential system as a remedy to the malady of Governmental instability in the system of Coalition Governments which has become an inescapable reality in India more particularly since 1989 when no political party has been able to secure an absolute majority. However, it is also true that inspite of the Coalition Governments, we have till date experienced a good deal of political stability. It has been rightly said that 'our experience of instability in Government is not sufficient reason to discard the Parliamentary system'.

Whatever problems our Parliamentary democracy is facing today could of course be improved—may it be the instability syndrome, criminalization of politics or even Parliament being forcibly made dysfunctional through disruption, confrontation or forced adjournments. For this, two things are needed (a) necessary reforms to be undertaken within the existing Parliamentary system and (b) men of character and integrity in the political system. As has been rightly said by Rajendra Prasad : "If the people who are elected are capable and men of character and integrity they would be able to make the best even of a defective Constitution. If they are lacking in these, the Constitution can not help the country. After all a Constitution like a machine is a lifeless thing. It acquires life because of men who control it and operate it and India needs to-day nothing more than a set of honest men who will have the interest of the country before them.

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Dr. Shridhar Charan Sahoo, EB-29, Stage-V, Jharapada, Bhubaneswar-751006.



Indian Democracy : Marching Ahead

Dr. Saroj Kumar Panda

Democracy is often described as government of the people, by the people and for the people. India became independence on 15th August 1947 and the founding fathers worked hard to give nation a new Constitution. The Constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26th November 1949 and came into force on 26th January 1950. Since then our country became a democratic State. The Indian Constitution is a remarkable document as it strikes a balance between tradition and modernity, between a federal structure and a strong centre and between the demands of social justice and the rights of the individual.

Though the founding fathers were proud of the Constitution they had framed, they were also aware of their own limitations. Defects came to light as the Constitution came into operation. Also changes became necessary because conditions changed and needs grew. Changes therefore became necessary and have to be made quickly and easily. As Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Law Minister, said on the day the Constitution was adopted, “The Assembly has not only refrained from putting a seal of finality and infallibility upon the Constitution by denying the people the right to amend the Constitution or making the amendment of the Constitution subject to fulfillment of extra ordinary terms and conditions, as in America or in Australia but has

provided a more facile procedure for amending the Constitution.” The President of the Constituent Assembly Dr. Rajendra Prasad observed “another important feature of the Constitution is that it enables amendments to be made without much difficulty.”

The first amendment of Indian Constitution was made in 1951 to make it possible among other things to carry out land reforms and abolish the Zamindari. It was also decided that reasonable restrictions could be placed on the exercise of Fundamental Rights in the interest of the society. Since then the Constitution has been amended more than 113 times. Most of these amendments were made to remove difficulties in the working of the Constitutions. But others like the one about Panchayati Raj and Municipalities gave an entirely new dimension to administration by devolution of power to local self-government bodies. The amendment about reservation for women has also added one more dimension to the Constitution. The result is that the Constitution today resembles an ancient edifice to which additions and modifications have been made from time to time to suit needs but in the process, the character of the original structure has been changed beyond recognitions.



When the Constitution was framed, the Assembly had to a large extent placed before itself the Westminster form of Government. In such a form of Government, two political parties vie for power. There was a general agreement on basic problems and policies. The founding fathers had possibly hoped there in course of time in India, two rival parties would emerge. But this has not happened. We have a plethora of political parties. Five successive elections to Lok Sabha didn't give any political party a clear majority. Even when a political party has the majority, its leader is always worried about keeping his flock together. Policies are often framed not so much for national good but for narrow political end.

What is the remedy if the electorate doesn't give a clear verdict in election after election? The Constitution has no provisions for direct rule by the president at the Centre because this might result in subversion of democracy and establishment of dictatorship. At the state level the Constitution provides for imposition of president's rule. Dr. Ambedkar had expressed the hope that this provision might never be used. Events have proved otherwise and in the last 62 years, it has been used more than hundred times. Under present system, the candidate who gets the largest number votes is declared elected.

Frequently the combined votes of the other candidates are more than his votes. It has also happened that a political party might get a majority of votes polled but still not get majority of seats. A swing of a mere five percent can make a tremendous difference. Any review of the constituent must look at this anomaly and find ways to remove it.

It is to the credit of India that while other countries became independent along with their have had long periods of dictatorship of military rule, democracy has continued to grow in India. The Indian voter has been no respecter of men and has not hesitated to throw out powerful leaders if he found that they were not performing well. The base has widened with the devolution of powers to local self-governing bodies. The reservation of seats for women in local self bodies is proof of the fact that political parties forget their differences on giving greater power to the neglected segments of society. Changes have been made in the Constitution to keep pace with the times.

Dr. Saroj Kumar Panda, Principal-cum-Secretary,
Gadibrahma Degree College, Delang, Puri.



B.R. Ambedkar's Role in Indian Politics

Dr. Atul Chandra Pradhan

B.R. Ambedkar was a representative figure of Indian Politics in the Gandhian era. Gandhi was the unchallenged leader of Indian National Congress; Jinnah represented the separatist Muslim forces and Ambedkar was the main spokesman of Depressed Classes in India. Both Gandhi and Ambedkar were the champions of the Depressed Classes. Ambedkar had been born in an untouchable family and had suffered from humiliation on that account. By his exertions and perseverance he proved himself the unchallenged leader of the Depressed Classes in India as well as a statesman of national stature.

Decades have passed since independence and Ambedkar's death. At the distance of time it is perhaps worthwhile to evaluate his role and personality in proper historical perspective.

For most of his life Ambedkar worked outside the mainstream of national politics. He worked for the Depressed Classes' uplift within the political and constitutional framework of the imperialist era. He sincerely felt that being socially treated as an untouchable, he could not get a status of equality and dignity within the Congress politics which was dominated by Caste Hindu politicians. Mahatma Gandhi realized Ambedkar's mental state and said: "He is pronounced as belonging to the Depressed Classes and as being untouchable. Intellectually he is superior to thousands of intelligent and educated caste Hindus. His personal cleanliness was as high as

that of any of us. Today he is an eminent lecturer in law. Tomorrow you may find him a Judge of the High Court. In other words there is no position in the Government of this country to which he may not aspire or rise and to which an orthodox Brahmin can rise."

Ambedkar pointed out that though the Caste Hindu Congressmen adopted a radical stand in politics, in social matters they were traditionalists and upheld social inequality. Gandhi also felt that many Congressmen supported his anti-untouchability programme only out of political consideration and that they had no hearty support for this programme.

Even though Ambedkar kept aloof from the political programme and activities of the National Congress, yet he cannot be branded as protégé of the British imperialism. He fearlessly criticized the failings of the British Government. He pointed out that the British Government supported the cause of Depressed Classes only out of ulterior political motives and gave undue weightage to the Hindu conservatives.

Ambedkar professed and proclaimed that the uplift of the Depressed Classes was the be-all and end-all of his life. He did not show any eagerness to earn the reputation of a nationalist leader. This is why he fearlessly and frankly expressed his views for the cause of Depressed Classes and quarrelled with Congress and even Mahatma Gandhi. In September 1932, when



Mahatma Gandhi announced his decision to fast unto death, protesting against the provision of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes in the British Prime Minister's Communal Award, and when practically the whole nation backed Gandhi's stand, Ambedkar criticized Gandhi and called his fast "a political stunt". Gandhi took Ambedkar's views seriously and finally agreed to reservation of seats for the Depressed Classes in joint electorates, which was embodied in the Poona Pact.

Ambedkar was a social revolutionary. He endeavoured to rouse self-consciousness and self respect among the Depressed Classes. He advised them to be leonine heroes instead of remaining as innocent as goats. He aimed at eradicating social distinctions, based on caste and Varna, and establishing a social order, based on liberty, equality and fraternity. At the fag-end of his life he with his followers embraced Buddhism, as he considered Buddhism, to be a humanitarian religion, based on liberty, equality and fraternity.

As Ambedkar worked outside the mainstream of Congress politics and also criticized the Congress, he was suspected by many to be a separatist and pro-British. But all along he remained a patriot. He used to say that patriotism was not the monopoly of Congress and that one could be patriotic without becoming a Congressman. He considered the uplift of the backward sections of the society to be more important than mere political emancipation of the country. Political freedom was meaningless without the elevation of the backward sections of the society. Mahatma Gandhi also held similar views as he thought of the concept of Swaraj in terms of the meanest of the countrymen.

Even though Ambedkar had quarrelled with Congress and Gandhi on certain basic issues, on the eve of independence he accepted the invitation of the Congress to join the Union Government and played his role in the building of

the nation. As the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution he played the major role in hammering a new constitution. He took all care to enshrine the progressive ideas and ideals of the National Congress in the Constitution. Generally Ambedkar is known as the father of Indian Constitution. Dr. K.V.Rao has described him as the mother of the Constitution as he gave constitutional shape to the ideas of Congress rather than his own. He held the portfolio of Law in Jawaharlal Nehru's first Cabinet. Because of his differences with the Congress and Prime Minister Nehru, he resigned from the Union Government.

Ambedkar is generally regarded as the great protagonist of reservation of seats in legislature and posts in Government. But towards the end of his life, when he embraced Buddhism with his followers, he advised the Scheduled Castes to stand on their own legs instead of depending on crutches.

Ambedkar is a rare personality in the national life of India. He was an economist, a jurist, a social revolutionary, a constitution-maker, an able parliamentarian, an administrator, and above all a constructive statesman of extraordinary calibre. He had entered public life as a well equipped soldier with Ph.D from the Columbia University, D.Sc from London School of Economics and Bar-at-Law from Gray's Inn. Born as a "social leper" (as the untouchables were being treated in those days) Ambedkar could rise to the stature of a towering personality in the national politics through perseverance as well as a profound sense of self-respect and human justice.

Dr. Atul Chandra Pradhan, MIG-68, Baramunda Housing Board Colony, Bhubaneswar-751003.



Netaji : An Icon of Courage, Erudition and Nationalism

Parikhit Mishra

Subhash Chandra Bose was born at Odia Bazar, Cuttack on 23 January 1897. He was the 9th child and 6th son among fourteen. His father Janakinath Bose was a renowned Lawyer and his mother Pravabati Devi was a pious lady. Janakinath was once Chairman of the Cuttack Municipality and was conferred the Raya Bahadur title by the British Government.

Subhas began his early schooling at the Cuttack Protestant European School (1902-08) where he realised that foreign and Anglo-Indian students were given better attention, but he was too young to agitate. He moved into the Ravenshaw Collegiate School and studied there from 1909 to 1913. His Headmaster, erudite Benimadhav Das and nationalist Narayan Prasad Mohanty were endearing.

They had great influence on Subhas. In his teens Subhas had ventured into social service at the outbreak of Cholera and Smallpox epidemic while brooding about social reforms. He loved to care for the sick and destitute in the poverty stricken society. In proving his merit

in the meantime, he stood 2nd in the Matriculation examination among the Bengal-Bihar students.

Subhas joined the Kolkata Presidency College in Calcutta for higher studies. Here a students' unrest in 1916 against English Lecturer Mr. Oten caused his suspension as he was thought to be the mastermind. It was an irony that the same Mr. Oten wrote eulogy on him in later years.



He took admission in Scottish Church College and graduated in first class with Honours in Philosophy. Next he enrolled in M.A. Class in investigative Psychology. In his heart no love was lost for Odisha in general and Cuttack in particular. Whenever here he used to descend on meaningful social service. On the one hand he came under the spell of Guru

Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836-1886) and his disciple Swamy Vivekananda(1862-1902) after going through their teachings. He wanted to lead an ascetic life. He had left his home on several occasions. Once he had gone in a spiritual mission for six months to find a



Sadguru or right spiritual teacher. He, however, couldnot take spiritual initiation from the famed monk Indra Das. On the other hand he developed inclination towards martial training in keeping with his family tradition.

In line with the wishes of his father and elder brother Subhas left for England on 15 September 1919 to prepare for the ICS examination. He took admission in Cambridge University. Success came for him handy. He stood 4th in 1920 ICS examination, but this couldn't make him happy. The shocking news of the brutal Jaliwanawalabag massacre of innocent citizens changed him altogether. Subhash, the would be high-ranking administrator, was transformed into a nationalistic and patriotic Subhas. His young mind became beligerent. He felt his national and spiritual commitment would certainly remain unrealised with the cosy ICS job, thus he resigned.

Subhas was an adherent of Chittaranjan Das, a noted Lawyer with huge income who was honoured with the Deshabandhu title and Gandhiji the Mahatma in 1919 at the Nagpur Congress Session. In a letter to the Deshbandhu Subhas had offered his body and soul in the service of the motherland. This expression revealed the strength of love towards his country. He returned from England on 16th July 1921 and met Gandhiji for the first time in Bombay at his Laberanam Road residence. It was like a catechism. He was satisfied with Gandhiji's vision on non-cooperation movement, non-payment of taxes and the freedom movement as a whole. He was 28 years junior in age to Gandhiji. He jumped into the freedom movement at the instance of Gandhiji and Deshabandhu. This strengthened his own resolve.

The Deshbandhu was his leader, guide and inspirer. Subhas was loyal to him and edited his "Forward" newspaper in later years. He was taken into custody on 25 October 1924. He spent time in different jails and was shifted to Mandale Jail in Burma from where he was released on 31st May 1929 after serving three and half years. During the imprisonment he was elected as a Corporator of the Calcutta Corporation. Then he became Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation in 1931. His good work made him a popular leader.

In 1928 annual Congress Conference the young Subhas was the de facto leader of the volunteers. He was impatient and putforth radical proposals. Here too he moved a demand relating to Indian independence which drew attention of everyone. In 1929 Congress Conference he called for unity among workers and farmers to set up parallel rule. He was a progressive thinker. In the second phase of his political life he went out of the country as an emissary and conducted talks with national leaders of some foreign countries about Indian National Movement and in the process gained political maturity.

On 1st January 1932 the Congress Working Committee, dissatisfied with the works of the government, decided to launch Satyagraha. Within a few days Subhas was arrested with other freedom fighters and put into Madras Jail. His TB relapsed. He had to bear the galling pain of appendix. The medical treatment, he received in India didn't help. He was released on 22 February 1933 for better treatment. He spent four years, up to 1937 abroad. One of his mentors, Vithalbhai Patel, died in a Geneva clinic on 22nd October 1933. Subhas was treated in Vienna.

In 1938 Subhas was, elected as the President of the Indian National Congress at



the Hariपुरa session. He enjoyed the confidence of Gandhiji. There were ideological differences, but he never threw any challenge to Gandhiji's leadership. He loved and revered Gandhiji who in his opinion was the best ever leader of the 380 million people. In 1939 Tripura Congress Session he proposed for the issue of ultimatum to the British to leave India and transfer the power to Indians. The call was too early for Gandhiji to accept. Subhas was re-elected as the Congress President at the Tripura Congress Conference defeating Pattavi Sitaramaya who this time was supported by Gandhiji and Sardar Ballavbhai Patel. Gandhiji took exception to the development. He said Pattavi's defeat was his defeat. Disillusioned Subhas and all Working Committee members resigned. On 22 June 1939 he formed Forward Bloc a political front, within the Congress. He visited Odisha as the 2nd World War broke out. He was a proponent of a separate Odisha State consisting of all Odia-speaking areas. He broke away with the Congress and took over the leadership (as commander-in-chief) of the Forward Bloc. He had socialist views, but he was not a communist. His oratorical power, iron will and the strength of leadership unnerved the British rulers.

In 1940 Subhas toured Odisha and addressed public meetings. He spoke against misrule of the British government. Pt. Nilakanth Das and Pt. Godavarish Mishra had met him in his Calcutta residence and at his direction a coalition government was formed in Odisha. The greatest achievement of this Government was setting up of the Utkal University apart from welfare works. He also worked as the treasurer of the Gopabandhu Memorial. His famous saying was, "Give me blood, I'll give you freedom." The last six years of his life was full of events. He was arrested on 29

November 1940. He began hunger fast till death. The nervous British government set him free but later put him under house arrest. In a notable development desperate to seek foreign help Subhas left his Elgin Road house in disguise as a North Indian Muslim in the night of 17th January 1941 in his car driven by his nephew Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose. He reached Kabul via Dhanbad and Peshawar. He procured a passport in the name of an Italian radio operator Orlando Mezeta. He reached Berlin on 3rd April 1941 and formed Azad Hind Fouz with Indian troops taken as POW by Germany. Of the 100000 British troops surrendered to Japan 40,000 were Indians who aligned with the Fouz. Subhas had met Hitler, leaders of the Italy and Japan. He formed Azad Hind Government and was accorded support by Burma, Japan and Phillipines. His main aim was to achieve independence through armed struggle. But destiny had something in store. On 17th August 1945 his air travel began from Saigon to Tokyo. He reached Formosa the next day from where he boarded a plane again. The plane took off at 2.30 PM and broke down in moments. Nothing authentically was known about this brave patriot, fearless leader, rare revolutionary's disappearance or demise. The mystery is still unresolve, but the grateful country remembers this great son for ever. Jai Hind.

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An Indian Pilgrim : A Perspective on Subhas Chandra Bose's Autobiography

Amiya Kumar Rout

Life is a dome of many coloured glass and only a puritan and narrow minded person will refuse to see the rainbow like variety and God's plenty in life. Hence the term like 'life writing', 'narrative turn', 'reflexivity', 'confessional culture' and 'autobiography' arrest our profound interest and consciousness in recent times. In the arts and humanities there has been a major shift in thinking about autobiography in response to debates around deconstruction and its critique of referentiality claims. According to Roy Pascal, autobiography offers a "coherent shaping of the past" and establishes a coherent consistency of relationship between the self and outside world. Autobiography engages with a profound human impulse and self conscious discourses. In the strict and narrow sense of what Auden called, 'serious and truthful self study directed at self-understanding'. It is an indeterminate mixture of truth and fiction about the person writing it. Simply put autobiography is a reckoning.



The literature of Subhas Bose is not extensive but it is considerable. Books on his biography or autobiography keep appealing with remarkable regularity. Subhas Chandra Bose has increasingly become a subject of study and research in academic and political circles both in India and abroad. It has been felt and rightly that much of the work done on him so far suffers from an inadequate assessment of religious, socio-cultural and political factors which influenced his early development. In many instances this has resulted in incomplete and imbalanced judgement of his ultimate personality. It is unfortunate that Netaji never finished his autobiography. Nevertheless this unfinished classic has undoubtedly much to offer to the historian, the research scholar, the future biographer and all others who are seeking a real insight in the making of this colossus of contemporary Indian History.

India, the land of the Himalaya, is no less truly the land of eminent men. They beckon to us from sublime heights, raising sustaining our



aspirations. But our greatest men have not remained aloof, they have been men of vision as well as wisdom, and given of their best to fellow beings. Their message, rich with life's meaning, has come flowing down like the Ganges, nourishing our varied fields of culture, and infusing strength and joy to our work. Subhas Chandra Bose's splendid autobiography, *An Indian Pilgrim* contributes to the timeless fabric of public memory. His autobiography provides valuable insights into the ways in which a self is reconstructed and popular memory is retrieved.

Subhas Chandra Bose, popularly called Netaji by his countrymen, wrote his autobiography *An Indian Pilgrim* in haste during his ten days stay in Austria in December 1937. It gives a fairly clear picture of the formative period in life of this great freedom fighter. Netaji, a prodigious child of Indian Renaissance, grew up in the midst of profound social and political changes that transformed the face of India and Asia during the first half of this century. Since his early youth he identified himself completely with fate of the country. His experiences thus truly reflect the evolutionary and revolutionary changes in the Indian society during this period. In order to correctly interpret the more spectacular and the rather controversial activities of his later years, it is necessary to understand his origin, the fundamentals of his faith and idealism and evolution of his personality through a life of relentless struggle.

When one thinks of Indian independence movement in 1930 and early 1940, two figures most readily come to our mind : Mahatma Gandhi, immensely popular and saintly frail pacifist, and his highly respected fabian Socialist acolyte, Jawaharlal Nehru, Netaji Subhas Bose as Nirod Choudhuri opines in his monumental volume, *Thy Hand, Great Anarch* "No other figure in the

Indian Nationalist movement present the stark contrast he does between promise and legend on the one hand and historic career on the other". His life is greater than fiction. The mysticism that surrounds his life has been lucidly expressed and cleared through his own autobiography *An Indian Pilgrim*.

"*An Indian Pilgrim*" takes the reader from Netaji's parentage, birth and early childhood to his Cambridge days – and what days! – when young man of 24 had to make up his mind either to take a path, strewn with roses, which promised nothing but ease, luxury and official honour, or path strewn with thorns, inviting to selfless suffering and sacrifice and promising nothing more than blood, sweat and tears. The results of struggle is known to the world. This autobiography evokes the socio-cultural environment in which Netaji grew up and the lineaments of his development. *An Indian Pilgrim* is the masterly analysis of a humanitarian, a psychologist and statesman and a soldier, looking back on the formative years of his life.

Subhas Chandra Bose's *The Discovery of India*, unlike Nehru's occurred very early in life, when he was barely in his teens. Netaji recalls in his autobiography, he feels "like a thoroughly insignificant being. My parents awed me to a degree". The zeal, killer instinct to fight against the British Imperialism is reflected in his query "How many selfless sons of the mother are prepared, in the selfish age, the 15 years old Subhas asked his mother in 1912, to completely give up his personal interests and the plunge for the mother ? Mother, is this the son of your yet ready"? As he stood on the verge of taking the plunge by resigning from the Indian civil service in 1921, he wrote to his elder brother Sarat: "Only on the soil of sacrifice and suffering can we raise our national edifice".



The autobiography is complemented with a fascinating collection of 70 letters of Bose's childhood, adolescence and youth. *An Indian Pilgrim* thus provides the materials with which to study the influences- religious, cultural, moral, intellectual and political that moulded the character and personality of India's foremost radical nationalist.

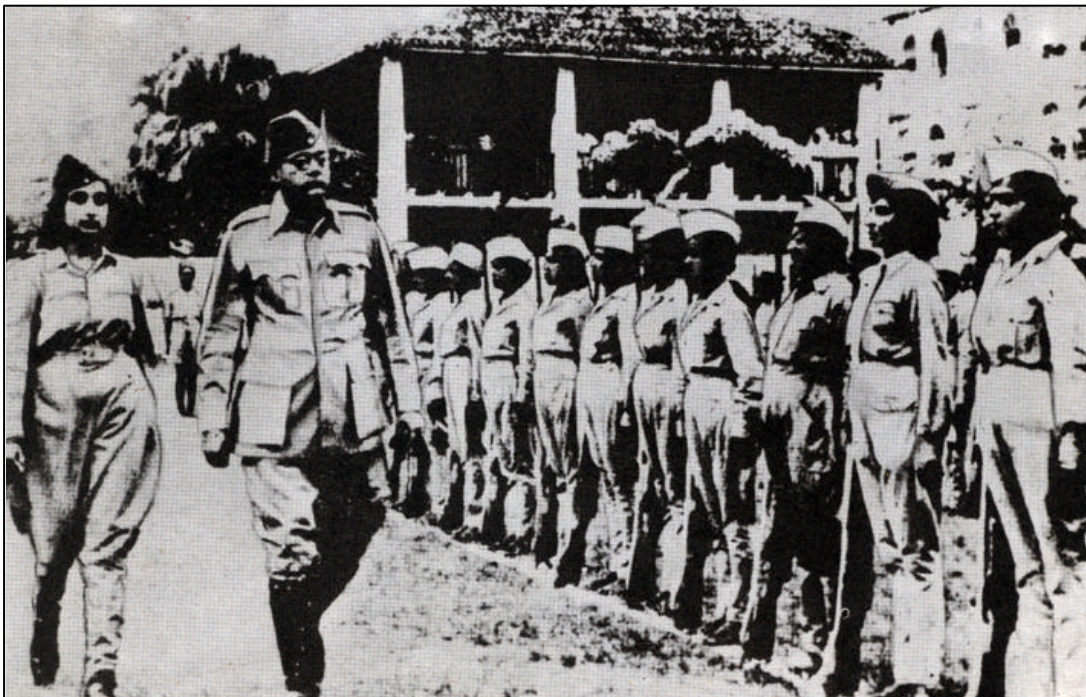
An Indian Pilgrim is richer in the autobiographical flavour in comparison to *The Indian Struggle*, which was more of Bose's interpretation and commentary on the freedom movement in India as he saw it rather than being strictly an autobiography. It is indeed an extraordinary tale.

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Amiya Kumar Rout, Lecturer in English, Biju Patnaik College of Science and Education, Jayadev Vihar, Bhubaneswar.

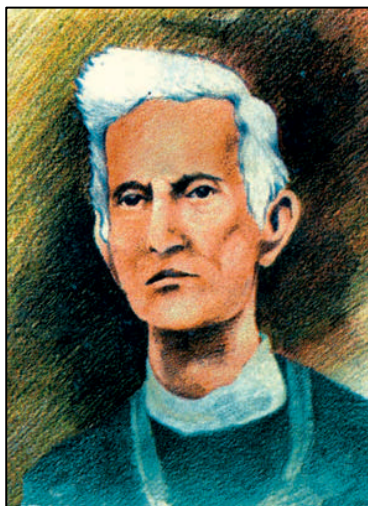




Fakirmohan Senapati : The Harbinger of Renaissance in Odia Literature

Dr. Narayan Panda

Fakirmohan Senapati is a radiant luminary in the firmament of Odia literature for all times, for his unique contribution at a critical juncture when apocalyptic onslaught of contemporary conspirators was all set to doom Odia literature into cataclysm. Justifying the significance of the surname, he left no stone unturned to carry on the crusade with his pen to emancipate Odia literature. He saw the light of the world on the Makar Sankranti Day in January in the year 1843. In infancy, he suffered the bereavement of parents and was brought up by Kuchila Dei, his grandmother. Initially baptized Brajamohan, he was named Fakirmohan since his grandmother wanted to gratify Pira.



Fakirmohan started Pathasala education at the age of nine in 1852. Fakirmohan's education came to a halt with the completion of *Chatasali Siksha*. He was engaged an internee to learn stitching sails at the Balasore port which was famous not only in Odisha but also in different countries of Europe. When Balasore port was closed, Fakirmohan was appointed in

Nimakmahal for doing miscellaneous work. But it was stopped after some days.

Subsequently Fakirmohan studied at Barabati School for a year and a half. At the end of a year, he stood first in the class. As ill luck would have it, Fakirmohan was unable to pay off four annas as tuition fee for which after six months he could not study there. He was appointed as the third teacher at Balasore Zilla School for an honorarium of two rupees and eight annas a month. It delighted his grand mother beyond description. After two months, the salary was increased to four rupees a month. Meanwhile Fakirmohan exploited the

opportunity to learn Sanskrit privately. Rendering service in that capacity for two years i.e. from 1862 to 1864, he was appointed Headmaster at Balasore Mission School in 1864.

To make easy the learning of Odia, Hallam Sahib, the Secretary of Balasore Mission School, ventured to write an English Odia Grammar for the convenience of the English people for learning Odia in which he was aided and assisted by Fakirmohan to a great extent.



Hallam Sahib hiked his salary to Rupees twenty five a month for the results of Mission School that achieved par excellence in Odisha. Contemporary Odisha was replete with Bengali middle and lower class officers who hated Odia as a language. As Fakirmohan basked in the sunshine of John Beams, the Collector of Balasore, of his learning and sagacity, the Bengali Officers were afraid of him.

Fakirmohan was an unfortunate spectator of the danse macabre of the *Naank* Famine in Odisha in the year 1866. In his Autobiography he portrayed the horrendous happenings in which more than ten lakh people died like insects. The aurora of his literary exploits began with the writing of course books on History, Mathematics, Sahitya to shoo away scarcity of books in classes. In 1866, he wrote the biography of Iswarchandra Vidyasagar - a translation of the Bengali book written by Iswarchandra . In 1869 and 1870 he wrote *Bharatbarshara Itihas Part I and Part II* and *Ankamala Part II*. Besides he wrote a grammar book for the students. Those books were approved to be taught in schools. For the sake of fortification of Odia as a separate and sound entity, he wrote "*Rajaputrara Itihas*" with lots of efforts. He succeeded in setting up a press at Motiganj in Balasore and brought out Bodhadayini and Balasore Sambadbahika.

Fakirmohan was perturbed at the conspiracy of the dominating Bengali bureaucracy to do away with Odia from offices and educational institution by way of replacing it by Bengali. Thanks to his relentless efforts Ravenshaw Sahib, Commissioner, Odia was recommended to be retained as before which was accepted in 1870.

The bereavement of Thakurma (grandmother), the dearest Goddess incarnate, was loss beyond replacement for Fakirmohan. He married Liladevi at the age of 13. But she

died when Fakir Mohan was 29. He married Krishnakumari in 1871 who was 13 years old only. Fakirmohan loved Krishnakumari for she was ended with all sorts of womanly qualities. She breathed her last at the age of 34 in 1894. In the hour of sorrow, Fakirmohan sat near her grave and got solace.

John Beams, Collector of Balasore, recommended Fakirmohan's appointment as Dewan in the Nilagiri princely State with a salary of Rs.100/- a month. He worked there from 1871 to 1875 for four years. He was appointed Dewan in July 1876 at Dampada. There he ushered in a lot of reforms in languishing administration and revenue collection. He worked at Dampada princely state for three years. He was appointed assistant manager at Dhenkanal and in that capacity worked from 1877 to 1883. He could not be successful in his work in the insinuating situation prevailing there. During his Dhenkanal sojourn, he could translate the whole of the Ramayan into Odia. He was appointed Dewan in the princely state of Dasapalla in August 1884. He embarked on myriad constructive work like demarcation between Narasinghpur and Angul and constructed a stone embankment at Joram on the Mahanadi breach area. He also introduced the cultivation of cabbage, peas, radish in Daspalla. But due to misunderstanding with the Raja of Daspalla he relinquished the job in January 1886.

He came to Dampada as Dewan in 1894 for the second time. He saw the palace doomed in bankruptcy for the whimsicalities of the king. The King's lackadaisical attitude towards administration made the matters worse. Fakirmohan left Dampada in 1896 and lived in his own house at *Dhuanpatria Sahi*, Cuttack. At the request of Radhashyam Narendra, the Zamindar of Kendrapara, he worked for him as Manager for nine months only in 1899.



Although Fakirmohan's formal education was minimal, he by dint of his own efforts learnt Odia, Bangala, Sanskrit, Parsi, English. He started his writer's career with books on *Bharatabarsara Itihas*, *Ankamala*, Odia Grammar and Trigonometry for course books at schools.

Besides rendering the Mahabharat, some of the Upanishads, the Gita, Haribansha in the form of poem, he kept alive the writing of all sorts of novels, epics even when working as Dewan. In 1892, he wrote *Utkal Bhramana* in two days in 1895, he wrote epics "*Pushpamala*" "*Upahar*" in 1894 after his wife Krishnakumari's death. They were published in 1894 and 1895 respectively.

After retirement at his Cuttack residence he wrote a host of poems on flowers, creepers, birds etc. Majority of them were published in the anthology "*Abasarabasare*". During 1909 and 1912, he wrote and published epics "*Boudhabatara*", "*PoojaFoola*" and "*Dhuli*". These are "acknowledged as priceless contributions to the Odia literature.

His four prominent novels are : "*Chhaman Athaguntha*", "*Mamun*", "*Lachhama*" and "*Prayaschita*". "*Punahmusikabhaba*" is another novel of the writer. "*Lachhama*" is a historical novel. His popular short stories were published in the anthology "*Galpa Swalpa*" in 1912. Among other prose compositions, his "Autobiography" was published in 1927, nine years after his death.

"*Chhamana Athaguntha*" is a par-excellence social novel, it discusses thread base the ins and outs of Odisha's society at the time. The monetary transactions of the flourishing Mahajans who sucked the blood of the common people like pelicans, the sun-set law exploiting which the Bengali's manipulated extensive possession of Odisha Zamandaris, the scheming

city-dwelling lawyer's plotting to help Zamindars take possession of the poor men's land, the heinous debauchery, dubious dealings of the Mahajans and all such that prevailed predominantly in the first half of the 19th century are portrayed by Fakirmohan in the unbelievably touching way. "*Chhamana Athaguntha*" was published in a series in *Utkal Sahitya Patrika* to the wide acclamation of the story reading general mass. It was published all complete in 1902.

All his stories had a crystal clear picture of the nineteenth century Odisha. They describe the ways of living of different sections of people; the manners and behavioural patterns of people in towns and villages. They detail out the obscurantist concepts of the people, the pros and cons of the society, the adorable ideals, the detestable and vain-glorious approaches to life. The denial of educational facilities to the female section, the aristocratic contempt of the college educated Zamindar family young men, the clerks and *Amalas* dealing, the phlegmatic attitude of the higher-ups to the lower-rung and down-trodden are characteristically permeated in the novels.

Although bereft of higher education, Fakirmohan's composition potentialities and idiosyncrasies were none to second conspicuously illustrated in his writings. He sarcastically pooh-poohed the foul ideals practiced by the so-called top-most strata of people. He was undaunted in his internecine struggle against the corruption and exploitation. He was a theist and believer in the omnipotence of God. He didn't shrink back to lampoon to faked saints and *Babas* who were no less harmful to the society. With the motto of eradication of rubbish that darkened the society, he spared none that deserved condemnation. His characters were the real representatives of the society of the time. His mind was overflowing with



compassion for the destitute on whom the vicissitude of fortune wasn't ordained by providence but forcibly imposed on the self seeking man, while working in the princely states, he stressed himself to the utmost possible extent for the spread of education, enlightenment; extension of irrigation facilities, roads and development of agriculture. The deliberate isolation of women from the mainstream of the society caught to his quick.

On the whole, Fakirmohan was patriot and philanthropist. He worked through literature to awaken the people and authorities to the prevailing predicaments and to do away with them. In the lachrymose eyes of *Saria* and inhuman torture of Bhagichandra he brought to light what was done by the self-aggrandizing higher-up to flourish at the cost of innocent multitude.

From the prime of life, he exerted himself to safeguard his mother tongue and retrieve it. He was very indomitable in efforts to remove the pessimistic tinge that was cast of the horizon of his motherland. Thus he lived and died with life-long dedication. The pioneer of the golden age in Odia literature was crowned with success to unleash the forces of regeneration of his beloved Odia. He will remain immortal through all times and climes.

Dr. Narayan Panda, 443-Saheed Nagar, Bhubaneswar.





Dhanu Yatra: Folk and Traditional Media

Dr. Chitrasen Pasayat

One cannot ignore the importance of folk media in the communication and development strategies. Government has also realized the significance of the use of folk media as a vehicle for the expression of developmental messages. In 1970s folk media was successfully used for family planning programme throughout India. Subsequently, various health programmes and other developmental messages are popularized through such folk media. In this context, we have to appreciate the potential of Dhanu Yatra of Bargarh as a strong communication device. The district of Bargarh with picturesque mountain, perennial streams and falls and vast array of green forests offer some of the best tourists' attractions. It is not only a land of glorious historical sites and superb natural beauties but also a land of wonderful fairs and festivities which enrich the cultural heritage of Odisha.



Bargarh presents Dhanu Yatra, a widely acclaimed folk drama form. It represents the folk Little Tradition of this area. In this context, it may be said that Krishna cult of Hindu Great Tradition, which has influenced many forms of folk

dramas in different parts of Odisha and India, has also tremendous influence on Dhanu Yatra. "Krushna-Leela" in Gopa-pura (present Ambapali village), "Mathura Vijaya" and "Kansa-Badha" in Mathura (present Bargarh town) are the main attractions of Dhanu Yatra. Kansa, however, is the centre of attraction and he prevails throughout the Yatra. It is known as

"Dhanu" Yatra because it is observed in the Dhanu (Pousa) month between the 'Dhanu Sankranti' and 'Makara Sankranti'. Secondly, from mythological point of view, Kansa had invited Krishna and Balaram on the occasion of Dhanu Yatra with a hidden intention of killing them during the Yatra. Hence, it is known as Dhanu Yatra.



As mentioned above, it is organised in the Hindu month of Dhanu/Pousa (December-January). It is celebrated from Pousa Sukla Sasthi Tithi i.e. sixth day of bright fortnight of Pousa to Pousa Purnima i.e. the full moon day of Pousa. Accordingly, it is carried out for ten to eleven days continuously. It is an integral part of culture of Bargarh. It not only helps in preserving our ancient heritage but also helps in disseminating our old tradition. It is believed that Dhanu Yatra began in the year 1948 immediately after independence. It was the consequences of freedom and self-rule as a show charged with nationalistic passion and zeal. In this sense, Kansa represented the imperialist power on its way out and Krushna-Balaram stood for the patriotic aspiration of the common mass.

Dhanu Yatra is remarkable and distinguishable from the rest in every respect. This is amazing and extra-ordinary in its content and form. It is significant and noteworthy in sense and style. It is astonishing and astounding in grace and grandeur. It is perhaps the biggest open-air folk drama in the known history of the world though the origin of folk drama in West Odisha is yet to be discovered. Though the origin of this folk drama style is shrouded in mystery, Dhanu Yatra of Bargarh has been gaining wider recognition as a folk drama.

Dhanu Yatra has become one of the important items in regional folk tradition of Odisha. It is one of the major drama forms which still hold ground in the cross-section of the society. It is an exceptional and extraordinary form of folk drama wherein divine characters like Krushna, Balaram, Devaki, Basudeva, Ugrasena, Kansa Maharaja and the like are the most important characters and the rule of Kansa Maharaja is celebrated by the people. This folk drama form

is considered to be a class of its own for its unique proposition of style.

Dhanu Yatra is a theatrical representation of a Pauranic myth 'Krushna Leela'. Various events, right from the wedding ceremony of Devaki with Basudeva to the fatal death of Kansa Maharaja as depicted in various Hindu scriptures are enacted to bring the old myth alive in different locations of Bargarh town and Ambapali village. In other words, the Krushna cult which has influenced many forms of folk dramas in different parts of India has not lost its spiritual content in case of Dhanu Yatra. In fact, Dhanu Yatra has placed Bargarh in particular and Odisha in general in the cultural map of the country.

Incidentally, the natural features of Bargarh and Ambapali more or less conform to the neighborhood of the Pauranic descriptions of Mathura and Gopapura. Bargarh town is treated as Mathura. Jira river is on the border of Bargarh town, which serves as river Jamuna. On the other side of the river Jira, there is a small village called Ambapali, which is decorated as Gopapura. There is a mango orchard, which serves as Brundaban. There is also a pond, which is used as Kalindi Sarovara (lake).

Various scenes are enacted in different places of Bargarh town and Ambapali village, instead of at one place. However, one beautifully decorated stage is erected in the heart of Bargarh town to project it as the Durbar of Kansa Maharaja. As per the tradition, one hired elephant is engaged for the movement of Kansa Maharaja. Female characters are performed by the male members. This is the characteristic of folk tradition found in many parts of India.

The whole landscape of Bargarh within a radius of about five to six kilometers turns into a



'Play Zone', which may be called an open-air theatre. As it has been said earlier, this is the biggest open-air theatre in the known history on this earth. This background and setting makes this biggest 'Play Zone' of Dhanu Yatra the largest open-air theatre where the panorama of Dhanu Yatra is performed. The whole landscape provides the festival a lively look. Possibly, in anywhere a play has not been made to achieve such a vast magnitude with fairness and open mindedness.

The most important aspect of Dhanu Yatra is its largest cast and the people's participation. The lead characters like Kansa, Ugrasena, Devaki, Basudeva, Krushna and Balarama are selected from amongst the local artists. Significantly, all the local residents as well as the guests and visitors who happen to be then and there are also taken as characters. Nearly every one has a job to perform; each one has a role to play. Physical involvement of all present on the occasion is apparent. It engulfs and overwhelms all. They all join without any precaution, without any invitation. In this sense, Dhanu Yatra has largest cast.

There is no denying that, Dhanu Yatra is of the people, by the people and for the people. Common people seem to have been elated and thrilled to the mythical age in body and spirit during the time of festival, though the duration of this festival is ten to eleven days only. It attracts a large number of crowds. The performances are so energetic and lively that the district administration has to play a passive role at the back stage. It appears that the rules of Kansa Maharaja prevail in Bargarh. General public enjoy his order as if he is the de-facto administrator of Bargarh.

Another important aspect of Dhanu Yatra is its style of dialogue delivery. There is no specific

dialogue as such for any scene. In fact, the theme and the dramatic content of Dhanu Yatra provide an overall sketch; the particulars are filled up by the performers. This is a freedom allowed to the performers, which gives rise to a series of imaginative compositions and giving a perfect shape to the play. Thus, keeping in view the scene of the episode, the characters speak the dialogue extempore and without preparation in their own way.

Dhanu Yatra also provides an opportunity to the local performing artistes to exhibit their talents. The inhabitants of Bargarh have been watching this for years but they are not tired of it because it does not hamper their day to day life. Buses and trains ply as usual. Working class attends to their duties and offices as usual. Outsiders visiting Bargarh for the first time on this occasion becomes part of the festival without any obligation, without any compulsion. Undoubtedly, Dhanu Yatra takes up social causes and is respected for its strength of mobilizing the mass.

Everyday, the scenes are enacted in the afternoon and in the evening hours. However, cultural programmes continue till the wee hours for entertainment of the visitors. There is no rule, no restriction, but it is so disciplined that there is no dislocation. The intimacy between the audience and the performers provides a realistic colour to the Dhanu Yatra. To be in Bargarh during this festival means to be a part of this folk drama which is a life time experience, a rare occasion to peep into the local culture in its entirety. However, the organizers of Dhanu Yatra should be appreciated and thanked for their commendable job and praiseworthy effort to promote this regional folk tradition.

Kansa Maharaja dies on the final day of Dhanu Yatra. An effigy of Kansa Maharaja is burnt



making the end of his tyrannical rule. The imaginary world of Mathura and Gopapura with the river Yamuna dividing the two comes to an end. Though the make-believe ceases to exist, the cynical laughter of Kansa Maharaja resound the air of Bargarh till next Dhanu Yatra. Even as the screens come down on the final day of the Yatra with the fatal outcome of Kansa Maharaja, the cruel, dictatorial, and oppressive ruler captures more hearts than Krishna and Balaram, his cause of death. Lakhs of guests and visitors fondly and warmly remember the pleasant autocracy and domination of Kansa Maharaja and wait for him till the next Dhanu Yatra. As per the tradition, the leading artist performing the principal role of Kansa in the Dhanu Yatra, visits Sri-kshetra (Puri) after the Yatra to take a holy dip in the Mahodadhi (sea). Then he visits the Jagannath temple and beg apology for his character. He seeks blessings and forgiveness of the deities for all his unholy utterances against Krishna and Balaram during the Yatra. He does this to wash away the sin he commits during the Dhanu Yatra.

The objective of the present paper is to ascertain the potential of traditional performing art like Dhanu Yatra for inculcating rational outlook in the masses. Dhanu Yatra is not a mere ritual; it has entertainment elements too. Secondly, the theme of Dhanu Yatra is though mythological, it spreads social message as well. In other words, an alien message can be incorporated in the theme and form of Dhanu Yatra without disturbing the natural flow of the performance and without hurting the sentiments of the viewers. In this sense we may call it a 'traditional media'.

Bargarh is with no trouble accessible both by roadways as well as railways. There are practically good hotels for accommodation. Visitors can reside at Sambalpur (50 kilometers from Bargarh) as well. The fame and reputation

of Dhanu Yatra has created a centre of attention of people from far and wide. District Administration takes all possible measures to provide safe drinking water for the visitors and maintain hygienic condition of Bargarh town and Ambapali village during this grand folk drama. It takes special care to maintain law and order situation in the entire 'Play Zone'. If situation demands then massive police personnel is requisitioned from outside the district as well.

Notably, Dhanu Yatra is celebrated in other parts of West Odisha namely Chiroli, Talpali of Gaisilet Block and Chichinda in Bargarh district, Bhaler of Puintala block in Bolangir district, Arigaon of Binka Block, Karlapal of Birmaharajpur Block, Ulunda, Hardakhol and Subarnapali in Subarnapur district, Kuchinda of Sambalpur district of West Odisha. Though it is staged at various places in the region, the one at Bargarh is the most popular and is referred to as the world's biggest open-air theatre with biggest congregation of actors.

However, one finds a new chapter in this year edition of Bargarh Dhanu Yatra, which has started from Puri. Kansa Maharaja visited Jagannath Mahaprabhu at Puri and collected "Agyan-mala" after the blessings of the deities. He went to the Govardhan peetha and visited the beach and participated in "Samudra Arati". Reportedly, this is a new tradition to start from Bada-danda of Puri leaving behind half a century's old tradition.

Dr. Chitrasen Pasayat lives at 152, Vijay Vihar, Nuagaon Road, PO: Sishupalgarh, Bhubaneswar, 751002.



Odisha State Museum - A Tourist Destination

Dr. Prabhas Kumar Singh

Museums form an important aid to our country's cultural regeneration. They make it accessible to large sections of people. Museums collect and care for objects of scientific, artistic or historical importance and make them available for public viewing and education through exhibition and allied activities. Museums preserve the cultural heritage of a country. According to International Council of Museums (ICOM), a Museum is a non-profit making permanent institution in the services of the society and its development and open to the public for the purpose of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man, both tangible and intangible and its development. Museums Association of India defines it as "Museum enables people to explore and collection for inspiration, planning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artifacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society.

The definition of Museum as adopted in the 5th UNESCO Regional Seminar also explains the meaning and works of a Museum as follows:

"The Museum is an institution which functions through its exhibits, research projects and planned activities as a cultural centre within a community. Serving in both educational and integrative capacity, its major objectives are the preservation of the history and individuality of the community which it accomplishes while

simultaneously discovering, protecting, diffusing and sponsoring universal human values. Located in specific place within a structure housing its collection, laboratories and exhibits, the Museum functions under a wide and general programme of education, artistic and recreational activities. The Museum serves on a local, regional or national level in actual and potential, transient or localized, segment of the public and constitutes centripetal cultural force for the better integration of the community.

Let us discuss in view of the above objectives, the role of Odisha State Museum for the spread of Odishan culture and as a centre of education.

Odisha has always been the cradle and playground of history and cultural cross-currents. The rare and lustrous antiquities of Museum reflect archaeological grandeur and past splendor of ancient Kalinga. Its collection comprises cultural treasures of unparalleled magnitude and dimension.

Here noble endeavour has been made to preserve the 'Ancient' for the understanding and appreciation of the 'Modern'. The Museum stands majestically at the junction of ancient temple town of Bhubaneswar and new capital city of Odisha reminding us of our rich cultural heritage of splendor galore.



In 1932 this organisation originated in the premises of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. It was renamed State Museum and was shifted to Brahmananda building in old Bhubaneswar in 1945-46. From there it came to Patel Hall in 1950 and then to the building near High School of Unit-I. On December 27th, 1957 Dr. Rajendra Prasad, 1st President of India laid the foundation of the present Museum building under the leadership of Dr. H. K. Mahatab. In 1960, the great Institution was finally shifted to the present building. Initially it was part of education department. In 1958 it was handed over to the Cultural Affairs Department.

The Odisha State Museum is situated at the junction of old temple city and new capital metropolis of Bhubaneswar amidst the ruins of an ancient fortification. It is the epitome of Odishan civilisation. It has preserved more than 56,000 rare antiquities ranging from early time to modern period. The collections spread over eleven sections namely-1. *Archaeology*, 2. *Epigraphy*, 3. *Numismatics*, 4. *Armoury*, 5. *Mining & Geology*, 6. *Natural History*, 7. *Art & Craft*, 8. *Contemporary Art*, 9. *Patta Painting*, 10. *Anthropology* and 11. *Palmleaf Manuscripts* which make the onlookers exhilarant and spellbound. The sprawling green garden, open air sculpture garden, children park and enchanting fountains etc. are its added attractions.

Archaeology Gallery

Archaeology Gallery is famous for rare sculptures of Buddhist, Jaina, Saiva, Vaisnava and Sakta pantheons. The exhibits spread over three spacious halls, in the ground floor. The subject matters cover a long time span of 3000 years representing the flourishing plastic, artistic, sculptural and architectural trends and traditions of Odisha. The fragmentary Asokan pillar, bell capital, lion, the Buddha, Amoghasiddhi, Jaina Tirthankaras,

Krishnavishnu, Kaliyadalana, Tantric figures of Chamunda, Manasa and sixheaded Kartikeya images etc. attract the tourist from far near for their superb workmanship and philosophical symbolism. Infact, archaeology gallery is the repository of sculptural grandeur of Odisha. Two ancient stepped wells of the museum complex are fabulous and thrilling sights.

Epigraphy & Numismatic

In Epigraphy and Numismatic Section, Copper plate grants, stone inscriptions, a number of plastercast impressions and estampages of the originals, together with numismatic treasures like punch-marked coins of the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan age, Kusana and Pre-Kusana coins, Gupta gold coins, Sri Nanda, Kalachuri and Yadava coins, Ganga fanams and silver coins of Mughal emperors reflect the histrionic historical personality of Odisha .

Armoury

Armoury section depicting variety of ancient weapons like swords, shields, battle axes, guns and cannons speaks of ancient Odishan Military traditions and the alloy technique employed in the metallurgy of ancient weaponry. Paintings of war scenes and model of entrance of a historic fort instantly attract the visitors.

Mining & Geology

In Mining and Geology Gallery, semi precious stones, Khondolites and sand stones of which temples and sculptures are built, minerals like iron-ore, chromite, lead and bauxite etc. have been displayed. Here a fossilised leaf impression draws the attention of discerning tourists.

Natural History

In Natural History Gallery birds and mammals of vertebrate and invertebrate



specimens have been colourfully displayed in two spacious halls. It attracts the instant attention of visitors. The dioramas depicting the royal Bengal tiger, the leopards, variety of Bisons, Nilgais, Black Bucks, Pangolin and birds preserved amidst natural habitat give a glimpse of the glittering animal kingdom of Odisha.

Art and Craft

In Art and Craft Section bewildering variety of Odishan handicrafts of exuberant artistic excellence find place together with bronzes from 8th century A.D. The royal insignia and sceptre of princely states of the gallery are effluent exhibits. The bell metal, docra art works and other folk art items of the gallery are unique.

Anthropology

The four dimensional Anthropology/ethnology Section of Odisha State Museum is visitor's paradise. The showcases depicting tribal life and culture amidst original environmental milieu and ethos are of special significance. Their musical instruments with real audio presentations are the eye catcher of tourists. The tribal cottage assemblage presented in a special gallery with every details of an original tribal household is in fact a rare feast for the searching eyes. Their attires and ornaments are other highlights of the gallery.

Patta Painting & Contemporary Art

The Patta Painting Gallery with depiction of Ravananugraha, Tadakabadha, Navagunjara, Buddha Charita, Jagannath triad, Kandarpahasti, Gopalila and Kaliyadalana scenes along with contemporary paintings and sculptures are connoisseur's delight.

Manuscripts

Palmleaf manuscripts comprise twenty seven sections like Veda, Tantra, Darsana,

Silpa Sastra, Abhidhana and Ayurveda etc.. Palmleaf, bamboo leaf, handmade paper, old paper, manuscripts of ivory, bhurja bark and kumbhi bark etc. in various shapes like garland, fan, fish, sword, rat and parrot alongwith different types of stylus, express illustrated manuscripts of coloured and monochrome variety are excellently presented. Manuscripts of Gitagovinda, Usha Harana, Ushavilasa and Chausathiratibandha (64 erotic postures) and different style of cover designs of palmleaf manuscripts are of special tourist interest.

Important publications filled the gaps of Odishan History and Culture. Research activities knew no bound. Scholars from far and wide came and the museum reached its pinnacle of prominence and celebrated its Golden Jubilee in 1985 with Smt. Indira Gandhi as the Chief Guest. The occasion was marked with a Golden Jubilee publication of Odisha Historical Research Journal and another profound book on "Veer Surendra Sai", the indomitable freedom fighter of India. The Museum has earned its name and fame as a premier international institution of rich collection of various and varied rare antiquities ranging in date from 6th century B. C. to modern period.

In December 2007 Odisha State Museum celebrated its Platinum Jubilee with Hon'ble Chief Minister as the Chief Guest. Two new manuscript galleries were inaugurated, one Platinum Jubilee Volume of Odisha Historical Research Journal, one Illustrated Catalogue of Palmleaf manuscript and one Illustrated palmleaf Gitagovinda Book were released on the occasion. The Museum garden complex was also beautified. A national seminar on Museums of the present decade and Universal Heritage and Konark was organized in association with International Councils of Museum Association of India. Branch Museums, under the Odisha State Museum namely Salipur, Khiching, Bhawanipatna, Baripada and many more district Museums have



been renovated with a new look are important tourist destinations.

In addition to this, two ancient stepped wells, entrance hall, lion diorama showcase, ground floor of Golden Jubilee Block of Odisha State Museum have been renovated which attracts a large number of visitors including students. Numbers of educational programmes are being organized throughout the year to commemorate different occasions. Debate, essay, painting competitions related to cultural and natural heritage are organized among the school and college students on the occasion of Museum Foundation Day (29th December), International Museum Day (18th May) where large numbers of students from different educational institutions of Bhubaneswar and nearby places participate along with their parents and teachers. Such types of programmes have received tremendous response from the general public. Special exhibitions in collaborations with Anthropological Survey of India, Archaeological Survey of India, Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya, Bhopal, National Museum, New Delhi etc. on the themes like human genome, cultural and natural heritage, tribal ethnography, etc. are organized on different occasions which attract large number of visitors to the Odisha State Museum. Dignitaries like Country Head, Ambassadors, V.V.I.Ps, make it a point to visit Odisha State Museum whenever they come to Bhubaneswar. School and college students, trainees from National Museum Institute, New Delhi, Institute of Archaeology, ASI and other institutions from different parts of the country come to Odisha State Museum as a part of their curriculum and training programmes.

It is pertinent to mention here that besides display of antiquities and sculptures, the Odisha State Museum undertakes several cultural and archaeological projects for documentation and retrieval of cultural heritage. The Odisha State Museum is actively involved in documentation and digitization of manuscripts under the aegis of

National Mission on Manuscripts, New Delhi. The Odisha State Museum has the largest collection of manuscripts in South East Asia. Odisha State Museum has been declared as a Documentation Resource Centre by the National Mission on Monuments and Antiquities, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi for the documentation of antiquities of the Museum. In this process Odisha State Museum is actively involved in this project for the successful preparation of data base in the prescribed proforma. It will promote awareness and sensitize people concerning the benefits of preserving our antiquities and also help a lot for publication and research. In the State Museum we have more than 30000 Nos. of antiquities like coins, sculptures, prehistoric tools, Armoury, Bronzes, Copper Plates etc. are available both in the galleries and reserved collections. Prior to this project, the antiquities of the State Museum were not scientifically documented inviting lot of confusion, insecurity and legal hassles. Some of the case studies of the Documentation Project are as follows:

To attract more visitors and tourists, new projects are in progress like renovation of galleries in modern line of technology, academic activities and cultural activities in the Odisha State Museum to boost cultural tourism in the State. To attract domestic and foreign tourists to the Museum is an inevitable task which ought to be included in the plans and programmes of the Museum. Thus, Odisha State Museum is centre of Odishan Culture and a place of learning and academic institution and important tourist destination in the Country.

Dr. Prabhas Kumar Singh, Curator in-charge,
Archaeology Section & Centre in-charge,
Documentation Resource Centre, Odisha State
Museum, Bhubaneswar National Mission on
Monuments and Antiquities, A.S.I., New Delhi E-mail:-
prabhas-07@yohoo.co.in



Economics of Vocational Education in Odisha

Bindu Madhab Panda

Sustainable economic development through employment generation is the basic goal of the Planning Authority. Despite vast manpower, available capital and technology, economic development is not up to the satisfactory level in India. The drawback in approach is not only financial and technical but also human. So, in the preceding plan periods, “human development” has been the core of all efforts through training or work based education in India. Economic development depends on effective management of the vast manpower. Skilled manpower is an essential prerequisite for quality and efficient production, adoption and use of new technology and to supervise the trained workers. So, productive and self-employment generating education should be given priority through the vocational education (VE). The efforts of universalisation and industrialization bring VE into a sharper focus for educational content and process.

Alarming growth in population, in the recent years in India, lead to massive unemployment among school and college leavers. Planners have attempted to interface education with the world of work assuming that skill-orientation education will ameliorate the growing unemployed youth and produce manpower for industrial development. In the modern world of

industry and business, the incoming generations tend to nurture ambition and aspiration to set up the ladder of job hierarchy. This rightful desire for upward mobility is to be strengthened when opportunities are offered to the workers, within their organization or out side, for the training or further training which prepares them for the new job responsibilities. The fundamental principles of vocational education is that every learner should be given satisfactory education or training he wants at a particular time, that can bear all the responsibilities under the rapid changing socio-economic needs and order.

Meaning of Vocational Education

Generally, the terms VE, occupational education, technical education, career education, job-oriented education, industrial arts education and the education for the world of work are used interchangeably except where special mention is made for a particular type of education in a particular situation or environment. According to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), technical and vocational education is a comprehensive term embracing those aspects of educational process involving, in addition to general education, the study of technology and related sciences and acquisition of practical skills, attitudes,



understandings and knowledge relating to occupations in various sectors of economic and social life. Such an education would be an integral part of general education and a means of preparing for an occupational field and an aspect of continuing education, and should contribute to economic development.

Emphasizing the all-round development of the personality, Mahatma Gandhi states, “for the all-round development of boys and girls, all training should, so far as possible, be given through profit yielding vocation”. In other words, vocations should serve a double purpose- to enable the pupil to pay for his labour and at the same time, to develop the whole man or woman in him or her, through the vocation learned at school. True education is that which draws out and stimulates the spiritual, intellectual and physical faculties of the children. This education ought to be a kind of insurance for them against unemployment. So, Mahatma Gandhi wanted education to be socio-economic needs of the society.

Education, in its liberal sense, is a humanizing process. Training, in its utilitarian sense, is a career building process. Education is a face-to-face instructional activity mostly carried out within the limits of an educational institution. On the other hand, training constitutes an out-of-the-class activity mostly carried out in work places.

Importance of Vocational Education

The developing and overcrowded nations like India has a dire need for providing vocational education to conserve and develop the resources of the nation, to promote more productive and prosperous agriculture and industry, to prevent the wastage of home labour, to supplement apprenticeship, to meet the increasing demand for

trained workmen and to offset the increased cost of living. So vocationalisation of education is widely needed as a wise business investment for the nation.

It is a great instrument in developing career and education together by motivating students. It is the education that provides alternative learning strategies and learning environments, which are needed to address the needs of the students. It also provides adoptability (academic skills, work values and work habits) that are needed in a rapidly changing occupational society. Overall, vocationalisation of education at higher secondary stages targets to remove unemployment and destitution, and foster rural development and literacy.

Vocationalisation of education has emerged as a broader concept of education after the implementation of National Policy on Education, 1986 with the main targets of improving qualifications and competencies, inter-alia, suitable job opportunities for the students in proper higher vocational institutions. Hence, after independence, a comprehensive programme for the development of technical and vocational education institutions was launched. The necessity was to build a strong linkage among education, development agencies and enterprises concerned with the development such as, industries, commerce, agriculture, health etc.

According to the National Policy on Education (1986), vocationalisation through specialized institutions or through the refashioning of secondary education can at this stage provide valuable manpower for economic growth. The introduction of systematic, well planned and rigorous implemented programmes of VE is crucial in the proposed educational organization. These programmes are meant to enhance



individual employability, to reduce the miss-match between the demand and supply of skilled manpower and to provide an alternative for those pursuing higher education without particular interest or purpose.

Employment Status of Vocational Pass-outs in Odisha

As per 66th Round National Sample Survey (2009-10), of 1000 persons (age group of 15-29), the labour force participation and worker population in rural Odisha were higher than that of urban Odisha as per usual status (PS+SS) and accordingly more unemployment rate was shown in urban areas. Every four per cent (or 39 out of 1000 persons) in the labour force do not get even a day's employment in a year. About 61 per cent (or 608 persons out of 1000) were found in participating in the labour force, while about 59 per cent (587 out of 1000) were worker population. The survey also indicates that, of 1000 employed persons, the percentage of self-employed persons (51% or 510 of 1000 persons) were higher than the casual labourers (33.5%) and regular wages/salaried persons (17%) in rural Odisha. In urban Odisha, casual labourers were least compared to regular wages/salaried and self-employed persons. Self-employed persons both in rural and urban area were higher than casual labourers and regular wages/salaried persons. The survey also indicates that per day average salary of regular wages/salaried persons in both rural and urban Odisha was more than three times more than that of the casual workers; and per-day income of regular wage/salaried persons and casual labourers in urban Odisha was higher than that of rural Odisha.

In a special focus to Cuttack, Mayurbhanj and Ganjam Districts, it was witnessed that the work participation, employment

and income of the educated mass has been under concern in Cuttack, Mayurbhanj and Ganjam Districts. In these districts, among the pass-outs 39 per cent (387 out of 1000) were found self employed, 35 per cent (350 out of 1000) were casual labourers and about eight per cent (80 out of 1000) were salaried; overall employed pass-outs was about 82 per cent (817 out of 1000) or 18 per cent were without work. Average annual income of an employee was Rs.10,000-13,000 and most of the workers were in industry sector. Employed pass-outs are found from trades like medical & laboratory technician (MLT), Repair & Maintenance of Radio and T.V. Receivers (RTV), Computer Application, Accountancy & Auditing and Repair & Maintenance of Electrical Domestic Appliance (EDA). Trades demanded in the Districts of Cuttack, Mayurbhanj and Ganjam are as below:

Basic Electronics (Repair & Maintenance of Power supply, inverters and UPS; Installation & Maintenance of DTH System; Digital Videography Editing and Mixing; Repair & Maintenance of washing machine and microwave oven; Repair & Maintenance of TV Receiver; Maintenance & Repair of Electronic Test Equipment; Repair & Maintenance of Cellular Phone; Repair & Maintenance of Intercom System; Installation & Maintenance of Electronic Equipments in Cell Phone towers; Repair & Maintenance PA & Audio Systems; Repair & Maintenance Photocopier and Fax Machine; Operation of clinical Equipment; Operation of ECG & ICCU Instruments; Maintenance of ECG & ICCU Equipment; Operation of X-Ray Machine & Dark room Assistance; Maintenance of X-Ray Machine; Operation of Physio Therapy Equipment; Maintenance of Physio Therapy Equipment; Basic Refrigeration & Air Conditioning; Repair & Maintenance of Refrigeration Unit; Repair & maintenance of



Domestic Air Conditioner; Repair & maintenance of Air Condition Plant; Repair & maintenance of MAC Unit (Car); Basic Automotive Servicing (4 Wheelers); Basic Automotive Servicing (2-3 wheelers); R&O of 2 wheelers (moped); R&O of 2 wheelers (scooter); R&O of 2 wheelers (motor cycle); R&O of 3 wheelers; R&O of engine systems (petrol/diesel); R&O of Chassis system (Light Vehicle); R&O of Chassis system (Heavy Vehicle); R&O of Auto electrical & Electronic system; Basic Electrical Training; Repair of Home Appliance; House Wiring; Electronic Choke & CFL Assembling; Transformer Winding; Armature Winding; Rewinding of AC/DC Motors; Repair of Electrical Power Tools; and Maintenance of Batteries.

Support of Agriculture and Industry to Vocational Education in Odisha

Formerly, Odisha was a part of Bengal Presidency and had attained Statehood in 1936; however, the constituent ex-princely States were merged in 1948 to constitute the whole State. The geographical area of the State is 1,55,707 sq. kms having 9th rank with respect to total area of India. As per 2011 population Census, population density in Odisha is 269/sq.km, comprising rural population of 34,951,234 (83.32%) and urban population of 6,996,124 (16.68%) leading to total population of Odisha stood at 41,947,358 (about 3.47% of India's population ranking 11th) with decadal population growth rate of 13.97%.

The State witnesses a pattern of economic growth characterised by increasing marginalised poor and unemployment, degradation of environment, low per capita income, low capital formation, inadequate exploitation of abundant natural resources, inadequate development of infrastructure, lack of technology and a well organised marketing

system. Unemployment increases the incidence of poverty creating a path of economic instability. The benefits of economic growth have not reached the bottom level of the society to the desired extent which needs strategic State intervention for increasing employment and reducing poverty. While the poverty ratio for Odisha has come down from 66.18% in 1973-74 to 39.90 in 2004-05, it is still higher than the all-India average of 21.80%¹. The extent of poverty in southern and northern regions is still very high and remains a matter of serious concern.

Agriculture has been the backbone of the State's economy by providing direct and indirect employment to around 61 per cent of the total work force of the State. Agricultural productivity is low in Odisha due to unskilled manpower, traditional agricultural practices, inadequate capital formation and low investment, inadequate irrigation facilities, uneconomic size of holdings and lack of a proper marketing network. A very large proportion of population still continues to depend on agriculture and allied sector for their sustenance. The farm productivity has also remained low as compared to several States. However, this scenario has been changing in recent years by becoming more industry and service orientation. The share of agriculture has come down to 25.46% in 10th Plan and to 19.02% of the State GSDP during the first three years of 11th Plan. The share of industry sector has increased from 17.52% during 8th Plan to 27.97% during the first three years of the 11th Plan. The share of the service sector has increased from the level of 44.87% in the 8th Plan to 53.01% during the first three years of the 11th Plan. However, Odisha's economy is still more agricultural oriented than that of India.

The industry and service sectors have become increasingly more important for the State



economy for steering the growth rate of the economy in recent years. The growth rate of the industry sector rose from 3.15% during 8th Plan to 18.70% in 10th Plan and has since sustained at a level of around 12.56% during the first three years of 11th Plan. The growth rate of the services sector has increased from 4.59% in the 8th Plan to 9.98% during the first three years of the 11th Plan. The agriculture sector has, however, lagged behind. This sector registered a negative growth rate during the 8th Plan and hovered around 3.5% during the 9th and 10th Plan. However, during the first three years of the 11th Plan, the sector has averaged 4.80% per annum.

There were 1,06,840 Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises (MSME) in the State by the end of 2009-10, with an investment of Rs.3,640.93 crore and providing employment to 6,24,400 persons. Besides, 14,539 cottage industries were set up with an investment of Rs.37.55 crore providing employment to 28,305 persons during 2009-10. By the end of 2009-10, 1,063 coir industries were operating in the State with production of 14,228 MT of coir products and giving employment to 8,982 persons. During 2009-10, there were 49,095 looms producing 166.65 lakh metre of cloth and giving employment to 98,000 persons. During 2008-09, Khadi & Village Industries provided employment to 8,284 persons.

Keeping in view development of MSME, emphasis has been laid to embark upon the broad based objectives for imparting quality technical education through ITIs, Polytechnics and Degree Engineering Colleges on a large scale. During last couple of years the number of technical institutions in almost all levels starting from ITI to degree level has increased in geometric progression. Emphasis for adequate number of seats in different technical institutes is available to make the students more

technically qualified and accrue skill required for their employability and for meeting the growing requirement of technically skilled manpower in the upcoming industrial organizations. Industries have been providing apprenticeship training as well as employment to the ITI/ITC students. There is a facility of 3994 numbers of trade apprentices (I.T.I. Trainees) under 495 numbers of establishments in 14 Apprenticeship zones in the State. Similarly, 2379 numbers of Technician Apprenticeship (Diploma holders) facilities also available in 218 numbers of establishments completely on merit basis.

General, Technical/ Professional Education

Education is broadly divided into three categories: (i) general education (ii) technical and professional education (iii) Vocational Education. General education generally includes school education from the primary to the higher secondary level, normal university education for a degree, whereas technical/professional courses involve the hands-on training in addition to theoretical classes. Engineering, Medicine, Agriculture, Management, Chartered Accountancy, Cost Accountancy, etc. are examples of technical/ professional courses. The education which aims at imparting training in very specific fields through providing significant 'hands-on' experience in acquiring necessary skill, which will make them employable or create for them opportunities of self employment and the degree/ diploma/ certificate awarded by the institute which have recognition by State/ Central Government/ Public Sector or similar employers is included under VE. Education offered by ITIs, Polytechnics, etc. are examples of vocational courses.

Odisha has registered significant increase in numbers of higher educational institutions including engineering, medical and management



colleges. There has been a decline in public expenditure on education sector since 1997-98. The present level of public expenditure on education is around four per cent of Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) during 11th Five Year Plan. Since 1997-98, budgetary expenditure in Secondary education (22-28%) higher education (11-19%) has been higher compared to technical education (1.0-2.2%) of the State. It is found that while there is a greater need for development of higher and technical education in order to accelerate the pace of economic development, the State has left the development of technical education in Odisha in the hands of private sector.

In respect of technical education, the State has made significant progress. In 2010-11, there are eight government and 93 private engineering colleges with the sanctioned intake capacity of 2223 and 35670 respectively, leading to total intake capacity of 37,660 students. There are also 60 colleges in the State to provide Masters Degree Courses in Computer Application (MCA) with intake capacity of 3,817 students. Also there are 71 colleges, including 10 Government colleges, imparting Master in Business Administration (MBA) courses in the State with an intake capacity of 5,425 students. In the field of Medical Science, the State has three Medical Colleges, one Dental College, one Pharmacy College, three Ayurvedic Colleges, four Homoeopathic Colleges and one Nursing College in the Public Sector. Besides, there are three Medical Colleges, four Dental Colleges, two Ayurvedic Colleges, two Homoeopathic Colleges and thirty two Pharmacy Colleges in the private sector.

There are 13 Government Engineering Schools/Polytechnics with intake capacity of 3376 and 77 Private Polytechnics with intake capacity of 25289 in the State. There are 28

number of Government ITIs with intake capacity of 6402 and total number of admitted students of 4664 and 582 number of Private ITIs with intake capacity of 60849 and total admitted number of students of 47487. Ongoing trades offered in ITI/ITC Colleges in Odisha are “Pump Operator-cum-Mechanic, Stenography (English), Welder (Gas & Electric), Mechanic (Diesel), Electrician & Electronics, Plastic Processing Operator, Foundry Man (Moulder), Plumber, Driver-cum-Mechanic, Health Sanitary Inspector, Desktop Publishing Operator, Dress Making, Cutting & Sewing, Sheet Metal Worker, Data Entry Operator, Computer Operator & Programming Assistant, Carpenter, Bleaching Dyeing & Calico Printing, Fitter, Surveyor, Draughtsman (Mechanical), Hair & Skin Care, Cane Willow & Bamboo, Photographer, Bakery & Confectionary, Preservation of Fruits & Vegetable, Tourist Guide, Secretarial Practice and Mechanic Motor Vehicle”. Government expenditure incurred on Engineering/Polytechnics was Rs.180.28 crore in 2010-11 (up to 31.1.2011) compared to Rs.26.75 crore in 2006-07; and Expenditure on ITIs was Rs.17.49 crore in 2010-11 (up to 31.1.2011) compared to Rs.34.24 crore in 2006-07.

Vocational Education at Higher Secondary Level

Presently, VE at +2 level is being offered only by the Government of Odisha in 231 Government or Non-Government Aided Colleges, named as Government Vocational Junior College (GVJC). For the development of VE, the Directorate of VE has been functioning under the Department of Higher Education. Students of the High School Certificate Examination passouts from a recognized Board or Council are eligible to take admission for duration of two years in the GVJCs under the Council of Higher Secondary Education (CHSE), Odisha.



Trades, classroom, workshop and apprentice facilities offered in GVJCs are comparatively inferior to the ITI institutions. Presently, trades like Computer Application (CA)/ Computer Technique (CT), Medical & Laboratory Technician (MLT), Repair & Maintenance of Electrical Domestic Appliance (EDA), Repair & Maintenance of Radio and T.V. Receivers (RTV)/ Audio Visual Technician (AVT) are offered in most of the colleges. Trades linked to agriculture, Business & Commerce, Home Science and Humanities and Others Area are being offered by less number of institutions. Computer Application (CA)/ Computer Technique (CT) is the most demanding trade (in 106 colleges) followed by Repair & Maintenance of Electrical Domestic Appliance (EDA) (in 53 colleges), Medical & Laboratory Technician (MLT) (in 53 colleges) and Repair & Maintenance of Radio and T.V. Receivers (RTV)/ Audio Visual Technician (AVT) (in 52 colleges).

In a special attention to the districts of Cuttack, Mayurbhanj and Ganjam, it was found in 2011 that each college at Cuttack, Mayurbhanj and Ganjam Districts has 2-3 class rooms without any functional **Laboratory/ Workshop**. Only 2-3 teachers are allotted per college and total 10-13 trades are currently functional, each College has been provided with two trades. The teachers are appointed temporarily with a very low salary (Rs.8000/month). Classroom and laboratory facilities are not satisfactory. However, total pass-out ratio is encouraging compared to the other education. Apprentice facilities provided through nearby industries are not satisfactory. Colleges are facing many problems like shortage of teachers and classroom, inadequate salary to the teachers, lack of workshop and cooperation from industries, lack of market oriented trades etc.

There are 14 Government Vocational Colleges in Cuttack district, 17 Government

Vocational Colleges in Mayurbhanj district and 13 Government Vocational Colleges in Ganjam district in 2011. Of this, MLT, RTV/ AVT, CA/ CT, EDA and Insurance (INS) which are considered beneficial and motivated trades for the students/ pass-outs, are offered by some colleges. Some colleges also offer Dairy Farming, Horticulture etc. agricultural related trades, Office Management (OM) and Crèche and Pre-School Management (CPM) courses which are not preferred by the students. It is observed that there is no significant change in the courses offered between 2003 and 2010. There are many courses which are preferred by the students but not available in the colleges, like Data Entry Operator, Plumber, Welder (Gas & Electric), Carpenter, Tailoring/ Dress- maker, Fitter, Mechanics, Photographer, etc. The number of seats of the demanding trades available in the colleges are limited and very less which have been the primary obstruction for attracting vocational education and scope of employment.

The maximum number of students to be admitted for each section in GVJC in any trade is 24 and the minimum is 12 in case of Computer Application trade and eight in case of all other trades in a GVJC. In case the number of students taking admission in a section in a particular trade is less than eight (or less than 12 in case of CA trade), such section of that trade is not allowed to be opened. Thus to open two sections, at least 36 students should be eligible for admission in case of Computer Application trade and at least 32 students should be eligible for admission in case of any other trade. Teaching is imparted by qualified teachers who are either Part Time Resource Persons (PTRPs) or deployed or contractual Full Time Resource Persons (FTRPs). Enrollment of students have been increasingly reached at 7415 in 2010-11 compared to 1125 in 2003 -04. Though the number of enrollment



has increased but not at all encouraging compared to general and technical education. The pass-out rate is exciting compared to other educations. During the period of apprentice training, a pass-out student receives a stipend of Rs.1090/- per month.

National Sample Survey Organisation's (NSSO) 64th round survey on "Education in India-Participation and Expenditure" indicated that in Odisha about 1,69,800 students were in technical education with an average annual expenditure of Rs. 37,772 per student and about 14,100 were in VE with an average annual expenditure of Rs.6750 per student, while 73,98,200 students were in general education with an average annual expenditure of Rs.1652 [Rs. 6176 for a student above higher secondary] per student, during 2007-08.

Expenditure incurred on VE at higher secondary stage has been marked very poor compared to Technical/ ITI/Higher Secondary education. Expenditure on VE at higher secondary stage has increased to Rs.4.75 crore in 2010-11 as against Rs.1.93 crore in 2003-04. However, expenditure on Higher Secondary Education (HSE) has increased to Rs.88.34 crore in 2010-11 compared to Rs. 13.86 crore in 2003-04. Percentage expenditure of VE in respect of HSE has been decreased to 5.38 per cent in 2010-11 as against 13.92 per cent in 2003-04. Expenditure on Engineering/Polytechnics Education has been increased to Rs.180 crore in 2010-11 (up to 31.1.2011) as against Rs.27 crore in 2006-07. However, expenditure on ITIs has been decreased to Rs.17.5 crore in 2010-11 (up to 31.1.2011) from Rs.34.24 crore in 2006-07.

Therefore, keeping in view the alarming situation of unemployment and poverty, rising pressure on general education, better

development of vocational system, disparity in education system, poverty and unemployment, unsatisfactory production and productivity in agriculture as well as in industry sector and the overall economic development of Odisha, VE at higher secondary stage needs to be accorded equal importance as other educations.

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Democracy, Governance and Social Welfare : A Reality Check in Odisha

Dr. Kamolini Devi

Good governance is the combination of democracy, the social welfare and the rule of law which aims at making the administrative structures effective, efficient, participative and solution-oriented, which provide optimal support to citizens in leading a safe and productive life in line with their desires and opportunities.

Democratic government and generous social provisions are the qualities of a good society. Democracy and social welfare policies are inter-related in so far as democracy presents the specifically favourable conditions for sustainable social provisions. Democracy in turn requires an effective state, because the state alone can create the conditions for the effective exercise of citizenship, provide and sustain the framework within which the rights and obligations of citizens can be respected and guaranteed, and arbitrate and resolve disputes about these.¹ Thus democracy and social welfare policies are inter-related. An effective democracy is impossible without the state and democracy is hard to sustain without effective state institutions. Democracies present specifically favourable conditions for sustainable social provisions.² This led to the development of welfare state where democracy and state combined together, directed substantially towards the redressal of inequalities in the ownership of means of production.³

Welfare rights are a charter of the state's good intention on a number of matters including socialism. Social welfare is about how people, communities and institutions in a society take action to provide certain minimum standards and certain opportunities. It is generally about helping people facing contingencies.⁴ The case studies taken up are an attempt to show the effectiveness of the social welfare policies of the Government in the State of Odisha.

The Forest Rights Act (2006)

The scheduled tribes and other traditional forest dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights Act, 2006) is a result of the protracted struggle by the marginal and tribal communities of our country to assert their rights over the forestland over which they were traditionally dependent. This Act is crucial to the rights of millions of tribal and other forest dwellers in different parts of our country as it provides for the restriction deprived forest rights across India, including both individual rights to cultivated land in forest land and community rights over Common Property Resources. The notification of rules for the implementation of the Forest Rights Act, 2006 on 1st January 2008, has finally paved the way to undo the historic injustice done to the tribal and other forest dwellers. The Act is significant as it provides scope and historic opportunity of integrating conservation and livelihood rights of the people.



The Act is perceived as a potential tool :

- To empower and strengthen the local self governance,
- To address the livelihood security of the people, leading to poverty alleviation and pro-poor growth,
- To address the issues of conservation and management of the natural resources and conservation governance of India.

As per the projections of Ministry of Environment and Forest (MOEF), more than 50,000 ha of forest area will need to be diverted for coal exploration and production in the next seven to eight years, only for Coal India Ltd. Apart from coal there are many more developmental projects that may require diversion of forest land in the near future. This figure is really alarming, but in a significant move the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MOEF) has made it mandatory that any such proposals involving diversion of forest land have to be backed by the consent of the corresponding Gramsabhas. This radical move to involve the Gramsabha has ensured the empowerment of the local people and enabled them to switch from being mere onlookers to major decision- makers in the protection of their forests and environment.

Before the inception of the (Forest Rights Act) FRA 2006, the Forest Conservation Act (FCA) and the Wildlife Protection Act (WPA) had some checks and balances for the diversion of forest land but these left out the local communities, due to which the forest land was diverted for various commercial purposes even inside the protected areas, where the rights of local people have been severely infringed.⁵

After the Gazette Notification of Forest rights Act 2006 in Orissa, more than 30 projects have got final forest clearance in the State which are as follows:

The projects approved in Orissa

Projects	Approval	
	2008	2009
Mining	26	09
Irrigation	05	00
Others	03	02

Source: www.fra.org.in

Status of Forest Rights Act Implementation in Orissa: As on 31st July 2009

No of claims verified by FRC and submitted to gram sabha (palli sabha)	No of claims approved by Gramsabha (palli sabha) and forwarded to SDLC	No of claims approved by SDLC and sent to DLC	No of claims approved by DLC for titles
Individual claims 291156	158480	44567	36792
Community claims 1656	589	116	100

Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India (www.tribal.nic.in)

The recent order issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forest is a welcome step for giving further teeth to the Forest Rights Act, 2006 as it also clarifies that forest land cannot be diverted without first settling the individual and community rights of tribals and other traditional forest dwellers.⁶

In keeping with the above declaration, in Orissa forest clearances of 466 projects (90 'in principal' clearances and 376 final clearances) have been approved of which around 45 projects have been given forest clearance after the notification of Forest Rights Act, 2006. On the whole a sign of positive change has dawned, with the new order of the Ministry of Environment and Forest in hand, in so far as the local communities



in the State now have a major role in ensuring that their traditional rights over their habitat and habitation are respected and recognized and that destruction of forests is not at their cost. The tribal communities are allowed to participate in protecting forests and its resources.⁷ The Forest Minister of Odisha ensured that the Vedanta Group complied with all the provisions of the Forest Rights Act, 2006 and the consent of the Gramsabha with at least 50% quorum was obtained before final forest clearance was considered.

The Jungle Adhikar Surakhya Mancha,⁸ a network of forest dwelling communities have submitted a charter of demands which are as follows:

- Appointment of special officer at SDLC for regular monitoring,
- Sensitization programmes for FRC and verification team members on FRA,
- Sensitization programme on PTG'S rights to implementing bodies,
- Supply of village maps and other required documents,
- Cooperation of Forest Department in verification,
- Verification of CFR,
- Written acknowledgement by SDLC on receipt of claims from FRCS,
- Sharing of field visit plan with concerned Gramsabhas.

Taking into account the above demands the State government has taken the decision to:

- Constitute Forest Rights Cell at SDLC level for coordination, guidance and monitoring of FRA,

- DFO would supply required maps to respective Tahasildars,
- ITDA would release Rs 5000/- to each Tahsildar for carrying out planned activities,
- Concerned BDOs and Tahsildars would ensure the approval of claims by holding Gramsabhas.

NREGA: National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (2006)

The NREGA now called Mahatama Gandhi Rural Employment Guarantee Act came into effect in different states including Odisha from 2nd February, 2006. The social welfare programme taken up by the state government is primarily intended to enhance the livelihood securities of the people in rural areas by supplementing wage employment opportunities to the unskilled labour force. The programme is in force with the intention that it would act as a strong safety net for the poor in the wake of lack of alternative employment opportunities. In an attempt to ensure the rural economy to grow, the scheme is expected to regenerate the rural natural resource base for suitable livelihood by carrying out soil and water conservation activities (Sen, 1981). It is the only programme in the history of India's development initiatives which has been in force with an enactment of the act of the parliament. With a mandate to guarantee 100 days of employment to a rural household, the scheme is intended to guarantee employment to all those who demand works, failing which employment allowance are to be paid.⁹

The tremendous potential of NREGA in the State can be analyzed on the ground that workers are earning close to and sometimes more than the statutory minimum wage of Rs 70/- per day and that wages are paid within 15 days or so. There is an unprecedented opportunity for the



rural poor, and there is evident appreciation of it among the casual labourers and other disadvantaged sections of the population. Some of them even hope that NREGA would enable to avoid long- distance seasonal migration, with all its hardships by creating livelihood opportunities. Further, there is plenty of scope for productive NREGA works, works whether it is in the field of water conservation, rural connectivity, regeneration of forest land or improvement of private agricultural land. These are the different areas which stand in significance for the rural poor, providing employment guarantee and side by side building up robust infrastructure in rural areas. At the district level OREGS operates and the emphasis is laid on rural connectivity for providing all weather accessibility to the villages having population of more than 1000.¹⁰

Besides the government has taken the initiative to enhance the institutional capacity along with making improvements in the deliverance and decision-making systems. The emphasis is laid on appointing a suitable technical person in the form of JE (Junior Engineer) at the Grampanchayat level for the purpose of daily measurement of works, so that the Junior Engineers at the Block level are not overburdened with work.

It has empowered Gram Sathi to Gram Sanjojak and the Gram Sanjojaks are paid the wages of a semi-skilled labour irrespective of how many labourers he mobilizes. The MOUs has been signed with SBI (State Bank of India) to put business correspondent to make wage payment at panchayat level.¹¹ The Biometric identification system has been developed to stop malpractice and ensure payment of wages fairly and swiftly. The state has associated the line departments who would submit their plans to District Planning Coordinator (Collector) and then the projects would be aligned to NREGS. The

state is also networking with the NGO's to organize job seekers and give them work training. The MOUs with NGOs have been signed on the basis of their core expertise and definite objectives for social audit at Block level and Panchayat level. The emphasis is on the institutional space for NGO's in the NREGS to enhance their credibility to ensure 100 days work, worksite facilities, weekend for workers and proactive transparency, through the provisions of social audits and RTI (Right to Information).¹²

The trend of incidence of poverty in Odisha has decreased considerably. During 1973-74 it was 66.18% and has reduced to 39.9% during 2004-05.¹³ Till the end of the last financial year, more than 6.12 million job cards have been issued to the households in Orissa. Out of them, during the financial year 2008-09, about 1.13 million (18.51%) households demanded jobs and employment was provided to over 1.1 million households. Little over 44000 households were provided stipulated 100 days of employment during 2008-09.¹⁴ The (PRIs) Panchayati Raj Institutions are playing a significant role in disseminating information on NREGS rules and regulations. A large section of the respondents from the age group of 30-50 years depend on these sources for information. This may be due to the fact that while the socially and academically backward respondents are not capable enough to access information from the media or government notification, the job-seekers of the middle age groups keep close contact with Sarpanchs or Ward Members for the same. Further efforts have been made that works are undertaken within a radius of maximum 5 km. Such proximity of workplace from home also encourages the job-seekers, especially the women by providing various on-field facilities to work under the scheme as they have generally a very limited mobility away from their home. The



females and the socially weaker sections have largely benefited from the NREGS in so far it has helped them to look beyond domestic chores and search for employment opportunities to bring in economic solvency of the family as well as to facilitate their economic and social empowerment.

The state has given due emphasis on different kinds of works undertaken under NREGS which includes water conservation, irrigation facilities, renovation of ponds, construction of rural roads. It has ensured conservation of natural resources and creating tangible asset for the community in addition to generation of necessary employment opportunities. Such efforts towards water conservation has facilitated and other farm activities and hence towards sustainable development of the concerned Panchayats in a considerable way. The selection of the works on the basis of community requirements has led to the effective participation of the villagers in the decision-making process of NREGS which is essential in successful implementation of any scheme in a democratic set up like India.

Despite the successful implementation of the NREGS in the state various gaps remain to be filled. The procedural ignorance or lack of awareness among the people is taken to be a common reason for not applying job cards. The remedy has been sought in imparting regular training and sensitization programmes for the Sarpanchs who play a vital role in planning, designing and implementation of the NREGS. They are well aware of the procedures and processes of the NREGS. The training programmed will help in enhancing their functional competencies.

Creating awareness and improvement in education is necessary not only to motivate the people to work under the scheme but also

encourage them to participate in its planning and implementation. Efforts should be made for greater community participation, information sharing and expression of opinion by the rural mass and development of social networks. These mechanisms can empower communities, to strengthen democratic process and make the scheme inclusive and thereby can help in maximizing returns from it.

There is a suggestion for proper manpower planning under the scheme. The scheme should have a separate (at least partially) implementing agency. As per the provisions under the NREGA, there should be a district level cell for NREGS. This cell can function as an adjunct body of DRDA (District Rural Development Authority) with the Project Director of DRDA leading the same. Additional staff should be appointed to work in the cell exclusively for the NREGS. This is likely to ensure better coordination of activities under the scheme and the same structure can be followed at the Block level and the Panchayats.

Right to Information Act 2005

The Right to Information is generally regarded as one of the most important cornerstones of participatory democracy because public access to information instills spirit of accountability and transparency in governance. Right to Information is also seen as a corrective instrument, to check corruption, secrecy and bureaucratic apathy towards citizens. Thus in this era of information revolution and globalization, Right to Information is a pre-requisite for a healthy democratic structure. Indian Parliament enacted the famous RTI Act in 2005, which makes access to information as fundamental right of the people. Enactment of the Act is the result of a long struggle for freedom of information throughout the country spearheaded by Mazdoor Kisan Sakthi



Sangathan (MKSS) and National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI)

RTI (Right to Information) central monitoring mechanism named as "Lok Sookhana" is a central monitoring mechanism by Government of Odisha to ensure the implementation of Right to Information Act, 2005 at all public authorities of Government of Odisha. This is developed with an objective to provide single point access of all Right to Information catering to section -4, section-25 of Right to Information Act, 2005 in an uniform manner. The project is monitored by Department of Information and Public Relations, Government of Odisha (Nodal Department of Government of Odisha for RTI implantation) in collaboration with Luminous Infoways. Content on this website is published by respective public authorities and managed by Information and Public Relations Department, Government of Odisha.

Odisha holds a prestigious position as far as much hyped Right to Information is concerned. The performance of the State in accepting applications and their disposal is outstanding. At the same time its performance has also been highly acclaimed by international bodies. According to the Ex-Chief Information Commissioner of Odisha, Mr.D.N.Padhi, the activity of the Commission has crossed the boundaries of the country since the World Bank and other international organizations have acclaimed its performances. The state has finalized 830 cases in just one and a half years which is a leading figure in India.¹⁵ But the common men, villagers and the civil society are yet to take advantage of the law. Whereas in most of the cases Government servants are seeking information regarding their personal matters like promotion, gratuity etc, the common men, villagers and the civil society are at the receiving end. According to the Chief Information Commissioner, when people will seek information as to the implementation of different

welfare schemes, social programmes like construction of roads, drains in NACs, municipalities or villages, the very purpose behind the implementation of Right to Information would be served. At the same time it would reduce the expenditure of the Projects.

Taking into account the above view and recognizing the unique importance of Right to Information as a transformative tool for bringing about a transparent, responsible and responsive system of governance in the poor and backward society of Odisha, the Odisha Right to Food campaign, an informal network of activist groups launched a state-wide campaign for ensuring a proper operationalisation of the Right to Information Act, 2005 soon after it was notified on the Gazette of India in June 2005 last. In keeping with its strategy to mobilize as many civil society groups as possible in the campaign process, the Odisha Right to Food campaign encouraged the formation and growth of an open-ended platform to spearhead the campaign for Right to Information covering the whole state.¹⁶ The specific objectives of the campaign were:

- a) To contribute to the advocacy efforts then going on at national level for pressing the central Government to frame citizen-friendly rules as mandated by the Central Act; and more importantly.
- b) To effectively lobby with the state Government of Odisha to make the state rules under the Act as much pro-poor as possible keeping in view the interest of the overwhelming bulk of the state's population.

The campaign was formerly launched from a two-day state level seminar held at capital city of Bhubaneswar on 12/13th September 2005, in which articulate representatives from cross-sections of society, legislators, bureaucrats, legal experts, academia, NGOs, panchayat leaders and



media persons etc. took active part. From the rostrum of the seminar and in a pre-emptive bid, a comprehensive memorandum was addressed to both central government and state government of Orissa to ensure that the rules to be framed by each government should perfectly accord with the letter and spirit of the historic law. The said memorandum did also call upon all the public authorities at central and state level to make proactive disclosure of 17 categories of essential information in a manner accessible to the public as required under Section 4 of the Act¹⁷ which includes that:

- a) each public authority shall maintain the registers for recording the particulars of the persons seeking or inspecting information along with the fees collected from them and;
- b) The said registers shall remain always open to inspection by the public.

Again financial punishments have been awarded to various high ranking officers in the state recently by the commission which has spread panic among the neglecting officers. To carry the message of the campaign further across to other states and networks at national level, a website has been launched at www.orissarti.com and the events and memoranda of the campaign have been displayed there for perusal by all.

The RTI and NREGA in Odisha

The Right to Information Act powerfully supplements the transparency provisions of the NREGA 2005 and its operational guidelines. Deliberate use of the Right to Information Act is an essential tool for effective implementation of the Employment Guarantee Act.¹⁸

As per the provisions of the Act, Right to Information gives the citizen right to access any record related to their work. Proactive disclosure of information is the first step in Right to

Information. Proactive disclosure implies the primary responsibility of the government agencies to disclose the details to the people without their formal application. It is a proactive effort and concern towards accountability norms and principles. As per Section 4 of the Right to Information “key documents related to NREGA should be proactively disclosed to the public, without waiting for anyone to ‘apply’ for them.

The most significant aspect of NREGA in the state of Odisha is the increasing assertion of people who are working under the scheme, using the Right to Information Act. The process of training and spreading awareness on the act by social activists and NGOs has created a situation wherein people are reported to be demanding their job cards, jobs, receipt of applications, etc by way of staging Dharnas and writing complaints.

A group of people in Narla block of Kalahandi district had staged a Dharna in front of the BDO's office to demand their unemployment allowance. The BDO had to accede. Both the Gram Panchayat and Block level authorities of Ullunda Block of Sonepur district denied receiving work applications from villagers. The applicants sat in a Dharana in front of the Block Office till their applications were acknowledged and they were given dated receipt by the BDO.

Moreover, the e-group has intended for discussion on various aspects of the NREGA in Odisha, its practice, adherence and violations. It has nearly 400 members from government and non-government organizations, NREGA activists and members of the Central Employment Guarantee Council (CEGC). This mixed and learned membership has urged the government to respond to postings on the e-group.¹⁹

The members of the Central Employment Guarantee Council (CEGC) visited three districts



of Kalahandi, Sundergarh and Mayurbhanj from 20th to 23rd November 2007 and interacted with Chief Minister, Panchayati Raj Minister, Chief Secretary and the officers of the Panchayati Raj Department. The focus was to bring about some systematic changes for better implementation of the scheme. Following up on the demands, the Government has taken the following vital decisions:

- There will be columns for wage payments in the JC.
- The Gram Rojgar Sevak will be responsible for distribution and maintenance of the JCs.
- Contractors will be banned in NREGA works. This has been ensured by instructing the JEs and VLWs, in whose names work orders are issued, to strictly abide by this provision and entrust the work to VLLs selected by Palli Sabha and not to the contractors.
- Following the Andhra model, the Government has announced the appointment of one lakh Gaon Sathis to help coordinate and assist in NREGA works along with helping JEs in work measurement.
- The Government has requested the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD), Hyderabad, to conduct 40 Social Audits in 19 districts (which were covered in the first phase of implementation by the end of February, 2008).

Complimentary to the visit of Central Employment Guarantee Council's members, a state level public seminar on NREGA was conducted by the social activists of the State where people from various districts presented their cases and grievances. As per reports there are efforts on part of the state government to take prompt action on complaints and putting in place

effective grievance redressal mechanism and use of single, uniform, numbered muster roll throughout the State.

Conclusion

Despite many shortcomings in the implementation of the Act, it has been proved beyond doubt that NREGA is a classic legislation providing guaranteed entitlement to the rural folk. Eventhough it has not been able to check distressed migration from rural Odisha, in the long run, it can check the same, as the migrant labourers are of the opinion that if they get 100 days of assured employment in their villages they would not venture out of the state.²⁰

In the words of Jean Derze, "The fact that the whole state administration has been alerted to put NREGA in priority list is itself an achievement,". In fact, the legislation has brought about a new ray of hope among the people and the civil society organisations. Comparing the initial period of implementation with the current position, the act has got a proper direction in the State and things have started falling in line.

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Dr. Kamolini Devi, Flat No- B/3, Varun Residency, P.O.Pradhanpara, Near Budharaja High School, Sambalpur, Odisha.



The Solution to the Problems of Democracy is More Democracy

Dr. Anup Dash

Across the world, citizens speak of mounting disillusionment with government, based on concerns about corruption, lack of responsiveness to the needs of the poor and the absence of a sense of connection with their elected representatives and bureaucrats. The Westminster model of democracy is failing. Institutional failures and erosion is a central element in the broader problems of governance failure. Policy makers and aid agencies have come up with different sets of “reform” programmes as a solution to the problem of governance failure. One of the most important strategies in this direction is to change the huge monolithic structure of the government and bring it closer to the citizens by creating “small governments” at the local level, the Indian model of which is the Panchayati Raj. The power of the “small government” is premised on the assumption that local authorities have better access to information about their constituents and that they are more easily held accountable by the local population. This will improve governance not only by increasing the efficiency, but also by increasing its transparency and responsiveness.

But, this is only a formal architecture and structural extension of democracy to the lower levels, which is commonly known as “devolution of power”, meaning a form of power sharing with the sub-national levels of the government. In order

to improve governance and enrich the quality of democracy, this formal extension of democracy to the lower levels is a necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition. In itself, it does not guarantee the quality of democracy. It is merely the skeleton, the flesh and blood comes from citizens engagement, which is the more substantive element of democracy. Formal extension of democracy through Constitutional changes, without this substantive element will not go very far in deepening democracy. Constitutional and legal changes open up an “invited space” for democratic participation only’. They represent the “supply-driven” approach to the extension of democracy. In the absence of the practice of citizenship by the people in their everyday lives, this “space” comes under the danger of abuse, capture, and monopoly by the spurious elements, thus defeating its very purpose. This happens when there is a shortfall in the “demand side”. This is the current problem with our Panchayati Raj system. We need to mobilize the “demand side” and bridge the supply- demand gap. The power of citizenship is in its practice.

Recent scholarship in the field of Democracy’ and Citizenship studies have challenged the earlier liberal view of citizenship as a set of Rights and Responsibilities bestowed by the State. More recent grounded theorists have



advanced a more robust concept of Citizenship as a multidimensional concept, which includes identity, agency and the actions of the people themselves. Citizenship is more than a legal status; it is an everyday political practice. We have got the status; we need to put it into practice. We need to practice the rigors of citizenship in our everyday lives. This requires a socio-political mobilization for citizenship building. That is the “second democratic revolution”, which we need as a solution to the problems of the first one. If the essence of the first democratic revolution was the construction of the formal architecture of the structure of the Panchayati Raj through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, the essence of the second revolution is to create the social infrastructure for these institutions. The first revolution was legal-political in nature, the second is socio-cultural in nature. The result of the first revolution was the birth of the institution of small governments at the local levels in India, the outcome of the second will be their maturity. At the moment, these institutions are very fragile.

There is a critical need to change the existing nature of the State-Society relationship. The State is the “giver” and the people are the recipients and “beneficiaries”. People the “users and choosers” but not makers and shapers” of their lives. State officials are Baboos, not public servants. The state bureaucracy even at the local level is too complex, rigorous, and insensitive to the simple needs of the poor people. The common people find it too difficult to deal with these Baboos, and don’t know how to communicate. They are not treated with respect. Of late, the Baboos have become corrupt. The everyday life common experience of the people with the government is not good. Peoples’ trust in their government is rapidly eroding. Often the State and the Society meet at wrong points – points of

conflict – people are “more reactive” than “proactive” in their relationship with the government. “Entitlement failure” is the cause of poverty as has been rightly explained by Amartya Sen.

The practice of citizenship requires the development of civic competencies, which large sections of our people lack primarily due to the ‘various asymmetries in our social lives, based on gender, class, caste etc. Social Capital is a resource and we learn from social researchers like Robert Putnam and others that the health of an democracy critically depends on this resource. This is more so in the context of the local self governments. Because of these asymmetries and the hierarchical nature of our society, the abundant social capital base is “fractured” in our communities. This makes collective action, community management of natural resources, participation in development programmes etc. extremely difficult. Sociologists have long since explained the increasing role of institutions like caste and religion in the modern Indian democratic life. This is what often plagues our democracy, and subverts all our efforts to deepen it, to improve its quality, and to make it inclusive and plural. Therefore, the issue is to change “primordial sentiments” to “civil sentiments”, to change ethnos into demos. Local society and sociopolitical institutions (such as the PRIs) are the spaces for a new democratic engagement” created by the 73rd Amendment. Panchayat is the site for exercising the agencies of the subaltern groups; it is the breeding ground for deepening democracy and building up an inclusive, plural, and democratic life. Panchayat is the focus of civic republicanism and communitarianism.

At the centre of the success of the second democratic revolution, is a focus on active and empowered citizens who can participate in



decision making, claim rights, and hold institutions as well as their officials accountable. There are very powerful connections and critical relationships between effective states and engaged and empowered citizens in an inclusive democracy. Citizens who are active and empowered gradually emerge through local level action around livelihoods and access to basic services which relate to their immediate everyday lives. This implies that support (both through state as well as non-state agencies) to participation, building community-based organizations of the poor, and building community capacity for different forms of local action do have very important positive, long-term outcomes in terms of state building. There is a need to continue and to expand efforts to build a more inclusive society based on respect, equality and the full participation of all citizens, regardless of caste, religion, language, sex or other distinctions. Training programmes now offered for PRI representatives which mostly are focused around political literacy are extremely inadequate, in terms of quantitative coverage and in terms of their thematic range and scope as also in their training methodologies. We need to broaden and deepen these training programmes to cover not just the elected representatives but to all sections of the people including the youth and the children.

Further programmes should be designed to sensitize the people to the values of inclusion, anti-discrimination and human rights, and increase their competencies through skill building in areas like inclusive citizenship, peaceful conflict resolution, understanding cultural diversity, community planning and resource management, environmental planning, disaster mitigation etc. Looking at this enormous need, the capacity of our support institutions (e.g., training institutions) is currently extremely inadequate. Therefore we should think more innovatively to pull resources and capacities at different levels (training and research institutions, government agencies, NGOs, Universities, Corporations, Political Parties etc.) and harness their collective capacities towards this goal on a priority basis through University-Community linkages, Public-Private Partnerships, coalition building and networking among various institutions, Business-Community Partnerships etc. This is our public responsibility.

Dr. Anup Dash, Department of Sociology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar - 751 004.



Rural Development in India and China : A Comparative Perspective

Rabi Narayan Mohanty

As India lives in villages so the importance of rural development assumes principal focus from the very beginning. In the process the structure and the functions inherent in rural development have undergone both quantitative and qualitative changes so much so that both the terms 'Rural' and 'Development' need redefinition. What was 'rural' traditionally is not 'rural' today nor also the concept of development which has undergone a qualitative change from State-Centric to People-Centric (civil society perspective). Besides, the new waves of liberalization, privatization and globalization have effected changes in the dynamics of rural development. Thus, it requires a holistic approach. The paper attempts to present comparative analyses of rural development in India and China.

Viewed theoretically, rural development is elastic and a dynamic concept. The bottom line refers to a broad consensus putting more emphasis on those rural development activities which mainly concern the rural areas. Rural Development thus encompasses both the spatial and functional integration of all relevant programmes bearing on increased agricultural production and also the reduction of unemployment, underemployment and provisions of gainful employment among the rural people.¹ The term 'rural' means an area which is

characterized by non-urban style of life, occupational structure, social organization, and settlement pattern. The Ashridge Conference on 'Social Development' defined rural development as a movement designed to promote better living for all in the whole community, with the active participation and initiative of the community.² Further, more comprehensively, 'rural development connotes the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united to those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions in the life of the nation and to relate them to contribute fully to national programme.'³

Thus the rural development is a multi-dimensional process which includes the development of socio-economic conditions of the people living in the rural areas, and ensures their participation in the process of development for maximum utilization of physical and human resources for better living condition with an ultimate objective of improving quality of life in the rural areas.

Broadly the strategy and approaches can be grouped under following categories as:

- (i) The Multipurpose approach – For example The Community Development Programme, 1952;



- (ii) The Minimum Package Approach – For example Intensive Agricultural district Programme 1960-61;
- (iii) Target Group Approach – For example Small farmers/marginal farmers and landless labourers/SFDA/MFLA etc. and Antyodaya Scheme etc.
- (iv) Area Development Approach – For example DPAP, TDP, CAD, Hill Area Development etc.
- (v) The Spatial Planning Approach – For example Multi-level planning.
- (vi) Integrated Rural Development Approach. It is otherwise a combination of the four types of activities i.e. increased production in agriculture and allied sectors, the tertiary sector, village and cottage handicrafts and tiny industries and labour mobilization; and
- (vii) National Rural Employment Guarantee Approach – It aims at combating unemployment and poverty with legal guarantee. It is a demand driven approach.

At present the prime concern of any policy, scheme/programme for a just social order sought to be to generate employment that is to absorb at least the new additions to the adult population, and where there is a substantial backlog of unemployment and underemployment, to absorb that as well.

The major source of injustice today is to be found not so much in a condition of general scarcity as in the fact of the diminishing marginal utility of men and women, in the fact that millions of people find themselves idle and useless, often in their prime. This is the greatest challenge which needs to be addressed urgently.⁴

Distinct features of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme -

With a view to combating rural unemployment and poverty the Union Finance Minister P. Chidambaram announced Rs.14,300 crore for rural employment.⁵ Of this Rs.11,300 crore (including the North Eastern Region component) will be utilized under the National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREG) Scheme which is redesignated as Mahatma Gandhi NREG Act in 2009 (MGNREGA) and Rs.3,000 crore is to be spent on the Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY).

A massive allocation of the funds – to the tune of Rs.3825.73 crore – is proposed for the Panchayati Raj Ministry. The Rs.3750 crore- fund has been initiated for putting in place programmes and policies with the joint efforts of the centre and the states that would remove barriers to growth and accelerate the development process. Presenting the budget estimates for 2006-07 in Parliament, Mr. Chidambaram said since there was a legal guarantee of employment under the MGNREG Act, more funds would be provided as required.

There has been no allocation for National Food for Work Programme as the scheme has been merged with the MGNREGA scheme. From February 2, 2006, Government of Odisha has been implementing the scheme covering 19 districts and at present, almost all districts are covered under the scheme.

Features

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 of Parliament received the assent of the President on 5th September, 2005. The Act provides for the enhancement of livelihood security of the households in the rural areas of the country by providing at least one hundred days of guaranteed wage employment in every financial year to every household whose



adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

If an applicant for employment under the scheme is not provided such employment within 15 days of receipt of his application seeking employment or from the date on which the employment has been sought in case of an advance application whichever is latter, he shall be entitled to a daily unemployment allowance subject to such terms and conditions of eligibility as may be prescribed by the State Government and subject to the provisions of this Act and the schemes and the economic capacity of the State Government, the unemployment allowance payable under sub section (1) shall be paid to the applicants of a household subject to the entitlement of the household as such rate as may be specified by the State Government, by notification, in consultation with the State Council.

Provided that no such rate shall be less than one fourth of the wage rate for the first 30 days during the financial year and not less than one half of the wage rate for the remaining period of the financial year.

Regarding implementing and monitoring authorities, it provides that not less than one third of the non-official members nominated under this clause shall be women. It also provides that not less than one-third of the non-official members shall be belonging to the SCs, the STs, the other Backward Classes and Minorities.

For the purpose of regular monitoring and reviewing the implementation of the Act at the State level, every State Government shall constitute a State Council to be known as the State Employment Guarantee Council with a Chairperson and such number of official members as may be determined by the State Government from Panchayati Raj institutions, organizations of workers and disadvantaged groups.

The Panchayats at district, intermediate and village levels shall be the principal authorities for planning and implementation of the schemes. It has to finalize and approve block-wise projects to be taken up under a programme under a scheme and to supervise and monitor the projects taken up at the Block level and district level.

The functions of the panchayat at intermediate level shall be –

- (a) to approve the Block level plan for forwarding it to the district panchayat at the district level for final approval;
- (b) to supervise and monitor the projects taken up at the Gram Panchayat and Block level; and
- (c) to carry out such other functions as may be assigned to it by the State Council, from time to time.

16(1) Responsibility of the Gram Panchayats

The G.P. shall be responsible for identification of the projects in the G.P. area to be taken up under a scheme as per the recommendations of the Gram Sabha and the Ward Sabhas and for executing and supervising such works.

- (2) A Gram Panchayat may take up any project under a scheme within the area of the Gram Panchayat as may be sanctioned by the Programme Officer.
- (3) Every Gram Panchayat shall, after considering the recommendations of the Gram Sabha and the Ward Sabhas, prepare a development plan and maintain a shelf of possible works to be taken up under the scheme as and when demand for work arises.
- (4) The Gram Panchayat shall forward its proposals for the development projects including the order of priority between different works to the Programme Officer for scrutiny and preliminary approval prior



to the commencement of the year in which it is proposed to be executed.

- (5) The Programme Officer shall allot at least 50% of the works in terms of its cost under scheme to be implemented through the Gram Panchayats.
- (6) The Programme Officer shall supply each Gram Panchayat with –
 - (a) the muster rolls for the works sanctioned to be executed by it; and
 - (b) a list of employment opportunities available elsewhere to the residents of the Gram Panchayat.
- (7) The Gram Panchayat shall allocate employment opportunities among the applicants and ask them to report for work.
- (8) The works taken up by a Gram Panchayat under a scheme shall meet the required technical standards and measurements.

Social Audit of work by Gram Sabha

- 17(1) The Gram Sabha shall monitor the execution of works within the Gram Panchayat.
- (2) The Gram Sabha shall conduct regular social audits of all projects under the scheme taken up within the Gram Panchayat.
- (3) The Gram Panchayat shall make available all relevant documents including muster rolls, bills, vouchers, measurement books, copies of sanction orders and other connected books of accounts and papers to the Gram Sabha for the purpose of conducting the social audit.

There is also a grievance redressal mechanism.

Comparison with the China's New Rural Policy

It would be noteworthy to make a comparison between the two as our Hon'ble

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh suggested to emulate the Chinese system.

The Chinese Government in February, 2006 announced an ambitious new rural policy that focuses less on indiscriminate growth and more on redistribution of resources and balancing of incomes. The message is "back to the villages".⁶

The inequalities that have resulted from this economic metamorphosis are increasing. Following mass protests in the countryside in the face of corruption and poverty in recent years, the New Rural Policy attempts to give fresh direction to China's economic policies. The creation of the "New Socialist Countryside" is beefed up government spending on basic education and medical care, additional subsidies for farmers, and large injections of funding in rural infrastructure projects. This rural initiative is to be the centre-piece of the new five-year plan for 2006-2010. China's president Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao have repeatedly stated that their administration's top priority is to tackle the rich-poor gap, symbolized by the rural-urban divide.

China's 800 million odd peasants comprise 70 per cent of the country's total population but with an average annual income of \$400 (a third of average urban incomes) they make up only around 40 per cent of domestic consumption.

The gap is exacerbated when factoring in health care and other social benefits provided to many urban residents but lacking in the countryside.

There were escalations in the number of peasant protests. According to the Ministry of Public Security, in 2005 there were a total of 87,000 mass protests across the country, expressing public anger against official corruption, illegal land seizures and unpaid wages and pensions.



Many of the efforts outlined in the new rural plan have in fact already been experimented within pilot projects. Notable among the various schemes aimed at improving the lot of farmers is the abolishing of the hundreds of years old agricultural tax from January, 2006. In December 2005, the National People's Congress (NPC) provisionally approved an additional budget of 100 billion Yuan (\$ 12.5 billion) a year to rural areas.

In China, the Govt.'s share in national health spending has plunged from close to 100 per cent in the heyday of the communist revolution to about 15 per cent today. Big cities in China consume 80 per cent of the country's medical resources although only a third of the Chinese population lives there. In 2000, the World Health Organisation ranked China 144th amongst 191 countries on the basis of fairness of access to health care. Even India ranked ahead.

China's new policy also promises that by 2007 rural students will no longer have to pay for textbooks. Students from poorer families will receive boarding and transport subsidies. Proposals to hike the remuneration for teachers in rural areas are in the process of being considered, as is a plan to make it compulsory for teachers from cities to work for part of the year in the countryside.

Critical Lacuna

- (1) The New Economic Policy leaves unresolved the fundamental issue of where farmers will be allowed to buy and sell land.
- (2) Under the Chinese Constitution, farm land is held collectively by the villages, so that individual farmers who have leases are easily exploited by local officials who claim the land for development projects. Farmers are usually given woefully inadequate compensation in return.

- (3) Moreover, the internal migration for rural residents to China's bigger cities remains restricted, narrowing their options and ability to climb out of poverty.
- (4) China's gini index – a commonly used statistical measure of inequality talks – of 44.7 is worse even than that of India's 32.5, (As per to the UNDP's 2005 Human Development Report).

In this connection our Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh has suggested creation of rural business hubs of the lines on the Chinese model.

Lessons for India from China⁷

Indeed it is natural to judge Indian successes and failures in comparative terms with China. Some of these comparisons have been academic and scholarly, even distant. Others have been used to precipitate particular political debates in India, with considerable practical impact – in some cases linked to specific revolutionary causes (particularly in giving shape to Maoist Political Parties). Even non-revolutionary parties of the 'left', which are well integrated in India's parliamentary system of governance, have paid sustained attention to the perceived economic and social achievements of China-looking for lessons and guidance on how to make things more faster in India. It is possible to admire China's various achievements and to learn from them, without emulating its non-democratic features.

First- There is the important demonstration of the possibility of bringing market forces to bear on the pursuit of economic development and the elimination of mass deprivation. People moved by the intensity of poverty in India often remain sceptical of what the market mechanism can do. The reason being that market mechanism on its own may not take us very far in eliminating deprivation in India, if



liberalization goes hand in hand with a continued neglect of other conditions of social progress.

Second, China's experience also brings out the complementarities between two essential bases of expansion of social opportunity, namely (1) Supportive public intervention, especially in fields such as education, health care, social security and land reforms, and (2) the market mechanism-an essential part of effective trade and production arrangement.

Third, China's liberalization programme has certain pragmatic features. The market mechanism has been used in China to create additional channels of social and economic opportunities, without attempting to rely on the market itself as a surrogate social system on its own. There has been no breathless attempt at privatization of state enterprises, and no abdication of governance; instead the focus has been on opening up new possibilities for the private sector together with reforming management practices in collectively owned enterprises.

Similarly, in carrying out the rural reforms (based on a new stress on household responsibility), land has been kept under collective ownership with each adult person in a village – male or female being entitled to cultivate a given amount of land. It is worth mentioning that this land tenure system also has the positive feature of being gender-symmetric, in the sense that adult women and men have similar entitlements. This contrasts sharply with land rights in India, which are overwhelmingly patrilineal. This is a major source of gender inequality and female disadvantage in India. This has largely prevented the emergence of a class of dispossessed landless households, and has provided some protection against destitution to the rural population. This combination of collective ownership and individual use rights has been a special feature of Chinese economic reform from which India has to learn a great deal.⁸

Fourth, India has much to learn from China in the fields of economic and social policy. Like China, India should have a strong political commitment of its leadership (irrespective of regime change) to eliminate poverty and deprivation. There should be no ad hocism in economic and social policy on partisan line.

A critical examination of MGNREGA reveals some deficiencies which need to be addressed.

1. While the Act guarantees jobs to a family, actually, it should have addressed the individual as the beneficiary. In rural India, where large joint families continue to be the norm, confining jobs to just one member was unfair and would lead to misunderstanding and conflict within the household.
2. Perhaps some of the poor states are not in a position to provide 10 per cent at the cost envisaged in the Act.
3. Again job guarantee for some days may not be adequate to eradicate poverty.

However, the MGNREG Act is a step in the right direction. This is a historic step not only providing legal guarantee for employment in the rural areas having both educated and illiterate unemployed but also can effectively prevent exodus from the villages to the cities. The poor states among the Indian Union will surely benefit more from the present scheme in avoiding hunger deaths. As a result the implementation of the scheme may not bring uniform acceptance and result in all states. But certainly it will help improve the poor states. Regional disparities constitute a crucial and visible-dimension of social injustice. Most of the favoured regions are those with large urban centres. The details of the Act should be informed to the people of rural areas and to this effect an awareness campaign is undertaken both by Governmental and NGOs.



Due care is to be taken in the identification of beneficiaries without any bias and partisan spirit. The people who need help should only be served. It is equally fallacious to classify the people on racial and ethnic groups to classify them as forward and backward. There are backwards within forwards and forwards within backwards.

The works/projects to be undertaken should be identified with due consideration having community interest in mind. The implementation of the scheme has already shown wide acceptance among the underdeveloped regions of rural India willing to do manual work to overcome poverty and hunger deaths in the face of massive unemployment and underemployment. In case of Odisha, almost all districts have been covered under the scheme. As Odisha is a rich land but poor people, there exists abject poverty leading to hunger deaths. The causes of poverty are partly natural disaster, partly geographic and partly man-made.

Further the successful implementation of the scheme will surely bring a change in the normative cultural mindset of the people that is, manual work is not a degraded profession. It will help restoring dignity and love for manual work. The unemployed rural people must shed their inhibition for manual work as more and more unemployed youth in the rural areas are educated.

Is it not a paradox to praise and respect Kisan (farmers) saying "Jai Kisan" without giving due dignity to manual work? Marx was right when he said: what produces objects? The answer he gave was "labour produces objects/commodities. Mao Tse Tung's famous slogan". Three years of hard work and Ten thousand years of happiness" have given many dividends to the Chinese society and it still constitutes the backbone of Chinese society. The old Marxian dictum still holds true for underdeveloped states of India i.e. 'man must eat to live'.

The mindset that rural development has merely been a routine based bureaucratic exercise and it has not become a people's movement needs to be changed with an approach that people are no longer the objects of development rather agents of development. People, through grass root democracy are to lead more than they are to be led. State should not be viewed as an enemy of civil society. Rather State and Civil society mutually reinforce each other. State is to play the role of a 'facilitator' and both will be the partners of development.

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Rabi Narayan Mohanty, Ph.D. Scholar, P.G. Department of Political Science, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.



Dungi : An Early Temple Site of the Seventh Century A.D.

Sasanka Sekhar Panda



Ramayana Panel of Dungi

I got the opportunity of visiting Dungi, a place situated at a distance of nearly forty-five kms from Phulbani town, the district head-quarters of the present Kandhamal District in May, 2006 and found huge stone-blocks, carved temple panels having floral motifs, Kirtimukha and other carvings, broken Amalakas, Bhumi-Amalakas, carved pillar having a jumping Yaksa or Gana etc. All the scattered stone panels and blocks denote the existence of a temple there in the remote past. Kalinga Ghat is situated at a distance of hardly fifteen kms from Dungi. The study of the temple art and sculptures of Dungi relate this site to have been built around the 7th century A.D. during the time of the Sailodbhava kings of Kangoda Mandala as their kingdom was existing geographically from present Bhubaneswar upto Paralakhemundi and also upto Bhanjanagar and beyond. Dungi might had been considered as a resting place for wandering mendicants, caravan

traders and others, being situated on a trade route running from Daksina Kosala to Kangoda. Two sculptures, one that of an image of four-handed Ardhanarisvara and the other, that of the image of four-handed Karttikeya, now fitted as Dvarapalas of the Garbhagriha of the Siva temple are quite astounding. In the Ardhanarisvara figure, in Siva's portion, Urdhvalinga of the Lord is depicted which symbolizes, celibacy (urdhvareta), the perfect blissful state of Lord Siva. In the top of the roof of the Siva temple I found one loose and heavy temple panel, depicting a scene from Ramayana, the Great Epic. In the proper left side of the panel the twenty-handed Ravana is depicted as frontally-looking, carrying weapons like Dhanu, Parasu, Khadga and Gada. Next to Ravana, the monkey-god Hanuman is seated in profile and below Hanuman, in the lower portion a Sivalinga is depicted. The central portion of the panel is having the frontally-looking seated figure



of a lady, probably Sita. In the extreme end, to the proper right, frontally-looking Rama carrying Dhanu is seated on a chariot, driven by two horses, and operated by the charioteer. Below the chariot, the figures of two warriors (one frontally-looking and other seated) are carved. Scenes from Ramayana are very rarely found in the temple art of the upper Mahanadi valley, except at another place named Mohangiri, situated in the border of Kandhamal and Kalahandi district at a distance of around thirty miles in crow's fly from Dungi.

Another important sculpture found at Dungi is the figure of a Nayika having big chignon in her head. The heaviness of her body points to the temple art of the 6th-7th century A.D, the post-Gupta period. This panel having lady is fitted to the outer wall of the Siva temple. Another attractive panel, having a seated figure of four-handed Siva holding Sula (short-trident) inside a Chaitya-window medallion is fitted in the front portion of the temple-roof while entering the Jagamohona. In the Souvenir of Kandhamal Utsav, I saw photos of some other sculptures like the Chaitya-window medallion having three-headed Mahesvara figure and another panel having the figure of the great Pasupata Saivacharya Lakulisa, worshipped by his disciples, which are missing now from this site. Lakulisa panel is found amidst temple ruins of the Dhavalesvara Siva temple at Mohangiri also.

There is a site called the Ranis Pinda, at a distance of around one furlong from Dungi, where I found some loose sculptures kept inside a thick grove of tall trees having dense foliage. One is that of a six-handed Mahisamardini Durga image and the other one having the figure of a king, flanked by his two queens. These sculptures might have been shifted from Dungi site in the remote past for worship of Goddess Durga by the local people.

I was told by the priests of the Siva temple at Dungi that few years ago an image of Ganesha has been shifted from this place to Tikabali village, a Panchayat Samiti headquarters, where it is worshipped on the top of a small hillock.

The study of the temple art of sculptures of Dungi put these to the Sailodbhava period due to its affinities and likeness to those of the Lakshmanesvara and Bharatesvara temples at Bhubaneswar.

Phulbani district, which was earlier known for explorations by archaeologists searching for stone tools of the pre-historic period, is also having early temple ruins of the 6th-7th century A.D, it is simply unbelievable. About this site and sculptures like Ardhanarisvara, the historian, sociologist and anthropologist Shri Raghunath Rath of Baliguda has mentioned in his Odia articles in the souvenirs, "Ghumusar" in 2000 and Giri Jhankar in 2004. But the discovery of Dungi sculptures of the jumping Yaksha, heavy-bodied Nayika with big chignon, seated Siva in the chaitya-medallion, Lakulisa panel, three-headed Mahesvara, four-handed standing Karttikeya and especially the long panel having scene from Ramayana along with the Mahisamardini Durga and king with his two queens by this scholar during his visit in 2006 has placed Kandhamal district in the map of temple sites of the upper Mahanadi valley, as the Dungi site is near the origin of Bruttanga river, a tributary of the mighty river Mahanadi, the life line of Orissa from the ancient time.