CHAPTER - FOUR

JHARKHAND AND KOSAL MOVEMENTS OF ORISSA
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The recent worldwide upsurge in assertion of ethnicity and culture has been the subject of concern of social scientists. The movement for Jharkhand and Kosal State in Orissa is one such example of ethnic assertion. Started with protest against the coastal Orissa leaders, the Jharkhand and Kosal movements became the mobilisation grounds for the grievances of people of western Orissa. This chapter analyses the causalities, growth of two movements in different phases.

Across the belt of Central India a vast tract of undulating land lies interspersed with hilly areas and fertile valleys. The area is richly forested and well endowed with valuable mineral deposits. The tribal communities largely inhabit this region. This area is otherwise called Jharkhand\(^1\) region. This Jharkhand region falls under four states viz., Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. As claimed by the Jharkhand supporters, the proposed state of Jharkhand consists of sixteen districts of Bihar, two from West Bengal, four from Orissa and two from Madhya Pradesh. In total the proposed Jharkhand State comprises twenty-four districts belonging to four states.

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\(^1\) The word 'Jharkhand' means a 'Tract of forest' or 'Forest Region' or Bush Land'. It is also known as 'Khukha'. The Moghul emperors gave the name of Jharkhand to this region due to vast and thick forest. British called this region as jungle Mahal.
In the pre-colonial period the tribal polity was under the control and care of the patriarch, whose position was like that of a father of a big family. He was the chief of sects, who together formed the council of elders to take collective decision to protect, preserve and promote the interests of the tribe. The patriarch's position was based on his proven fitness to lead the tribe in its relation with other tribes and in its wars with them. The priority of occupation was the basis of a tribes right to land, while within the tribe, priority of cultivation formed an individual's entitlement to the tract he tilled. There was no tenure in the traditional tribal land economy, no rent or no landlord either. No individual or family but the whole tribe had indivisible right to land.

The advent of the British in the second half of the eighteenth century added a new dimension to the socio-economic exploitation and oppression of the tribals. The British government exploited and oppressed them in collusion with caste Hindu landlords, moneylenders, traders and contractors. So with the advent of the 'dikus', the early traditional social, economic, political and traditional order and institutions began to disintegrate. The traditional tribal economy was forcibly transformed into a

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2 Diku is a Santhali term which is used for the foreigners, i.e. those who came from outside into this tribal region and indulged themselves in the exploitation and oppression of the local tribals of the region. Originally the term 'diku' was used to mean zamindars and his employees, who were non-tribals. Later on, it began to be used to mean non-tribals or upper caste and Britishers. At present it is used to mean the outsiders, See Victor Das, Jharkhand Castle Over the Graves, Inter-India, New Delhi, pp. 37-55.
market economy by the 'dikus' to protect and promote their own interests. Just as there had been a clash of economic interests, similarly there had also been clash of cultures also between the tribals and the non-tribals. Gradually the tribals felt threatened in their own land and a movement started in early twentieth century called Jharkhand movement.

Jharkhand movement took birth in the Chotanagpur region of Bihar. It was a centre of a dynamic ethnic movement due to a combination of reasons. First, Chotanagpur was the most advanced of the tribal regions in terms of literacy, political consciousness and industrial progress. Secondly, the major tribal communities were concentrated in a geographically distinct region, they were not split up like the Bhils and the Gonds into different political and territorial systems. Thirdly, proselytisation had brought a radical change in the socio-economic condition of the converted (to Christianity) tribals. It also brought mass education and provided proper leadership to the converted tribals, under which they gradually moved towards modernisation and prosperity. As education spread among the Christian-tribals, the non-Christian tribals also followed suit. Further, some non-Christian leaders felt that the Jharkhand

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movement was the gift of the Christian missionaries.\footnote{Presently the BJP too holds the same view and accordingly it is professing "Vanachal" in lieu of Jharkhand.} Fifthly, there was a rich corpus of anthropological literature to create a new history, which could legitimise the tribals' search for identity. Sarat Chandra Roy, an active protagonist of the demand for tribal autonomy, gave an elegant expression to the tribals demand for separation. His ideas had left an imprint on the memoranda submitted by tribal organisations before different government bodies\footnote{K.S. Singh, \textit{Tribal Society in India}, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1985, p.198.}. Lastly Chotanagpur region was the operation ground of many interest groups. The Bengalis formed a sizeable proportion of the migrant population; land-owning community and the Muslims represented a significant trading and professional interest. Moreover with the formation of East Bengal (1906), the Hindu Bengali leaders of Jharkhand region played the Hindu card to outmanoeuvre the politics of Muslim League, viz. Pakistan resolution. The Bengali-Bihari controversy over employment in the late 1930's and Muslim League politics also affected the development of the tribal separatist movement\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, p. 200}. The Bengalis felt that their interests in Bihar were not safe and therefore, they could combine with the tribals to form a separate state. The Muslim League during the mid-1940 toyed with the idea of forming a corridor
passing through the tribal areas to link east and West Pakistan. They sympathised with the tribals and gave financial support to the Adivasi Mahasabha.7

There are several factors, which contributed to the tribal movement in the Jharkhand region. The following section elucidates the causes of the movements in detail.

In the sixteenth century, tribes of Chotanagpur used to live in villages peacefully and were enjoying maximum freedom. After sixteenth century conditions began to change with outside influence, especially due to external conquest. Whereby the leader of the tribes, the Raja, was made a tributary of Mughals. The British occupation did little to restore tribal fortunes. The introduction of Permanent Settlements8 in 1793 and the subsequent Sale and Rent Law of 1859 further encouraged the transfer of land from the original inhabitants to the outsiders. The East India Company and the subsequent British government were mainly interested in collecting revenues. They used to auction landed property of the tribal chiefs for failing to pay their revenue in time. Thus gradually, most of the fertile tribal lands were transferred to the ‘diku’ moneylenders and

7 Ibid., p. 201
8 It was first introduced by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal Province. Under the system a class of middleman called Zamindar was created. Henceforth all the land of the village belonged to Zamindars, as he had purchased the land at the exorbitant prices from the government. By this, the farmer was reduced to the position of tenant and was required to pay the land revenue to the Zamindar, who would in turn keep 1/10 of the land revenue and return the remaining 9/10 to the government. This resulted in severe famine in Bengal province.
absentee landlords. The Chotangpur tenancy (Amendment) Act of 1903 and Santhal Pragans Settlement (Amendment) Regulation of 1908 could not control such illegal transfer of land but only partially. Apart from it, indiscriminate destruction of forests and unplanned mining came to the region and brought the tribal communities to the brink of devastation.

The East India Company and subsequently the British Government were mainly interested in collecting revenue. Default in the payment of land revenue was punishable by large-scale sale of land to outsiders. Thus, gradually, most of the fertile land belonging to the tribals passed into the hands of diku moneylenders and absentee landlords.

With the opening of the area to mining and industry at the turn of the present century, tribals were further displaced. There occurred an extensive loss of tribal land to the Bengal Iron and Steel Company (BISCO) and the Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO). Both the companies were granted right of mining following which the discovery of extensive iron-one reserves at "Gorumahisani Hill" in Mayurbhanj State, and at Gua and Noamundi in Singhbhum. Land was also lost to the Mica mines in Hazaribagh and the Coal industry in Manbhum (Dhanbad).

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10 Arunbha Ghosh, op.cit., 1174.
The mines of Chotanagpur and Santhal Pragana were protected from the middle part of the nineteenth century by legislation designed to prohibit the transfer of lands from tribals to non-tribals except with the consent of the local collector. After Independence, the industrial needs of modern India resulted in further encroachments being made on the tribal lands. Large-scale industrial centres came up in Rourekela, Ranchi and Bokaro. These were accompanied by infrastructure projects, e.g. Damodar Valley Corporation, Patratu Thermal Power Project, Karo Hydel Project etc. These projects also resulted in change in socio-economic scenario of the area. Large-scale migration of outsiders to the area because of employment opportunities, added to the friction between natives and dikus.

The tribals of Jharkhand have long cultural tradition of living in harmony with the environment. For generations the forests have grown up in the loving care of the tribals. The commercial logic of the British imperialism and burgeoning restrictions on the rights of the tribals by the successive governments alienated the forest dwellers from their own milieu.

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The British government passed a resolution on forest policy in India in October 1897. Accordingly, the government-classified India's forests into four groups viz. (I) reserved forests, (ii) protected forests, (iii) private forests and (iv) village forests. In the latter two groups tribals and non-tribals had rights of access to forests as earlier. In the village forests there were no statutory restriction on grazing or felling, while in the private forests many restrictions were imposed by local zamindars and often took the form of forced labour. In the protected forests, by contrast, and more especially in the reserved forests, the rights of local peasants to graze their animals, to cultivate crops, to fell trees, and to collect honey, Mahua flowers, Tendu leaves and so on, came under the strict control of the state.

The main victims of this process of reservation were the tribals of Central India. In place of the mixed forest, with its delicate balance of major and minor forest products, the tendency was to replace trees such as Mahua and Kusum with Sal plantations. In place of open access to the forests there appeared wire fences and forest guards. In place of a complex landscape of irregular jungles and symbolic centres, there now appeared a management plan, which introduced straight line planting. In place of rights there now emerged a set of restrictions based upon a minute

13 Victor Das, *op.cit*, p.177.
regulation of time and space. Grazing, henceforth, was for specific type of animals, on particular days of the week, in particular parts of a forest. The felling of trees, meanwhile, was policed so much that 'Shakhua' tree could not be felled if they were of a girth of twenty-seven inches or more at a height of three feet from the ground.

It is hard to assess the impact of these changes on the tribal communities of the Jharkhand areas. It is said that the outsiders offended tribal deities. Emigration to the tea plantations of Assam increased dramatically as the entire Chotanagpur region fell victim to famines, which previously might have been avoided.

The situation has hardly improved in the post colonial India. By virtue of the National Forest Policy of 1952, what became rights and privileges in British period, in post British period, became rights and concessions. Thus Bhowmick rightly mentions that the tribals who formerly regarded themselves as lords of the forests suddenly felt as the subjects of the Forest Department in colonial period.

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The people of Jharkhand region have witnessed a steady flow of outsiders in the region since fourth century AD. As already stated elsewhere, non-tribal migrants came here both as fortune seekers and in search of sanctuaries, to escape from feudal oppression in the plains of Bengal, and elsewhere sometimes even the tribal Rajas invited outsiders to settle in the region for military, religious and scholarly pursuits. The immigration of non-tribals continued till the Mogul period without much of a problem in evidence. Trouble began to surface when the indigenous people, apart from losing their ancestral lands, started losing their cultural identity and distinctive qualities as well under the influence of dominant religion and culture of the 'outsiders'.

The uprooting of tribals from land started with Permanent Settlement and Sale and Rent Law. Since then dispossession and migration have remained continues due to steady transfer of lands to the outside moneylenders and consequent migration of impoverished people. The migration from Chota Nagpur only in 1891 was 3.3 lakhs, in 1911 7.7 lakhs, in 1921, 9.47 lakhs. The process was somewhat checked with the introduction of the Tenancy Act 1903, and the Santhal Praganas Settlement Act, 1908. But the Tata Steel came up at Jamshedpur about the same time followed by Hindustan Copper Mines, Indian Aluminium, National Coal Development Corporation etc.

18 Victor Das, op. cit., p. 55
 But the setting up of Industries, and the subsequent development process initiated by Five-Year plans did not do much for the indigenous communities. Rather, in some ways it affected them adversely. The portion of Schedule Castes and Tribal population in Singhbhum declined from 58.54 per cent (1931) to 48.87 per cent (1981).\textsuperscript{21} There are about fifty mines in the Kolhan area operated by outside contractors where the original owner of the land works as labourers. In Singhbhum district Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes comprised 50 per cent of the population and 54.2 per cent of the work force. But in the industries, only 24.4 per cent of the workers belong to SC/ST category.\textsuperscript{22} In 1971, the number of dikus was 1.69 lakh, it has now reached 3.69 lakh.\textsuperscript{23} In Bihar, the increase in population during 1961-71 & 1971-81 was 21.3 per cent and 23.9 per cent respectively, whereas the growth in Chotanagpur for the corresponding period was 22.46 per cent and 23.47 per cent respectively. The growth of the tribal population in the area during 1951-71 has been comparatively low.\textsuperscript{24} This confirms massive influx of the migrants to the Jharkhand region. The migration of indigenous people and influx of dikus have taken place simultaneously with the process of development and dispossession.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid. p. 7.
\textsuperscript{22} M Areeparampil, \textit{Tribals of India, Victims of Development}, “All India Consultation on Indigenous and Tribal people Affairs, Ranchi”, 1987, p. 7
\textsuperscript{23} Sajal Basu, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 7
Maintenance of cultural pluralism has been one of our cherished goals of our nation builders. As already stated elsewhere, Chotanagpur is the only area in the country where the three major cultural streams, viz., Aryan, Dravidian and Austroasian, have met and created a unique synthesis. This culture has attained distinctiveness over the years, marked a close relation between nature and man, egalitarianism in social structure, accommodative history, equal sharing of economy, a democratic political thinking and a people oriented art and literature.25

The new forces unleashed by exploitative economic development and rapid changes therein have disrupted the tribal life, and its traditional social controls confronted with development and modernisation. Consequently, the people have often experienced a sense loss of self-esteem, and devaluation of social identity. Besides being reduced to what is called nijbume parabasi (outsider in own land) due to exploitation and extreme poverty, the indigenous people have become incapable of taking any action against the disruption of their culture and suppression of their language. Through a process of cultural domination, the poor were made to believe that they are worthless and incapable of

doing anything intelligible. Mahato coined a new term "Nirbakanisation" denoting a process of total submergence of identity caused by Brahminic hegemony, colonisation and 'Sanskritisation'. Due to total grip over instruments of power, entitlements and cultural idioms, the indigenous ethnic groups and tribes found no other way but to surrender their creative essence and excellence at the altars of the dominant nationality. This cultural distribution, precipitated by the dominant regional cultures in the area, has been instrumental in the process loss of original languages and culture of the indigenous people.

Apart from it the modern sources of entertainment like television, cinema, theatre and radio have assaulted the tribal culture considerably. During interview with the respondents, a tribal respondent of Sambalpur district said that earlier there was a practice of group dance by tribal youth, every evening for entertainment after a hard day's work. Now this practice has been stopped and Television or Video is played in the evening for entertainment. The extension of communication has on the

27 Sajal Basu, *op. cit.*, p. 33
29 While talking to a respondent during fieldwork (April 1996), Marut Besra, a fifty years old tribal from Sambalpur district opined that now a day Television or Video is the source of entertainment for the tribal youths.
other hand helped a lot in shaping the political consciousness of the people. The free flow of information has somewhat made them aware of the levels of the degradation.

Chotanagpur and Santhal Pragana together account for only a fortieth part of the total geographical area of the country, but more than one-fourth of the total mining activity in the country takes place here. Nearly a fifth of India's total public sector investment in industrial activities is located in this region. In the private sector, apart from the i.e. Tata, TISCO and TELCO, there are several big, medium and small industrial units. The Aluminium factory at Muri, Copper plant at Ghatshila, Lead smelter at Tundoo, Uranium mining at Jaduguda and Mica industry at Giridih has strategic importance. The percentage of mining and quarrying in undivided Sambalpur and Sundergarh districts are 1.39 and 3.79 respectively as against the state average of 0.98 per cent.31

The most disturbing feature of the development process is that out of the meagre funds allotted for this region, only a small portion reaches the real needy. This has an obvious bearing on the quality of life in the region. This is most apparent in the newly developed industrial and urban area

30 Sajal Basu, op. cit., p.120.
including the district headquarters like Ranchi, Dhanbad, Jamshedpur and Sundergarh. There are some who have tried to move out to far away places like Punjab, Assam and others in search of better living.

The Jharkhand movement since its inception passed through different phases. The following section is an attempt to trace out the development of each phase of the movement.

**The formative period (1912-49)**

The tradition of protest has to be traced from the Birsa Munda led rebellion in the area. That Birsa was seen an icon of rebellion and protest against the oppression was an important landmark on the formation and development of the movement. The formative period of the Jharkhand movement started at the turn of the present century. This period was marked by the rise of institutions such as Chotnagpur Adivasi Samaj, Christian Adivasi Mahasabha etc. During this period, the missionaries pioneered anti-liquor movements to check the evil of drinking among the tribals and formed co-operative societies to free them from the

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31 Profile of Districts, Centre for Monitoring and Indian Economy, Bombay, 1993, pp. 307-308
oppression of moneylenders. In short, they sought to address directly the two major maladies afflicting the Adivasis of the area. Certainly, the contribution of the missionaries in terms of education and health care in the area is a well-known phenomenon.

In 1912, Christians and non-Christian adivasis to raise funds to provide scholarships to students formed the Chotanagpur Charitable Association. Voices were raised for forging unity among the people of Chotanagpur and for abolition of differences between Christian and non-Christian tribals. There was a concerted effort to raise the status of the tribals by inculcating habits of the plain people and by bringing in the reformism slogan. This resulted in a pan-tribalism that shunned caste differences within the tribals and made them feel as 'one people'. But this spirit was nascent in this early phase.

When the era of constitutional reforms dawned and the demands for the promotion and protection of regional interest grew, the educated Christian tribals, mostly students belonging to the Lutheran and Anglican Missions organised Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj, in 1915, at the instance of

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32 Victor Das, op. cit., p. 69.
33 Ibid, p. 103
34 K. S. Singh, op. cit., p. 199.
the Anglican Bishop of Ranchi.\textsuperscript{35} This interdenominational body voiced its concern over the absence of security for tribals and stressed the need for the preservation of tribal identity in the changing political context.

The period 1920-38 was dominated by the activities of the revived Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj. The Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj embodied inter-denominational unity of the missions for political purposes and unlike in the first phase, set up a sustained effort for change. It was led by tribal teachers and sought to secure employment for educated tribals, reservation in the services and legislative bodies and formation of a sub-state joined to Bengal or Orissa but detached from Bihar. Though, it sought to spread its activities to villages, it remained essentially an urban movement. This period also witnessed the development of revivalism among tribes, very much on the lines of the Indian renaissance, which stressed the return to the golden age of the community and formulated an individualistic approach to reform and service to the community.

The period 1938-47 saw the rise of a militant movement under the Adivasi Mahasabha. The immediate cause of the formation of Mahasabha was the experience of the first elections held in 1937 under the Government of India Act, 1935. The Congress had swept the polls. This persuaded mainly Christian as well as also some non-Christian tribals to close their ranks, and

form a joint body. The Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj and other organisations thus merged to form the Adivasi Mahasabha in 1938. This was a wider movement, commanded a larger political base, and possessed pan-tribal composition and objectives. Two other sources of influence on the politics of the Mahasabha were the Bengali-Bihari controversy and the Muslim League Politics. The Bengali-Bihari controversy gave rise to the son of the soil logic. The Muslim-League on the other hand was much more opportunistic in its approach. The Bengalis, who felt that their interests were not safe and hence they should combine with the tribals to form a separate state. The Muslim League which in the Mid 1940's toyed with the idea of forming a corridor passing through the tribal areas to link the proposed East and West Pakistan; provided moral and material support to the Mahasabha. Both the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj and the Adivasi Mahasabha was loyalist, the latter remained outside the mainstream of nationalist politics and the freedom movement. Its President, Jaipal Singh, gave support to the British war efforts to which the National congress was opposed and played a prominent role in recruiting tribals for the British army. Professional political workers, some of them highly educated and articulate, led the Mahasabha. It became a Chotanagpur movement extending over both urban and rural areas. It demanded formation of a separate Jharkhand state completely separated from

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37 Ibid., 201
38 An Oxford educated tribal, Jaipal Singh was also the captain of the first ever gold medal winning Indian Hockey team at the Amsterdam Olympics in 1928. By virtue of his distinguished accomplishments in so
Bihar. A series of violent incidents occurred during this period, which underlined the militant nature of the movement. JMM decided to recover the alienated lands from moneylenders and big peasants in North Chotanagpur, an area where Jharkhand party was not very strong. More than hundred cases of 'land riots' and violent clashes between the tribals and the 'mahajans' were reported from the region. The ancient practice of 'tribal self-government' was partially revived. The 'baisi' (assembly) was revived in Santhal Pragans, without pleaders or court fees, to deliver simple justice to the local people. Traditional collective farming on common land was reintroduced in some areas.39

Peak Period (1949-58)

After independence, specifically in 1949 the Chotanagpur Adivasi Mahasabha adopted the name of Jharkhand Party40 under the leadership of Jaipal Singh and was organised as a full-fledged political party to bring together Christians, non-Christians, urban and rural people under its common banner. Owing to government offices staffed with outsiders and the almost mushrooming growth of many large and medium scale industries brought in a large number of outsiders. This

40 Victor, Das, *op. cit.*, p.95
caused frustration among the tribal population of the region who had hitherto felt that after independence their grievances would be better addressed. The frustration of the tribals helped the Jharkhandi leaders to create an internal solidarity among the tribals and strong antipathy towards the dikus. The tribal solidarity gave tremendous success to Adivasi Mahasabha in Bihar Assembly election in 1952. The antipathy of tribals to outsiders was indeed revealing from the slogan of the time:

*Jharkhand abua daku senoa*
(Jharkhand is ours and the dacoit outsiders must go).\(^{41}\)

In Bihar Assembly Election, Adivasi Mahasabha secured 33 seats with eight per cent votes.\(^{42}\) After such an impressive performance in the 1952 Assembly Election, the Jharkhand party tried to include the non-tribals to further strengthen their base. The period from 1952-1957, which cut across the two elections in many ways, was the peak period for the Jharkhand movement. The Jharkhand Party had emerged as the major party in the Chaotangpur Santhal Pragana Region. The second general elections had seen it extend its influence in Orissa, where it captured five seats and held the balance of the state politics plagued by instability.

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\(^{41}\) *Ibid.*

There was a transition of the movement from ethnicity to regionalism during this period. This was partly in keeping with the larger political and secular stance current in those days that language or region, not ethnicity, should determine the formation of a province. Some leaders of the Congress Socialist Party and quite a few member of the non-Bihari money-lending community who could have been identified as "dikus", joined the party. The concept of the Jharkhand was enlarged to include all the regions that once constituted the Chotanagpur administrative division. Thus the tracts inhabited by the Chotanagpur tribals which now formed parts of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh were included in the Jharkhand. The method of protest adopted by the party was constitutional. Though Christian elite dominated the movement and provided leadership there was an unmistakable indigenous flavour to it. Due to this the Adivasi Mahasabha gained the mass support and the party polled nearly 7,50,000 votes in 1952 and 1957 elections.

The two parliament elections 1952 and 1957 were, in many ways, the peak period of the Jharkhand movement. The Jharkhand party had emerged as the major political formation in Chotanagpur and Santhal Pragana region. In the First General Elections (1952), it captured 33 seats.

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in the Bihar State Legislative Assembly and three in the Lok Sabha. In the Second General Elections the party extended its influence to Orissa, where it captured five assembly seats and held the balance of power in state politics which was already plagued by instability. However, its plea for a separate Jharkhand state was turned down by the State Reorganisation Commission in 1955 on the plea that the Jharkhand Party did not obtain enough majority in the Chotangpur and Santhal Pragana area and the tribal population was only one third of the total population and divided into several language groups.

Decline of the Movement (1958-63)

The phase from the late fifties saw the decline of the party, which can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, there was the growing impact of development programmes on Chotanagpur and the increasing involvement of the tribals in the developmental process. Almost all the big industries like Bokaro and Rourekela steel plant were established during this period and generated employment. Secondly, the rift between the advanced Christian, and the relatively backward non-Christian tribals deepened because of competition for better education facilities, employment opportunities and control over development inputs and

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44 Sukadev Nanda, Coalition Politics in Orissa, Sterling Publishers, 1979, New Delhi, p. 86.
resources. The non-Christian tribals started looking up to the Congress and the Jan Sangh for their support by the late 1950's. Many all India parties appeared on the scene and made their presence felt in this area. Thirdly, the experience of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, both of which had separate tribal development Ministries had made it clear that tribals required a share in power in order to protect their interests. The interests can be protected by aligning with the Congress or by coming to some kind of agreement with it, as in Orissa, where in 1957 Assembly Election, the Congress party formed the government with the support of five Jharkhand M.L.As. Fourthly, the Jharkhand Party did not have any agrarian programme. Its leaders were town-based professionals who had little feel for the rural problems. In 1962, it admitted its member the foremost zamindar of Chotnagpur, and it appointed a secretary from the money lending community. The situation after 1963 had become critical and demanded a radical programme for the tribal masses, which the Jharkhand party could not afford. Lastly, there was dissidence within the party arising out of the style and performance of the leadership. This had occurred particularly at the time of the Reorganisation of States (1955-56), when the Jharkhand Party had not only failed to press its demand but also was seen as responsible for a sizeable chunk of the 'Jharkhand' area being given away to West Bengal. The party machinery was weak; it had always been handicapped by lack of funds. The resource crunch

45 K.S.Singh, op.cit., p. 203
had forced the Jharkhand Party to seek help from the dikus, the
traditional enemies of the tribals. The non-Bihari dikus such as Marwaris
had a vested interest in the movement to keep the Bihari dikus away.
Party support was also given to many 'outsiders'. All this created strained
relations among leaders of Jharkhand and affected the electoral
prospects of the Party. This became evident when the party was wiped
out in the mid-term elections in Orissa in 1962. The assembly election
in 1962 slashed the number of votes polled by the Jharkhand to almost
half of that registered in 1957 and reduced its seats to twenty in the Bihar
Assembly. This was a sharp reminder to its leaders that its stance of
isolation, either ethnic or regional could no longer be maintained.

Though Jharkhand movement's evolution from Unnati Samaj-Adivasi
Mahasabha, to various forms of Jharkhand Party, the movement could
extend its base among the indigenous communities. But internal
squabbles and divisions remained chronic within the movement. Betrayal
of some leaders and gap in coalition of different ethnic factions reduced
the influence of the movement among the masses. Due to this, though
exploitation and deprivation factors continued to pinch the lives of
diverse ethnic groups, the Jharkhand movement could not gain proper
momentum.

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Jharkhand Movement Origin and Evolution, Inter-India, New Delhi, p. 195-197.
If *Unnati Samaj* is considered as a platform of the Christian tribals only, Adivasi Mahasabha may be taken as the progenitor of Jharkhand movement. Since 1963 the Jharkhand movement faced splits, due to the growing perception of divisive interests of the leadership.

The electoral setbacks of Jharkhand Party in both Bihar and Orissa (party won 20 seats in Bihar and got wiped out in Orissa) had led some leaders to decide about fighting their cause from within the Congress system. But the decision to merge with Congress left many leaders disgruntled, leading to formation of splinter groups.\(^5\)

**Radicalisation of the Movement (1963-76)**

The period from 1963-1967 is marked by a distinct radicalisation of Jharkhand politics. This came about largely as a result of emphasis on the agrarian factor in tribal politics. Before 1963 the Jharkhand Party had played down the agrarian issue. During the intervening years the agrarian situation had become worse. Incidence of alienation of land belonging to tribals had shows an upward trend; more and more educated tribal youths were frustrated because of unemployment; construction of

\(^50\) K.S.Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
industrial complexes had resulted in the displacement of tribals from their land and their absorption into the mainstream culture was slow. The region had become the epicentre of industrial activities since the setting up of Tata steel. Subsequently major plants such as Ranchi-Hatia, Bokaro, Rourekela etc. and river valley projects, power plant such as D.V.C, Kansabati, Hirakud, Santaldih etc. were launched in this region. A brief account of losses of human resources due to installation of some river valley projects is revealing.

Table 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Land Submerged/Villages Occupied (in Lakh acres)</th>
<th>People displaced</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>D.V.C</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.15 lakh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kangasavati</td>
<td>.40</td>
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<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitrampur</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilai-Panchet</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>1 Lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatia-Ranchi</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patratu</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokaro</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sajal Basu, op.cit., p. 48

The radicalisation of the movement occurred also due to the influence of the Naxalite movement, the infiltration of extremist elements in tribal organisations and the entry of the left parties in the region. Earlier the left

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51 Sajal Basu, op. cit., p.15
parties had generally kept out of tribal politics and their activities were limited to the workers engaged in mining industries. The leftist orientation to tribal politics meant a greater stress on agrarian issues, a linking up of local and all-India politics, militancy and better organisation. All India left parties became increasingly committed to the concept of tribal autonomy as distinct from that of the formation of a tribal state. It was in the year 1979 that Sibu Soren formed a new faction, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha. Similarly, in 1967 Hul Jharkhand Party was formed. In 1984 All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU) was formed under the Chairmanship of Surya Singh Besra. During this period the front organisations of Jharkhand Party such as Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), All Jharkhand Students Union, Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee were formed. Marxist inclination of J.M.M, All India Jharkhand Students Union and participation of Marxist-Leninist groups in the movement further complicated the situation. Ideologically, the movement was set for division. As the Jharkhand movement did not have a congress type composite character, intrusion of Marxist groups precipitated fissures and confusion in the movement. It may be evident from the differences in approach and demands put forth by various groups. The "character of the movement will be class based that will not activate a separate land for the tribal people but a land in general for all toiling people."..."Political power of the Jharkhand movement will be

established only by intensifying class contradictions...."53 "Jharkhand question is not a development question, nor is it a demand of the Santhals or adivasis alone, it is a rather a nationality question in essence.54 Jharkhand identity is not limited to tribes, scheduled or non-scheduled ... it spans over other backward classes like kamars, Kumarh, Teli etc. and all other people in region who are living in harmony as part of the process of historical nation building.55

A major split in the old Jharkhand party occurred on December 28, 1968 when the Santal tribals separated themselves from the Chotanagpur tribals and formed their own party called "Bihar Prant Hul Jharkhand", which was named after the Santal insurrection, called Hul.56 In the midterm elections of 1969 the party fielded eighteen candidates, of which six were won in Santhal Praganas.57 It voiced demands of a local nature such as introduction of the Roman Script for the Santhal language, creation of a separate division for the Santhal Praganas, far reaching agrarian reforms to end tribal exploitation and provide security for the tribal people. The party also secured adequate representation and power by having ministers at the state levels.

The 'Santhal Hul' (rebellion) led by Sido and Kanhu in 1855, was a violent expression of the simmering discontent and tension among the Santhals

53 Sajal Basu, op. cit., p.16
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Nil Ratan, Jharkhand Movement in Origin and Evolution, Inter-India publication, New Delhi, 1992, p.111.
against the exploitation by the non-tribal ‘mahajans’, ‘zamindars’ and British merchants.58 In many areas people were organised on the pattern of private armies, equipped with bows, arrows and battle-axes. The experience of the ‘Santhal Hul’ made the Santhals realise that such violent uprisings alone were not enough to improve their socio-economic and end of exploitation by the dikus.59

Since the inception of the movement the Jharkhand region was mainly dominated by Santhals60 and Mahatos61. They were among the first communities to resist British rule in Chotanagpur belt. The Mahatos thought that by forging an alliance with the Santhals they would be able to protect their interest. A result of this alliance was the formation of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha on February 4, 1973 with the objectives of forming a separate Jharkhand state, ending exploitation of the tribals by the non-tribals.62

Though the Mahatos alliance with the Santhals gave the movement an extra-ethnic dimension, the movement also developed into a pan-

57 Ibid.
58 Arunabha Ghosh, op. cit., p.1173
60 The Santhals are the third largest tribal community in India after Gonds and Bhils. They are mainly unskilled labourers of Coalmines, tea gardens and brickfields. The Santhals are divided into exogamous clans like Soren, Hembrom, Tudu, Hansada, Kisku, Murmu, Baske and Marandi.
61 The Mahatos are the relatively well to do peasantry tribals. It is alleged that Mahatos are traditional enemies of Santhals as they have exploited the latter.
62 Victor Das, op. cit, p. 147.
Santhal awakening. The Hul Jharkhand supported it. The Santhals of Sundergarh, Hazaribagh, Giridih and Dhanbad formed a common front with those of the Santhal Praganas. After this alliance, JMM got strengthened and launched an operation to recover land from moneylenders and big peasants. There were numerous violent incidents including looting of crops, forcible harvesting of standing crops, illegal take-over of money lenders' land and attack on the exploiters.⁶³

By the mid-seventies several new states were organised in north-eastern states. Much before that, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were formed. This had profound effect on the Jharkhand Party leaders. The leaders of the Jharkhand party felt that all the newly carved state were mooted first inside the Congress party. Thus if the leaders of the Jharkhand Party could put pressure on National Congress leaders, then the formation of the Jharkhand state would be easier. One group of leaders also thought that students should be organised and given training in militant methods to achieve the desired goal. Kartic Oraon, a powerful Congress leader of Jharkhand region, openly propounded separate Jharkhand State. The people felt that their dreams of a separate state would blossom into reality immediately after the 1972 General Election and they would be relieved from their sufferings. As their dreams remained unfulfilled even

⁶³ Ibid.
after the election, faith on the leaders began to wane gradually. As a result of which Jharkhand Party suffered a major electoral set back in subsequent elections till 1990. In Orissa, Jharkhand Party could not win a single seat in 1997, 1980, 1985 and 1990 Assembly Election. Again the party showed some signs of revival by winning five seats in 1995 Assembly Election in Orissa.

**Split and Fragmentation (1968-76)**

In late sixties the supporters of Jharkhand movement had developed fissures on ethnic and linguistic lines. In 1950s and 1960s, it was the religious division (between the Christian and non-Christian) that had influenced the politics in the Jharkhand area. Two decades later, however, the ethnic and linguistic consciousness among the tribals came to shape the Jharkhand movement. We have already noted that the rise of splinter groups of Jharkhand Party had occurred during 1960s. The ideological rift brought in a vertical division in the party. The constant and continues ups and downs in the party's relationship with the National Congress also determined its future. The Jharkhand leaders of Orissa fought against the decision of the Government of India on giving Sareikala and Kharswan, two Oriya speaking tracts to the state of Bihar in
May 1948.64 Again, with the formation of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (1972), its co-operation with A. K. Roy's Marxist Co-ordination Committee (MCC), rise of All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU) and Jharkhand Co-ordination Council, enlarged the ideological fissures of the movement. The import of class-caste-ethnicity issue, debate on nationality as a category, language and religion etc. has all along been intricately interrelated. The JMM which could have extracted some electoral advantages through its understanding with Congress (I), fell apart with other factions (Binod Mahato) joining the Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee, a front of nearly fifty groups. In 1963, Jaipal Singh, the veteran Jharkhand leader joined the Congress part. When he deserted the Congress party in 1965, he once again formed the party, incorporating the name Jharkhand. Another splinter group led by Justine Richard and S. Hembrom came up with Hul (Revolutionary) Jharkhand Party.65 Again there was Bihar Prant Hul Jharkhand party. In recent years we find the Jahrkhand Mukti Morcha, Jharkhand Sabha, All Jharkhand Kranti Dal and so on. Thus it is clear that all the parties and splinter groups had a definite and meaningful purpose to hang on to the name Jharkhand.

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As one respondent, an intellectual activist of Jharkhand movement said, factionalism in Jharkhand movement has led to arbitrary functioning and constant tussle between the groups and the leaders. He readily referred to the submission of separate memorandum before the government committee on Jharkhand. To win the elections, the splinter groups often formed new alignments even with the negligible forces such as Jharkhand Muslim Morcha. Throughout this period the leadership of the factions remained vulnerable to various pulls and pressures. Often one would see them changing tactics to suit their immediate material and political needs. It is apparent that, ideological differences between the factions ranged from one end to the other of the political spectrum. The JCC held that, a large number of people belonging to other nationalities (e.g., Biharies, Bengalis, Oriyas) live in Jharkhand region and the Jharkhandis should forge unity with them on the basis of equality. However the toiling people have to be separated from those (outsiders) who exploit the tribals. The AJSU viewed, Jharkhandis could not have the taste of freedom so long they are dominated by upper caste people. However most of the groups have identical views on outsiders’ domination, exploitation and draining out of the area’s resources.

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66 Interview with Manoranjan Mahato, Murari, Binapur, and November 20, 1989. The Submission of memorandum was to the government committee on Jharkhand, which met at Jhargram on September 24, 1989.
**Present Trends (1977-1998)**

The present era of the Jharkhand Movement have continued from the year of 1977. In 1977 the Janata Party came to power at the centre under the leadership of Moraji Desai. The dominance of Congress at the national and the state level had substantially declined. And the Janata Party occupied the position of Congress at the national and state level. Owing to this, the power equations of Jharkhand party completely changed in Bihar and Orissa. This era is marked by erosion of the electoral base of the Jharkhand party and its fragmentation; the growing impact of the national parties particularly the Congress, the Jan Sangh and the Communist Parties, and militancy arising out of despair. Though, Jharkhand Party had lost the popular base before this period, the loss of base was more marked in the present era. In Orissa, Jharkhand party could not even win a seat in the elections from 1980 to 1990. The Jharkhand parties, instead of aligning themselves with one another preferred to align with the Congress or left-wing parties (C.P.M/C.P.I). The most important development of this phase was the replacement of ethnicity with development of the region as the main agenda of the movement.

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Several reasons may be cited for such a change in the objective of the movement. For example, many 'outsiders' had set up industries in Jharkhand region. Their number gradually grew and tribal became a minority in their own land. In Singhbhum district, proportion of Scheduled Castes and tribal population declined from 58.54 per cent (1931) to 48.87 per cent (1981).69 Similarly, in 1971, the number of dikus in Chotnagpur and Santhal Pragana region was 1.69 lakh, it now may have reached 3.69 lakh.70 The Jharkhand leaders gradually realised that the dikus' support was essential to achieve a separate Jharkhand state, since they constituted a majority. Thus the diku factor was receded to the background and development of all the inhabitants of Jharkhand region rather than only the tribals was given emphasis. In this regard, in Orissa, a new slogan was coined to gain the support of non-tribals for the Jharkhand movement:

*Jharkhand Nuhein Adivasi Pain,*  
*Jharkhand Ate Adhivasi Pain?*71

(Jharkhand is not for tribals)  
(Jharkhand is meant for inhabitants)

Split and factionalism since early seventies had its impact on the electoral base of the Jharkhand Party. It has been observed that since some major groups often decide not to contest the election, the voting figures did not

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69 M Areeparampil, *op. cit.*, p. 19
reflect their actual strength. It has also been argued that when groups like JMM and JPP contested as coalition partners or at least did not put up candidates to avoid division of votes, the result had been impressive.72

During the Seventh General Election (1980) for the Lok Sabha held in January 1980, the Congress formed an alliance with Sibu Soren to gain ground in the tribal belt of Chotanagpur and Santhal Praganas. Thus Congress, which returned to power both in the Centre and in Bihar caused an end to the militancy of the Sibu Soren faction.73 In the same year, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha could not win a single seat in Orissa, though it played an active role in Bihar state politics. It captured thirteen seats and polled 3.38 lakh votes in Bihar, while the old Jharkhand Party could win only one seat and polled 33,469 votes.74 In the 1984 Lok Sabha election, JMM was wiped out of the scene probably due to the sympathy wave for the Congress party on account of the assassination of Indira Gandhi. This also happened in Orissa.

70 *Jharkhand Andolen Ki O Keno*, (Booklet) JCC, Calcutta, 1988, p. 12. The booklet is the personal possession of the researcher.
71 Wall writings in Sundergarh (Orissa) observed during fieldwork in April 1996.
72 In Rairangpur (Orissa) Assembly bi-election in 1993, the JMM and JPP's combined strength was more than the winning party (Congress). But they got defeated because of their division of votes.
73 Victor Das, *op.cit.*, p. 156.
The Jharkhand agitation is now all set to enter the most decisive phase of its sixty years old history because the formation of the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) in Bihar. JAAC has been framed in Bihar comprising sixteen tribal districts of the Chotanagpur and Santhal Pragana region. Now Bharatiya Janata Party is supporting the formation of a separate Vananchal state in lieu of the Jarkhand State carving out sixteen districts of Bihar.

The Jharkhand parties are frustrated over the delay in realising the separate Jharkhand State. Various Jharkhand groups in the early nineties virtually gave up the demand for a greater Jharkhand. The leaders of Jharkhand parties of Bihar were reconciled to the concept of a truncated Jharkhand confined to the tribal-dominated districts in Bihar. This became manifested in the tripartite agreement, which led to the formation of the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) two years ago. It was an agreement among the Jharkhand groups, Centre and Bihar government. None of the other three states namely West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa from which areas have to be carved out for a greater Jharkhand was a party to it. Similarly, the jurisdiction and authority of the Jharkhand council also remains confined to Bihar plateau.
The demand for statehood by separate ethnic and tribal groups may or may not be justified in the prevailing context. Several sub-regional movements such as Telengana, Uttarakhand, Chattisgarh, Bundelkhand and Marathawada have not been resolved yet. Unless a new States Reorganisation Committee is formed which will address the question of regional autonomy, such issues will continue to be there for a long to come. Political leaders will continue to play up regional and ethnic sentiments to suit their interests and win election and the region will continue to remain underdeveloped or impoverished.

**Jharkhand Movement In Orissa**

The Jharkhand movement has been active in the northern part of the state which is mostly inhabited by the tribes such as the Bhuyan, Kisan, Oraon, Bhumij and Ho etc., which are generally known as the Kolarian tribes and differ significantly from the Dravidian tribes of southern Orissa.76

Spread of Christianity has made a significant headway in the region particularly in Sundergarh (16.55%) and Keonjhar (14.02%) districts. While on urbanisation, Sundergarh is fairly urbanised (23.3%); urbanisation is moderate in Keonjhar (7.00%) and it is at its lowest in Mayurbhanj (2.8%).78

75 The Sunday (Fortnight Magazine), 23-29 October 1994.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
The number of Oriya speakers is significantly less in this part of the State i.e., 56.97 per cent in Sundergarh, 56.89 per cent in Mayurbhanj and 80.05 per cent in Keonjhar. On the other hand the speakers of tribal languages are significant as they speak a dialect from the Mundari group of languages.79

The area of the proposed state falling in Orissa is 1,87,646 Sq. kilometres with a population of 6.2 million. The composition of Jharkhand in Orissa as proposed by the leaders of the area as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts in Orissa</th>
<th>Area in Sq. Km</th>
<th>Population*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>3,240</td>
<td>1,315,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundergarh</td>
<td>9,675</td>
<td>1,568,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>10,412</td>
<td>1,871,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
<td>17,570</td>
<td>1,484,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45,897 Sq. Km.</td>
<td>62,40,631</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sajal Basu, op. cit., p. 3 (Based on Census Report of 1991)

The map of the proposed Jharkhand State is annexed in the following page.

The emergence of Munda leadership was felt in Orissa as early as April 1939, soon after the Adivasi Mahasabha was formed. In that year the princely State of Gangpur was severely affected by drought for which the

79 Census Report, Orissa, Government of India, 1971
Map of Proposed Jharkhand State
tribals under the leadership of Nirmal Munda launched an agitation demanding exemption from payment of land revenue. The agitators were all Christians. This led to the Simko firing on April 25, 1939, when a public meeting was in progress under the chairmanship of Nirmal Munda. In the firing, 41 persons were killed. The agitation resulted in the emergence of Munda leadership in the region.\textsuperscript{80}

The ruling chiefs of Orissa had maintained a sort of harmonious relationship with the tribes of their respective states from a long time as a result of which the tribes had developed a natural reverence for the kings.\textsuperscript{81} With the coming of independence, the ruling princes of Orissa States led a political movement in a bid to retain their influence over their subjects. They made a valiant effort to constitute a union of states called the Eastern States Union and to prevent their respective territories from merging with the British Province. Thus, in the two dominant political movements were going on simultaneously viz. the Jharkhand movement of the tribes in the States of Bonai, Gangpur, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj and the Unionist Movement (Eastern States Union) of the princes in Sambalpur, Sundergarh etc. The motive behind both the movements was

\textsuperscript{80} N Senapati & D.C. Kuanr (eds), Orissa District Gazetteer, Sundergarh, Government of Orissa, Cuttack, 1975.

to oppose building of new centres of political power by the Congress. Their interrelationship inhibited the Congress dominance in the northern parts of Orissa. \(^{82}\)

In Nilgiri, a small princely state in the north-west border of the then Balasore district, the relationship between the ruling chief and the tribals resulted in an explosive situation. With a view to curb the activities of the Praja Mandal \(^{83}\) (1938) which demanded a responsible government in the state, the ruling Prince sponsored a party of his own, which mostly consisted of the tribals. Armed with their traditional weapon, bow and arrows, they looted and burnt the houses of prominent Praja Mandal leaders. When the situation deteriorated further arson and looting were carried on indiscriminately resulting in the chaos and anarchy, which compelled the provincial government to take over the administration of the state on November 4, 1947 \(^{84}\). Nothing is definitely known as to what extent the Jharkhandis who still included this portion of Orissa in the proposed Jharkhand State influenced the tribals of Nilgiri. Nevertheless, it could be that the tribals of northern Orissa were against the Praja Mandal as well as against the Congress.

\(^{82}\) R. N. Mishra *Regionalism and State Politics in India*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1984, Chapter IV.

\(^{83}\) The Praja Mandal movement was led by the Congress party in late 1930s against the feudatory chiefs to establish a responsible government. The tribals were supporting the feudatory chiefs and opposing the Congress party and the Praja Mandal movement.
The twin process of integration and democratisation of the Indian States had its "humble beginnings" in Orissa. Twenty-five out of the twenty-six States merged with the Province on January 1, 1948. About this time, the Jharkhand leaders approached the Prime Minister of Orissa for the inclusion of the Chotanagpur Plateau in Orissa Province. When the proposal was rejected by the Government of Orissa, the Jharkhand leaders wanted to include as many as twelve princely states of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh in Bihar with a view to maintain the administrative integrity of Jharkhand that would facilitate the formation of a separate Jharkhand state subsequently.

In Kharswan, a violent tribal uprising took place against the merger of the State with Orissa on January 1, 1948, sponsored by the supporters of the Jharkhand movement. They convened a meeting at a market place, which was attended by tribals numbering about 35,000 from Jamshedpur, Ranchi, Santhal Pragana, Mayurbhanj, Rairangpur and other neighbouring places. Their agitation was of such magnitude that the officers sent by the Government of Orissa to take over the charge of the State Administration had to come back after passing through a lot of humiliation at the hands of the agitating tribals. In the ensuing firing by the police to control the law and order situation, about 1000 persons were killed according to the tribal leaders, while the Government sources

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85 Godavarish Mishra, Saraikala and Kharswan (in Oriya), Cuttack, Bharati Mandir, nd, pp. 7-14
recorded only fourteen deaths.\textsuperscript{66} In the face of such violent agitation, the Government of India revised its earlier decision and the two states namely Seraikella and Kharswan were reintegrated with Bihar in May 1948.

The State of Mayurbhanj did not merge with Orissa on January 1, 1948 since the ruler made out the excuse of consulting his popularly constituted ministry. When the state acceded to Orissa a year later on January 1, 1949, the tribals who constituted more than fifty per cent of the population launched a massive agitation to prevent its merger with the Province. They started a movement of non-co-operation and Satyagraha.\textsuperscript{87} They demanded that either Mayurbhanj be merged with Bihar or a plebiscite is held to ascertain the wishes of the people regarding its merger. The agitation included (i) prevention of movement of consumable goods (ii) boycott of courts and Oriya language (iii) felling of reserved forests, and (iv) sale and purchase of rice and pulses etc., beyond the border of Orissa. It is claimed that the movement continued peacefully for a month with the co-operation of the opposition parties. It took a violent turn on February 4, 1949, resulting in police firings in about eight places.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{87} Quoted in P.N.J. Purty, \textit{op. cit.} P. 17.
\textsuperscript{88} R.N. Mishra, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 138
The impact of the Unionist movement of the princes and the Jharkhand movement of the tribes may be noticed in the emergence of two dominant political groups among the tribes viz. The "loyalists" who supported the princes and the "Jharkhandis" who demanded a separate Jharkhand State for the tribes. With the gradual weakening of the princes the separatists became much too vocal in pursuing their demands.

Unlike the party position in the Legislative Assembly of Bihar, the Jharkhand party failed to emerge as the main opposition in Orissa. It was the Ganatantra Parishad, chiefly the party of the ruling families of the former princely states worked as the main opposition in the Assembly and the Jharkhandis sought an alliance with the ruling Congress that lasted for a brief period. The Jharkhand party's main purpose of seeking alliance with the Congress was to receive the immediate material gain from the ruling party. Thus, the forces that opposed the Congress were divided. With the active help of a few adivasi leaders, a tribal political wing called the All Orissa Adivasi Sabha was organised within the Congress to secure the tribal support base for the Congress.99 This, however, could hardly ward off the stiff opposition coming from the side of the ex-rulers. After the second General Election when the Congress entered into a coalition with the Parishad, the Jharkhand party was in the opposition. About this time the central organisation of the Jharkhand merged with the Congress in
Bihar. The Orissa unit of the Jharkhand, however, did not follow suit and continued to maintain its enfeebled political significance. A few of them, however, continued to fight for a separate Jharkhand State.

The multi-linguistic nature of the Jharkhand tract has posed an obstruction in the way of evolving an organic unity among the tribes. The State Reorganisation Commission rejected the idea of a separate State of Jharkhand mainly on the ground that the region lacks a common language. The movement in Orissa is characterised by the factions formed on the basis of language or dialect. There is a difference between the Munda leadership and the Santhal leadership in forging a sense of unity among the tribes. The important tribal languages of the zone are Santhali and Sadri. Attempts for drawing more and more minor tribes into a dominant linguistic group and demands for popularising tribal languages constitute also an important part of the movement. The movement faced the dilemma of unifying various cultural groups under one banner while maintaining in essence the cultural pluralism of the region. In this context, it remains to be seen to what extent the linguistically and culturally minor tribal groups are merging with the major tribes and adopting their language and culture.

89 R. N. Mishra, op. cit., p. 139.
The tribals are very much unhappy with the government rules related to the forest, a source of their livelihood. The displacement of the tribals due to Tiger project in Similipal has provoked the agitators to make strong protests against the developmental projects of the State Government.\(^9\)

In 1977, the Jharkhand movement in Orissa took a significant turn. With the rise of Janata Party at the national level, the tribal leaders joined hands with it with a tacit understanding that if they came to power, the party would give a fresh look at the question of constitution of smaller states in general and the Jharkhand state in particular. However, due to the early fall of the Janata Government the hope of the Jharkhand leaders could not be fulfilled.

Rourekela, formerly a cluster of tribal hamlets and at present a growing industrial city surrounded by a cluster of backward tribal villages has been the centre of hectic political activities for the Jharkhand movement. The tribals have launched a programme of Direct Action since August 1978 by way of organising general strikes, bandhs, hartals and dharnas to force the authorities to concede to their demands. Such activities, in turn, have resulted in promulgation of prohibitory orders in the affected areas and arrests of the agitators in which women are also included.\(^9\)


A study of the agitational part of the movement cannot be complete without making references to the programmes pursued by the agitators in the rural and forest areas. Large-scale felling of trees in the reserved forests was one such programme. The agitators never touch the trees such as the Sal and Mahua on the consideration that these are the natural flora and fauna of the Jharkhand while they go on felling the teak plantations. The campaign of felling trees on a large scale and gherao of forest officials had started in 1979. While launching such campaigns, they march with bow and arrow and very often clash with the police. Twenty-five persons were reportedly killed in a clash with the military police in border areas of Orissa.92

As regards the involvement of parties in it, the movement is being claimed from the beginning as a movement led by a "united front"93 of all political parties of the region which have made a common cause against the "territory grabbers". At the moment a number of political organisations are directly involved in the movement. They include both the factions of the All India Jharkhand Party, led by Bagun Sombrai and N.E. Horo, the Hul Jharkhand Party, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, the Shivaji Samaj and the Marxist Co-ordination Committee. The regional unit of the Lok Dal has also shown its interest in the movement from time to time. The following section illustrates the role Jharkhand Parties in Orissa politics since the First General Election (1952) of Independent India.

92 The Samaj (Oriya Daily), (Cuttack), September 18, 1982.
93 E.T. Dalton, Tribal History of Eastern India, Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, 1973, pp.163-166
Electoral Performance in Orissa (1952-1998)

In 1952, the first General Election was held under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, and the Congress Party got absolute majority in Orissa. After the second General Election Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab formed the government with the help of some Jharkhand M.L.As and few others in 1957. The Congress party managed to get an assurance from the Jharkhand party having five seats in Orissa legislative Assembly. The Jharkhand leaders though did not share political power, some of them definitely shared the "benefit of power." The working majority, which was manipulated by Mahatab, could not be continued beyond May 1959 and resulted in the formation of Congress-Ganatantra Parishad coalition Ministry on May 22, 1959. Biju Pattnaik, who was one of the main architects of the coalition, was interested for a ministerial berth but was kept out on the plea that Ganatantra Parishad was opposed to the change of ratio among the coalition partners. Pattnaik made a suggestion that Jharkhand M.L.As be accepted as associate members of Congress to claim more Congress representation in the state cabinet. The advice of Pattnaik was not acceptable to Mahatab. The coalition started with the creation of factions inside the party. Jharkhand Party suffered severe electoral setbacks from 1959-1971. As a result of which party could not
retain its earlier strength. This was mainly occurred due to defection of popular Jharkhand leaders such as Siddhalal Murmu and Ignac Majhi to Congress party.

The results of the mid term elections to Orissa assembly in March 1971 gave the verdict in favour of a coalition government. No single party was in a position to form the government. However a coalition government assumed office with the support of Swatantra, Utkal Congress and the Jharkhand Parties headed by Biswanath Das. This also could not complete its term due to tension among the coalition partners. Thus a Congress (R) government led by Smt. Nandini Satpathy assumed office on June 14, 1972 with an unprecedented support of 94 members in the house of 140. The Satpathy ministry was an invisible coalition with support of M.L.As who won congress (R), Praja Socialist Party, Utkal Congress, Swatantra, Jharkahand and Congress (O) tickets and independent legislator.

Since 1977 Assembly Election the Jharkhand Parties have ceased to play any role in the legislature of Orissa. This is due to their inability to muster issues and political base enough to give them a single seat in the

94 It is alleged that these five Jharkhand M.L.As' support to the minority Congress government was bought. H.H Das and B.C.Choudhry Federal and State Politics in India, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, p.199.
95 The party-wise strength in the assembly after 1971 election was Congress - 51, Congress (o) 1, Utkal Congress 33, Swatantra -36, P.S.P.-4, C.P.I -4, Jharkhand - 4,C.P.I (M) -2, Jana Congress 1 and Independents - 4.
96 H.H Das and B.C.Choudhry, op. cit.,p.199.
Assembly till 1995. After continuous electoral setbacks in 1980, 1985 and 1990 Parliament Elections, the Jharkhand party in recent years has adopted a antagonistic policy towards the administration. This is evident from their style of demonstration, slogans and speeches of its leaders. For instance, at a rally held at Baripada in May 1991, the district headquarters of Mayurbhanj Orissa, tribals armed with bows, arrows, axes marched in procession shouting slogans just before the meeting. Now Jharkhand parties demand that the Orissa government should initiate steps for the formation of autonomous council on the lines of the council formed in Bihar and recommended in Madhya Pradesh. Seeing the threat the then Chief Minister Biju Pattnaik had come up with a counter to the demand for Jharkahnd State by raking up an old issue. Pattnaik had demanded that the former princely states of Sareikala and Kharswan in the Singhbhum districts of Bihar, a Jharkhand stronghold, be returned to Orissa. In a letter to the then Union Minister, Mr. S. Chavan in Narasimha Rao's Cabinet, Biju Pattnaik has argued that these adjoining, Orissa's northern borders have a sizeable Oriya speaking population and should be ceded to Orissa before a decision is taken on Jharkhand State. Sareikala and Kharswan, the two-adjoint Oriya tracts were the bone of contention between Orissa and Bihar ever since the State Reorganisation Commission recommended their merger with Bihar. It had sparked off an

agitation in the state and over the years complaints of neglect by the Oriya speaking community have been mounting. They even allege that they were denied education in their mother tongue.

Orissa was the first state to be formed on the basis of language in 1936 with the amalgamation of twenty-five feudal states. But the rulers of Sareikala and Kahrswan with support from Bihar engineered a violent tribal stir against the move apparently to break away from Orissa. Taking note of the agitation, the Centre handed over the areas to Bihar on a temporary basis and left the matter to the State Reorganisation Commission, which later only endorsed the Centre's decision. Interestingly Orissa's Mayaurbahnj district and adjoining Sareikala and Kharswan is a hot bed of Jharkhand activity. The new State mooted by agitating Jharkhandis also includes Orissa's four districts. Biju Pattnaik's demand perhaps was to forestall the Jharkhand movement from snowballing into a major agitation.100

The following table suggests the growth and decline of Jharkhand Parties in Orissa since the First General Election.

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99 Sun Times (English Daily), Bhubaneswar, February 16, 1996.
100 The Week (Fort Night Magazine), Cochin, May 1992
Table 4.3


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Election</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>% of Votes Won</th>
<th>No of Candidates Contested</th>
<th>No of Candidates Elected</th>
<th>No of Candidates Lost Deposit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AIJP</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JMM</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>JMM</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>JMM</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JPP</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


JP      : Jharkhand Party
AIJP    : All India Jharkhand Party
JMM     : Jharkhand Mukti Morcha
NA      : Not Available

The table suggests that the electoral strength of Jharkhand Party was never significant. It never won more than five seats in Orissa Assembly in a House of 147. However the Jharkhand Party had shown notable performance immediately after independence. The same was not repeated in subsequent elections, perhaps due to splits and factions in
the Party. Surprisingly, in 1995 Assembly Election, the Jharkhand Parties have again shown their presence by winning five seats. Yet, it remains to be seen how the Party is performing in forthcoming elections.

Though Jharkhand Parties in Orissa claim four districts, the movement is only active in Sundergarh and Mayurbhanj. And the Jharkhand Party in Orissa has never won any election in Bolangir and Sambalpur where the tribals presence is substantial. In the recently concluded (1997) Zilla Parishad election in Orissa, the Jharkhand Parties have impressively won Zilla Parishad seats in Sundergarh (35) and Mayurbhanj (56).\textsuperscript{101} Now the supporters of Jharkhand Party in Orissa tacitly admit that they have failed to garner votes on the slogan of separate Jharkhand State. Only the personal charisma of the leaders is the determining factor for the success in election.\textsuperscript{102}

Originally, the Jharkhand movement was exclusively a movement of the tribals, with the passage of time it has tended towards secularising its support base with the association of non-tribals within its fold. Out of the six candidates set up by the Jharkhand Party for the 1980 parliamentary election in Orissa, three were non-tribals. A Muslim candidate was also

\textsuperscript{101} Samaj (Oriya Daily) February 1, 1997.
included among them.\textsuperscript{103} Moreover, the involvement of the Marxists has added a new dimension to the movement. Obviously, it is not merely a movement like the regionalist movements going on in other parts of the country. It may be mentioned that at no stage, the movement has sought the participation of the tribes of Southern Orissa despite the claim of the historians that once upon a time the entire hilly and forest tract between Santhal Praganas and the uplands of Ganjam district was known as Jharkhand.\textsuperscript{104} Thus, an investigation into the ethnic bases of the sub-national assertion of the people of this region is believed to be a matter of crucial significance.

A parallel movement is going on in western Orissa, called "Kosal movement". This movement has not acquired the necessary characteristics such as popular support and effective leadership. Yet, the presence of sub-regional stirrings can not be denied. The process of identity formation and the assertion of the Kosalis are in a flux. It is not easy to capture all the complexities of an ongoing process. With these things, we are now turning to the issue of Kosal identity in western Orissa.

\textsuperscript{102} This was the response of the respondents throughout our interview with them during my fieldwork.

\textsuperscript{103} R.N. Mishra, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 142.

Map of proposed Kosal State

Issued by
KOSHAL SANGRAM PARISHAD

Area: 73,480 Sq. Kms.
Kosal Identity in Western Orissa

The people of Kosal have a long mythical history of their own. According to Valmiki Ramayana, King Bhanumant, whose daughter Kausalya, was given in marriage to the King Dasarath of Ayodhya, ruled Kosal Rajya situated on the south of Vindhyas. After Sri Ram, his elder son Kusa inherited the Kosal portion of his empire and established his new capital at Kusabati, whereas Laba established his capital at Sravasti in North Kosal.

The separate existence of North and South Kosal has been well established during the Mahabharat period. It has been narrated that Bhima subjugated king Brihadvala of North Kosal, whereas Sahadev conquered the Kosal of south. North Kosal lost its political identity forever, when Ajata Shatru annexed this kingdom towards the 5th century B.C. and merged it with his empire. Kosal of the south has been described as 'Atavika' (forest dwellers) rajya in the Kalinga edicts by emperor Ashoka, where it has been affirmed that the informal sovereignty of this country was not disturbed by his army.

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106 S.C. Mallick, Kosalar Sankipta Itihhas, (in Oriya) (Short History of Kosal), Bolangir, 1931.
107 J. K. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 60-62
108 Line 7-8 of Re XIII with line 4-6 of special Kalinga edict II, See, Dr. Das, The Early History of Kalinga, 1977, pp. 48-49.
The Megha, Nala, Parvartavaran, Sura, Sarvapuriya and several other lesser known dynasties reigned over Kosal till the rise of the Somavanshi dynasty towards the end of 8th century A.D.\textsuperscript{109} The king Janmejaya of this dynasty shifted his capital from Sripur in present day Madhya Pradesh, to Sonepur situated on the meeting point of Tel and Mahanadi rivers, most probably due to the pressure of the Kalachuri power of Ratnapur.\textsuperscript{110} The Soma dynasty reigned over Kosal for more than 300 years till its last King was ousted by the Telugu-Chodas towards the later part of 11th Century.\textsuperscript{111} The Kalachuri King Tajala Deva of Ratnapur conquered Kosal towards the year 1114. Thereafter, during the fierce power struggle of the Gangas of Utkal and Kalchuris Ratnapur, the Chauhan of Patna emerged as a strong political power of Kosal towards the middle of the 14th Century\textsuperscript{112}.

The Chauhans of Patna and Sambalpur reigned over Kosal for 466 years, from 1355 to 1821. The British conquered Sambalpur, which was the capital of this kingdom, in 1849.\textsuperscript{113} At that time, according to major H. B. Impey, the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, the Kosal Rajya of

\textsuperscript{112} Bina Sharma, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{113} R. D. Banerjee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 251.
Chauhans comprised of eighteen tributary states or Garhs namely: Sambalpur, Patna, Sonepur, Khariar, Boudh, Athmallik, Raidakhol, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Chandrapur, Shakti, Phuljhar, Borasambar and Bindra-Nawagarh. These Garhs came under the British paramountcy in 1921 under the terms and conditions of the treaty of Nagpur, dated November 27, 1817, which was concluded after the third Marahatta war. The Kalahandi state of the Naga Kings and the tracts situated on the North of Indravati River (modern Nawarangpur district) formed the southern most boundary of Kosal. This region roughly corresponds to the Kosal country as described by Yuan Chewang in 639 A.D.

Historically, the name of Orissa is of recent Origin. The name 'Odyasa' appears for the first time in 1352, in the inscription of Simanchalam of Kapileswar Routray, who subsequently turned as Kapilendra Dev after coronation. The Chinese scholar Hiuen-Tsang who visited Kosal in 639 A.D., referred to Odra as Wu-tu or Wu-Chan, the most important country in the time of his visit. From Odra country, Hiuen-Tsang travelled southwest for over 1200 li through a forest and reached another country which he

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115 J.P Singhdeo, op. cit., p. 288
calls Kung-ya (gu or ya)-to.\textsuperscript{118} This has been rigidly identified Kangodo. From Kangodo, Hiuen-Tsang came to Kalinga, which he calls Ka-ling-ka.\textsuperscript{119} After this Hiuen-Tsang left Kalinga and came to Kia-sa-lo or Kosal.\textsuperscript{120} The description of Hiuen-Tsang's visit confirms that the present day Orissa was never a single country.

The boundaries of Kosal State have changed from time to time. After the consolidation of the Ratanpur Raj under the Kalachuries, the Kingdom of 'Kosal' virtually shrank within the Tel and Middle Mahanadi basin under the Chauhans of Patna and Sambalpur. The two major important historical works of this period, 'Kosal Anand' (1664) and Jaya Chandrika (1792) confirm that Kosal was confined to eighteen 'Garhs' as enumerated by Major Impey in the year 1863.\textsuperscript{121}

The Kosali population comprises of three major constituents, the Dravidian group, the Munda group and the Aryan group. The Dravidian Group comprising of the Bhuyan, Binjhal, Dumal, Gond, Kondh Khadia, Kuda, Pab, Paraja, and Sahara all are the indigenous people of the region.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid, p.147.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid, p. 175.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, p. 175.
\textsuperscript{121} J.K Sahu, \textit{Historical Value of the Jayachandrika}, in Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol. XV, 1964, Nos 3 and 4, p.38
\textsuperscript{122} See Memorandum submitted to the President of India for recognition of Kosali (Sambalpuri) language as an official language of Orissa, 1\textsuperscript{st} June 1992. Kosal Party under the signature of its president Mr. P.R. Dubey submitted the Memorandum. The researcher has personally possessed the copy of the Memorandum.
The Munda group consisting of Kos, Munda, Oran, Ho etc. have spread from the Ranchi and Singhbhum to the Kosal region of Orissa. The Aryan group consists of the early settlers like Bhulia, Bhandari, Brahmin, Gour, Keut, Kulta, Kursta, Mali, Rajput, Suneri and others who have come into the Kosal region from North Kosal, i.e. Awadh, Kasi and Prayag. Later Aryan settlers like the Agharias, Kayastha, Marwari and several other minor ethnic groups have permanently settled in Kosal and have, more or less, adopted the language, culture and Kosali way of life.

The ethnic groups like Sahara, Gond, Kulta, Bhulia, Binjhal, Pab, Dumal, Agheria, Kuda and some other communities constituting the majority of Kosali population are not found in coastal Orissa. Similarly, the Khandaits, Karans and Paiks constitute the major population of Utkal region is not found in western Orissa.

The cultural heritage of Kosal is very ancient. The Vikramkhol inscription of Sambalpur district as well as several other rock inscriptions of Kosal region are pointers to pre-Aryan civilisation. The language, culture, music, festivals, dance forms, dress, ornaments and food habits of the Kosali are different from the Oriyas. ‘Tantra’ and ‘Shakti’ worship play a pre-
dominant role in the socio-religious life of Kosal. Totemism, in the shape of worship of ‘Pitabali’ (father-god) and “Mauli” (mother-god) is prevalent in almost every village of this region. Local deities like ‘Khemshri’, ‘Samalai’, ‘Patameshri’, Manikesari, ‘Ghantesari’, and the like are worshipped only in the Kosal tract. The ‘Yoni’ worship of Marguda valley of Kosal is a manifestation of pure Sakti cult. The ‘Nuakhai’ and ‘Puspuni’ festivals of Kosal are not observed in other parts of Orissa. The main agriculture based cultural festival ‘Nuakhai’ was celebrated before 1991 in different dates in different parts of western Orissa according to the calendar they follow. After 1991, various cultural organisation, and eminent persons decided to celebrate the festival in one day in western Orissa. This was finalised, as Nuakhai will be celebrated on the day following the Ganesh Puja. This shows the efforts of the intelligentsia to bring about a cultural unity among the people. These efforts are indicative of ethnicity based politics within a democratic structure.

125 J.P Singhdeo, Cultural Profile of South Kosal, Gian Publishing, New Delhi, 1987, p.84.
126 Bhagwan Sahu Cultural History of Orissa (1435-1751), Anmol Publication, New Delhi, P.130.
128 It takes place in the bright half of the months of Bhadrab on an auspicious day. The festival is celebrated for eating new rice of the year.
129 It takes place on Pausa Purnima or the full moon day in the month of Pousha (December - January). Pushpuni is the day of the termination of the annual contract of harvesting operations as well as the day of the agreement for fresh contract for the ensuing year.
The 'Muhuri Dhol', 'Nishan' and 'Tasa' are the main folk musical instruments of Kosal. In the 'Sanchar'\textsuperscript{130} and 'Sampardha'\textsuperscript{131} dance forms, the 'Murdung' and 'Kastal' are invariably used. The 'Sajani', 'Dalkhai', 'Rasarkali', 'Dhop', 'Ghumura' and 'Karma' are pure Kosali dance forms, which are not found in the Utkal region. Kosali women are distinguishable from Oriya women by the conspicuous absence of the 'Veil' and the manner in which the sari is wrapped. Even the surnames of Kosal are different from the surnames of Utkal (viz. Harichandan, Dalbehera, etc.).

The cultural identity of Utkal and Kalinga i.e. 'Moghulbandi Orissa' is confined to the narrow coastal strip of Orissa. Song forms like 'Oddissi', 'Janana' (Prayer Songs) 'Chhanda' or 'Chautisa'\textsuperscript{132} are not very much common in western Orissa region. Sambalpuri songs have a separate structural form. The 'Oddisi' dance, which has been lately developed from the Devadasi dance, is not prevalent in Kosal. 'Raja Sankranti',\textsuperscript{133} which is one of the most distinguishing mass festivals of Coastal Orissa is not widely celebrated in Western Orissa. As the Oriya culture centres on

\textsuperscript{130} The person who beats Mrudang is called Sanchar.
\textsuperscript{131} The person who beats Madal is called Sampradha.
\textsuperscript{132} Chautisa is a poem with four line stanzas beginning with consonants in chronological order.
\textsuperscript{133} Raja Sankranti (Fertility Festival) is the first day of month of Asara (June-July) from which the season of rain starts. It inaugurates and welcomes the agricultural year all over Orissa, which
Lord Jagannath, the Kosali culture centres on goddess Samaleswari, the presiding deity of western Orissa. This generates a distinct identity among the Kosalites, which makes them different from the people of other region.

It is alleged by the protagonists of Kosal culture that after the formation of greater Orissa in the year 1948, the ‘Mugalbandi’ culture of Coastal Orissa is being glorified and eulogised as the composite ‘Orissan culture’. The diversity of two regions is not given importance. The cultural identity of the Kosalites is often made out as an underdeveloped folk side of the mainstream Oriya culture.

Now, we shall shift our focus on the findings of the field survey of the two movements. For this we have raised questions on awareness, support base, causalities of the two movements. The following section is an attempt at the same.
Table 4.4

Support Base of Kosal and Jharkhand Movements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Group</th>
<th>Kosal Movement</th>
<th>Jharkhand Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Caste</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Tribe</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backward Castes</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Mainly Upper Castes)</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Kosal Movement</th>
<th>Jharkhand Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30 years</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-45 years</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 and above</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Kosal Movement</th>
<th>Jharkhand Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House-wife</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed/Salaried</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivators</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of the field survey data.

The analysis of the data of the different social group suggests that, the Kosal Movement mainly draw support from upper echelons of the society. Interestingly, the Scheduled Castes and backward sections, who constitute a major section of the population of western Orissa, do not lend their wholehearted support to the Kosal movement. On the contrary, the Jharkhand movement draws support from the tribals of the region.
The analysis of the support base of the different age groups suggests that mostly the youngsters are supporting the two movements. The support of the older people is insignificant. This has occurred because the younger generation sees the formation of a separate state as a solution to their problems such as unemployment and education. However, the Kosal movement also draws its support from the employed section of the society, who generally reside in the urban or semi-urban areas. This has largely occurred because the Kosal leaders continue to mobilise in urban and semi-urban areas on the issue of cornering the higher post of government sector by 'Katkias'. However, in case of the Jharkhand movement, support base mainly comes from unemployed sections of the society, followed by students. They perhaps view that the formation of a separate Jharkhand state is the only solution to their problems.

In order to ascertain peoples' awareness about the movement, the respondents were asked the following questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kosal Movement</th>
<th></th>
<th>Jharkhand Movement</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of field survey data.

The data suggest that the respondents' awareness of Jharkhand movement is much higher than that of the Kosal movement. This has
happened due to the Jharkhand movement's wide publicity in the national and local dailies than the Kosal movement.

Table 4.6
Do you support the movements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kosal</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly support it</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partially Support it</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of field survey data.

Here, the respondents who were only aware of the movements asked about their support to the movements. The table suggests that the people of western Orissa do not fully endorse all the demands of the movement. To say specifically, the people of both the regions have outrightly rejected the demand of disintegration of Orissa, as claimed by the leaders of the movements. Thus the percentage of the partial support to the movement is high. It can be mentioned here that the respondents have outrightly rejected the disintegration of the state, in order to form a separate state. Similarly very few people support the argument that the people of coastal Orissa are responsible for every thing that happens to the western part of the state.

In order to identify people's perception about the major problem of the region, the respondents were asked to mention the main problem of the region.
The survey data reveals that underdevelopment, poverty and the unemployment are the main problems of the two regions. It goes without saying that, these problems are not just specific to western Orissa rather it is prevalent in all parts of the state.

Table: 4.7
What is the main problem of your region?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems of the region</th>
<th>Kosal Region</th>
<th>Jharkhand Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underdevelopment</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and Order</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price Rise</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others134</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of field survey data.

134 Others mainly imply the corruption of the officials and politicians of the region.
The respondents who answered that step-motherly treatment is meted out to their region, were asked to give a solution for the same.

The table suggests that in Kosal region, mass awareness is considered as a by people as possible solution to the problem of Government's neglect of the region. Whereas the respondents of Jharkhand observe that the Central government's intervention can only stop the step-motherly treatment meted out to them. Due to this reason, quite often the Jharkhand leaders appeal to the Central government to prevail upon the state government for the solution of their problem.

In order to ascertain the attitude of the people of the Jharkhand and Kosal regions, the respondents were asked whether the state government has meted out and step-motherly treatment to your region. The responses were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kosal Region</th>
<th>Jharkhand Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, Definitely</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>22.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibly</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>28.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>32.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of field survey data.
The data reveals that the respondents of Kosal region feel that the stepmotherly treatment is meted to their region in comparison to other regions. This impression has taken firm root due to persistent mobilisation of the people by the local elite. As happens in all sub-regional movements, the role of the local elite in sustaining certain points of view regarding their conditions can not be ignored.

Table: 4.10

Do you support the formation of separate state?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kosal</th>
<th>Jharkhand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of field survey data.

The data reveal that the respondents outrightly reject the bifurcation of state on the basis of region. They feel that the bifurcation of the state will not mitigate their problems, rather it will compound it. It has been found that more Jharkhandis support the division of the state than the Kosalis. The bifurcation of state has never brought the desired development of
the states. For instance, the disintegration of North-Eastern states from Assam could not bring the desired development in the region.

In order to assess the association and contribution of the people to the two movements, respondents were asked to mention their contribution to the movements.

**Table 4.11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kosal</th>
<th>Jharkhand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't say</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of field survey data.

The data reveal that majority of respondents in Kosal region have no contribution to Kosal movement. This could possibly due to their lack of awareness about the movement. But the important reason for this may be due to the reason that the movement has not reached an agitational state. This suggests that the movement have yet to acquire the support base of the people. All this makes it clear, the movement is confined to a section of the society. Whereas in case of the Jharkhand movement a sizeable number of people have contributed to the movement in their
own way. No doubt, the movement has expanded its support base considerably and has also attracted a large section of the non-tribis to its fold.

The respondents, who affirmed that they had contributed to the movements, were asked further, to specify the type of contribution to the movements.

Table: 4.12
Specify the type of contribution to the movements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kosal</th>
<th></th>
<th>Jharkhand</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending the meetings</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing financial assistance</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining rallies and demonstrations</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of field survey data.

The table suggests that majority of respondents in Kosal region had participated in rallies and demonstration. A sizeable number of respondents in Kosal region had also provided financial assistance to the movement. This is due to immense financial contribution by Marwaris and trader communities, who have vested interest in sustaining the movement.

\[135\] Contribution means attending the meetings, providing financial assistance, joining rallies etc.
The number of people providing financial assistance to Jharkhand movement is not as high as in the case of Kosal movement. As the Jharkhand movement is mainly supported by tribals, cultivators and disadvantaged sections of the society, who are poor and underprivileged, their financial contribution to the movement is almost negligible. However the Jharkhand supporters have contributed the movement by attending rallies and demonstrations.

**Consciousness of Language**

The supporters of Kosal movement view, modern Orissa as a bilingual state. The link language of Kosal is Kosali, whereas the link language of Coastal Orissa is Oriya. Hence, from their point of view, the argument that the whole state is unilingual i.e. Oriya, is a misnomer. In order to promote the speaking of Sambalpuri language among the western Orissa people, Kosal party issued a pamphlet on June 1992 appealing the people of western Orissa to speak Kosali language:

"You speak in mother tongue Kosali language and purchase goods only from the shops owned by people of western Orissa. Who ever will do business here, has to learn our language. If any body is insulting our language, you also insult him. If language survives we will survive. The unity of language is the unity of people. So all people must unite and save our mother tongue."

In view of this, we asked the respondents regarding the language they use for communication. The responses were as follows:
Table 4.13

Which language you use for communication?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Name of Language</th>
<th>Kosal Region</th>
<th>Jharkhand Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20.48%</td>
<td>15.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sambalpuri</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>59.47%</td>
<td>46.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tribal Language</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.23%</td>
<td>34.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Both/All Three</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.82%</td>
<td>4.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>245</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation of field survey data.

The data suggests that the assertion of Orissa is an Oriya speaking state seems politically motivated, used to justify the integration of the state on the basis of language. The majority of the respondents speak the language prevalent in their area or within their community. Moreover, it can be said there has been a tendency to gloss over the heterogeneity of spoken languages by grouping Sambalpuri under the umbrella of Oriya language.

Though our survey reveals that a considerable number of people speak Sambalpuri language as their mother tongue, this is not mentioned in the Census Reports of the Government. This is due to the non-recognition of Sambalpuri as a separate language by the Government. Thus, even though the people of Western Orissa speak Sambalpuri as their mother

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136 See pamphlet *Bhastah Khatabarta Karoon*, published by Secretary of Culture, Kosal Party, Sambalpur, December 6, 1992. The pamphlet is the personal possession of the researcher.
tongue, the enumerator mentions it as Oriya. In protest of this, pamphlets were distributed before Census Operation in 1991 by the Kosal Sangharsa Bahini appealing to the people of Western Orissa to mention Sambalpuri as their language before enumerator. The pamphlet read:

"Mor Matrubasha Sambalpuri
Amer Samne Lekhbar Lagi Kahema"\(^{137}\)
(My mother tongue is Sambalpuri)
(We will tell the enumerator to write it down before us)

It is a known fact that a language spoken in western Orissa which is distinct from that spoken in coastal Orissa. Even if we assume that, the Sambalpuri language is a dialect of Oriya language, the language spoken in Western Orissa region is entirely different from the language spoken in the coastal belt.

We have observed that the people of western Orissa use Sambalpuri language for their communication in the public domain. Similarly, the tribals of western Orissa speak Sambalpuri at the public place and tribal languages at home. Assuming that the non-tribals of western Orissa would prefer to see tribals speak the Koasali language at all the places, we asked the following question.

\(^{137}\) See pamphlet issued by Sambalpuri Sanskriti Suraksha Committee, Paschima Orissa Yuva Morcha, Sambalpur Morcha and Kosal Sangharsa Bahini, nd, np. The pamphlet is the personal possession of the researcher.
The table suggests that the respondents are divided over the matter, what should be the language of tribals living in western Orissa. The Kosalis feel that tribals should use Sambalpuri language in preference to other languages. But the Jharkhandis feel otherwise. This suggests that each group has endorsed his own mother tongue and hopes others should follow suit.
The data reveal that almost an equal percentage of respondents in Kosal region desire to see Sambalpuri and Oriya as the official language. Whereas in Jharkhand region slightly higher number of respondents want to see tribal language as the official language.

With these findings of our survey, we tried to probe the developments in post independence and recent happenings of the Kosal identity. This has been attempted to correlate the current happenings with the past. The following section is an attempt at the same.

The Ganatantra Parishad, which came into prominence by invoking regionalism in Orissa in 1950s, lost its support base after twenty years, after entering into coalitions with the Congress. Ganatantra Parishad merged with Swatantra Party in 1962 and Swatantra Party continued to contest the elections till 1974. In this process Ganatantra Parishad lost the regional bite and regionalism in Orissa lost its significance in the electoral battle after the 1974 election.

In the wake of Swatantra Party’s decline in Western Orissa, regional outfit emerged in Orissa politics such as Paschim Orissa Gana Samukhya

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(Western Orissa Popular Front) consisting of all the non-Congress parties in 1973. But this also could not gain popular support and continuously suffered electoral setbacks. Now there is no recognised political party in western Orissa's political scenario, which specifically represents interests of western Orissa as a whole. But various pressure groups have emerged in western Orissa such as Kosal Sangram Parishad, Kosal Sammelan, Kosal liberation Front (KLF) and Western Orissa Liberation Front (WOLF) etc.

To pursue their activities, these groups organise hartals and bandhs from time to time and circulate literature to raise the awareness about the movement.

In an obvious reference to Jharkhand party's claim over Sambalpur and Sundergarh, the Kosal Sammelani urged the state government and union government not to enter into any negotiation with any claimant for the transfer of any part of proposed Kosal state.139 Mr. Premram Dubey140 asserted that while Punjab has only 46,000 Sq Kms, Kosal region having 75,000 sq. Km and a population of one crore has not been made into a state.

139 Ibid.
140 Premram Dubey is the president of Kosal Party. He is the son of late Bodhram Dubey, the former Cabinet Minister of Biswanath Dash government (July 7, 1937-Nov. 6, 1939). See S.N.Mishra, Party Politics and Electoral Choice in an Indian State, Ajanta, Delhi, 1989, p. 258
From time to time the supporters of the Kosal movement have put forth several demands before the government. These demands are about setting up of another Secretariat at Sonepur; train line connection from Talcher to Sambalpur, and Khurda to Bolangir; establishment of an Aluminium plant at Langigarh, Kalahandi; setting up regional development councils, establishment of proposed Coal company at Sambalpur; separate Doordarshan Studio at Sambalpur; bringing up a white paper on total amount of revenue collected and spent on western Orissa for development purposes since independence and inclusion of Sambalpuri language in the Eighth Schedule of the constitution. Surprisingly, the interests of the tribals, who constitute a sizeable section of the western Orissa, are never raised in the demands of separate Kosal state, rather issues are raised which are beneficial to the interests of the section of the society, who are in the corridor of power.

Western Orissa has witnessed agitation by students at regular intervals such as in years 1964, 1966, 1968, 1972 and 1980.1 41 Interestingly none of this agitation was based on the problems of the students, but was related to the problems of the society at large. The last agitation of 1980 in western Orissa was against the Marwari traders. It may be mentioned that most of the trading, both retail and wholesale in the region is generally carried out by the traders who are Marwaris, Gujaratis or Telugu Komtis.1 42

141 S.N. Mishra, op.cit, p.161.
In a politically unstable state like Orissa,\textsuperscript{143} the student's agitation has been utilised to create further political destabilisation.\textsuperscript{144} Similarly an agitation started in 1992, when an advertisement issued by Orissa State Handloom Weavers Co-operative society, Bhubaneswar, appeared in Femina (A Women's Magazine). In the advertisement, Sambalpuri sari was displayed as Katki\textsuperscript{145} sari. The people in Sambalpur and Bolangir took out protest marches demanding the resignation of the then State Textile Minister, Mr. Mustafiz Ahmed\textsuperscript{146}. Even the state Excise Minister Mr. Prasanna Acharya wrote a letter to the President of OSHWCS (Orissa State Handloom Weaver's Co-operatives Society) condemning the advertisement as misleading. This kind of minor incident reflects the sensitivity of the western Orissa people regarding their culture and a deep-seated anger against the people of Coastal Orissa.

Now all the political parties of that region are making demands, even the national parties, for a separate development board for western Orissa. Even the BJP has not ruled out the possibility of raising the demands for a separate western Orissa state at a later stage.\textsuperscript{147} The other national parties such as Janata Dal and the Congress have lent support to the formation of a separate Western Orissa Development Council (WODC). In this

\textsuperscript{143} From 1957 to 1977 no party in Orissa could rule its full five years term.
\textsuperscript{145} A person or an article of coastal Orissa.
\textsuperscript{146} The incident had occurred when Mr. Mustafiz Ahmed was the Textile minister in Biju Patnaik's cabinet (1990-1995).
regard, the former Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao had assured Western Orissa electorates of a separate Western Orissa Development Council, if Congress was voted to power in the state assembly election.148 Believing his words, the people had voted overwhelmingly for the Congress Party in 1995 state assembly election. The long awaited WODC bill was presented in the assembly on July 27, 1996.

Eyeing on state Assembly Election of 2000, after two years of deliberation the present Congress government finally constituted the Western Orissa Development Council (WODC).149 The opposition dubs it as a useless gimmick as the government will only nominate its members to the council. It is yet to be seen how effective the council will be in redressing the grievances of western Orissa people.

The present Congress government was trying to form a separate Development Board instead of Western Orissa Development Council. In this regard, a committee was constituted to identify backward blocks of the entire Orissa state during the Janata Dal government, under the Chairmanship of the then Janata Dal Minister, Prafulla Chandra Ghadei.

147 Sun Times (English Daily), Bhubaneswar, June 9, 1995.
148 See the memorandum of All Party Action Committee for Western Orissa Development Council, 1996.
149 See The Hindustan Times, August 12, 1996.
The committee submitted its report in 1994, identified eighty-two backward blocks for being given a special status for development programmes with a view to removing regional imbalances. The reason for taking such a view was that the additional financial assistance would be forthcoming from the Central Government for execution of special development activities within the board area.

Moreover, different leaders have suggested different ways to constitute the WODC. The former Parliament Member, Dr. Krupasindhu Bhoi, demanded Autonomous Development Council for Western Orissa, like the Darjeeling Development Council. Whereas the Bolongir M.P., Mr. Sarat Chandra Pattnaik, demanded Hilly Area Regional Development Council for all hill areas and backward regions of western Orissa. He opined that development Council should not be confined to Western Orissa only, rather it be extended to Koraput, Kalahandi, Phulbani, Bolangir and other backward regions of the state.

Realising the uncertainty over the constitution of WODC, we had felt the need to ask the respondents which political party would be favourable for the constitution of the Western Orissa Development Council.
Table 4.16
Which party would be favourable for formation of WODC?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Political Party</th>
<th>Kosal Region</th>
<th>Jharkhand Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Party</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Party</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The survey revealed that majority of the respondents in the region considers that the BJP was favourable towards the formation of the proposed Western Orissa Development Council. Perhaps due to this, BJP had made successful inroads into the western region of Orissa in past eight years. The data also showed that a sizeable number of respondents trust no party for the formation of WODC.

In 1996 Parliament Election BJP finished second in three constituencies – Deogarh, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar (all in western Orissa/ Northern Orissa). Ten of its candidates polled around one-lakh votes or even more and it finished third in as many as 16 constituencies. The BJP’s vote percentage is gradually on the increase. It got about 10 percent votes in 1991 and picked up to 13.42 percent votes in 1988 Parliament poll. In the present Assembly, the BJP MLAs are mostly elected from western Orissa. (See M.S. Rana, India Votes Lok Sabha and Vidhan Elections 1998, B.R. Publications, New Delhi, 1998, p. 188.)

Drawing inspiration from Western Orissa Development Council, now there is a demand for formation of South Orissa Development Council (SODC). The "Dakshina Orissa Gana Sangram Parishad" for the development of Southern Orissa demanded this. The Parishad demands to include all the undivided districts of Ganjam, Koraput, Phulbani and Kalahandi in proposed SODC. It remains to be seen whether similar demands are cropping up in any other part of Orissa.
After analysing the two movements separately an attempt has been made for the comparative assessment of the Jharkhand Movement and Kosal assertion in western Orissa.

To sum up it can be said that the two movements are based on two different ideologies. The Jharkhand movement draws its sustenance from the tribal brethren of Bihar, whereas, Kosal movement thrives on anti-coastal feeling of the people of western Orissa. To say specifically, the Jharkhand movement insisted on the development of tribals, recognition of tribal language and culture. It demanded for introduction of Oichiki script at primary standard, where as Kosal movement demanded for inclusion of Sambalpuri language in the Eight Schedules of the constitution. The Jharkhand movement is claiming twenty-two districts of four states of India emphasising on the ethnic solidarity. Whereas the linguistic solidarity and geographically contiguity of western Orissa is the basis of Kosal movement. The leadership pattern of the two movements shows that right from the beginning, the leadership of Jharkhand movement is in the hands of tribals such as Siddha Lal Murmu, Ignac Majhi, Sudam Marandi, Mansidda Ekka etc. Whereas the Kosal movement is led by Brahmin upper caste leaders, such as Prem Ram Dubey, Prayagdatta Joshi, Balgopal Mishra, Jadunandan Panda and Nilmadhav Panighhai etc. All this makes it amply clear that the two movements stand ideologically poles apart.
Jharkhand movement in Orissa, even after almost sixty years of its existence has not acquired adequate popularity. The leaders of the Jharkhand movement attribute this to the poor leadership, linguistic diversity of the people of Jharkhand region and spread the movement in four states. Moreover, the defection of veteran Jharkhand M.L.As such as Ignac Majhi and Siddhalal Murmu to Congress (R) in March 1971 and June 1972 was a major setback to the movement. Similarly, the Kosal identity even after fifty years of its existence has still not taken the shape of a movement. This had occurred perhaps because the leaders of the movement compromised with the government by aligning with the ruling party. As for example R. N Singhdeo of Ganatantra Parishad aligned with the main adversary (Congress) in early sixties.

The blame for emergence of separatism in Orissa lies with the political representatives of the state. The authority must take it as a challenge and strive to stop further growth of fissiparous tendencies. Whereas the Western and Northern belt leaders have been unable to snatch a major share from the state revenue, they must work hard in this direction to achieve that. The foregoing account of regionalism makes it clear that the problem of integration, that is the process of sustaining the culturally and socially discrete groups together is an urgent requirement at the state level. This can only be achieved when the problems of the area are adequately addressed by the state.

152 Mr. Sudam Marandi, sitting Jharkhand M.L.As opinion expressed in an interview with the researcher on June 26, 1997 at Bhubaneswar.
153 S. Nanda, Coalition Politics in Orissa, Sterling, Delhi, 1979, pp. 156-157.