CHAPTER - V

NABAKRUSHAN CHOUDHURY
AND HIS IDEOLOGY
Ideology is one of the most equivocal and elusive concepts one can find in the social science, not only because of the variety of theoretical approaches which assign different meanings and functions to it, but also because it is a concept, heavily charged with the political connotations and widely used in everyday life with diverse significances (Mclellan 1995).

Ideology is a decidedly complicated term with different implications depending on the context in which it is used. In common language, it can be an insult to charge someone with being ‘ideological’, since this label suggests rigidity in the face of overwhelming evidence, contradicting one’s beliefs. When Marxists speak of “ideology” they often meant belief systems that help justifying the actions of those in power by distorting and misrepresenting reality. An ideology is basically a system of meaning that helps in defining and explaining the world and that makes value judgment about that world. Ideology is related to concepts such as world view, belief system, and values, but it is broader than those terms. It refers not only to the beliefs that held about the world, but also to the basic ways in which the world is defined. Thus, ideology is not just about politics, it is a broader and more fundamental connotation (www.sagepub.com/upm-data/539-croteau-chapter5.pdf) (Media-ideology).

In broader terms, ideology can be defined as the way a system, a single individual or even a whole society rationalizes itself. Ideologies may be idiosyncratic (Lane 1962), impractical, or even delusional, but they still share the
characteristics of coherence and temporal stability The characteristic of contrast, or differentiation between alternative principle and their implication for government, is frequently implicit in analytic treatments of the term. At minimum, contrast requires two alternatives and some means to distinguish between them. Contrast may lead to controversy or conflict, which tends to stimulate further attention (Schattschneider 1960). When two objects or groups are in contention, it is simple to describe the nature of that conflict in terms of a single spatial dimension or continuum. There is no requirement that ideology remain un-dimensional (Jacoby 1995, Stimson 1975), but as we shall see, a linear conceptualization has became common across the discipline (Knight 2006).

**IDEOLOGY IN ITS FIRST HUNDRED YEARS**

The nineteenth century was only few years old when the remaining ‘Ideology’ earned Napoleon’s wrath for their principled support for the "the rights of man" in opposition to his dictatorship. Even after, Napoleon used “Ideology” as an epithet indicating irrational dedication to democratic principle. By the mid-nineteenth century, the core principle of ideologues—popular—sovereignty—was attacked from both right ("divine right") and left ("dictatorship of the proletariat"). Marx challenged liberal democratic ideology, castigating it as a rationale for class oppression.

The negative implication of ideology was later reinforced by Karl Mannheim, who argued that ideology was inherently conservative because it derived its ideal model of society from the past and contrasted it with utopian thinking, which he defined as future-oriented (Geoghegan 2004, Mannheim 1936).
Although it is impossible here to encompass the immense literature that has evolved following this perspective, it is worthy of note that the implication of a bias in worldview, whether conscious or not, is still consistent with a definition of ideology as a coherent and stable set of attitudes (Knight 2006)

VIEWS OF IDEOLOGY

Ideology influences political life in a number of ways. In the first place, they provide a perspective through which the world is understood and explained. People do not see the world as it is, but only as they accept it to be, in other words, they see it through a veil of ingrained beliefs, opinions, and assumptions. Whether consciously or subconsciously, everyone subscribes to a set of political beliefs and values that guide their behavior and that influence their conduct. Political ideas and ideologies thus set goals that inspire political action. As there is no doubt that all politicians want power and that forces them to be pragmatic, to adopt those policies and ideas that are electorally popular or win favor with powerful groups. They also possess beliefs, values, and convictions about what to do with power. When it is achieved, political ideas also help to shape the nature of political system. System of government vary considerably throughout the world and are always associated with particular values or principles (Heywood 2007 3-4).

Political ideas and ideologies also act as a form of social cement, providing social groups, and indeed whole societies, with a set of unifying beliefs and values. Political ideologies have commonly been associated with particular social classes—for example, liberalism with the middle classes, conservatism with the landed aristocracy, socialism with the working class, and so forth. These ideas reflect...
the life experiences, interests and aspirations of social class, and therefore help to foster a sense of belonging and solidarity (Heywood 2007:4)

The term “Ideology” was born in the highly controversial philosophical and political debates and fights of French revolution and acquired several other meanings from the early days of the first French empire to the present. The word, ‘ideology’ was coined during the French revolution by Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1754 – 1836) and was first used in public in 1796. For de Tracy, ideology referred to a new “Science of Ideas”, literally an ideology (Heywood 2007). He separated three aspects, namely ideology, general grammar, and logic, considering respectively the subject, the means and the reason of the science. He argues that among these aspects, ideology is the most generic term, because, the science of ideas also contains the study of their expression and deduction.

Today, ideology tends to refer to those very habits of minds’ beliefs, assumptions, expectations etc., which are superimposed on the world, in order to give its structure and meaning and which then serve to direct our political or social activities.

SIGNIFICANCE OF IDEOLOGY

The concept of ideology has had a controversial career. As for its history, ideology has carried starkly pejorative implications, being used as a political weapon to criticize or condemn rival political stances. Marxists, for example, have variously interpreted liberalism, conservatism and fascism as forms of ‘Bourgeois Ideology’, committed to the mystification and subordination of the oppressed.
proletariat Marxist interest in ideology often linked to Antonio Gramsci’s (1891–1937) theory of ideology hegemony, grew markedly during the twentieth century as Marxist thinkers sought to explain the failure of Marx’s prediction of proletarian resolution. The advent of the cold war in the 1950’s encouraged liberal theorists to identify similarities between fascism and communism, both being inherently repressive ‘official’, ideologies which suppressed opposition and demanded regimented obedience. However, the 1950’s and 1960’s also witnessed growing claims that ideology had become superfluous and redundant, most openly, through the ‘end of ideology’ thesis advanced by Daniel Bell (1960).

Nevertheless, the proclaimed demise of ideology has simply not materialized. Since the 1960, ideology has been accorded a more important and secure place in political analysis for a number of reasons. First, the wider use of the social-scientific definition of ideology means that the term no longer carries political baggage and can be applied to all ‘ism’ or action-orientated political philosophies. Second, a range of new ideological traditions have steadily emerged, including feminism and ecologism in the 1960’s, the New Right in the 1970’s and religious fundamentalism in 1980’s. Third, the decline of simplistically behavioral approaches to politics has led to growing interest in ideology both as a means of recognizing how far political action structured by the beliefs and values of political actors, and as a way of acknowledging that political analysis always bears the imprint of values and assumptions that the analyst himself or herself brings to it (Heywood 2000 23-24).
DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF “IDEOLOGY”

The meaning that has been attached to ideology, the followings are important

A political belief system

An action - orientated set of political ideas

The ideas of the ruling class

The world-view of a particular social class or social group

Political ideas that embody or articulate class or social interests

Ideas that propagate false consciousness amongst the exploited or oppressed

Ideas that situate the individual within a social context and generate a sense of collective belonging

An officially sanctioned set of ideas used to legitimate a political system or regime

An all-embracing political doctrine that claims a monopoly of truth

An abstract and highly systematic set of political ideas (www.bsos.umd.edu/Lecture%20ideologies%201.pd)

MARX’S CONCEPTION OF IDEOLOGY

In Marxist thought, an ideology is actually a distortion of reality, created in an effort to control reality and by extension, other people. Ideology is instrumental in the creation of one’s social identity. Through ideology, one acquires the sense of self as consumer, conservative, liberal, libertarian, christian, rebel etc. and without a constructive ideology, one feels lost in a sea of possibilities and choices which seem too difficult to deal with on conscious level. With a constructive ideology,
many choices are made automatically through assumption and expectation. Existentialism would label such an ideology as a form of bad faith, and in an authentic way of dealing with reality, so as to avoid the responsibility of creating an authentic self. Marxists call it false consciousness, because it is consciousness imposed by outside forces and does not reflect genuine, personal awareness on the part of the person of their historical circumstances.

As for Marx, “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch, the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time, the ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time, over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.”

**MARX’S CONCEPTION OF IDEOLOGY HAS A NUMBER OF CRUCIAL FEATURES**

Ideology is about delusion and mystification, it perpetuates a false or mistaken view of the world, what Engle later referred to as false ‘consciousnesses’. The contrast between ideology and science, between falsehood and truth, is thus vital to Marx’s use of the term.

- Ideology is linked to the class system. Marx believed that the distortion implicit in ideology stems from the fact that it reflects the interests and perspective on society of ruling class.
Ideology is a manifestation of power in concealing the contradictions upon which capitalism rests common with all class societies. Ideology serves to disguise from the exploited proletariat the fact of its own exploitation, thereby upholding a system of unequal class power.

Marx treated ideology as a temporary phenomenon. Ideology will only continue, so long as, the class system that generates it survives.

**FEATURES OF IDEOLOGY**

An ideology is more or less coherent set of ideas that provides the basis for organized political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power. All ideologies therefore have the following features:

- They offer an account of existing order, usually in the form of a ‘world view’
- They advance a model of a desired future, a vision of the ‘good society’
- They explain how political change can and should be brought — how to get from (Heywood 2007 11-12)

**FUNCTIONS OF IDEOLOGIES**

The primary functions of ideologies are discussed below:

1) Ideologies provide a perspective through which the world is understood and explained.
People do not see the world as it is, but only as they expect it to be, in other words, they see it through a veil of ingrained beliefs, opinions and assumptions.

2) Ideologies help to shape the nature of political system

The political systems in most contemporary western countries are founded upon a set of liberal – democratic principles. In the same way, traditional communist political systems confirmed to the principles of Marxism - Leninism.

3) Ideologies play a crucial role in

either upholding the prevailing power structure, by portraying it as fair, natural, rightful or whatever

or, in weakening or challenging it, by highlighting its iniquities or injustices and drawing attention to the attractions of alternative power structure.

4) Ideologies can act as a form of social cement, providing social groups, and indeed whole societies, with a set of unifying beliefs and values (www.bsos.umd.edu% lecture%206political%20ideologies%201 pd)

SPECTRUM OF IDEOLOGY

Ideological spectrum is an attempt to show the two main forces of politics i.e. the right versus the left. Also how the extremes of each ultimately can become tyranny. Republican, Democrat, Independent or Libertarian can fall within the spectrum – limited to the moderate ends of the spectrum. On the other hand,
socialism, communism, fascism, also fall within this spectrum, but beyond the moderate, toward the extreme, and most often including tyranny

The left-right political spectrum is used to classify political parties, political positions, or political ideologies. To explain the difference between the two, it is easier to compare and contrast the positions taken by the far left and the far right. Many people’s political beliefs are on a continuum between left and right.

A brief way to describe the difference would be to say that left wingers believe that the individual is more important than the country. That analogy is semi-true. Left wingers believe that government is a force of social justice and change and so should intervene in individuals lives to ensure that social justice is achieved. Right wingers believe that governments are big and unwieldy, and so, should not interfere with people’s lives at all. They believe that government’s interference contravenes an individual’s right to liberty. For this reason left wingers have traditionally favoured ‘big’ government while right wingers favoured ‘small’ government (www.hypocrites.org.uk).

Right wingers believe in formal equality. They believe that everyone should be treated equally under the law and should be treated equally by government. Example of right wing formal equality includes equal pay for equal work and civil and political rights. On the other hand, left wingers believe in substantial equality. They argue that not every individual is the same and so government policy should be aimed to create substantial rather than just formal equality. Example of left wing substantial equality includes affirmative action and social and cultural rights (www.hypocrites.org.uk).
As nineteenth century progressed, each of these ideologies acquired a clearer doctrinal character, and came to be associated with a particular social class or stratum of society. Simply put, liberalism was the ideology of the rising middle class, conservatism was the ideology of the aristocracy or nobility, and socialism was the ideology of the growing working class. In turn, political parties developed to articulate the interests of these classes and to give ‘operative’ expression to the various ideologies. The central theme, that emerged from ideological argument and debate during this period, was the battle between two rival economic philosophies - capitalism and socialism. Political ideology thus had a strong economic focus.

There are different kinds of ideologies, such as political, social, epistemological, ethical etc. Out of these, there are two main types of ideologies, i.e., political ideologies and epistemological ideologies. Political ideologies are set of ethical ideas about how a country should be run. On the other hand, epistemological ideologies are sets of ideas about the philosophy, the universe, and how people should make decisions. Communism, Socialism, and Capitalism are the biggest political/economical ideologies. A political ideology is a certain ethical set of ideals, principles, doctrines, myths, or symbols of a social movement, institution, class, or large group that explains how society should work, and offers some political and cultural blueprint for a certain social order. A political ideology largely concerns itself with how to allocate power and to what ends it should be used.

An ideology is a collection of ideas, each ideology contains certain idea on what it considers to be best form of government, that is, democracy, theocracy etc. and the best economic system e.g., capitalism, socialism etc.
Ideologies also identify themselves by their position on the political spectrum, such as the left, the center or the right, though this is very often controversial. Finally, ideologies can be distinguished from political strategies, e.g., populism, and single issues that a party may be built around, e.g., legalization of marijuana.

Many commentators today claim that we are living in a post-ideological age, in which redemptive, all-encompassing ideologies have failed, and this is often associated with “the end of history” (Fukuyama 1992).

**POLITICAL IDEOLOGY**

Political ideologies are concerned with many different aspects of a society, some of which are the economy, education, healthcare, labor law, criminal law, the justice system, the provision of social security and social welfare, trade, the environment, minor, immigration, race, use of the military, patriotism, and established religion.

Political ideologies have two dimensions:

- **Goals**: how society should work
- **Methods**: the most appropriate ways to achieve the ideal arrangement

**CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY**

- A coherent set of views on politics
- Produced by intellectual elites
- Dissemination among the mass population
NABAKRUSHNA CHOUDHURY'S IDEOLOGY

Nabakrushna Choudhury was a politician and activist who served as the chief minister of the state of Orissa. He was a renowned ardent freedom fighter and crusader for social reforms. Nabakrushna Choudhury, popularly known as Nabababu, among the people of Orissa. He was a man who was deeply influenced by Marxists and Gandhian philosophy and also influenced by the world renowned poet Rabindranath Tagore. Like Gandhi, Nabakrushna Choudhury pleaded for simple living and restricting acquisitive materialism in society, so that its maladies such as corruption, violence, etc. could be tackled successfully. He also stressed that simple living worked against the psychology of possession, which ultimately resulted in degeneration of moral and ethical values in society (Maharana 2010).

He always gives utmost importance to physical labour and advised all to practise it in their life. He advocated the abolition of the age old Zamindary system. Comprehending his nationalism, he joined in the freedom struggle and actively involved for the cause of freedom movement in India. He believed in achieving
freedom through Gandhian technique of non-violence. He was jailed for his participation in India’s freedom struggle many a times. In order to know him better or understand him, we must understand his ideologies upon which his philosophy is based on (Mohanty 1994).

Nabakrushna Choudhury’s ideology is deep rooted in the eternal human values inherited by us over the centuries such as truth, love, righteousness, dedication, tolerance. They transcend space and time. As a humanitarian, he was involved with a number of contemporary issues like unsociability, communal violence, rural poverty and the status of women in society (Maharana 2010). As, he was very much aware of that present day caste system based on birth, keeps a large section of people socially segregated, who are compelled to live in poverty and ignorance. Thus he evolved a system of education to help them in more than one ways. It was called ‘Maulika Sikhya’ or Basic Education. He always gave utmost importance towards that Basic Education, and always maintained that education, particularly at the primary and secondary level should aim at the integrated and harmonious development of the personality of the pupils (Nayak 2001 139).

MORALITY

The word “morality” to refer to an actually existing code of conduct put forward by a society, results in a denial, that there is a universal morality, one that applies to all human beings. This descriptive use of “morality” is the one used by anthropologists when they report on the morality of the societies, that they study. “Morality” has also been taken to refer to any code of conduct that a person or group takes as most important. Among those who use “morality” normatively, all
hold that, “morality”, refers to a code of conduct that applies to all who can understand it and can govern their behavior by it. In the normative sense, morality should never be overridden, that is, no one should ever violate a moral prohibition or requirement for non-moral considerations. All of those who use “morality” normatively also hold that, under plausible specified conditions, all rational persons would endorse that code.

As for Nabakrushna Choudhury, ‘Truth’ is the highest value, the only intrinsic value, is given importance in life. Morality is a means or method of realizing this goal (Maharana 2010). To him, morality is the fundamental presupposition for the realization of truth and for self-realization. He holds that when moral presuppositions are lacking motivation, one lead towards astray. He believed that all acquired knowledge is then destroyed, and not even the most technically perfect scientific method can replace the lacking of moral pre-suppositions. Morality is thus, the basic pre-condition for the realization of material, political, economic or social end (Maharana 2010).

On the one hand, morality serves to purify motivation in order to achieve proper knowledge and, it is the right means to self-realization. In principle, morality is derived from truth which is unity. He believed that results of our deeds are only known in part. Nabakrushna Choudhury believed in the theory of ‘Karma’ (action) and its relation with the formation of character. While a person with noble character always perform noble works causing welfare for the society, a man with impure or immoral character cannot think in terms of the welfare of others. Nabakrushna Choudhury was convinced of the close relationship between the human character.
and the nature of their action. Nabakrushna Choudhury does not seem to separate the concept of ‘Duty and Virtue.’ To him, they mean the same thing. Goodness can be made effective and better result can be achieved through good ethics.

**HUMANISM**

Humanism contends that human beings are a part of nature, that they have emerged as a result of continuous evolutionary process, and that all their values—religious, ethical, political, and social—have their source in human experience and are the product of their culture. Humanism is a rational philosophy informed by science, inspired by art, and motivated by compassion. Affirming the dignity of each human being, it supports the maximization of individual liberty and opportunity consonant with social and planetary responsibility. It advocates the extension of participatory democracy and the expansion of the open society, standing for human rights and social justice. Free of supernaturalism, it recognizes human beings as a part of nature and holds that, values, be they religious, ethical, social or political, have their source in human experience and culture. Humanism thus, derives the goals of life from human needs and interest, rather than from theological or ideological abstractions, and asserts that humanity must take responsibility for its own destiny (The Humanist Magazine).

Nabakrushna Choudhury was a great humanist. It constitutes an inseparable part of his personality as he was popularly known as the leader of the masses. If there was anything that Nabakrushna worshipped, that was the spirit of man. He has immense faith on the people. He always wanted to make the masses free from the age old evil practices of the society. His likes and dislikes for ideologies,
systems and personalities were dictated by liberal humanistic considerations (Nayak 2010)

To Nabakrushna Choudhury, India meant teeming millions of people living without basic needs and amenities, and national liberation meant the eradication of their sorrows and sufferings. Thus he always stands with the common people as the leader of the common masses, by leading a very common simple life-style. He was keen to liberate individuals from the shackles of old dogmas and rituals, as they aborted reason and crushed insight. He always stood for the welfare and upliftment of the masses. He loved life passionately, and fought all throughout his life against all forms of slavery and degradation. Being possessed, a scientific and rational temper, he always looked upon science as an effective instrument for the liberation of mankind from ignorance and poverty (Mohanty 1994)

There are many incidents in the life of Nabakrushna Choudhury which shows his humanistic character, as he always stood for the protection of rights of common people and for their all round-development. In this context, his wife Malati Choudhury always supported him. Any writings on Nabakrushna Choudhury will be incomplete without Malati Choudhury. Together, they had formed an excellent team, by devoting their life fully, for the welfare of the people belonging to scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and for the downtrodden backward section of the society (Nayak 2001)

One of the incident which shocked Nabakrushna Choudhury, was the out break of ‘Sima Andolana’. This was a popular movement of Odias those who were demanding the merger of Sareikala and Kharaswan with Orissa. During that movement, on 21st July 1956, there was picketing in front of the radio station,
Cuttack Many leaders including students were arrested and also some students lost their life in police firing. In that movement students took the leading role. It was true that, the movement did not succeed in achieving its objective, but it demonstrated the solidarity, maturity of students to spearhead a movement for a broader off the campus issue. This movement brought the ugly picture of the authoritarian attitude of administration into light, where the students were worst sufferer and some of them lost their valuable life. This incident shocked Nabakrushna Choudhury a lot and he was unable to control his emotion and tear (Jena, Baral 1988: 437).

Nabakrushna Choudhury had a very soft corner towards the naxalite movement and he always tried to understand their problems from the humanitarian point of view. During Gadajat Praja Andolan (the movement of the people of princely states), the political agent Bejelagate was killed at Ranapur. After the trial of the case, death sentence was awarded against Raghunath Mohanty, the leader of ‘Prajamandal’. Nabakrushna Choudhury after a thorough understanding of the incident commented that he was not a supporter of violence, as means to achieve any goal, but due attention and consideration was not given to the circumstances for which such violence occurred at Ranapur. Years of exploitation and suffering has caused such a popular rising at Ranapur. Had proper attention been given to public grievances, public anger would not have expressed like a volcano. For that, he expressed his deep sorrow. He had similar opinion towards naxalite movement. Rich landlords, known as Zmmdars, were exploiting the poor people and drive them towards untold miseries. This explosive situation when seemed unbearable, poor people organised themselves against the severe inhuman exploitations of Zamindars.
as naxals in the beginning, naxilites were united and organized those poor and helpless people to protest against the cruelty and exploitation. Subsequently, when such exploitation and cruelty exceeded the limit and tolerance, then, naxalities adopted violent means to counteract. Violence was not their objective. The real objective was to protect the poor and helpless people. Even many people inspired to such ideas and dedicated their life for the cause of poor people. Sympathy and affection was deep rooted in the heart of Nabakrushna Choudhary for naxilites. His feelings can be best realized when Naga Bhusan Pattanaik, one of the prominent naxlite leader was awarded death sentence. Nabakrushna Choudhury was depressed and appealed to the President of India to pardon from death. For the cause of pardon of Naga Bhusan Pattanaik, he collected signatures from people in a mass campaign and sent it to the President of India along with his appeal letter (Mohanty 1994:64).

**SCIENTIFIC TEMPERAMENT**

Here we can illustrate some of the examples of Nabakrushna Choudhury’s steps towards development and planned scientific and technological ventures undertaken in Orissa during his tenure as the chief minister. Multipurpose largest river dam project at Hirakud came into existence in Orissa during his chief minister ship which effectively eradicated the menace of flood and helped the people and the state in irrigation as well as in generating hydro-electricity simultaneously. An engineering college was established at Burla to cater the need of technical education in the state during his tenure. Cuttack Industrial Area was developed at Khapuria for boosting industrial growth, particularly small-scale industries in the state. Orissa University of Agriculture and Technology (OUAT) and Veterinary College at Bhubaneswar were come in existence for boosting scientific cultivation and rearing.
of animals on modern scientific method. It is true that the foundation for modern infrastructure and scientific planned development for modern Orissa took root due to Nabakrushna Choudhury’s initiatives and foresight. Thus, for all these developments in the technical and scientific fields, credit goes to him (Nayak 2001).

**SOCIALISM**

Socialism, as an ideology, has traditionally been defined by its opposition to capitalism and the attempt to provide a more humane and socially worthwhile alternative. At the core of socialism is a vision of human beings as social creatures united by their common humanity. This highlights the degree to which individual identity is fashioned by social interaction and the membership of social groups and collective bodies. Socialists therefore prefer cooperation to competition and believe that social equality is the essential guarantee of social stability and cohesion, and that it promotes freedom, in the sense that it satisfies material needs and provides the basis for personal development (Heywood 2007).

Socialism for Nabakrushna Choudhury is a system of social re-construction. As an advocate of socialism, he wanted the state power to be used for establishing and strengthening the socialist society. Such a society will aim at abolition of inequalities—inequality of rank, of culture, of status, opportunity etc. Socialism for him was a way of life. It represented a set of values to which, he owed allegiance voluntarily and which he tried to put into practice in his lifetime.

Socialism for him was based essentially on the ideas of non-possession, trusteeship, non-violence and human equality. He always wanted to establish a village, based on total decentralisation, where power would be universally dispersed. As a true Indian Socialist, he could not remain a silent spectator to the miserable
plight of the toiling peasants. Hence, he tried his best to improve their miserable conditions during his lifetime (Maharana 2010)

Nabakrushna Choudhury tried for a revolutionary change in the life of villagers. He wanted each village to be a self-sufficient and self-sustaining unit. Hence, he suggested radical changes in the existing laws regulating agricultural land, land revenue, etc. Under the influence of Gandhi, he attached importance to constitutional means for the achievement of socialism. He was influenced by the ideas of Marxism, Communism, and Leninism. Like the great leaders of India, such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Jaya Prakash Narayana, Aruna Asaf Ali, Ram Manohar Lohia, and Ashok Mehta, he also inspired the wave of socialistic ideas. He wanted to establish a system based on democratic socialism. To him, the goal of Socialism cannot be realized without democratic means. In the year 1933, for the first time, socialist congress federation was established under his leadership, which subsequently known as Congress Socialist Party.

According to Nabakrushna Choudhury, socialism is a way of life, an attitude of mind, a certain ethical behaviour. He defined socialist society as the one, in which the individual is prepared voluntarily to subordinate his own interest to the larger interest of the society. He learned to the philosophy of ‘Sarvodaya’ and accepted it as a new brand of socialism, which suits Indian village system most. For his socialistic ideas, he has been acclaimed as a noted character amongst the luminous personalities of freedom fighters, who also advocated and fought for the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society in India. As a socialist, he founded the socialistic movement in the state, but did not continue to be a part of the socialistic party for long.
From 1934 to 1936, there were peasant movements in Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. Nabakrushna Choudhry was also associated with the movement in Ganjam district. It was under his influence that Banamali Maharana and Gobinda Pradhan joined the Congress Socialist Party. Most of the times, he used to send his wife Malati Choudhury, Surendranath Dwivedi and Gauranga Charan Das to Ganjam to provide proper guidance to the activists of Kisan Movement in the district. To uphold the cause of peasants, Nabakrushna Choudhury started publication of a journal named 'Krusaka'. In this movement, he adopted the Gandhian style of symbolic action. His instruction to the peasants was not to bend down, out of fear, before the landlords but to stand erect and politely to fold the hand as equals, had the desired effect. He became the undisputed leader of peasants, in British Orissa, who marched into the princely states almost in the Garibaldian manner and waged a war against the princes (Mohanty 2005 320).

He also took initiative to introduce the use of Odia as the official language of the government, in order to make the administration people friendly. He introduced the ‘Odia - English Dictionary’. He recorded his views for the first time in Odia on 23rd April 1954, in the government file (Nayak 2001 189).

Nabakrushna Choudhury’s decision to use Odia as the language for communication and administration was opposed by senior officers of the state. Some of them were from outside of the state, without being conversant with the language of Odia and others suffered from a colonial hangover, and wanted to distance themselves from the common mass, with the use of the English language. The real idea about this step was to make people closer to the system and maintain
transparency  As a man of strong convictions, Nabakrushna Choudhury did not listen to anyone. He was convinced that the administration must reach at the door step of the toiling mass and Odia should be used as the language of administration. An encyclopedia of Odia language was prepared. Odia typewriters were also fabricated. But all these initiatives taken by him discontinued after he left the government in October 1956.

The then prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru was a true lover of democratic socialism and a good friend of Nabakrushna Choudhury. Ideas of Nabakrushna Choudhury related to nation building and dream to make rural people self-sufficient, very much touched Nehru. Even Nehru persuaded him several times personally and through letters, not to leave the chief ministership of Orissa, but Nabakrushna Choudhury was determined in his decision. To him, true services to the people were more important than to hold power or to be anxious for power. He did not make any compromise with his principles and at last resigned from the chief ministership.

**NABAKRUSHNA CHOU DHURY AS A DEMOCRAT PAR EXCELLENCE**

Democrats believe all people should be able to pursue their goals in spite of their religion, race, ethnic background or communal orientation. Like Gandhi and Vinoba, Nabakrushna Choudhury laid emphasis on the moral foundations of democracy. According to him, the following qualities are essential for the efficient functioning of democracy:

- Abhorrence of violence
- Love of liberty and the courage to resist oppression
• The spirit of co-operation
• Concern for truth
• Toleration for the opinion of others
• The sense of duty or responsibility
• Faith in human equality
• Ability to lead a simple life

He realized that a high-degree of centralization in political and economic spheres is insidious to individual liberty and inimical to democracy. He was of the view that the only way to save the individual from the excessive centralization, lies in opting for self-governing and self-sufficient village communities.

Like Gandhi and Vinoba, Nabakrushna Choudhury wanted the villages to attain the prestige of glory. Hence he made self-governing and self-sufficiency village communities, as the foundation of participating organic democracy. According to him, a vigorous system of local self-government enabling the villages to govern the local matters that affect their life was the crying need of the hour. He had also supported the introduction of panchayati raj with its three tier system, i.e., the gram or village panchayat, the block panchayat samiti and the zila parishad and has traced the seeds of democratic decentralization in it. What Nabakrushna Choudhury had visualized, was possible only with the enactment of 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments by which the urban and rural local bodies were assigned the constitutional status, having autonomous powers and authority.
Organization of village panchayats is one of the directive principles of state policy laid down in the constitution of India. In Orissa, however, the village panchayat scheme was conceived, long before the constitution came into force. The Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, 1948 received the assent of the Governor-General on 11th December 1948 (The Orissa Gram Panchayat Act was introduced in 1949). It aimed at establishing local self-government at the rural levels of Orissa and to make provisions for the administration of local affairs with the involvement of local people. The original intention of a Grama Sasan (previously denominated as Gram Sabha), with all adult citizens, ordinarily residing in the area, should be established for any village having a population of 1000 to 1500. It was, however, noticed that such unit was too small to be economically viable. The scheme, therefore, was reconsidered by government and steps were taken to reorganize Gram Panchayats. According to this principle, ordinarily in thickly populated areas a gram panchayat is to be established having a population of 5000 to 7000 and this may go up to 10,000 in specific cases. In 1949, the government issued a notification, establishing 532 gram panchayats at selected centres in different districts of Orissa. Elections to these panchayats were held in 1950-51. Some of these panchayats were functioning well, particularly where, they had replaced the previous panchayat boards, union boards and sanitation committees.

Depicting the idealistic picture of this local community, Nabakrushna Choudhury's thought seems to be more democratic, where community's ideas like sharing, participation, fellowship can be best realized. He suggested to identify of interest the interest of community, a feeling of unity in midst of diversity and the sense of freedom within the framework of accepted social responsibilities. To him,
in the community agriculture, industry, capital, labour, skill, intelligence etc should not at loggerheads with one another but are synthesized in the service of the community.

Nabakrushna Choudhury has suggested that, India must effect improvement in its democratic set up by involving a participating democracy which involves immediate contact between government and people. He always has given importance towards the protection of public interest, which is only possible in democratic set up, such as -

- Local self-government with decentralization of power
- Universal adult franchise
- Rights
- Liberty both of people and of the nation
- Equality

Nabakrushna Choudhury, with the agenda of legislative recommendation and administrative measures for an equitable and uniform rent structure, elimination of intermediary interests, prevention of fragmentation, improvement of agricultural production and raise the standard of living of the cultivators in Orissa, he had constituted a 15 member committee on land reforms by 15th November 1946, under his chairmanship, during the period, when he was in charge of the revenue department of Orissa. The committee’s basic recommendations were accepted formally in November 1948, which was sound and radical even today's situation. The recommendations were based on two basic principles, such as -
As for the decentralization of administration, the committee recommended constitution of Anchals as administrative units, each comprising of one elected body, called Anchal Sabha, comprising of elected representatives from Gram Panchayats, and also an executive officer called Anchal Sarvadhikan. The Anchal Sarvadhikari shall administer all estates, tenure and land vested in Anchal. The Anchal Sasan shall also gradually take over the financial and administrative powers and responsibilities in respect of such areas of public concern as education, health, agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperative, cottage industry and rural welfare in general. On the other hand, as for de-provincialisation of revenue, the committee recommended the withdrawal of the legal right of the state to collect a certain portion of produce of every plot of land and vesting of same in the community, to be administered through Anchal Shasan. As regards the assessment and collection of land revenue, it shall be done by gram panchayat through a collective exercise by the cultivators or raiyats of particular village (http://chittabehera.com/Miscwork/Orissa%201a).

Nabakrushna Choudhury's democratic decentralisation is one of the most important parts of democracy, which is essential for the success of the democracy. Before the report of the Balwantra Mehta Committee on democratic decentralization (1957) was made public, the state government had introduced the three-tire panchayat raj system of rural local self government. Under the Orissa Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad Act, (1959), the panchayat samiti was
constituted at the block level and the zilla parishad at the district level, while the
gram panchayat had already been constituted at the village level The districts were
divided into several blocks to serve as units of development administration (Mathew
George 1995 162)

Universal adult franchise is an inseparable part of democratic system of
government, which is based on the principle of equality Universal adult franchise
means the entire adult citizen should be given the right to vote without any
discrimination on the basis of caste, class, colour, religion, or sex It is based on
equality which is a basic principle of democracy It demands that the right to vote
should be equally available among all The spirit of democracy can be maintained
only if the people are given the right to vote without any fear and discrimination
The exercise of right to vote, adds to the individual’s self-respect, dignity, sense of
responsibility, and political and civic education People are called political sovereign,
because, they possess the right to vote a government into power, or to vote a
government out of power That is why, democracy has sometimes been described
as a mode of appointing, controlling and dismissing governments by the people
(http www nios ac in/srsec317newE317EL17 pdf)

Under the constitution of India, the first general election was held on the basis
of universal adult franchise from 20th December, 1951 to 24th January, 1952 for a
period of 36 days The members of the first assembly took oath on the 4th March,
1952 Raja Shri Sailendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, a member of the assembly was
administered oath to the members Shri Nabakrushna Choudhury, the leader of the
majority party became the chief minister of Orissa on 20th February 1952 (Gagarin’s 2004 160)

As a democrat, Nabakrushna Choudhury had given utmost importance towards rights, liberties and equality both for the people and also for the nation. According to him, these three are the fundamentals of the democratic set up, without which the success of democracy can’t be imagined.

It can be conclude that Nabakrushna Choudhury’s life and ideologies are deeply bonded with truth, love, righteousness, dedication, tolerance etc, and also accommodates a number of contemporary issues like untouchability, communal violence, rural poverty, better status of women in society etc. His ideas are chiefly concerned to betterment of people. On the other hand he was a refreshing modern person who had the innate desire to modernize society with broader outlook for people.
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