

**Politics of Sub-Regional Assertion in Orissa : A Case Study
of Kosal Sangram Parishad (KSP)**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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D E C L A R A T I O N

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "POLITICS OF SUB-REGIONAL ASSERTIOIN IN ORISSA: A CASE STUDY OF KOSAL SANGRAM PARISHAD (KSP)", submitted by BINOD KUMAR DAS in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.Phil.) has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University. This is his own work.

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Dedicated
to the memory of
my late eldest
brother
Mr. Basant K. Das
(1957-1985)

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This work sets out to be neither an indictment nor a defence. The aim has been only to study and analyse as objectively as possible the on-going Kosal State movement in western region of Orissa.

Though the movement has not got as much grassroot support as the other movements but if the movement is dealt. With proper care then it can be nipped in the bud. Now the movement is mainly confined to urban elites or the vested groups but if the government turns a blind eye, then bifurcation of the State cannot be ruled out. The task of studying this pressing movement was ticklish indeed but it was fascinated by my supervisor Professor Balveer Arora. He was extraordinarily sensitive to its objectivity. He aimed at compiling and analysing the facts as meticulously as possible. The purpose was to show rightness of the actions and events in which the reader may not suspect its authenticity.

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Now I am quite hopeful that this work would definitely stand as an reference for the people who want to ameliorate the acute regional problems of the society and the world at large.

Binod Kumar Das
(Binod Kumar Das)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PREFACE

| | | |
|----------------|---|--------------|
| CHAPTER - (1), | <u>Regionalism and Sub-Regionalism</u> ✓ | <u>01-35</u> |
| | <u>in India's Federal System.</u> | |
| | <u>A Survey of Literature and Trends</u> | |
| | 1.1 The concept of regionalism. ✓ | 3 |
| | 1.2 Regionalism in the Indian context. | 6 |
| | 1.3 The basis of Sub-regionalism in India. | 12 |
| | 1.4 Regionalism-Its determinants. | 14 |
| | 1.5 Sub-regionalism its dimensions. | 16 |
| | 1.6 Sub-regionalism in Orissa - Jharkhanda Movement. | 21 |
| | 1.7 Regionalism : some remedial measures. | 25 |
| CHAPTER (2), | <u>Regional Identities in Orissa.</u> | <u>36-63</u> |
| | <u>Historical Background and Development</u> <u>upto 1970.</u> | |
| | 2.1 Integration of Three Parts of Orissa. | 37 |
| | 2.2 First General Elections. | 42 |
| | 2.3 Second General Elections. | 45 |
| | 2.4 Third General Elections. | 47 |
| | 2.5 The 1967 General Elections. | 49 |
| | 2.6 Comparative Analysis of Two Regions. | 52 |
| | 2.7 Analysis of Voting Behaviour | 56 |

| | | |
|-------------|---|---------|
| CHAPTER (3) | Sub-Regional Movements, the Party System and Electoral Politics. | 64-88 |
| | 3.1 Political conditions in Orissa, in early Seventies. | 64 |
| | 3.2 1974 Elections : An Overview | 68 |
| | 3.3 The 1977 Election and the Emergence of Non-Congress Government. | 71 |
| | 3.4 Congress Rule in early Eighties. | 72 |
| | 3.5 Rajiv's Congress in Orissa (1985 - 1989) | 80 |
| | 3.6 Second Non-Congress victory, Biju's Orissa. | 82 |
| CHAPTER (4) | Factors contributing to the rise of Sub-regional Movements | 89-119 |
| | 4.1 Differentiation during Ancient Period. | 91 |
| | 4.2 Integration during the British Era. | 94 |
| | 4.3 Geographical Factors. | 97 |
| | 4.4 Linguistic variations. | 99 |
| | 4.5 Economic underdevelopment. | 102 |
| | 4.6 Intra-Regional Imbalances. | 105 |
| | 4.7 Socio-cultural Factors. | 109 |
| | 4.8 Political factors. | 112 |
| CHAPTER (5) | Kosal Sangram Parishad - Genesis & Development. | 120-140 |
| | 5.1 Regionalism in Orissa - A brief History | 121 |

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| 5.2 | Resolutions of the Kosal Sammelan. | 122 |
| 5.3 | The demands of the Kosal Movement. | 127 |
| 5.4 | Issues raised by the Movement. | 129 |
| 5.5 | The controversy over the boundaries. | 132 |
| 5.6 | Assessment of the Movement. | 139 |
| CHAPTER (6, | Summing Up and Conclusion | 141-155 |
| 6.1 | Sub-Regional Movements : | 142 |
| | A summing up | |
| 6.2 | Explaining Sub-Regionalism in Orissa. | 144 |
| 6.3 | Tribal Character of the State. | 146 |
| 6.4 | The Impact of the Kosal Movement. | 150 |
| Bibliography | | 155 |
| Appendix-I. | | 172 |
| Appendix-II | | 173 |
| Appendix-III | | 180 |
| Appendix-IV | | 182 |

List of Tables & Maps.

1. District wise representation in State Cabinet Since 1950.
2. Party Positions in the Election to Orissa Legislative Assembly 1952-1971,.
3. Performance of Uktal Congress, Congress and Swatantra in 1971 and 1974 election.
4. Showing Percentage of votes and seats own in two different regions in assembly elections. (1971-1990),.
5. The proposed Language Map of Orissa.
6. Regional Imbalances of two regions in different sectors.
7. Political Map of Proposed Kosal State.
8. Peoples involvement on the Kosal Movement.

PREFACE

Regionalism becomes a quite significant of the politics of our country. Movements going on for the creation of a separate unit after cutting a part of the existing state or states drawing sustenance from the factor of language or Socio-economic grievances, or a struggle for substituting existing arrangements like Regional Committees by some more appropriate agencies, for the betterment of the people living in a particular area called region. Thus it arrests our attention in an empirical study of contemporary Indian politics.

The deep cleavages owing to the cultural and ethnic diversities have often divided the Indian societies and Orissa as a province of Indian union offers a typical illustration of such conflicts and cleavages in its social structure and in political structure as well. These intra-regional differences have manifested in the socio-economic and political development of the two regions namely coastal and hill regions. Apart from geography, the historical development has also greatly contributed to the communication gap between these two regions. Further more contextual variables were found to have worked at cross purposes and halted the forces of development in the State. The State politics after independence has witnessed the competition for power and loyalty between feudal and non-feudal elements. It was because of these intra-regional diversities in the social and

political environment of the two regions that a contrast in the politics of coastal regions and that of the winterland was well marked in the democratic era.

The present study attempts to make a systematic analysis of the Kosal State movement emerging in western part of Orissa. The work highlights the resurgence of new political outfit and its possibly impact upon Orissa's socio-political system. The emergence of Jharkhanda, Uttaranchal, GNLF, Vidharba have marked a shift toward sub-regionalism in India. It would be in the interest of national integration that the causes of their growth and development are properly analyzed. An understanding of the sub-regional differences becomes essential to understand this type of sub-state demand.

With these objectives mentioned above the present study has been divided into six chapters. The first chapter deals with the theoretical framework of sub-regionalism in India as whole and orissa as particular, their origin and development, role and relevance in India by analysing available literatures and sources. The second and third chapter deals mainly with Orissa's electoral politics and development of political system since formation of the state until now. With the keeping characteristics of Orissa politics, it has been divided into two phases. The second chapter extends from formation of Orissa province upto 1967 and the third chapter continues from 1970 to present time.

The emerged trend of electoral politics and its repercussion in the Kosal State demand have also been included. The fourth chapter clearly explores the supporting mechanisms of the Kosal State movement, and their contribution in whipping up the sentiment of the people. Whereas fifth chapter has sincerely proved the genesis and development of the Kosal State at present times and the growing influence of the movement in their area has been marked too. The concluding chapter analyses the attributes and trends of the movement, and its impact on India's socio-political life in general and Orissa in particular, its positive aspects all these have been dealt with clearly. Besides some remedial measures have been attached to contain the growth of these forces. Most of the datas and materials have been collected in an ongoing field tour to the affected areas of western part of Orissa.

(B.K. Das)

CHAPTER-ONE

REGIONALISM AND SUB-REGIONALISM IN INDIA'S FEDERAL SYSTEM

A Survey of Literature and Trends

India is not only the world's largest but also probably the most complex federal democracy. While its democratic structure protects its political unity, its federal form guarantees the harmonious co-existence of non-political diversities. The core of the federal principle is democratic since it attaches a special value to mutual consent of divergent socio-political entities within a system that provides for disposal of power thus ensuring the maintenance of distinctive identities. Federalism may be viewed pragmatically as an instrumental device which in the words of Jean Blondel "aims at achieving optimum decentralization"¹.

In the debate over federalism in India especially over the last five to ten years, the trend has been to subsume the federal idea under the question of centre-state relations, the constitutional division of power and the actual operation of the federal political process in which these powers have been used or misused. Multiple identities and cleavages are an integral part of a federal polity. When this cleavages gets sharpened through polarisation federal nations can be subjected to crucial tests"².

If democracy is viewed as an institutionalised system of competition and conflict then creative political thinking is required to make this competition free, fair and truly democratic. "Fresh attempts of reactivating democratic decentralisation in our unitary States must commence with an analysis of the

failures had inadequacies of previous experiments" . The adoption³ of administrative structures to rejuvenate the three-tier of the federal system raises a series of problems and issues. "When the principles of Parliamentary democracy are extended to the district and sub-state levels simultaneously with decentralisation, the relationship of the executive and judiciary need to be re-⁴structured" .

Now there is a demand from many ethnoregional groupings for recognitions as districts units of the federal system. Some of these demand have been there for a long time (Telengana; Bidhar-va, Jharkhanda, while others have emerged recently like Gorkhaland, Kosal, etc. "The persistence of such demands raises the issue of the number and size of States through the identification of the basic socio - cultural units of our⁵ federal society . Being our country a democratic Polity it upholds equality and freedom for all its ;citizens irrespective of region, language, culture, religion and creed. Nothing is more basic to the very concept of federalism than regionalism and sub-regionalism. Actually in India "regional identities sought to crystallise into sub-nationalism with fairly complex inner accommodation between their sub-regions. The separation of Assam from the Bengal Presidency in 1874 was possibly the last successful crea-⁶tion of a province on purely administrative grounds" .

A democratic policy involves the decentralisation of power in a way that the democratic government not merely at the top but

at the foundation level of the Political system. The advent of independence afforded the real opportunity for materializing the dream of democratic decentralisation but to counter the regional tendencies at the periphery level it was indeed necessary to decentralize the power.

Yet as Paul Wallace observes⁷ "regional forces and groups are highly adaptable protean elements that may be submerged by a passing electoral wave, but inevitably rebound because they are the very stuff of society".

India is a suitable place for the growth of sub-regionalism and national integration is promoted to counter the odd consequences of these sub-regional growths. National unity is the only way to bring a solidarity between nationalism and a reality. The regional sentiments and demands also manifest and assert⁸. In the search for cohesive national unity, we can derive lesson from our independent movement. It was broad based and blending union of contradicting for us. But it seems, the lesson is erased from our memory. Our country stands at crossroad. Thus the need of the hour is cohesion but not fusion, reconciliation but not merger, accommodation but not elimination, assimilation but not extention, synthesis but not non-existence of the many segments of the people in a territorial sovereignty⁹.

1.1 The Concept of Regionalism

The subject of regionalism has currently attracted the attention of scholars, statesman, legislators and even ordinary citizens. The term regionalism in common usage refers to regional

particularism or regional patriotism. Regionalism as a concept is universal in character but it has not been possible to have any precise definition because of the wide ramifications of the subject e.g. minorities, administrative, decentralization, local self government and autonomy. the cult of homeland and local patriotism. In the opinion of a researcher regionalism is most immediately related to particularism and opponents make the allegation that it leads to separatism. Thus

"Regionalism may be defined as a counter movement to any exaggeration or oppressive form of centralisation. It must not however be considered solely from the view point of political controls or governmental administration. Regionalist problems arise only where there is a combination of two or more such factors as geographical isolation, independent historical tradition, racial ethnic or religious peculiarities and local economic or class interests"¹⁰.

The word regionalism first came into controversial use in France where it was invoked to describe proposals for the creation of administrative units covering areas larger than the area demarcated by republican departments. From that time the phenomenon of regionalism came to light in one way or the other. Regionalism is derived from the word region.

"A region is a ;homogeneous area with physical and cultural characteristics distinct from those of neighbouring areas. As part of a national domain, a region is sufficiently unified to have a consciousness of its customs and ideals and thus possesses a sense of identity distinct from the rest of the country. The term regionalism properly represents the regional idea in action as an ideology or as a social movement or as the theoretical basis for the regional planning, it is also applied to the scientific task of delimiting and analysing regions as entities lacking formal boundaries .

From the above mentioned definition of region it is well understood that region represents more of an analytic type than geographical entity. The region is a socio-cultural concept. This is reflected through the territorial loyalty. The variables like language, geography, religion, customs and political and economic stages of development through their long period of operation form the concept of regionalism. The term regionalism has its wider and narrower connotations. In the former sense, it covers the case of a movement directed against centralism. In the latter sense it refers to the attachment of the people with the interests of local or topical significance and in that respect it becomes analogous

to localism or sectionalism. In general way regionalism may be defined as a "counter movement to any exaggerated or aggressive form of centralisation"¹². Thus "diversity and disparity feed and sustain regionalism"¹³.

If so, regionalism may be distinguished from certain related themes like nationalism, localism, sub-regionalism etc. Nationalism desires sub-ordination of sectional and regional loyalties to the wider loyalty to the nation. Localism on the other hand, is based on some very narrow interests of a class or community. Sub-regionalism refers to loyalty to a small area within a region because of its own distinct identity. Regionalism seeks to lay emphasis on local loyalties even at the expense of national loyalties in certain cases.

Regionalism is mainly the product of India's diversity in every segment of the society viz. cultural diversity, economic and social disparity, religious and linguistic differences and above all a federal democratic polity are the root causes for the growth of regionalism. All these factors are more or less responsible for emergence of regionalism. The net product is a multiway traffic that either leads to the further alteration of the political map of the India or the suppression of an agitation by force in the over all interest of the nation.

1.2 Regionalism in the Indian Context

"Regionalism in the Indian context is a vague concept and has both positive and negative dimensions"¹⁴. Positively, 'region-

15

alism embodies "a quest for fulfilment on the part of an area" .
Negatively, it reflects a psyche of relative deprivation on the
part of a people or an area. Positive regionalism constitutes a
true expression of federation and democracy and therefore, it is
not to be suspected and considered as an alibi for the balkanisa-
tion of the country.

"This aspect of regionalism was even appreciat-
ed by the report of the State Reorganisation
Commission (1956), when it pointed out that
regional consciousness, -not merely in the
sence of a negative awareness of absence of
repression or exploitation but also in the
sense of scope for positive expression of the
collective personality of a people inhabit-
ing a State or a region may be conducive to
the contentment and well being of the communi-
ty. common language may not only promote -the
growth of such regional consciousness but
also make for administrative convenience.
Indeed in a democracy the people can legiti-
mately claim and the government have a duty to
ensure that the administration is conducted i..
a language which the people can understand"

16

In India in most cases the deprivation psyche of the people
is exploited by the regional elites, who taking the benefit of
this negative consciousness whip up the feelings of the people in

the region and produce the ideology of regionalism. Taking advantage of the culturally heterogeneous society in India. The regional elites articulate a regional identity and later on use it for strengthening their own political position. Thus, regionalism is a multidimensional phenomenon and is composed of several components such as geographical, historic-cultural, economic, politico-administrative and psychic".

Geographical area or territorial affinities generate regional identity. The people and even elite and civil servants of the merged princely states maintained their regional identities on the basis of their loyalties to old territorial parts. It observed that this sort of loyalty helped the ex-rulers to win in the election in the area of their old territories in the new States. History and culture constitute a major component of regionalism. History buttresses regionalism by way of cultural heritage-myths-folk-lore and symbolism¹⁷. Further, "the supreme end of the State is to promote culture because culture is one's country and the country is one's culture. India's culture is a synthetic complex made up of a ; number of diverse elements each of which makes its own contribution to the comprehensive whole¹⁸". The DMK and Shiv Sena represented the historic-culture oriented regionalism in India.

"Language has the propensity of Unity as well as causing disharmony, emotional frenzy and destabilisation of the political system"¹⁹. However, intra-State regionalism surpasses the bond of

common language where economic grievances of a sub-region takes precedence over language and this was illustrated amply in the Telengana issue. Again it is said,

"Regionalism is the outcome of some real or perceived sense of internal colonialism, the result of mal-development or a symmetrical development. Regionalism is true response of unequal sharing of benefits of development activity"²⁰ .

Politico-administrative factors are not responsible for the growth of regionism but they act as catalytic agents. It can accentuate and exploit the situation of regional feelings. Thus, regionalism can be conceptualised as a multi-dimensional composite phenomenon as well as built in process within nationalism.

Regionalist separatism at the sub-state level has been a recurrent phenomenon in India. What however, causes concern is the steady rise of regional communalism - a process prejudicial to national integration. Even A.K. Roy, goes to say "what appears certain is that whether overtly or covertly the 'ism' that rules India today is regionalism"²¹ .

Uneven regional development is the root cause of the malaise. Thus the dichotomy between the leaders and the masses, the economic chasm between the affluent and the poor and the gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' regions are continuing areas of concern for national unity and integration. Kothari outlines the goals of the Indian model of State and nation building as "Unity, democra-

cy, Development, justice and autonomy vis-a-vis the external world. It has firmly achieved the first two, but it badly miscalculated on the third goal. The developmental aims were poorly defined and their implementation was by and large perfunctory. "Regional imbalances were often left unattended, and the weak and vulnerable sections of society did not get much relief. This has in turn seriously affected the forth without whose maximum attainment no social entity has ever survived.. In short, it is on the performance on the dimension of justice that the future -of the Indian state rests." ²²

India is a plural society having different cultural patterns, religious beliefs, social moores, languages and regional identities, Iqbal Narain thinks cultural pluralism and regioinalism are synonyms. "Cultural pluralism manifests itself, among others in regionalism inclusive of linguistic regionalism" ²³ .

The federal character of the Indian society accomodates diverse races. Communities, cultures, languages and religious and makes it a 'unity in diversity'. Thus to mean India a homogenous polity and nation is to disregard the diverse sub-nationalities which should live in harmony. Federalism in India is supposed to be a compermise between nationalism and regionalism. Mainteinace of the regional identity has been the motive force of the federal states.

"The existance of regional and sub-regional consciousness is not only a prelude and a prerequisite of genuine national sentiments but

logically it is generated precisely by the euphorial created by the establishment of Nation-State. Nothing is more basic to the very concept of federalism than regionalism and sub-²⁴regionalism".

The citizen of a federal state bears a psychologically split personality. He cannot be totally an Indian forgetting that he is also a Bengali, Oriya, Marathi etc. The essence of federalism lies in balancing the claims of nationalism in such a way as to express and project regional diversities. Nationalism and regionalism are considered to be the two co-ordinates of federalism. Carl J. Fredrich views: The Indian federalism has been operating in the direction of both integration and differentiation. Political monolithism is against the genius of the Indian polity. Thus, a large degree of regional autonomy may be essential for the integrity of India.

For some who believe that political development is an essential aspect of nation building will definitely look down upon regionalism and regional movements as a threat to national integration. But regionalism provides more scope to the regional elites for political participation which will integrate in the long run.

"Regionalism does not necessarily impede national integration, or the quest of regional identity is not necessarily impede national

integration, or the quest or regional identity is not necessarily anti-thetical to the urge for a national identity and the two can co-exist in a situation of mutually rewarding partnership if the politico-bureacratic and educational elite work for and bring about the delicate but certainly conceivable balance between the competing but reconcilable cliams²⁵ of the two" .

Thus the basic problem infact is not that of regionalism but of meeting the demands of increasing participation which is a logical corollary of political development and modernisation. The remedy lies in sabogating the reginal demands but in the creation of facilities so that more number of people can be accommodated in the nation building process of the political system.

1.3 The basis of Sub-Regionalism in India

Sub-regionalism in India is not merely a manifestation of peoples discontent. It has various basis in the society like "(a, political base of sub-regionalism (b) socio-religious base of regionalism (c) Techno-economic basis of sub-regionalism."²⁶ .

(a) Political Basis of sub-Regionalism -

The Indian constitution itself infact envisage the existence of sub-regional identities within the State and makes an explicit provision for regional council in case of some States in North East India so that the legitimate politico administrative aspira-

tions of the people residing in these sub-regions are not submerged in the rough and tumble of the political processes in the larger unit of which these sub-regions are a part. The constitutional provision for a regional council for Telengana Region of Andhra Pradesh was the most outstanding example of this attempt to provide formal political representation to sub-regional identities. Recently the efforts to establish a separate Jharkhand Council is a case in point.

(b) Socio-Religious basis of sub-Regionalism.

It is very difficult to ascertain the social base of the Telengana movement, because the people living in Telengana region belong to the same ethnic stock as those living in the other regions of Andhra Pradesh. Speak the same language and share most other cultural symbols. What then made the Telenganties mount a series of militant political struggle to opt out of a separate identity. The greatest cause is economic development vis-a-vis other regions of Andhra Pradesh. Religious sentiments also plays vital role in creating a political phenomenon of religion-based regionalism. The Sikh demand for formation of a "Punjabi Suba"²⁷ since the year of 1957 is a case to the point. Another manifestation of religion based regionalism can be seen in those North-eastern States and Union Territories where majority population has embraced christianity, so the spread of Hinduism has almost certainly take much fire out of the militant regionalistic activities.

(c) Techno-Economic basis of sub-Regionalism

While regionalism based on techno-economic demands may not be viable in terms of multi-state changes like North-South controversy in India. Sub-Regionalism based on a combination of historical political cultural differences and recent techno-economic differentials is a potent force in almost every state of India. The phenomenon of sub-State regionalism in States like Maharashtra which is conventionally regarded as consisting of three regions such as Marathawada, Konkan and Vidharva. Orissa where the regional antipathy between Coastal and hill region is well known. Madhya Pradesh which consists of four well recognised regions viz Madhya Bharat, Mahakosal, Bhopal and Chattisgarh. Uttar Pradesh which is broadly divided into western UP, Eastern UP and Hill Districts. Similarly Jammu and Kashmir which is regarded as consisting of three well defined regions viz. Jammu, Kashmir valley and Ladkhakh, Karnataka where sub-State regionalism takes the form of loyalty towards old Mysore and other areas which were part of of British India etc. In this way the entire country can be divided into "fifty eight sub-regions"²⁴. And in all these sub-regions the movements are going on active or mild form.

1.4 Regionalism - Its Determinants

The territorial region as related to the man environment complex, historical, cultural economic and political forces have the main determinants of regionalism in India. All these determinants are mutually inter-related. The man-environment complex is one of the basic determinants of regionalism. "Geogra-

phy, climatic conditions and housing patterns contribute to the objective perceptible regional characteristics." ²⁵ These are apparent in the ways of living and activities of the people living within region. It should not be accepted that similar man-environment complex necessarily leads to appearance of number of similarities in sub-culture regions. "The term sub-culture means numerous environmental socio-cultural economic and political factors interact to evolve a relatively homogeneous regional culture and awareness of regional individuality among the people who happen to live with it. -But in India the fringes of the sub-cultural regions are not in the form of sharp demarcations but in the form of zones. ²⁶

Second the historical trends not only lead to territorial re-organisation of sub-cultural regions but also in course of time strengthening regional awareness. In this instance the very name of the sub-cultural regions awakens in the peoples memories of a whole series of thoughts, customs, tradiditons, mannerisms, art forms, habitual behaviour patterns etc. Documented historical evidences reveal that in most of the sub-cultural regions of India regionalism has evolved in India. Similarly cultural forces operating through the customs, traditional ways and mannerisms have tended to determine the various regional groups. Among the cultural factors linguism has assumed a significant role in India today. "The rise of linguism has alarmed some observers and section of people who fear that linguistic territorial fragmentation is

strengthening the foundations of sub-nationalism and encouraging regional loyalties and separatist tendencies" ²⁷ .

Regionalism in Indian politics has generally been regarded as something that is anti-system, anti-federal and against the basic interest of well-developed forces. The origins and causes of this regionalism could perhaps be traced to the centralisation of power during the British empire and its consequent delegation to regional middle classes. The growth of plan India forces also saw the growth of regionalism in India for both implied participation of large masses in the new political development. The process however acquired caste overtones in the south while the north it was expressed either in the Hindu Muslim antagonism or linguistic antagonism.

In India communalism was the main aspect of regionalism, the price for which was paid through partition of the country. Just after Independence language has played an important role in providing a basis for regionalism and in sustaining it. Regionalisation of political forces began during the period of post 1967 election periods when the congress party as a centralising force lost its credibility in some of the states and non-congress parties came to power with regional support base. Subsequently other variables particularly uneven socio-economic development gave a boost to regionalism which Prof. A.D. Pant explains ²⁸ through the concept of "mal-development syndrome" .

1.5 Sub-Regionalism - Its Dimensions

Sub-Regionalism is a world wide phenomenon and even older and developed nation havenot been immune from regional movement. But regionalism has a special significance in the third world countries where traditional societies have been passing through a process of transforming their particularistic and primordial loyalties to the nation state. The political system is passing through a crisis stage and simultaneously facing such crises as crisis of integrity, legitimacy, penetration, participation, integration and distribution.

While over the coming decades the economic policy plays a vital role in fanning out regionalism because vast section of Indian masses have yet to acquire familiarity with the economic analysis of regional imbalances. Economic imbalances can generate sub-State State or multi-State regionalism as evident from the attempts of all the southern States together laccuse the centre of neglecting the economic interests of the south.

One thing to be noted here that political mobilisation of the residents of a given state on issues concerning economic policies has less explosive phenomenon than regionalistic campaigns based on social-cultural bases. As for example "the Maharashtra-Karnataka dispute over tiny place of land in Belgaum recurrently explodes the violent situation. Because it arouses linguistic passion of both the sides. While the three parties of Narmada water dispute namely, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan create occasional disturbances" ²⁹. Similarly the recent episode

involving "Nagaland and Assam where Armed personnel from both sides exchanged bullets under government orders over a tiny piece of territory are the examples."³⁰

Sub-regionalism is mainly derived by two sets of factors "subjective and objective"³¹ which determine the nature of regionalism. The subjective components are ways of living customs and beliefs, attitudes and values related to a group of people termed as a regional group. The objective factors include the territorial and the accompanied "man-environment complex" within which regional groups live.³² Besides it the other factors which play a dominant role in arousing regional passions like sons of soil theory. Briefly states the advocates of this concept wanted the people residing in the region where such projects were located to be given preference in terms of employment. But the champions of this theory believe that most of the modern industries acquire skilled workers which would not be available in a local area so in lower cadre posts local candidates given preferences. But the question arises here such employment reservations should be re-graded as a case of regionalism.

Regionalism is a multi dimensional phenomenon at once psychic, geo-cultural and politico economic in its nature and manifestation. It has both positive and negative overtones which paradoxically speaking tend to feed on each other. It has different factors like geo-cultural component, State boundaries, language, history, religion etc. But the two aspects ;have greater

importance in the segment of regionalism these are economic component and the political component.

Superiority of some regional groups are often based on real achievements in different spheres. For instance in west Bengal cultural renaissance during the 19th century created many outstanding persons in the field of arts, literature, social-cultural movements. Thus the Bengalis are under the impression that they are more refined culturally than any other regional groups in India. But "such stereotyping is not only confined to few groups in India for intellectuals of other groups also extol and magnify the achievements of their own regional group more than those of their neighbours"³³ when regional distinctiveness is based on perceptible differences in ethnological features, customary habits language and art forms, there is implicit danger of heightened regional loyalty and ethnocentrism. And if, alongwith this the group in question faces certain problems because of other competing group. This leads to a long drawn polemics for redressing the regional greivances, whether, territorial, economic or political and demand for greater regional autonomy, or even separatism in extreme crisis situations.

The non-recognition of legitimate sub-national identities (like the preservation and fostering of regional languages and cultures, can bring the country to the brink of disaster is a lesson which this recent history has engraved on our political consciousness. As separatist movement of a linguistic group in India is undoubtedly a vulnerable pawn in the power game of inter-

national politics. So both the government in power and the group fighting their oppression must not allow the legitimate grievances of a linguistic community to reach the fever pitch of a sessionist movement. This linguistic sub-nationalism should be handled with utmost care and wisdom.


"The linguistic survey of India Published in 1927 spoke of 179 languages and 544 dialects and above all 1652 mother tongues" while the latest census of India recorded speakers of 1098 different languages"³⁴. The rising forces of aggressive sub-national identity in rich states like Punjab which do not appear to be the subject of any unfavourable bias in resources sharing, and the absence of such a phenomenon in poor and relatively neglected states like M.P., Bihar and Orissa bear testimony to this. "It is only when a distinct linguistic or religious group is faced with sudden and exogenous economic pressures which it cannot overcome with its own resources and nurses genuine or even false sense deprivation or discrimination that the situation becomes³⁵ politically explosive."

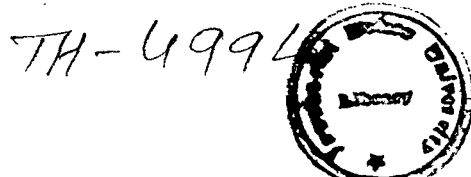
The sub-national identities in the form of race, religion, language, homeland and history are no real threats to the integrity of a nation, as long as a feeling of economic equality and a feeling of cultural unity among its people is assiduously sustained. Then only the people of India can feel that "they are a nation and they are one."

1.6. Sub-Regionalism in Orissa - Jharkhanda Movement

Every state is caught in sub-regional tentacles and Orissa is not an exception. The conquest of Orissa by the Britishers was made in parts and from different directions and at different periods of time. Hence the existing national division such as east, west, and south have their origin in the occupation of Orissa by the Britishers. Oriyas in the south and west developed a dialect of their own which in emphasis and accent different from others. Secondly this area were located at the distant end of the administration. So proper developmental activities could not be restored there and a sense of discontentment developed in the minds of the people of the region which culminated as "Kosal movement" in western Orissa and "Jharkhanda movement" in northern Orissa. Though both these movements have not been able to create such a panic situation what Naxalities did in 1960s in Andhra and Jharkhandis did in 1992 in Bihar. But the impact of neighbouring States and the country as a whole can not be ruled out.

High concentration of tribal population is one of the important factor of Orissa being backward. These tribes mainly reside in the districts of Koraput, Sundergarh, Mayurbhanja, Kalahandi, Sambalpur. They constitute nearly 52,00 per cent of the Orissa population. The district of Ranchi, Singhbhum, Palamu, Santhal praganas, Hazari Bagh and Dhanbad of Bihar constitute the cradle of regionalism. So some of the Oriya tribes adjacent to these

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areas develop a distinctive regionalism of their own as manifested in the Jharkhanda movement. The cultural and geographical existence of Jharkhanda dates back to the 13th century when Raja Jai Singh Deo of Orissa had declared himself the ruler of Jharkanda. Jharkanda is a cultural name given to the region comprising the forest tracts of the Chhotanagpur plateau. The distinct culture that developed in the region is a mix of cultural traits of the Aryans, the Dravidians and the Australians..

Now formation of separate Jharkanda State comprising twenty two districts carved out of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal is gaining momentum. The protagonist of Jharkanda movement propose to take four western and northern Orissa districts viz Sambalpur, Sundergarh, Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar. There are some reasons which can be put forth for the growth of this fissiparous tendency in the minds of the oriya tribes.

(i), "There are much similarity of geographical location and ethnic exclusiveness of the Oriya tribes with the Jharkanda areas of Bihar then the Oriya non tribes.

(ii), Large scale alienation of land belonging to the tribals by outsiders particularly in and around the new industrial sector.

(iii), Exploitation of the people and the material ³⁰ resources of the region with the outsiders." ³³

The regionalism of the tribes has posed a very complex problem covering ethnicity, identity and interaction in the bargaining federalism of India so far as the tribes of Orissa

are concerned we notice in them two distinct political groups viz.

(i) "Separatists joining hands with tribals of Bihar and of Andhra Pradesh.

(ii) Loyalists biding with ex-rulers."

39

Right from Independence Mayurbhanja and Sundergarh in these two districts the Jharkhanda candidate have got them elected. "Even in 1952 two independents won the Assembly who were backed by Jharkhanda Kranti Dal (J.K.D.)". It had five M.L.A's in 1957, four in 1971. But in the present assembly there are two Jharkanda Members. 40

"Right from first general election they have not received more than 15 per cent votes but in 1974 they received the lowest percent of votes that is 27 per cent" 41. The post 1971 election result indicates that they have been totally swept away national parties like Congress(I) or Janata Dal. Secondly the existence of Ganatantra Parishad which mainly represented the western orissa people and tribes did not left any opportunity for Jharkanda parties to exploit the tribals cause.

Unlike most other movements of similar nature, the 53 year old Jharkanda movement has been used by the political parties from the rightest to the extreme left to suit their plans. The Jharkanda infested region has no distinctive contribution to the central leadership position of the All India Jharkanda Party. So the movement in the part of Orissa is regarded as a feeble response. Again the centre has rejected the demand for separate

Jharkanda State comprising areas of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal Madhya Pradesh. Clearly at time cutting up four states to carve out another State is an impracticable proposition. Because there is no conclusive evidence the tribes of West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh want to side with Jharkanda state. So the government has proposed an autonomous Jharkanda Council confined to only 13 district of Bihar. Now Biju Pattnaik have already made it clear from his side that they were not agreeable to shed their mineral rich resources for the autonomous Jharkanda council.

Besides he has come up with a counter demand for a Jharkanda State by ranking up an old issue. "Pattnaik has demanded that former princely states of Sariekala and Kharswan and Singhbhumi districts of Bihar has a sizeable number of Oriya speaking population and should be ceded to Orissa before a decision is taken on Jharkanda State"⁴².

Now the current phase of Jharkanda movement is progressively turning more and more militant by organising bandhs, blockades and bombardments. But the movement has its weakness too. Many Jharkanda leaders are themselves not convinced about the viability of the separate Jharkanda State carved out of the existing four states. Tribal region of Orissa is endowed with immense mineral resources and yet people are dying out of starvation. The similar situation is also in the Dandakarnaya region of southern Orissa. Thus last year "Naxalities instigated tribals to agitate for the formation of Dandakaryana State comprising tribal dominated re-

gions of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh" ⁴³. So the situation compels now us to redress the grievances of a most backward tribals by decentralisation of power and by other appropriate means. Though the Jharkanda movements is not as much strong in Orissa as it is in other parts of India but if we remain apathetic to the tribal of the region than formation of separate state cannot be ruled out.

1.7. Regionalism - Some remedial meaasures

Eminent scholars like Rajni Kothari have argued for a "fresh review of India's territorial organisation from the perspectives of size, level of development, social co-hesion, effective administration, political feasibility and efficient centre-state relations" ⁴⁴. Many of the larger and hetregenous states could perhaps be split into smaller units which could receive greater attention in matters of balanced development. The problem of uneven economic development is also peculiar to the relation of the component parts within the state. Paradocally, investment in some constituencies and regions exceeds far from their due share and requirement because of the tactics of nourishing ones constituency of area adopted by prudent politicians. However the existentiare disparity between major parts of some states can be broadly stated as follows:-

Table- 1.1 Table showing the backward and privileged part of the different states.

| <u>Name of the State</u> | <u>Major Backward Vs. Privileged Part</u> |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Andhra Pradesh | Telengana vs. Rest of Andhra. |
| 2. West Bengal | North Bengal vs. West Bengal. |
| 3. Bihar | Chottanagpur and Santhal Pragana vs. North Bihar. |
| 4. Madhya Pradesh | Chattisgarh vs. Rest of M.P. |
| 5. Maharashtra | Vidharva Region, Marathwada vs. Rest of Maharashtra. |
| 6. Gujarat | Kutch and Saurashtra vs. Rest of Gujarat. |
| 7. Orissa | Western Belt Vs. Coastal Orissa. |
| 8. Nagaland | Area inhabited by Angamis Vs. AOS. |
| 9. Assam | Area inhabited by Bodos vs. Rest of Assam |

Source: Table 1.1 S.B. Parida - Infrastructural Constraints and Regionalism in Indian Federation, an article in The Orissa Political Science Journal, Vol. VII, (Bhubaneshwar 1986-89), P. 54.

The list can be expanded to cover almost every state of India but the point that deserved to be noted is that sub-state regionalism rarely makes such explosive manifestations as the Telengana movement which rocked the state of Andhra Pradesh during the late sixties.

It must be admitted that the rise and growth of regionalism is rooted in the failure of the national political system to meet

the aspirations of the people. In the first place, the established instruments of the system - the Parliament, the Planning Commission, the executive have proved incapable to deal with a considerably changed agenda of tasks. Secondly, it is also a fact that the established opponents of the ruling elite - opposition parties, trade unions, peasant organisations, left wing parties and intellectuals too have failed to measure the seriousness of the situation. Thirdly a mixed economy composed of a large state sector and a large corporate sector has miserably failed to generate opportunities for the people who even forty years after the independence remain hungry, illiterate, underhoused and without benefits of rudimentary health care. While the teeming millions languish under the crushing burden of poverty only about twenty per cent of the population enjoy the fruits of development. This ever widening chasm is the root cause of intra-regional conflicts.

The emergence of regional parties and regional elite has in particular affected the political development and political behaviour patterns. Since the regional elite has to depend on regional support for their political existence, it is common with them to understate national issues as compared to regional ones. "The tendency towards unhealthy paternalism which has come to envelop Indian federalism has been all through provocative to the States. This paternalism has its root in the fact that during the first two decades of independence, a single party dominated the Indian

political scene. No wonder the tendency has continued unabated despite the end of one party dominance in the centre as well as in the states"⁴⁵. In fact the excessive centralism and monopolistic policies of a single party during the crucial formative years of the Indian federation, gave birth to many regional groups and parties. Even today these groups and parties openly sympathise with the regional movements and agitations.

As the steady failure of the system in delivering the goods in socio-economic terms, the democratic process was bound to produce new demands which are inimical to national interest. "The problem in this thinking about unity and integration is not just that the country has of late followed a path and model of development that has created not one but two Indias with one India concerning resources and institutions and the other India left to tend for itself. This is of course true, given the wholly imported and inappropriate nature of the development model that has drained away resources from the countryside and poorer states to urban regions."⁴⁶

In fact it is in keeping with global tendencies that seem to treat assertions of new identities whether in the form of newly liberated states or in the form of new social movements need to be crushed by dominant structures that feel insecure the existing privileges and already achieved standards of livelihood for themselves become vulnerable⁴⁷. Similar tendencies are found within individual societies both in the developed and in the developing worlds. But fortunately lot of regional and ethnic assertions that

are struggling to achieve a more federal and decentralised polity based on the democratic mandate of the Indian constitution.

It is thus clear that differences in pluralistic society are inevitable and in a way are necessary. Sub-national identities in the form of race, religion, language, homeland and history are no real threats to the integrity of a nation, as long as a feeling of economic equality and a feeling of cultural unity among its people is assiduously sustained. Then only the people of India can feel that "they are a nation and they are a one".

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CHAPTER-TWO

REGIONAL IDENTITIES IN ORISSA

Historical Background and Development - upto - 1970

"In every modern polity and in every polity which aspires to modernity, political parties are indispensable like between the society and the institution of Government"¹. "Just as social identities influence the organisation at forms of political life. So do political organisations shape the forms of social identification"². "The essence of politics is understood to be the management of conflict, that is the ability of a political system to manage constantly shifting kinds and degrees of demands that are made on it"³. "The deep cleavages owing to the cultural and ethnic diversities have often divided the society, and the forces of tribalism, traditionalism, regionalism and they have powerfully manifested in giving rise to the fragmentation and proliferation of parties in the developing countries"⁴. Orissa as a process of Indian Union offers illustration of such cleavages. In the political field the deep regional differences between the two main regions of Orissa have been reflected. These intra regional differences have manifested in the socio economic and political development of the two regions. "The state politics offer independence has witnessed the competitions for power and loyalty between feudal and non feudal elements"⁵. "Feudal legacies of slow development combined with relative geographical inaccessibility have served to keep the pace of socio economic development

of a low key"⁶ . It was because of intra-regional diversities, in the social and political environment of the two regions that a contrast in the politics of coastal regions and that of the waterland was well marked in the democratic era.

The present chapter attempts to analyse the Orissa politics since formation of the State until 1970. This period is formed as period of instability despite conditions of stability in Orissa politics. Besides efforts have been made to analyse the first four general as well as assembly elections in Orissa. Again it highlights the resurgence of a few new regional parties and the possible impact on the orissa political system. In a state like Orissa gripped with regional antagonisms it is need to understand the political systems of the state which provides to these regional parties.

The emergence of the Ganatantra parishad was in logic of things. The party's birth was due to historical antecedents, cultural clashes and regional pulls. "The geographical division of the State between coastal and hilly areas was intermeshed with two different cultures. One strongly believing exploited by the other. This laid to competition between the congress and the Parishad to capture power from 1952 to 1961. Similarly an account of the Jan Congress in early sixties which was mainly a product of the group fighting has been attached."⁷ The segments discussed above have no doubt contributed to our understanding of identity of separate state in western Orissa.

In view of the electoral trends in entire Orissa politics it can be broadly divided into two phases, the first phase extends since the formation of the State until 1971. The period is characterised as period of instability and chief of the princely states had dominance over Orissa Politics where as the second period extended from 1971 until now when stability prevailed and different parties came to power with thumping majority. The Zamindars and ruling chiefs lost their appeal and one party dominance came to an end during this period. The present chapter tries to deal effectively the former phase whereas the latter phase will be dealt with in the next chapter.

2.1 Integration of three parts of Orissa

At the early part of the twentieth century Orissa was subdivided into three parts. "The districts (Cuttack, Puri, Balasore), consisting of the northern and middle coastal plains of contemporary Orissa, these were under Bengal Presidency. The areas now coming under Ganjam, Koraput and Phulbani districts lay in the Madras Presidency. Sambalpur, Rairakhol, Bamra and Padmapur, Tharir were under central provinces". The linguistic groups which dominated the orissa were Bengalis, Telugus and Hindi speaking people. Each group tried persistently for amalgamation of Oriya tracts.

The freedom movements in Orissa had its echo in the Garjat in the form of Prajamandala movement. The grievances of the people were voiced by the Prajamandals which had the support and

patronage of the congress in respect of the native states. The common people of Western Orissa particularly those from the native states did have an impression about the plains as exploiter. Simple and yet with commitment to some principles of propriety, the native people found these official innocent of scruples in setting land records. The Garjat leaders were aware of the disadvantages of the combination of two unequal partners. They apprehended that the more developed coasts would take undue advantage of the situation at the expense of the backward districts. So amalgamation of native states made them unhappy. But the integration was mainly done by Mahtab who belonged to the coastal plains. "Since the congress leadership in Orissa was mostly from the coastal plains, western Orissa seemed hostile to congress. Thus coastal tension become perceptible"⁹.

With the integration of Western Orissa the middle class people were never pleasant. The district was located at the tail end of Orissa. Facilities of communication were very poor. The district received the partially excluded area statue which was resented by majority of population. The period from 1936 to 1946 which was a decade of expansion of nationalism in the Oriya speaking track also experienced the regional particularism, the backwardness of people socio-economic difference between the two regions and personal charisma of some of the chiefs played an important role in stressing regional rivalry between the two regions.

There were chiefly three groups among the states of Orissa. The largest among them was the group consisting of seventeen states known as the tributary Mahalas" which since the conquest of Orissa remained attached to Orissa division. The second group consisted of central provinces like state of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Bamra and Rairakhol which was transferred to the Orissa division in 1905"¹⁰. The absence of an articulate middle class in the western part of Orissa kept the masses aloof from the main stream of the national life and made them stick to the traditional loyalty. The freedom movement was never as broad based as it was in the eastern region. Moreover the congress party which was mainly supported by the urban middle class could not gain much heady because the western region was mainly dominated by the tribals.

The ideas and organisational set up of Congress permeated Orissa with the leadership of Gopabandhu Das. "Agitations demanding civil liberties and responsible government geared up in the states of Ranpur, Nayagarh, Dehnkanal, Athgarh, Tigiria, Talcher and Nilagiri and coastal belt was scatching with discontent against the feudal rule. The Kosal-Utkal praja parishad was also formed by the rulers who pleaded the Union of Orissa and Chattisgarh states"¹¹. Since Sambalpur was considered as the most developed area so that was chosen as the capital of the proposed eastern states federation with an area of 60,000 square miles and false promises were made regarding development of the region. A number of newspapers like "Patna Dipika" the Hirakhanda Samachar,

and Pamphlets were circulated in this area stressing on regional particularism. People violently opposed against the construction of Anti Hirakud Dam agitation under the leadership of Gauntias. The agitators also demanded separation of Sambalpur from Orissa province. "A meeting of 500 people consisting mainly of village headmen, tenants, labourers of village, Badatangi, Saplhaara, Baghara, Santangi; and Dungerepalli in Sambalpur Sadar police station on 14th August, 1946"¹². It is alleged that the Maharaja of Patna openly supported the movement.

Thus we notice two different movements in different parts of the state in the coastal plains. This gave rise to two party system in two regions, the congress dominated the coastal plains whereas the western region was dominated by Ganatantra Parishad. Thus a regional party called Ganatantra Parishad was born in October 1948 under the leadership of R.N. Singh Deo, Maharaja of Bolangir to fill up a vacuum created in the western region of Orissa following the merger of the princely states. The old "Garjat" regions and its adjacent areas of Orissa formed a society by itself.

When the congress entered into the area with superimposition of a powerful bureaucracy, it simply reacted and was not prepared to accept the rule and leadership of congress. The Ganatantra Parishad was the product of these reactions.

Politics in Orissa since independence has frequently been dominated by regional considerations and antagonisms. Electoral

politics in the state provides an important and appropriate arena for examining the role of the sub regional conflicts and hostility that greatly affected the political development of the states. Again it has been largely instrumental in the creation of new elites, politicisation of new groups and stimulation of wide spread political participation. The changing electoral pattern in the post-independence period led to the emergence of an almost two party competition in the election politics of the state between 1952-1964.

2.2 First General Elections

One of the most important developments in the aftermath of independence was the emergence of increasingly vigorous opposition parties both at the centre and the state level in electoral competition with the congress. "But this development of opposition parties in the arena of election politics was however considered by other as a contributing factor in politicizing the vast masses of the newly born independent nation"¹³ On the one hand, it is rather an admitted fact that "regional antagonisms have been largely instrumental in the creation of new cities. Politicization of new groups and stimulation of wide spread political participation"¹⁴ .

The political sense in Orissa changed radically since the first general elections of 1952 with emergence of the Ganatantra Parishad in the electoral field. The party which originated to promote the interests of the people of western region has mass

followers in certain districts. These districts were inhabited by large number of tribals. Because of the presence of the two towering ex-princely personalities, R.N. Singh Deo and P.K. Deo - who were popular among the people commanding feudal loyalty from the common mass, the feudal conservative elements of these merged areas were consolidated and brought under the Parishad's fold against the congress. None of the parties like Congress, Communists had any hold so Ganatantra Parishad dominated in Western region and it participated in the first two general elections in 1952 and 1957 and in the mid term elections of 1961. In 1962 the Parishad merged with the Swatantra Party of India.

"In the first general election of 1952 the Parishad secured 31 out of 58 contested seats in a house of 140. It polled 20.4 per cent of the valid votes cast in the state as against the congress 39 per cent".

"The Congress lost majority it secured only 67 seats although it had 135 candidates. The performance of the congress was undoubtedly poor compared to its previous performance." ¹⁵ The Parishad entered into an electoral alliance with the Kisan Majdoor Praja Party and the independent Peoples Party before the first General Elections of 1952. The pre-electoral alliance was made possible because of their Common hostility to the Congress even Ganatantra Parishad had an alliance with forward block led by Dibakar Pattnaik. But all the Constituents of the alliance except the Ganatantra Parishad had little support base.

With 31 seats in a House of 140 the Ganatantra Parishad emerged as the second largest party and assumed the role of the principal opposition in the State legislature. This success of the party was partly due to the personal influences of the two former rulers of Bolangir and Kalahandi and partly due to unpopularity of the congress in the merged areas of the western Orissa.

The result of the first general election of 1952 brought about a remarkable change in electoral politics of the State. An analysis of the electoral performance of the Ganatantra Parishad shows that the party captured 29 out of 50 seats allotted to the districts of Koraput, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi, Sundergarh and Keonjhar which were erstwhile princely states. The party's success in Sambalpur district was mainly due to the impact of anti-Hirakud agitations that was launched by the Parishad in the district. Similarly its impressive performance in Koraput district owes its account because feudalism had a strong hold over the people of the district. It is thus apparent the influence of the Ganatantra Parishad was mainly confined to western Orissa though it captured a seat in Cuttack district because of the largely due to the influence of the exruler of Narshinghpur.

The Congress was able to retain its hold in the coastal region in the district of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Ganjam. Out of 66 seats of these four coastal districts 41 went to the Congress while the Parishad managed to get only one. For the first time in 1952 the Congress failed to secure absolute majority in the assembly. But the support of a number of independent members

in the interest of a stable government in the State enabled the Congress to form a government on its own.

2.3 Second General Elections

By the time of second general elections Ganatantra Parishad had grown very powerful. On the contrary owing to factionalism congress had become weaker. "The second general elections of 1957 proved very good for the Ganatantra Parishad. The party increased its poll to 23.68 per cent and improved its representation from 31 to 56 in the assembly where congress reduced its position from 67 to 53 in 1957 election.

After the dissolution of the coalition government under the dynamic leadership of Biju Pattnaik. "The result of the 1961 election out of total 74 seats of the hill district of the western region including Koraput and Mayurbhanja, the Ganatantra Parishad contested for 72 seats and won as many as 40 seats as against 13 gained by the congress. This shows that except the four coastal districts where congress had gained 42 seats almost the rest of Orissa consisting of 9 districts stood solidly behind the Ganatantra Parishad in 1957. The overall district wise analysis of the electoral performance of the two main parties shows that they remain more or less confined to their respective regions. The anti-congress stance of the Parishad prevented the Congress from having any organisational thrust in the western Orissa. The Ganatantra Parishad largely remained confined to the

western Orissa, despite its efforts to broaden its support base in the coastal region,. Thus the ultimate result was the continuing political instability in the state.

The 1957 elections, none of the parties was able to win absolute majority in the Assembly and thereby failed to solve the problem of political instability which had been haunting the State since 1952. "Fresh alignments after the elections started taking shape and the game of defection became an important aspect of State politics"¹⁶. As against only 56 of the congress the opposition parties combined together had 84 members in the Assembly. Thus the opposition leaders after the election made all-out effort to form a non-congress ministry¹⁷. The Ganatantra Parishad and the PSP arrived at a joint agreed programme¹⁸. The two parties brought to form a coalition government¹⁹. Some independent members extended their support to the idea of having a coalition government in the State²⁰. Even the communist pledged their support for it. But this effort finally failed due to several reasons²¹. The PSP and the Communists who mainly belonged to the Coastal Orissa were apparently unhappy with the prospect of a coalition government with the Parishad, a party of the Western region as the dominant partner. Such an alliance had its contradictions as the regional consideration mainly manifested in the representation of the parties²².

However, a congress under the leadership of H.K. Mahtab, was formed with the support of 5 Jharkhanda members and the acquisition of 9 communist members²³. On several occasions even its

existence become uncertain . The game of defection and horse trading that continued thereafter in the politics of the State made things worse and resulted in accentuating political instability in the State. The congress did not even hesitate to take recourse to ugly means for remaining in power .

2.4 Third General Elections

After the dissolution of the coalition government under the dynamic leadership of Mahtab, Orissa was set for another election. But the results of the 1961 election proved disappointing for the Parishad. "Having fielded as many as 117 candidates, it was able to grab only 22 seats, 16 less than the number of seats it had won in 1957"²⁶ . On the other hand, the congress under Biju's leadership won a big tally of 92 seats. The conflicts within its organisation developed after 1957 on the issue of party's alliance with the Praja Socialist Party and certain ideological differences between the feudalistic group and progressive group.

The congress party which was very popular in the coastal districts lost a part of its influence by the withdrawal of the socialists from the congress throughout India in 1953. A rural political party known as the Socialist party consisting of several freedom fighters created the opposition to the congress in the coastal districts. The period between 1950 and 1956 may be termed as an era of decadence in so far as charismatic leadership was

concerned. Mahtab became the first casualty in the series. "The charisma of Mahtab maintained political stability despite support of the numerical minority and Mahtab resumed non-excusssion as the pattern of political behaviour in encouraging factions inside the congress party"²⁷ .

Factionalism inside the congress party forced Mr. Nabakrushana Chowdhury to step down from Chief Ministership and Dr. Mahtab on his return from Bombay became the chief Minister of Orissa in 1956. Since the fate of Mahtab's minority congress government depended on the support of the Jharkhanda Party, its support was acquired at any price, so he encouraged political defections. "The support of Jharkhanda M.L.A's were very much costing so the alliance was temporary in nature. Thus a coalition government with Ganatantra Parishad formed on May 22nd, 1959²⁸ having a support of 111 members . In the meantime Biju Pattnaik emerged stronger and wanted to hold a ministerial breath in the coalition cabinet. Somehow by his charismatic leadership he was successful in breaking the coalition and seek a fresh mandate from the electorate. The government resigned on 21st February 1961 and the first spell of President rule was imposed in Orissa on 25th February, 1961.

A mid term election to the Orissa Assembly was held in June 1961, and the Congress Party under Biju's leadership won 32 seats of the Orissa Legislative Assembly and Mahtab due to his opposition to Pattnaik remained aloof from election politics. However Mahtab became a member of Lok Sabha in 1962 from Parliamentary

Constituency and tried to discredit him to Delhi. Pattnaik started "several small scale industries at Panchayat level and projects like Paradeep port, MIG factory at Sunabeda, Balimela projects etc., were started soon after Pattnaik took over as the Chief Minister of Orissa people become hopeful on Biju Pattnaik"²⁹ . Biju Pattnaik resigned Chief Ministership on 1st October 1963 under the Kamraj Plan to devote himself whole heartedly to organizational work of the Congress Party and Deputy Chief Minister Mr. Biren Mitra succeeded him as the Chief Minister of Orissa. Mr. Biren Mitra who succeeded Pattnaik on 2nd October, 1963 and continued in the position till 20th February, 1965.

Mr. Mahtab succeeded in tarnishing the image of how Mitra collected illegal gratification from Messers Serjuddin and Co. besides Khanna Commission of Inquiry openly blamed Mr. Pattnaik in corruption charge besides the Panchayat industries started by Pattnaik also became centre of corruption³⁰ . In this way Biju Pattnaik lost his charisma and scheme of rapid industrialization ushering in an era of prosperity, peace and happiness and revolutionary changes appeared meaningless. But somehow Pattnaik was successful in retaining power until next election.

2.5 1967 General Elections

Certain district trends were clearly visible in Orissa Politics before the 1967 general elections. Among them anti-

corruption campaign against Orissa congress leaders, emergence of an organization of dissident congressmen and the growing work of anti-congressism manifesting itself in strikes and demonstration were important. These trends powerfully influenced the fourth general election of 1967. Ever since the Jana Congress was born the party prepared its election strategy to defeat the congress in the state. The Parties aim "to end the mis-rule of corrupt congress leaders" paid good dividends. The Jana Congress was continued to the coastal districts and certain other areas adjacent to the coastal districts. The PSP and the SSP had also strong pockets in these areas. The Jana Congress, therefore, caught electoral adjustment with these parties in order to defeat the congress .

Thus the political situation prevailing in the State before the fourth general elections and the anti-corruption campaign of the opposition parties prepared the ground for the electoral alliance of the various opposition parties in a number of constituencies . The Jana Congress and the Swatantra entered into a 21 point joint programme which was issued under the joint signatures of R.N. Singh Deo, the leader of the Orissa Unit of the Swatantra Party and P.M. Pradhan, the President of the Jana Congress.

The State Swatantra Party could sufficiently use its propaganda machinery to play up the regional imbalances in the State. "In the Western districts the Swatantra strengthened its organization. Its organization network by involving more of village chiefs and rich peasants" . Thus while the Jana Congress was

strongly based in the coastal region the Swatantra had already an elaborate organizational network in the western region. The electoral alliance therefore, was a perfect combination representing the two geographical areas of the State. The Jana Congress-Swatantra alliance proved most successful as they together bagged as many as 75 seats. The Jana Congress was mainly benefited by the anti-congress votes in the coastal districts. Thus in 1967, the State Unit of Swatantra it not only recaptured its support base in the western region by securing as many as 46 seats in the hill districts but also secured one seat each from the three coastal districts of Balasore, Puri and Ganjam.

To be very fact the number of straight contest decreased in 1967 from 1961, the percentage of success however was greater in 1967 than in 1961. It was possible mainly because of the electoral alliance of the Jana Congress and the Swatantra. Another interesting feature of the 1967 election was that the two partners of the alliance fought against each other in 20 constituencies and the result was detrimental to their interests³⁴. The figure also revealed that in the coastal districts like Balasore, Cuttack and Puri the influence of the Jana Congress was considerable and it allowed the Swatantra Party to monopolize the western³⁵ Orissa which was its traditional stronghold

2.6 Comparative Analysis of Two Regions

Table 2.1 Comparative Representation of Two Regions.

| Cabinet formed in | Coastal | High Landers | Cabinet size |
|-------------------|---------|--------------|--------------|
| 1950 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| 1952 | 8 | 5 | 13 |
| 1956 | 9 | 4 | 13 |
| 1957 | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| 1959 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| 1961 | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| 1963 | 8 | 6 | 14 |
| 1965 | 6 | 9 | 15 |
| 1967 | 6 | 13 | 19 |
| 1971 | 12 | 14 | 26 |
| 1972 | 8 | 7 | 15 |

Source: Sukadeva Nanda, Coalition Government in Orissa (Sterling Publishers, Jalandhar 1979, p. 277.

Table 2.1 is indicative of coastal predominance over the hilly Orissa dominated mostly by the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. In comparison to the coastal, there highlanders are less developed from the point of view of education, organized social life political awareness as also opportunities of civilized life including railways, schools, colleges, dispensaries etc. It is clear from above table that as long as 1967 there were some districts like Phulbani, Sundergarh and Keonjhar which did not get any representation in the Cabinet. Again, the Bolangir district upto 1965 though it was represented by Mr. R.N. Singh Deo and Dr. Ram Prasad Mishra in the Mahetab coalition for a short period of only 21 months. Had not Mahetab coalition been formed in 1959 probably the coastal leaders would have monopolized all cabinet seats upto 1967.

The above table also indicates further representation of all the districts in the cabinet. It was Mr. R.N. Singh Deo's coalition that saw to it that each district was represented in the Cabinet. It would be exaggerate to say that Singh Deo cabinet was over represented west Orissa and under represented the coastal areas as out of the 140 seats of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, the coastal districts won 66 seats and the rest 74 are represented by West Orissa. But R.N. Singh Deo would be free from any blame of regionalism when we analyse the political compulsions under which he operated. Besides the post 1967 defection in Orissa are explained in as much as the highlanders who probably thought themselves unfit to assume positions of responsibility upto 1967 became aware of the coastal dominance and proved themselves as efficient ministers. The case of Mr. Dayanidhi Naik is an example to the point. The success of one created confidence in many others, and the prestige and position associated with a berth in the cabinet inspired hopes in others. It was probably because of this that the "Das coalition collapsed and the Nandini Satpathy government broke"³⁶ .

Compared to the investments made in the coastal districts for development, those made in the tribal and hilly Orissa are insignificant. Most of the ex-State areas were worse off than what they were deriving the feudal rule, and the annual allocation of funds in the budget for improvement of this area was diverted to the coastal areas caused by flood, cyclone,

drought. It was probably because of this that some west Orissa leaders opined that coastal Orissa should be either a separate State or it should be a union territory where as the other districts should have a separate name and responsibility .

A table is given below here to show the different districts representation at different times.

Table 2.2 - District wise representation in State Cabinet Since 1950.

Districts (Coastal)

| | | |
|----------|---|--|
| Cuttack | - | Represented in all Cabinets since 1950. |
| Puri | - | Represented in all Cabinets since 1950. |
| Balasore | - | Represented in all Cabinets except Choudhury Cabinet (1950-52), |
| Ganjam | - | Unrepresented in Cabinets upto 1959 but over-represented thereafter. |

Western

| | | |
|-------------|---|---|
| Bolangir | - | Unrepresented in Cabinets upto 1956 except the coalition cabinet (1959-1961). |
| Dhenkanal | - | Represented in all Cabinets except those formed during the period between 1959-61 |
| Kalahandi | - | Represented in 7 cabinets. |
| Keonjhar | - | Represented in coalitions only. |
| Koraput | - | Represented upto 1974 except for 4 years. |
| Mayurbhanja | - | represented in all cabinets except Satpathy Cabinet (1972-73). |
| Phulbani | - | Represented in the Cabinets since May, 1959. |
| Sundergarh | - | Represented in all Cabinets since 1967. |

 Table 2.2- Source -Sukadev Nanda in Coalition Government in Orissa, Chapter VII (Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1979), p. 280

Following the election of V.V. Giri to the Indian Presidency in September, 1969, the Congress Party was bifurcated throughout India and Mrs. Indira Gandhi's decision to bank nationalization

abolishing the purse of former princes and rulers changed the image of the Congress(R), to a really socialist political party. Mahtab wanted to be a member of that Party but Biju Pattnaik and other enemies of him were in the Congress(R). So he waited for a right time. Mr. Biju Pattnaik who lost his charisma in the political wilderness was lifted by Khanna. But he was denied of a ticket to Rajya Sabha held on 28th March, 1970 and expelled from the Party because of his anti-party activities³⁸. Biju Pattnaik's expulsion brought an abrupt division in the Party and Biju formed a regional party called "Utkal Congress" with the support of 232 MLA's. This period is termed as chaotic in as much as it lacked cohesion and discipline both in ruling parties and in the opposition. The opposition consisted of Congress(O), Congress(R), Utkal Congress, P.S.P., C.P.P., Jharkhanda which is opposed to each other.

The period from 1967 to fifth general election was the period of cohesion and indecision both at the centre and at the periphery. In Orissa politics everyone was pulling down another leg and each was running after his own pleasure. Mahtab wanted in opportune movement to quit from the coalition government and join in the Congress(R). "At that time a Kendu Leaf deal of Swatantra Minister Mr. Hara Prasad Mohapatra with a Kendu Leaf merchant brought a total loss of revenue of about Rs.40,90,816.83. Mahtab raised a cry of corruption against the Swatantra Minister and pleaded their idealism of Quitting the

Coalition government". On the other hand at the centre also Political upheaval took place, Mrs. Gandhi dissolved the Parliament and this had a short effect on the Orissa Politics, the Jana Congress faction withdrew their support in order to join Congress(R) on the plea of corruption. The withdrawal of support reduced the Swatantra Party to minority. Ultimately Singh Deo resigned on 9th January, 1971 and presidents rule under 356 of the constitution of India was imposed on Orissa for the second time after about a decade.

2.7 Analysis of Voting Behaviour

The voting pattern of electorates of the State ;from 1952 to 1971 indicates that Orissa politics has been mainly dominated by regional considerations and antagonisms. The Ganatantra Parishad and the Swatantra Party which in 1950s and 1960s respectively were powerful; in State politics were particularly strong in western Orissa. On the other hand whatever strength the left political parties have in the State is mainly concentrated in coastal Orissa. The coastal Orissa is much more developed than its hinterland which includes the whole of western Orissa and a large part of southern Orissa. This regional imbalance is reflected in the voting pattern and style of leadership particularly the western Orissa consisted of princely states and Zamindars whose rulers were generally authoritarian. This bondage even after independence remain strong in many areas. That is the reason why for many years Maharajas and Zaminders played an

important role in State politics. Throughout 1950s and 1960s in many assembly constituencies the members of these ruling families elected in large numbers. However, with the passage of time their appeal for the people has greatly lost its strength⁴⁰. Subsequent

election stand witness to the above statement.

Table 2.3 Party Position in the Election to O.L.A.1952-71.

| Parties | 1952 | 1957 | 1961 | 1967 | 1971 |
|-----------------------|----------|------|------|------|----------|
| CPI | 7\5%, | 9 | 4 | 7 | 4 |
| CPM | - | - | - | 1 | 2 |
| Congress | 67\48%, | 56 | 32 | 31 | 51 |
| Congress (o) | - | - | - | - | - |
| Forward block (M) | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Jana Sangha | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| PSP | - | 11 | 10 | 21 | 04 |
| Sociallist | 10\7%, | - | - | - | - |
| Swatantra | - | - | - | 40 | 36 |
| G.P. | 31\22%, | 51 | 37 | - | - |
| Jharkhanda | (14.20%, | 5 | - | - | 4\1.40%, |
| JC | - | - | - | 26 | 07 |
| SUCT | - | - | - | - | - |
| Utkal Congress | - | - | - | - | 33 |
| Independents & others | 24 | 08 | 07 | 03 | 04 |

Source: A.K. Paricha, Election Politics and Voting behaviour of Orissa. In B.B. Jena, J.K. Baral (ed) Government and Politics in Orissa (Lucknow, 1986), p. 225.

The above table clearly implies that in 1952 election while congress is strong in coastal belt, Ganatantra Parishad proved its hold in western belt. But 1957 election results were disappointment for congress and enthusiastic for Ganatantra Parishad. A number of independent candidates were also elected but there was slight decrease in their numbers. While 1961 mid term elec-

tion clearly expressed Biju Pattnaik's charisma strengthened congress position, besides lot of small parties managed to win few seats. "n 1967 Assembly elections the congress suffered a miserable defeat because of the failure of the congress to fulfill its promises and allegation of corruption against top leaders like Biju Pattnaik, Mahtab etc.,"⁴¹ . But all these happenings suddenly changed in the post 1971 election Biju and Mahtab lost their appeal in the political wilderness and new faces emerged in elections.

The electoral scene in Orissa has most of the times been dominated by the congress party. The legacy of the freedom struggle, the vast resources at its disposal and advantage of staying in power have been responsible for this. For many people both in urban and rural areas, leaders like Nehru, Indira Gandhi had been great magnetic forces even some state leaders like Mahtab, Biju had been able to influence large number of people. However this period can be termed as period of instability of Orissa politics.

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20. Two Independent members agreed to support. They were Nityananda Mohapatra and R.C. Pattnaik. Even a Jharkhand member, Nirmal Munda also agreed but later withdrew his commitment - see B.B. Jena "Political Parties in Orissa", Iqbal Narain,

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21. The effort of the opposition was failed mainly due to the communists whose commitment was doubtful.
22. The communists rather felt it safe to give support to the Congress which was a party of the Coastal region see for details New Age, 14th April, 1957.
23. A few independent members also extended support to the Ministry.
24. The congress ministry narrowly escaped its defeat in the legislatures several times during this period. Interestingly Hardev Kriya, an MLA of the Jharkhanda who was brought by Stature to the assembly from the T.B. Hospital Chandpur, Participated in the voting to save the treasury bench in April 1958.
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CHAPTER - THREE

SUB-REGIONAL MOVEMENTS, THE PARTY SYSTEM AND ELECTORAL POLITICS

The sequence of events in the Indian political process for the last two decades or so have largely demonstrated the weakness of Indian nationalism. There has been gradual devaluation of national identity, values, ideals and spirit - in fact every thing national and Orissa is not deprived of it. Particularly the character of the Congress party and its growing dispehsation about the loss of its traditional dominance has sometimes tempted it to adopt expedient policies against popular feeling. This has culminated in the dramatic change in Orissa politics. In frequent change of leadership in different states on flimsy grounds has become a boomerang to the Centre. This type of development reveals to some extent the weakness of the support base of the ruling party and the adoption of consistent political ideology. "Out of some of the unhealthy precedents established by the ruling party in the centre both Congress and the Janata Party, failure to ensure fair devolution of finance among the States imposition of President's Rule in an arbitrary and partisan way and exercise of discretionary power by the Governor to perpetuate the interest of the ruling party in the centre are alleged to boost regional animosity"

3.1 Early 1970's - Political Conditions of Orissa

As Indira Gandhi failed in Lok Sabha on the privy purse

issue, she advised President to dissolve the Lok Sabha and seek fresh mandate. At the same time, 1967 State assembly also dissolved and elections were declared to State assemblies. Among the new political forces that emerged in the aftermath of 1967 elections, the Utkal Congress was most important. It originated as a strong opposition to Congress (R). Biju Patanaik formed this party to awaken the people from centuries old and to make Orissa a strong state that would receive better attention from the centre. His image as a champion of State causes sufficiently weighed in his favour. In 1971 the Utkal Congress decided to go it alone and it fielded its candidates in as many as 138 constituencies out of the total 140 in the State. But the Utkal Congress had little realised that the party's main support came from the coastal districts. It unwillingly extended the area of operation to all the hill districts. This, therefore diffused its attention from its real support bases.

The 1971 election did not return any party with absolute majority. The Utkal Congress secured 32 seats as against 51 of the Congress and polled 24 per cent of the votes whereas the swantantra won 36 seats and polled 17.44 per cent votes. So far as the area-wise distribution of seats was concerned, the Utkal Congress secured 23 seats in the four coastal districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Ganjam. Among these districts it was in Cuttack where the party had greatest success. Out of the rest 67 districts of the 9 hill districts the party could win only in 10. It drew blank in 5 hill districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir, Phulba-

ni, Sundergarh and Sambalpur. Thus, the figures confirmed that the Utkal Congress drew its support mainly from the coastal districts. But the most important about the election Biju contested simultaneously from four Assembly constituencies and one parliamentary constituency² and he was defeated in all the seats. But among the victories, a remarkable victory was that of Prahallad Mallick, an important Scheduled Caste member who returned from two constituencies in 1971. He returned successfully simultaneously from a reserved constituency and also from a general constituency³. The bye-elections to fill up the vacant Assembly seats were held after the 1971 elections.⁴ In all these bye-elections the Congress was defeated.

The political development in between 1971 and 1974 were important from two aspects the political realignment that took shape after 1971 brought about fresh political instability which led to the quick fall of the ministers. The emergence of the Pragati party before 1974 elections was a significant development in the direction of bipolarisation of the party system in the State. "The combined opposition forces under the banner of Pragati party displayed the consolidation or a powerful challenge to the Congress."⁵ Election to the State assembly was held in March 1974. The major parties who contested the election were "Congress, Utkal Congress, Swatantra, C.P.I., C.P.M., Socialists and others. The nature of electoral strategy was opposition to the Congress Competition and bargaining among each other to be in

political power".⁶ In this election the contest was mainly between the two parties the Congress and the Pragati party. The Congress party stood for a strong centre and stability. The Pragati party on the other hand accused the centre for neglecting the states need and claimed that rapid economic growth will be possible only under a government more closely identified with the state aspirations.

The political uncertainty which engulfed the State for sometime came to an end when the Congress formed the government under the leadership of Nandini Satpathy. All the members of Utkal Congress were allowed to join Congress except Biju Pattnaik,. As a result some Utkal Congress and Swatantra Party members formed Pragati Party. As they constituted a majority and Smt. Satpathy had minority support she tendered the resignation of her ministry and advised the Governors to dissolve the assembly. The Assembly was finally dissolved and President's rule was imposed on the State from 3rd March, 1973. But the Congress party emerged as the single largest party in the 1974 election, securing 69 seats and this was the largest public support to Congress since independence but the Congress of 1961 was an undivided congress. Secondly the Congress party for the first time won seats from all the districts of the province. "The Pragati party won 57 seats, Jharkhanda 3 seats. The autonomy plea made by the Pragati party had hardly any psychological impact on the electorate in Orissa. The Utkal Congress won 35

seats and 26.45 per cent of popular votes. Thus 1974 election once again reflected province.⁷

3.2 1974 Elections : An Overview

The emergence of the Pragati Party before 1974 elections was a significant development in the direction of bipolarisation of the party system in the State. The combined opposition forces under the banner of Pragati party displayed the consolidation of a powerful challenge to the Congress. In order to enhance the credibility of the alliance with the people and emphasize its unitary character, Biju to discard the traditional pattern of coalition building.⁸ An altogether new party called Pragati party was set up with the alliance of the Utkal Congress, the Swatantra Party and the SSP. The Pragati party was formed with the intension to serve two purposes. "The first was to secure a wide aggregation of non-Congress groups and factions across sub-regional boundaries".⁹ Secondly by "provincializing the organization it was intended to effectively project the whole gamut of regional complaints, real or imaginary, for promoting political mobilisation".¹⁰

The election witnessed for the first time for the state an effective battle between the opposing camps of Congress - CPI combine and the Pragati Party which were made possible through successful pre-electoral alliances or understanding.¹¹ The Congress for the first time since 1952 was able to win the major-

ity of seats equally in both coastal and coastal hill regions. The Utkal Congress however provided a stiff opposition to the Congress in the coastal districts. But the Swatantra failed to do so in western hill region. As a result, the Congress could win a majority of seats in the western region at the cost of the Swatantra which enabled the Congress to attain a near majority in the Assembly.¹²

Table 3.1 Performance of Utkal Congress, Congress and Swatantra in 1971 and 1974 elections in terms of votes (in %)

| District | 1971 | 1971 | 1971 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 |
|----------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|
| Coastal Region | Utkal Congress | congr-ess | Swat. antra | Utkal cong. | Congr. ess | Swatantra |
| Cuttack | 30.9 | 26.4 | 6.9 | 38.7 | 27.0 | 3.7 |
| Puri | 23.8 | 31.3 | 8.3 | 28.3 | 32.5 | 2.2 |
| Balasore | 27.8 | 31.5 | 8.7 | 30.0 | 42.5 | 4.4 |
| Ganjam | 29.2 | 35.1 | 13.1 | 38.0 | 36.1 | 4.9 |
| Average % | 27.9 | 31.0 | 9.1 | 32.7 | 34.8 | 3.8 |
| Hill Region | | | | | | |
| Kalahandi | 11.1 | 14.1 | 49.9 | 7.4 | 29.7 | 45.5 |
| Dhenkanal | 25.9 | 30.7 | 14.9 | 15.5 | 41.0 | 10.0 |
| Sambalpur | 12.4 | 33.6 | 20.6 | 24.3 | 39.1 | 15.3 |
| Bolangir | 10.3 | 14.7 | 59.1 | - | 33.2 | 56.1 |
| Phulbani | 11.8 | 13.3 | 35.1 | - | 34.2 | 36.0 |
| Sundergarh | 9.0 | 30.5 | 23.1 | 6.2 | 33.2 | 20.1 |
| Keonjhar | 26.4 | 35.9 | 19.5 | 34.4 | 35.2 | 7.7 |
| Mayurbhanj | 18.0 | 18.9 | 19.3 | 15.6 | 39.1 | 6.3 |
| Koraput | 24.8 | 32.1 | 30.6 | 27.8 | 45.1 | 16.9 |
| Average % | 16.6 | 24.9 | 30.2 | 14.7 | 38.3 | 23.3 |
| Total | 23.83 | 28.18 | 17.44 | 26.45 | 37.44 | 12.8 |

Source - Dr. K. Banerjee, Regional Political parties in India, R. Publishing Corporations, Delhi, 1984, p. 241.

Although the Utkal Congress prevented the Congress party from securing absolute majority both in 1971 and 1974 election but its own performance was hardly spectacular. In 1974, the Congress as a constituency of the pragati alliance was certainly in a better position. In 1974 the Utkal Congress fought election as a constituent of the Pragati Party and it proved to be a strong force in the coastal Orissa, which is a traditional stronghold of the Congress.

3.3 1977 election - Emergence of Non-Congress Governments.

The post 1974 election scene in Orissa mainly revolved around defections, factional etc. but the country was expressing a different pattern of political developments. Fresh alliances between political parties both in the opposition were resorted to. The alliances among the opposition parties led to the emergence of the Janata party. During the Parliamentary election in 1977 the Congress lost its dominance for the first time at the Centre after a long gap of 25 years. Morarji Desai was sworn in as the first non-Congress Prime Minister of India. The Janata government dissolved the State Legislative Assemblies in April 1977 on the plea that Congress has lost the mandate of the people at the national level. The basic aim of the Janata party was the party building required for capturing political power in the State.

"The election to the Orissa state legislative assembly was held on the 10th June, 1977. There were many contenders

like Congress, Janata Party, C.P.M., C.P.I. and the independents but the main fight was between Congress(I) and Biju Patanaik. The Janata Party won a decisive majority with 10 seats and 49.24 percent of votes in the election and formed a ministry under the Chief Ministership of Mr. Nilamani Routray. But intra-party feuds, lack of economic policies and programmes the party failed to consolidate its position. This led to the end of Janata rule and holding of elections which ultimately resulted in return of Congress to power".¹³ Though in 1977 election Jharkhanda parties had fielded candidates but it could not capture a single seat. In the 6th general election people had high hopes on Mr. Patnaik because the people felt that he alone could put the state on the industrial, political and economic map of the country. Besides the dissidents of Congress and Janata workers had respectively put up 25 candidates and the Kalinga Sena 90. "The 1977 election brought a significant change in the political graph of the state as the electorate behaviour compiled with the tendencies of the national politics. With the greater political participation of the people in the state the complexion had been mature and Chief Minister had been functioning effectively with the assurance of stability."¹⁴

3.4 Congress Returned back to power

In the 1980 election every thing changed as tupsy turvy and the old order came in a new form. In terms of electoral

behaviour 1980 was the opposite of 1977. If there was a Janata wave in 1977, there came a Congress wave in 1980. The result was a tremendous success for her party in 1980 Lok Sabha and Assembly elections. In the assembly election the Congress bagged as many as 117 seats while Janata and Lok Dal got 3 and 13 seats respectively. The only non-Congress candidate to have won a Lok Sabha seat was the evergreen politician of Orissa, Biju Patanaik.

The Congress(I) election manifesto provided for a permanent solution to the States chronic poverty through large doses of investment in industry and irrigation and speedier implementation of Mrs. Gandhi's 20 Point programme. Government made promises like the upper colab, upper Indrawati would be completed to arrest drought in Western Orissa. He promised that the Bhimakund Hydel Project and the 2000 MW Super thermal plant would be vigorously carried on, providing employment to youth, instituting irrigation facilities in 20 lakh acres of land, increasing food production from 70 to 80 lakh tones increasing electrical power capacity to 2200MW etc. ¹⁵

The Janata Party which was plagued by infighting laid emphasis on such issues like "free mid day meal to school children, providing rice at Rs. 2 to the masses and free education upto Matriculation, providing agricultural loan, crop insurance etc. to the peasants, providing drinking water, health, education facilities to different sections of society, 15% reservation quota in the government and private organizations. The

non-Congress parties like Janata party, Jagrata Orissa also highlighted such issues like "Self-respect" pride of Orissa, etc.¹⁶ The below table will give a clear picture on party success and failure on electoral politics.

Table - 3.2 - Showing percentage of votes and Seats own in two different regions in assembly elections.

| Parties | 1971 | | 1974 | | 1977 | | 1980 | | 1985 | | 1990 | |
|--------------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | SW | PV | SW | PV | SW | PV | SW | PV | SW | PV | SW | PV |
| WESTERN BELT | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Congress | 13 | 21.76 | 19 | 38.82 | 11 | 31.99 | 46 | 56.7 | 41 | 53.4 | 5 | 38.5 |
| GP/swat | 23 | 37.7 | 16 | 35.1 | | | | | | | | |
| Utkal Cong. | 1.86 | 04 | 7.02 | | | | | | | | | |
| Jam Cong. | | 5.4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jharkhand | - | 2.34 | | | | | | 3.1 | | 2.9 | 2 | 2.3 |
| CPI | | 5.86 | | 1.82 | 1.05 | | | 3.9 | | 4.3 | | 5.41 |
| C.P.M | | | | | | | | 2.8 | | 4.4 | | 5.2 |
| Janata | | | | | 26 | 43.86 | | 34.3 | | 32.3 | | 56.8 |
| BJP | | | | | | | | 2.8 | - | 1.7 | 2 | 17.3 |
| Independents | | 13.92 | | 15.76 | 3 | 21.04 | | | | | | 2.9 |

| Parties | SW | PV | SV | PV | SW | PV | SW | PV | SW | PV | SW | PV |
|-------------------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|------|----|-------|----|-------|
| COASTAL BELT | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Congress | 26 | 38.23 | 30 | 37 | 6 | 42.75 | 45 | 56.9 | 78 | 56.69 | 3 | 39.6 |
| GP/Swat | 05 | 6.72 | 2 | 3.45 | | | | | | | | |
| Utkal Cong. | 22 | 28.5 | 21 | 33.97 | | | | | | | | |
| Jana Cong. | 0 | 4.75 | | | | | | | | | | |
| P.S.P | 3 | 7.6 | | | | | | | | | | |
| CPI | 4 | 7.5 | 7 | 6.9 | 01 | 5.41 | | 3.7 | | 2.9 | 2 | 5.4 |
| C.P.M. | 2 | | | | | 1.35 | | | 2 | | 3 | 5.85 |
| Janata | | | | | 56 | 46.55 | | 21.1 | | 33.17 | | 54.1 |
| BJP | | | | | | | | | | | | 23.85 |
| Independ- ents | 3 | 60 | 4 | 11.25 | 5 | 18.12 | | 3.5 | | 2.66 | | 3.7 |

Source - Compiled from "Who's who of O.L.A", 1971, 1974 1977 and 1980, 1985 and 1990 Bhubanesher.

The above table gives a clear picture of electoral victory of various parties in the different elections. The Congress is dominant in coastal Orissa and its arch rival Swatantra Parishad is strong in Western belt in 1971 and 1974 elections. The post 1974 election says that the people of both the regions were carried away by one party or the other which brought a stability in Orissa politics. Besides the feudal Lords and Zamindars lost their grip on the reign of power and more matured politicians ventured into the political arena.¹⁷ The Jharkhanda Party, the self-proclaimed protector of tribal interests could not be able to seize a sizeable member of seats even in tribal predominated areas.

For the first time in the history of State politics a party remained in power and ruled uninterruptedly for a period of five years right from 1980-1985. In this sense, political stability prevailed in Orissa. The 1980 election had re-established the Congress system and one party dominance in the Centre as well as in Orissa.

In 1980 Orissa witnessed a worst of its kind an anti-Marwari (business community) agitation in Western Orissa. The agitation of 1980 was the result of the provocative act of section of the trading community against a group of public workers, making collection for the flood relief fund. This resulted in the direct action against the Marwaris. The Carnage was not confined to Sambalpur only, but it spreaded to Burla, Baragarh, Jharsuguda, Bolangir, Sundergarh. "There is a strong

feeling which persists till now that Oriyas have been exploited by these trading community. Gujuratis were dominant in the Kendu leaves and timber trade, when the feudal lords gradually started investing their money in business and this initially resulted in a rift with the Marwaris. This is an Assam version of regionalism where the few vested interests propagate the idea of son of soil theory" ⁷⁸.

From the 1980-85, J.B. Pattnaiks administration brought a stability in Orissa politics and though performance of the government was not upto mark but somehow it was acceptable to the people. Particularly all the important portfolios were captured by coastal Orissa leaders so the coastal districts enjoyed major portion of developmental activities. Particularly Bhubaneswar and Cuttack city enjoyed all developments under City Beautification plan. On the other hand opposition were remain divided and very weak to give a tough fight to one party dominance. So Congress replaced its performance in 1985 election as it had performed in 1980 election. The sudden assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi drew sympathy wave for Congress (I), secondly people had high hopes on Mr. Clean Image Shri Rajiv Gandhi which ultimately brought the Congress (I) party in thumping majority across the country. Mr. J.B. Pattnaik retained the office of Chief Ministership where as reign of Central regime was in the hands of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi same party ruled both in the Centre and the province.

"The 1985 performance showed that the party established a strong base in tribal areas of State like Mayurbhanj, Koraput, Kalahandi, Phulbani, Sambalpur, Sundergarh and Keonjhar districts"¹⁹. In the districts which were at one time strong supporters of the princely houses like Bolangir, Dhenkanal and Kalahandi, the Congress also won maximum number of seats. The Congress however failed to win a single seat in major urban centres like Bhubaneswar, Rourekela, Puri, Cuttack. "A regional analysis of several parties in 1980 and 1985 election will show that the Congress won 79 seats and 73 respectively in coastal Orissa whereas 46 and 41 seats respectively in Western Orissa"²⁰. On the other hand it can be said the pattern of electoral politics show that the politics of sub-regionalism which was so obvious during the 1952 election had undergone a great change after 1977, 1980, 1985 elections in Orissa.

Right from 1980 to 1990, Congress ruled uninterruptedly across the country and so also in Orissa. Though Orissa looks as a fort of Congress party but a close look reveals that there is marked contradictions in the mood of the elections broadly divided into two regions of the State. "Mrs Gandhi's sway over the pre-dominantly tribal population in eight western and interior districts was undisputed. But her party faced serious challenge from Mr. Biju Pattnaik led Lok Dal Janata Party alliance and the Congress (U) headed by Mrs. Nandini Satpathy in the more politically conscious four coastal districts of Bala-sore, Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam"²¹. This explains why Mrs. Indira

Gandhi addressed more election meeting in the coastal belt than in the interior. The eight western districts representing 69 seats and remaining 78 are located in four coastal and Dhenkanal districts.

3.5 Rajiv's Congress in Orissa (1985-1989),

The 1985 to 1990 period for Congress was not so much enthusiastic as it was in the 1980-85 period, after one year of Rajiv's rule Congress lost the hold on the electorates particularly one or the other issues hunted the Government "like Bofors, price hike of essential commodities, authoritarian style of rule, erosion of democratic values, law and order problem, miserable economic position of the country all these proved Rajiv's inefficiency"²². Even the bye-election held in mid of 1986 Congress was defeated in most of the States and victory march of the opposition parties carried on. All these happenings had deep impact on state politics. Besides the State was gripped with individual problems like "rampant corruption, disproportionate hoarding of assets by Chief Minister and his Ministers, reign of ruling party in the hand of lumpen elements, J.B. Patanaik's defamation Suit regarding his sexual escapades, increased unemployment, failure of the government to fulfill election promises. All problems brought disasters for the Congress Government in 1990 election"²³. The defeat of the Congress Government was visible in the results of bye-election

in five constituencies of Orissa where Congress could not capture a single seat and all the seats had gone to Biju led Janata Party.

Almost all the Chief Ministers have tried to swell up the strength of their zonal contingent in matters of representation in the Cabinet. Mr. Biju Pattnaik's 8:7 ratio was reasonable. Mr. Biren Mitra's team disturbed the balance by one in favour of the coastals. Mr. Sadasive Tripathy changed the trend in choosing 9 from his hill colleagues and 6 from among the coastals. Mrs. Nandini Satpathy who followed Mr. Das immediately as Orissa Chief Minister and managed the business with the same legislature immediately changed the trend and choose 3 from coastal districts and 7 from west Orissa. She added 2 in favour of the coastal and 1 in favour of her hilly colleagues in the second government she formed in March, 1974. Formation of almost all cabinets involved co-optation of new elites to the power structure²⁴.

Though the decade long rule of J.B. Pattnaik gave stability in Orissa politics, but dissident activities began in the party soon after it came to power in 1980 election. Mr. Kanhu Charan Lenka, the then Revenue Minister of J.B. Patanaik's government for which he had to resign in July 1986. The dissidents allegations were that Pattnaik had ruled the State in alliance with a small coterie of persons like Mr. B.K. Beswal, Mrs. Jayanti Pattnaik (J.B. Pattnaik's wife), Mr. Niranjan Pattnaik and

others. Secondly the party had failed to implement the 20-point programme. The factional fight became still intense with the approaching of the Assembly election in March 1985. A large number of prominent members were denied party tickets on the charges of corruption and loss of confidence on them in their respective constituencies. Some of the prominent ministers were Mr. Niranjan Pattnaik and B.K. Biswal the Super Chief Minister of Orissa. So this act affected the loyalty issue in the party itself. Patanaik had to face lot of dissensions because of Congress parties failure to capture any bye-election seat.

So in view of dissensions brewing against him the legislative and organisational wings undertook a ministerial expansion in July 1986. The Central support has been one of the important reasons for the lengthiest term of Chief Ministership of Mr. J.B. Pattnaik in Orissa. The slogan of the dissidents was - "save the Congress and the clean image of Rajiv Gandhi in Orissa".²⁵ Besides rampant corruption at high officials in Khandi reached its peak in his tenure, regional imbalances also developed to a great extent that most of the people are of the view that present Kosal state demand is the out come of total lack of developmental works in J.B. Pattnaiks regime. But he was able to manipulate everything in his favours.

3.6 Second Non-Congress victory - Biju's Orissa

The 1990 election brought a turbulent transition in Indian Politics. All the splitted group of oppositions and regional

parties came under a banner in the name of National Front in which Biju Patnaik's Janata Dal is a major constituent and Biju played a vital role in organising the National Front. Secondly on the other hand Sudden rise of B.J.P. surprised everyone. B.J.P. continuously harped on the appeasement policies of minority and tried to provoke the religious sentiments of the people. "The election of 1990 seemed to be a turning point in Indian history. Fundamentalist and rightist forces played a major role in elections in India. So the emergence of B.J.P. brought a turning point in Indian politics where the phase of Congress vs. non-Congress was changed into B.J.P.'s vs. non-B.J.P. politics ²⁶

In 1990, Biju's charisma was at its peak and the State Assembly election it was Biju's wave not the Janata wave that swept the length and breadth of Orissa. The Congress is almost routed by combined opposition the Janata Dal, C.P.I. - C.P.I.(M). Mr. Biju Pattnaik has bagged as many as 130 seats out of 147 leaving 10 seats for the Congress, two seats for the B.J.P. and five for the independents. No political party in Orissa ever had such spectacular victory ever before "Mr. Biju Pattnaik's promise for waiving of farm and co-operative loans to the tune of Rs.10,000 and establishment of second steel plant in order to provide employment also moved the people towards the Dal. Biju Pattnaik's Janata Dal received 52.5 per cent of votes where Congress got only 32.4 per cent of votes. This was mainly possible due to unity of the opposition to avoid splitting of

votes, which lacked in previous elections.²⁷ Now Biju represents Orissa, he promised corrupt politicians who have inflicted the poor all these years. He will confiscate their ill gotten money and spend it on peoples' welfare. He promised to provide a rice at Rs. 2/- per kg., to write off loans, provide employment to young people to get second steel plant started and set up new industries, irrigation projects people trusted him and dreamt of land flowing with milk and honey. But most of the deeds of Biju's two years Government is uninspiring. Now he has started blaming the Central Government for continuous negligence of Central Government. According to Biju's thinking solution lies in securing freedom from clutches of R.B.I. He is now threatening the demand for secession of Orissa, if he is prevented from attracting outside capital.

The above analysis shows that the manifestation of regionalism has been reduced to a lesser extent in second phase of State politics. All the voters voted unitedly across the State but regional imbalances reached its peak during the decade long rule of J.B. Pattnaik. But Congress party has certain number of plus points like ideological ambiguity, a consensus building approach, nebulous and loose structure. "The Congress has been able to implement various socio-economic measures in the province like the Orissa Estate Abolition Act, 1952, the Orissa land reforms Act 1960 were major achievements. Besides, the nationalisation of Kendu leaf trade, the IRDP programme, the Orissa

secondary education act, are considerable."

As literacy participation and parties have spread in former princely states the difference between the two Orissa's have diminished greatly. Political parties have been successful in initiating a process of modernisation in the State through elections. The elections from 1977 to 1990 stand witness to the statement. Though regionally there is no differentiation but psychological division still exists between the people of two regions. It is a persistent allegation of western Orissa leaders that key Cabinet posts of the State never come to their hand and only unimportant portfolios are kept open for them. Even till now the arguments and counter arguments goes on within the ruling Janata Dal about allocation of portfolios between the Ministers of two regions. This incident took a gigantic turn in the month of February, 1993 as a result Biju had to make a major reshuffle in State Cabinet which culminated in the resignation of 4 Cabinet Ministers from the ministry and portfolio of rural development was given to western Orissa leader Mr. Prasana Acharya²⁹. "The Communities like Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, Muslims, Bengalis and the largest linguistic minority the telugus generally think Congress party is the protector of their interests and vote according to it but the election of 1977 and 1990 proved contrary to it."³⁰ One thing can be said with full confidence that Orissa politics is still based on personality rather than issues and ideologies".

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3. Prahallad Mallick was elected simultaneously from Rajnagar and Pattamundai Assembly Constituencies. He later left the Rajnagar seat from where Biju Patnaik was elected in the bye-election.
4. Mahatab was elected simultaneously from Bhadrak and Bhubaneswar Assembly constituencies. In Bhubaneswar Mahatab defeated Biju Patnaik in 1971. He left the Bhadrak seat later where bye-election was held in September.
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CHAPTER-FOUR

Factors Contributing to the Rise of Sub-Regional Movement

Regionalism as a phenomena emerges out of the culmination of variations pertaining to the Socio-cultural, economic and political spheres. Two sets of components subjective and objective determine the nature of regionalism. The subjective components are ways of living, customs and traditions, art forms, language and literature, social heritage, beliefs, attitudes and values as related to a group of the people termed as regional group. The objective component includes the territorial region and the accompanied men-environment complex within which the regional group lives. Together with others, these components are the determinants of regionalism.

In this chapter an effort has been made to explore the factors which contributes in enhancing regional feeling in the psychic of western Orissa people. So all these factors like historical forces, geographical factors, cultural forces, political trends, linguism and more of economic backwardness all these factors have been dealt with extensively. The historical trends, upheavals and crises not only led to territorial redemarcations and reorganisation of sub-cultural regions but also through periods of stress enhance regional awareness and ethnocentrism. It also accentuates social distance of group cohesion marked by degree of identification similarly topography, climatic conditions and housing patterns contribute to the objectively percep-

tible regional characteristics. An important factor responsible for the regionalist demand everywhere in western Orissa is obviously the size of economic aspirations of territorial or regional communities after independence. Again a relatively economic backwardness aggravated the situation. It is undisputable that since independence all kinds of inter and intra-regional tensions and conflicts are increasing. The parties in power at the centre and the state levels although claim to be guided by a common policy and objectives for national development, in actual practice act as if the nation and regional interests are in compatible and none is interested to meet the eventualities with proper sincerity. The cultural forces operating through the entire gamut of customs, traditional ways and mannerisms, values and various institutional complexes, social economic and religious have tended to reinforce the historical memories and determined the behavioural patterns of different regional groups. Even now the rise of linguism has alarmed some observers as and sections of people who fear that linguistic-territorial fragmentation is strengthening the foundations of sub-nationalism and encouraging the regional loyalties and separatist tendencies. In this way all the above mentioned factors have contributed to the rise of cry for Kosal State in Western Orissa.

It is not to say superficially that which particular factor is solely responsible for creation of sense of discontentment and hatred in the minds of the people of western Orissa and Ultimatl-

ly went to raise the demand of separate state. Though economic underdevelopment is the major factor to breed dissatisfaction among people but other like separate historical development different cultural identity separate geographical entity language factor etc have played an equal important role in division of Orissa in two regions. The above mentioned factors are analysed below with details.

4.1 Differentiation during Ancient Period.

The Kosal portion in Orissa is known as southern kosal or Maha Kosal. It lay south of the vindyas. It extends in the ~~chat-~~^{tish} garh about the upper valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries from Amarkantak in the north to the Kankes in the south and may at times have extended west into Mandla and Balghat districts and last into Sam¹ balpur."

Now the scholars have extended the Kosal area into modern districts of "Raipur, sundergarh, Balangir and Kalahandi in Orissa"². as you probe the history you will find that during the long period of Hindus regime and the regime of Afghan. Moghul and Maratha rule the entire and which at present comperises never came under a single administration. It is not new that the people of western Orissa have been neglected persistently. Even the history stands witness of it. Even the king of some dynasty shifted their capital from western to coastal region and undertook lot of development works. The somavansi Kings who ruled in major part of Orissa from 474 A.D. to 1132 A.D had never extend-

ed their territories inland beyond Dhenkanal and the group of native states formerly known as the tributary Mahalas of Orissa did not form a part of their territories. The Ganga rulers of Orissa extended their territory inland to Baud the western most of the states of the former tributary Mohals. It is believed that the Kingdom of the third King of the Gangetic line who ruled Orissa between 1175 AD. and 1202 AD measured from the "Hoogly to the Godabari and from the sea to the frontier of sonapur" which adjoined the former state of Baud on the west.³ Probably the large scale migration of Brahmins had occurred during some dynasty. As a result these Brahmins developed rich literature in Oriya in western Orissa and western Orissa language lost its significance.

In 1568 Orissa lost its independence when after a period of civil war the last Hindu king Mukunda Dev was overthrown by Kalapahar. Orissa which then also included Midanapur remained under the possession of the Afghans till 1652 when it was annexed to the Moghul empire by Man Singh, the Hindu general of Akbar. It was placed under separate Governors but Midnapur and Balasore were subsequently transferred to Bengal. It was ceded to the Bhonslas of Nagpur. In 1751 by Alibardi Khan and continued to remain under them until its conquest by the British in 1803. So Orissa never came under a single administration.

Occupation of the Oriya-speaking areas was made by the East India Company in three successive phases. The southern part of Orissa as far as Ganjam lane under the British possession with the

downfall of Tipusultan of Mysore in 1799. The second phase of occupation came in 1803 with acquisition of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. The third and final phase of occupation of the Oriya country was complete with the cession of the Sambalpur group of feudatory states to the company in course of the third maratha war in 1821. Thus Orissa which passed under the care of the British consisted geographically and politically two distinct tracts hunter then observed:

"The rich Delta spread out its swamps and rich fields from the mountain to the sea; the hill country stretched backwards into central India. A separate series of difficulties beset our administration in each and at this day they are governed on a totally distinct plan."

Thus the oriya-speaking country had to pass through a process of balkanisation. A portion of it remained under the Madras Presidency, Cuttack Puri and Balasore were appended to Bengal and Sambalpur was attached to the central provinces. The Oriya-speaking feudatory numbering thirty three then, were also meted out similar treatment. The thirteen states located at the western part of the Orissa division adjoining sambalpur were included in the central provinces, kharswan and sareikala in Chota Nagpur and the rest in Bengal along with the commissioner Division of orissa. Thus the Oriya country presented the picture of a mass of administrative areas "grown up almost haphazard as the result of conquests, supercession of former rulers and of

administrative convenience".⁵ Such a condition can hardly promote unity among the people for any type of collective endeavour.

4.2 Integration During the British Era

It was Lord Curzon who for the first time recognized the relevance of Linguistic and cultural factors in matters of territorial adjustment of the Raj. The first step which was taken in the direction of amalgamation of the entire Oriya speaking tracts under one administration, was the transfer of the districts of Sambalpur along with seven feudatory states from central provinces to Bengal in 1905. This step was taken following an agitation of the people of Sambalpur against replacement of Oriya by Hindi as the court and official language of the district.

The next step which followed was the creation of province of Bihar and Orissa. Then the "Oriyas of Ganjam demanded to be placed in the new provincial administration of Bihar and Orissa".⁶

"Actually, the princely states had not connected or authentic history, comprising as they do, the western and hilly portion of the province of Orissa, they were never brought under the central government but from the earliest times consisted of numerous petty principalities which were more or less independent of one another. In course of time their hill retreats were penetrated by Aryan adventurers who by reason of their

superior powers gradually overthrew the tribal Chiefs and established themselves in their place. Tradition relates how these daring interlopers most of whom were Rajputs from the North. Came to puri on Pilgrimage and remained behind to found kingdoms and dynasties" ⁷

In the 5th and 6th century A.D. Some of the states were formed by the Kings and princes mainly uprooted from Rajasthan and other parts of the Country who wanted Shelter for the preservation of their freedom and honour. Mayurbhanj Baud and few other states came into existence at the same time but most of the others such as "Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, etc. originated later (A.D. 900-1000, with the efforts of some Rajputs and Maratha" ⁸. Tradition relates that these states in "ancient times constituted the parts of the erstwhile south Kosala empire of Ramayana fame" ⁹. Historical Circumstances have favoured the growth of prosperity of the plains which came under the British rule in 1803 though in comparison to other parts of India, the pace of development was slow in Orissa which then comprised the coastal districts, expansion of the facilities for irrigation, communication and education was a remarkable contribution of the British rule to the coastal plains.

Moreover, earlier experience with developmental and bureaucratic administration, resulted in the rise of a relatively powerful educated middle class in the plains which provided the necessary man power to the state in the post-independence peri-

od. Since the administrative personnel of the state mainly came from the region the people could very well claim their closeness to the administration in which the highlanders lagged behind. Moreover in the absence of an articulate middle class to put forth the demands for development of their areas before the colonial government, the development works were neglected in Orissa and basically the outsiders dominated the three regions. Particularly the people of erstwhile central provinces were too much so they had no opinion in matter of amalgamation with Orissa. However with ups and downs the province of Orissa was formed by the order-in-council entitled the government of India order 1936 passed on March 3 which came into effect on April 1st, 1936.

The absence of an articulate middle class in the western parts of Orissa kept the masses aloof from the main-stream of the national life and made them stick to the traditional loyalty. National movements in the highlands was never as broad-based as it was in the coast and though it had spread to some geographical areas because of low density of population. A distinct history was claimed for the region and the views of the congress who contended that the highlands constituted an integral part of Orissa. The ancient history of orissa indicates that states in northern and western borders of present Orissa were never conquered by the kings of Kalinga. So history pointed out that Orissa have two blocks. The Coastal plains corresponding to old Kalinga empire are one compact block and the highlands of Kosal

has different tradition and culture with its own history.

4.3 Geographical Factors

Geographically, Orissa is not a homogeneous state. The state has four distinct Physical regions namely "(a) the coastal plains (b) the Eastern Ghats (c) The central Table land and (d) the Northern Plateau." ¹⁰

The coastal plains stretch over the districts of Balasore, cuttack, puri and a part of Ganjam district. This region has been rendered highly fertile by the delta formed by the three rivers viz, Mahanadi, Brahmani and Baitarani and is suited for cultivation. compared with other coastal areas the northern coastal plains are economically under-developed and lack of facilities for irrigation. However it is "surplus paddy area" and majority of the rice mills of Orissa work here.

(b) **The Eastern Ghats:** The districts of phulbani otherwise known as Boud, Khondamal, Koraput and a part of Ganjam districts come under the Eastern Ghat region which contains dense forests. In the west the hill ranges slope gently into a plateau containing some fertile valleys.

(c) **The Central Land:** The central Table land covers a number of erosional plains and river basins. The districts of sambalpur, Balangir Sundergarh and Kalahandi come under this region. The plains and river basins coming under this region are suitable for agriculture. Each of these districts has its own importance from the point of view of minerals forest and agriculture

wealth. These districts occupy nearly 30.78 percent of the total geographical area of the orissa and 24.34 percent of the total population of Orissa.

(d) **The Northern plateau** - A greater part of the Northern plateau is hilly thickly forested. The two rivers, Brahmani and Baitarani, flowing through the Northern plateau cut it into three blocks. The eastern block consists of heavily forested hills of Mayurbhaja, the middle block occupies a well-forested hill region of keonjhar. Dhenkanl and sundergarh districts. The western block of the plateau is flap-topped and steep edged with dense forests.

"The delianation of the planning regions of the State depending upon various categories of resources available, demographic characters, physical and social condition prevailing there". In the first place region includes part of Sundergarh, Sambalpur and Bolangir districts. Secondly, the mineral resources region covers parts of sundergarh, sambalpur and Mayurbhaja districts and the whole of keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts. Thirdly, parts of Sampalpur, phulbari, Koraput, Bolangir and the whole of Kalahandi, districts are included in the forest resources region. In the fifth place the coastal region consists of parts of Mayurbhanj, Cuttack and puri and the whole of Balasore districts. Finally parts of cuttack and puri districts are included in the capital region in view of their proximity to the capital.

12

Whatever at may be the state may be broadly divided

into two regions viz, the coastal Plains and the high land regions.

"The inland division has an area of 115.551 square kilometers occupying about 75 percent of the total area of the state and stands in sharp contrast to the geographical features of the plains. These are hills, mountains, falls, plains, streams and forests. The region is an interesting complex of denuded hills, plateaus sharp ridges and mature valleys" ¹³

The districts of this region were formed mostly through the merger of the native states. The highland region represents less densely populated parts of India and the density of population being less than that of the plains and the state average.

"The sundargarh and sambalpur districts are thickly, Populated where most of the towns of the region are also concentrated. The concentration of rural population is also marked in the north western position of the region from Balangir to Rourkela. The sparsely populated areas form the central belt of the Keonjher and Mayurbhanj" ¹⁴

4.4 LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS

Though Orissa is predominantly an Oriya speaking state the size of Oriya speaking population is comparatively small in the highland region ¹⁵

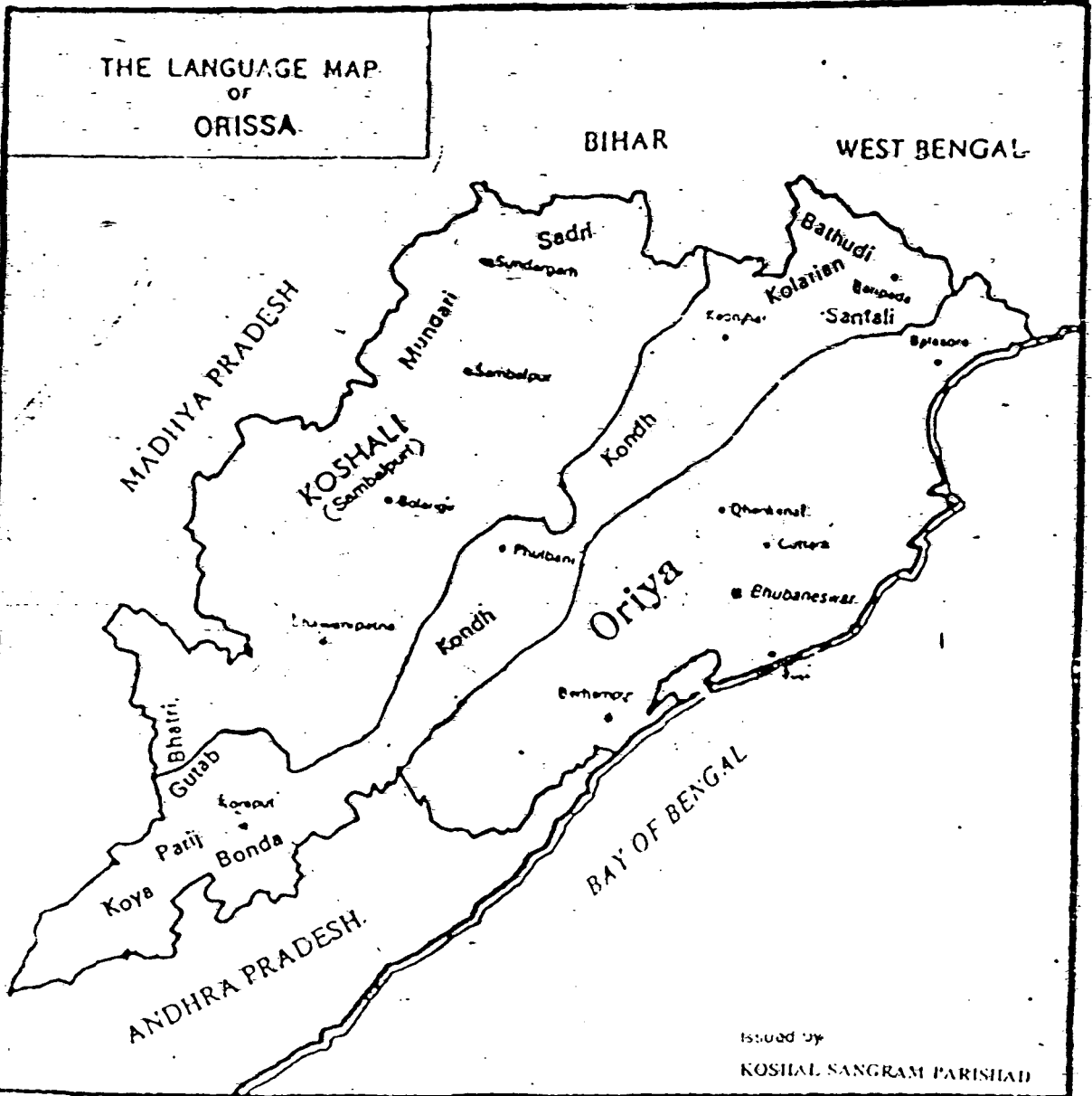
The people of Bolangir, Sambalpur, Kalahandi and Sundergarh speak, dialect called, Sambalpuri which is a dialectical variant of Oriya Language, though the latter is used by them in reading and writing. In the absence of authentic information it is difficult to say how old the dialect is nevertheless, attempts have been made in the part by local writers to popularise the dialect through Oriya script. Now some Oriya poets and writers of this region have consciously tried to assimilate some Sambalpuri words into their literate works. ¹⁶

"Linguistics believe that Oriya language is a product of the assimilation of Koshli Apabhramsa with Udri dialect of the Coastal region ¹⁷. George Grierson in his linguistic survey of India, vol. v(2), says that the "pronunciation in Sambalpur and Chattisgarh region is different from the pronunciation in the Oriya speaking regions. His comment on the language of the Sambalpuri speaking region is all the more sufficient." He says "from Raigarh in the north to Kalahandi in the south and from Raipur in the west to Bamra in the east the language is exactly the same in grammar". ¹⁸

Grierson has recognized the Sambalpuri Language as distinct from Oriya. It is now necessary to identify the linguistic differences between Sambalpuri and Oriya in the areas of vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax. It is claimed by Kosalites that

their language has near about twenty thousand separate vocabulary after the merger of the Sambalpuri speaking region with Orissa, the people of the region have formally accepted Oriya as their mother tongue although they speak in Sambalpuri. There are also large number of *desaj* or local words in Sambalpuri not understood by the Oriya speakers as for examples *garra* (sheep), *dhekun* (bed bug), *bhato* (brother-in-law), *patli* (earthen plate), *upla* (floating), *Jhuri* (fish), *rapta* (bridge), *Suru* (small).

Till now, though no important literary works have been produced in the dialect, Sambalpuri songs are widely popular and have their distinctive qualities. Some lyricists have gone to the extent of stressing on regional particularism through their songs in the dialect in very recent time¹⁹. Besides there are number of tribal and Dravidian languages which they use among themselves. The important tribal languages are "Mundari, Ho, Santhali, Kol, Kharih, Badri, Kui and Koya etc."²⁰. Although the southern region of Orissa has quite distinct language but it is moreover in pronunciation and accent rather than with language. The sambalpuri language movement started in the beginning of the 1930's. It provided a fresh bond of cultural unity among its speakers and defined a cultural line of separation from Oriya speaking people. People feel that the movement has brought genuine cultural consciousness among the people in this area. Far from being understood, the Oriya speech community feels that the movement is an expression of regional Chauvanism²¹.



THE LANGUAGE MAP
OF
ORISSA.

BIHAR

WEST BENGAL

MADIYA PRADESH

KOSHALI
(Sambalpur)

Munbari

Konth

Oriya

ANDHRA PRADESH

BAY OF BENGAL

Issued by
KOSIAL SANGRAM PARISHAD

Art. 29 (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

Protection of interests of minorities.

Now a memorandum under "Article 347 of the constitution of India submitted by kosal party, a political party registered under the Representation of people Act, 1956 by the Election commission of India for recognition of Koshali language as an official language of Orissa." ²²

According to their saying Kosali is a self-contained full-fledged complete language with its own rules of grammer. The phonetic, morphological and syntatic patterns of this language entirely different from Oriya. Consequently, an Oriya speaking person cannot speak understand and create literature in Kosali language. Conversely, a Kosali cannot speak or understand Oriya, Unless he is fairly educated, about 35 per cent of the Koshali speaking people, cannot speak or understand oriya language. In this background, the state of Orissa may be directed to officially recognise the Koshali language of Orissa and to impart primary education in Koshali language.

4.5 Economic Underdevelopment

Economically the high land region as a whole constitutes the most backward part of the state such backwardness is characterised by "low income levels, higher dependence of population on poorly developed agriculture, large proportion of population belonging to scheduled tribes, lack of urbanisation, inadequate infrastructure etc." ²³. All these characteristics are found in the

inland districts in larger measure than the "backward state of Orissa itself".

Agriculture is the most predominant section in the economy of the highlands and 36.1 percent of population is engaged in agriculture. There is a considerable difference between the economy of the plains and that of the highlands. In an advanced economy a significant section of people find employment in various services since such employments be gainful in comparison to employments related to agriculture. In this respect it may be seen that the economy of the plains is more developed than that of the highlands. "Agriculture is comparatively less prosperous in the highlands due to poor soil conditions and inadequate facilities for irrigation. While the percentage of irrigated area to net area shown in the coastal districts is 27.3, the figure for the same in the inland districts is 6.3"²⁴. Except the districts of sambalpur which has irrigation facility for 26.36 percent of its total cropped area, irrigation facility in all the districts of the highland is extremely poor. There is a great deal of "regional imbalance between the districts in regard to irrigation"²⁵.

Despite the fact that "the average operational holding is 1.33 hectares in the plains and it is 2.35 hectares in the highlands, the highland region is different from the alluvial plains and less productive"²⁶. High Concentration of backward class population such as the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes is another depressing feature of the highlands. High concentra-

tion of backward class population such as the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes is another depressing feature of the highlands. In the districts of Dhenkanal only their number was exceeding small but in other inland districts they were absolute in majority. In the districts of Sundergarh, Mayurbhanja, Koraput, Keonjhar and Phulbani, a large section of the population was tribal in character²⁷. In 1971 the percentage of scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes was 22.47 in the plains, while in the highlands the figure was 52.09

Accommodation has been a major problem of the western Orissa. So there is need to provide accommodation in growing towns like Titlagarh, Kantabanjhi, Junagarh, Baragarh, Brajarajnager, Sundergrah etc. Now new broad gauge line connecting Sambalpur and Talcher is under construction which would connect the western Orissa with the Coastal cities like Bhubaneswar, Cuttack. It is hoped this line would help in various way to bridge the gulf of the two regions. While selecting the growth centers, the availability of infrastructure facilities like rail road, Transport Communication, Power, Water etc. are taken into consideration. On a consideration of these facilities, the growth centres in Western Orissa have been suggested for small scale industry, Industrial estates and guilds in the action plans of industrial growth for these districts. Among the highland districts koraput has the highest number of non-agricultural establishments (9.73 per cent), followed by the districts of Sambalpur (7.56 per cent),

Sundergrah (6.02%), Bolangir (5.93%), Mayurbhanja (5.90%), Dhenkanal (5.44%), and Kalahandi (4.195). The districts of Baud-Khondmal and Keonjhar have the lowest number of non-agricultural establishments i.e 3.5 percent and 3.90 percent respectively" ²⁸. The main dam Hirakud stretches for a distance of 3 miles across the river Mahanadi. Canals take off from either side of the dam. "The Canal on the right side has irrigation potential of 3,80,000 acres and the two Canals on the left side are expected to provide irrigation to 74,000 acres. The total length of the canals is nearly 551.5 miles which provide irrigation to 4,54,000 acres of land in Sambalpur and Bolangir districts" ²⁹.

4.6 Intra Regional Imbalances

The highland region has been going through rapid industrialization ever since the introduction of planned economy in the state. The growth and expansion of big and medium-sized industries is quite impressive in Western Orissa. On the eve of the five year plans, Orissa was practically bereft of any background of key industries. The industries in the state were mainly "dominated by non-factory cottage type units providing a few common domestic requirements" ³⁰. So far as the highland region is concerned, the mineral based industries include steel plant of Hindustan steel Ltd. at Rourkela, a pig iron plant at Barbil in Keonjhar and Ferro-Silican plant was also set up at Theruvali in Koraput. As far as manufacturing industries are concerned, mention may be made of one Mig-Engine Unit of Sunabeda, two label works units at Hirakud Kansabahal. Other important industries are two sugar

mills located at Bargarh and Raygada and two textile mills one at Tharsuguda and other at Bargarh. On the whole "Agro-based and manufacturing industries have been localised in Cuttack, forest based and mineral based industries is to be seen in and around Rourekela." ³¹ There are as many as eight districts in the state which have been identified as industrially backward districts. Out of these districts, seven districts are located in the highlands. ³²

One of the important roles that cities usually play is to provide a congregation of political intellectuals who in turn provide leadership not only to the city but to the entire region which goes to constitute the highlands of the city. ³³ The growth of the city is also directly proportional to the growth of its importance as a political centre. As an urban centre Cuttack city constitutes to exert the maximum of urban influences. The Railway line in this region were drawn in different stages and in an irregular manner. These systems carry more minerals, forest products and agricultural produce. On the other side a major portion of the railway line passes through the plains connecting the region with important places of the country. The distance of the highland districts from the capital can hardly be overlooked. There is no convenient railway link between the capital and the head quarters of almost all the districts situated in the highland. Similarly in educational development "Kalahandi and Phulbani districts in the sphere of higher primary stage and in the

sphere of secondary education stage were among the five most backward districts in India." ³⁴

Though most of the general characteristics of backwardness are common in the northern part of the highlands, it has certain peculiarities of its own. The northern undervaluating upland and hilly ranges mostly in Mauurbhanja, Keonjhar and Sundergarh constitute the home of the tribal's. They included the "Coles, Kondh and Sawyer". They are quite distinct the two former at least in language, features, manners and religion from the Hindus of the plains and superstition seems plausible that their ancestors may have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Prior to the arrival of the Brahmin colonists from the north." ³⁵

The regional imbalance have been rampant during the last forty five years. It is known by the facts given below.

"The coastal Orissa has 74.13 percent of village electrification while western Orissa has 47.67 percent. Utkal region has 1598 thousand hectores of agricultural land against 2230 hectores of Kosal." Similarly 709 thousand hectores of land is irrigated while 471 hectores of Kosal is irrigated. In Jawahar Rojgar Yojna and Indira Aabash Yojna the discrimination is much higher. ³⁶

Table 4.1 Regional Imbalance of Two Regions

| | Coastal Region | Kosal Region |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) No. of Cabinet Ministers | 15 | 05 |
| (2) No. of Ministers in state government ministry | 27 | 05 |
| (3) Literacy percent | 44.33 | 28.43 |
| (4) Irrigated Land (Hect) | 709 (44.36%), | 471 (21.5%), |
| (5) Electricity Production | 0 | 1.477.5 (Meg awatt), |
| (6) Rural Electrification | 10,509 (74.13%), | 6.822 (46.67%), |
| (7) Concrete Roads | 23.8 Km per 100sq km | 12.9 Km per 100sq km |
| (8) No. of State Finance Corporation | 9,672 | 4,166 |
| (9) Loan (lakhs) | 25,670.25 | 7,260.24 |
| (10) Mines (Nos) | 25 | 171 |
| (11) Production value | 295,717 | 395,062 |
| (12) Forest | 4523 sq km | 24,122.36 |
| (13) Self Employment Scheme | 1,912 | 1,143 |
| (14) Invested Money | 530,44 | 215,83 |

Source This table is derived from Pamphlet named ("Kosala awareness Movement", Sambalpur, 13th February 1992,

Now the government is expected to pay equal attention the development of all parts of the states and special attention to the backward regions. It is the lookout of the government and the planning board to attach priority to their problems but it is painful to see that the government have been neglecting the development of the region for a long time.³⁷

It is evident from the account given in the foregoing pages that the highland region presents a picture of under-development of an agrarian and forest based economy undergoing a process of industrialisation and urbanisation which needs to be viewed against the social background characterised by an overwhelming majority of backward classes, feudal rule and a small educated middle class.

4.7 Socio-Cultural Factors

Culture constitutes an important segment of human life it constitutes the literature, history, way of living pattern, Dress materials, festivals and above all culture is the mirror of human life. It would not exaggerate to say that one would find two different type of cultures between the coastal and western regions. The Koshali language has been reduced to a secondary language in Orissa, people do not get much incentive for their writing in koshali. Some treat the koshali language as full fledged language where as others treat as dialect. The cultural identity of Orissa is being defined on the basis of the cultural identity of the dominant pressure groups, i.e. coastal Orissa. this has raised the eyebrows of Koshalites.

The population of the four western districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sambalpur and Sundergarh together with the adjoining areas of Boudh and Athmalik numbering about seven million people includes 1.6 million from the scheduled castes and 2.2 millions of advasis belonging to the aboriginal tribes kondh, Kol, Gond, Binjhal, Sawer, Munda, Oraon, Mirdha, Ho, Juang and Bhuyan etc., with their indigenous culture life styles and dialects.

"These tribes must have inhabited the hills for many thousand years before the descendants of the Aryans with their peculiarly different culture came into their land as conquerors in some tracts and as immigrants in more inwardly situated, where they gradually got naturalised as permanent settlers on the basis of compromise and co-existence with the original dwellers after initial hostilities"³⁸.

The new culture who were more cleaner and intellectually advanced might have provided the lead for adjustment by agreeing to honour the sentiments of the primary inhabitants in matters connected with their religious faith and culture. .

The large bulk of Janajatis, preferred to Confine themselves to their traditional habitats. On the hills, referring their old forms of clan-law under the supervision of their own tribal leaders. The tribal chiefs so installed as Zamindars and Jagirdars continued to aid successive governments in revenue adminis-

tration till the abolition of the Zamindaris after Independence ³⁹.

Above all the settlement of Aryans has brought a fusion culture as manifested in the amusements and ceremonies in the fairs and festivals, obtaining in these districts till today description of some festivals of western Orissa given below of which the coastal belt people are ignorant.

Nuakhai Festival - The Nuakhai or Navanna is observed when the first grains of the new paddy crop Cooked into various dishes are offered to the dities. Generally it takes place in the bright half of the month of Bhadrab on an auspicious day fixed by the astrologers. On this occasion new rice is cooked and offered to Goddess Laxmi. In Coastal districts too Navanna is observed but it is confined to individual families and in different flavour.

Push puni - It is an another important festival of western orissa. It takes place on poush purnima or the full moon day in the month of pousha (December-January). The approach of the festival is charteredised by two important events following the completion of the harv esting operations by most of the farmers throughout the zone. On the one hand the payments to the alias or the labourers engaged on the basis to annual contract are finalized as push puni is the day of the termination of old contracts and beginning of fresh contracts for the ensuing year.

Hence this is an immensely busy time for every one more particularly for the settlers and buyers. Another important festival of western. Orissa is Bhai Juaintia ⁴⁰. On which all

women married and unmarried young and old observe a bratta pray to goddess Durga for prosperity of booters. Similarly puajuntia⁴¹ is observed by mothers for prosperity of the sons. Besides this some Jatras are observed like patkanda Jatra. Of Jarsingha and sulia Jatra of Bolangir and Chhatra Yatra of goddess Manikeshan of Bhawnipatna are famous.

The most important charters of western Orissa culture are talk dances. These dances are mostly tribal dances like Dalkhai, Dhap, Ghumura. Dhudki, karma, Jhooma, Change, Madal Khadia Oraon etc. The chief aim of these dances are the absorbing simplicity. The cultural life is also visible in their ornaments and way of wearing saree and print of Sarcee. Even some castes and titles are there which one will not find in Coastal belt like Agaria, Gauntia, the Bhulia the Hansi, pujari etc. Even food pattern customs and rituals varies between these two regions drastically.

4.8 Political Factors

This is the most crucial factor which created the gulf between the two regions severely. Out of the 140 assembly constituencies, as many as seventy eight constituencies are located in the highland region and the rest 62 are located in the plains. There are 56 constituencies which are exclusively reserved for the purpose of representation of the members of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Only 14 such constituencies are located in the plains and the rest 43 in the highlands. The number of reserved constituencies in both the regions remain

unchanged. Thus under the existing system the "majority of the M.L.As representing the highland region that is 43 out of 78 are drawn from among the backward classes whereas the overwhelming majority of the MLA's that is 56 out of 69 representing the plains belong to the well to do sections of the population." ⁴²

In this context it may be further observed that the representation of the regions in the successive councils of ministers since 1952 has hardly been proportional to the population of the regions. In this respect the plains have mostly an edge over the highlands. The coastal districts have consistently enjoyed the office of chief Minister. During the period from 1952 to 1978 out of the ten persons who have enjoyed the office of the Chief Minister only two persons of the region have availed of themselves the most exalted political office of the state. Within a total period of 42 years of the rule of popular ministers the leaders of this region were in office barely for a period of six years and 7 months about one seventh of the total period. Again, the representation of the regions in the ministers during the period under study was disproportionately in favour of the coastal region that is to say, ministry in general consisted of the persons majority of whom belonged to coastal areas. Moreover judged by the trend of distribution of important portfolios between the leaders of both the regions from the year 1952 and onwards it is obvious that the relatively important portfolios in the various ministries formed from time to time have gone to the

leaders of the plains⁴³. The leaders of the highlands have exercised control over important portfolios~~es~~ only for relatively short periods.

In the view of above account we may infer that the highland region is not only a backward part of the state but also under political dominance of the plains. And such a situation is favorable for stressing regional differences for the betterment of the people.

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CHAPTER - FIVE

KOSALA SANGRAM PARISHAD

Genesis & Developments

In Orissa, particularly during the period of mid eighties the State watched a sudden rise of regionalist movement of Kosha-la sangram parishad eventually gathered momentum to form a separate State in Western Orissa. In the present Chapter an attempt is being made to analyse the recent developments of the movement in the running decade. Besides efforts have been made to deal briefly the history of regionalism in Orissa, its repercussions on present movement, the issues, the demands, the controversies of the movement all these points have been dealt with extensively.

After the inclusion of the western region into the Orissa State the so-called Koshalites achieved their cherished goal of Orissa. However, the sense of cherished goal did not last very long. The frustrating feeling of being alien in one's home State culminated in the cry for separate State. If in one's own State there is none to care them, where else can one have it? This was the germ of the psychology and frustration exploited by the self-proclaimed protagonists of the western Orissa. To a considerable extent the failure of the political leaders and parties to understand the situation and to take remedial action in time seems responsible for this phenomenon. For this the leaders of the Kosal movement succeeded in exploiting the frustration of western Orissa people by distorting the facts, multiplying their demands,

from 1936 to 1946 which was a decade of expansion of nationalism in the Oriya speaking tract also experienced the birth pangs of regional particularism². In the year of 1947 the Kosaltkal Praja Parishad was formed by the rulers who pleaded for the union of Orissa and Chattisgarh States which they argued constituted parts of the Koshala empire of Ramayana fame. But it ended in futile and regional feeling were instigated during the year of 1946 and Haratala and protest meetings were organized in different places against the Coastal Orissa leaders for their planning to set up Hirakund Multipurpose river valley project which is hardly beneficial to western region. And a meeting of about 500 people consisting mainly of village headmen, tenants, labourers of the villages of

"Badatangi, Saplahare, Baragarh, Santangi, Ranpaluga and Dugripalli" was held at Saplahare village in Sambalpur Sadar Police station demanding for formation of anew Koshal State Union³

All these regional movements culminated in the formation of the party called Ganatantra parishad under the leadership of late R.N.Singhdeo and the party was emerged as the spokesman of the western Orissa people similarly in 1973 Paschim Orissa Gana Samukhya consisting of all the non-congress parties was formed to redress the greivances of western region. Besides separate political conference of western Orissa leader has been formed to give a United fight against the Coastal Orissa leadership.

5.2 Resolutions of Kosal Sammelani

The present Orissa was formed by the amalgamation of Kosala and portion of other two historical States "out of the total area of the 155,707 Square kms of Orissa the people speaking the Kosali language commonly known as Sambalpuri cover an area of 74,233 square kms.⁴ The Kosal leaders agreed to form an united province on being assured of the retention of the Kosali tradition, culture, language also being persuaded by the representative of Sardar Patel, Mr.Kaka Kalekar. The activities of some leaders of coastal Orissa resulted in some of the Kosal lands being merged within Madhya Pradesh. It is the general perception of the People of western Orissa that as the process of formation of orissa province was about to complete the Coastal leaders started monopolizing the state politics.⁵ The more frequent projection of the culture of coastal Orissa in various media was accepted as the culture of entire Orissa and the Koshalites were looked down as second rate citizens.

The entire Western Orissa is the granary of Orissa. Unlimited mineral resources of coal, iron, bauxite, granite, manganese, limestone are available in western Orissa. But the area is remain backward due to gross negligence of authority. The financial outlays and planning for the development of education, health, agriculture, and urban development clearly reflect the regional imbalance. The former M.P., Mr.Balgopal Mishra who is regarded as a leader of Western Orissa said that the people of the region were feeling restless for long and keen for economic

liberalisation. Now they may support the agitation for a Koshala State.

While section of people of western Orissa is supporting the agitation many are not in favor of a separate State of Koshal⁶. Some are of the opinion that the business Community who have migrated from outside are responsible for creating bad blood among the people of Western Orissa. Now taking a clue from Biju's secession call the leaders of Western Orissa are demanding a separate State called Kosal Rajya comprising "Sundergarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kolahandi and Phulbani revenue districts as well as Nowrangpur and Athmallick Sub-divisions of Orissa and Bindranamagarh, Basna, Sareipalli and Saria assembly constituencies and Kashipur subdivisions of Raygada of Madhya Pradesh⁷.

A number of little known organisations like Kosala party, Kosala Sangram Parishad, Paschim Orissa Bikas Parishad and Kosal Mukti Morcha who are in the forefront of the Campaign maintain that coastal and western Orissa are different as chalk and cheese so distinct states must be given to Western Orissa.

Actually the demand for separate Kosala State was started on 4th November, 1991 on the name of Kosala movement⁸. Though the movement is in low profile and is confined to few selected urban elites but it would be disastrous if the government continued to turn a blind eye towards the region. The Kosala Sammelan which was convened in Goyal Bhawan of Bolangir on 29th March, 1992 under the Chairmanship of Mr. Prem Kam Dubey, a senior advocate of the region⁹, he criticised the State govern-

ment for observing April 1st, as Utkal Divas day while the agreement on the merger of the erstwhile princely states in Orissa was reached on December, 24, 1947. Just because merger of the States took place around 1st April, this day could not be considered as the State formation day the sammelan felt. He also reiterated to observe pausa purnima as the Kosala day. According to Mr. Dube while "Punjab has an area of 46,000 sq kilometre Koshal region having 75,000 sq kilometre land a population of one crore has not been made a State"¹⁰.

Mr. Jadunandan Panda while giving the background about Kosal region, said a temple has been built at Nandapada of Sambalpur district where Kaushalya the daughter of the King of Koshal is worshiped even today. The kingdom of Koshal is so ancient that it finds mention in Manu Sanhita. Besides Udaynath Chandan. Political leader of Patnagarh called upon all the people of Kosal to fight for retaining its identity. Dr. Bhakta Bandhu Swain, social worker of Titlagarh expressed concern over continued neglect of Western Orissa by successive governments. He went a step further in asking the centre to declare Koshal a separate State.

Now leaders of the Kosala Sangram Parishad (K.S.P.) and Kosala liberation front have decided to intensify their agitation for formation of a separate Kosala State. Now the members of both the organisations are now busy in circulating the map of Kosal and various other literatures in order to create a mass

support. According to the Champion of Statehood, they have not yet demanded for formation of separate Kosal State but demarcated the area of Kosali region on the basis of language. Now his first priority is to erase the regional disparities.

Table 5.1 - The area of the Proposed Koshal Tract.

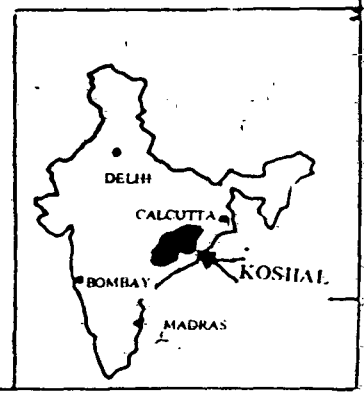
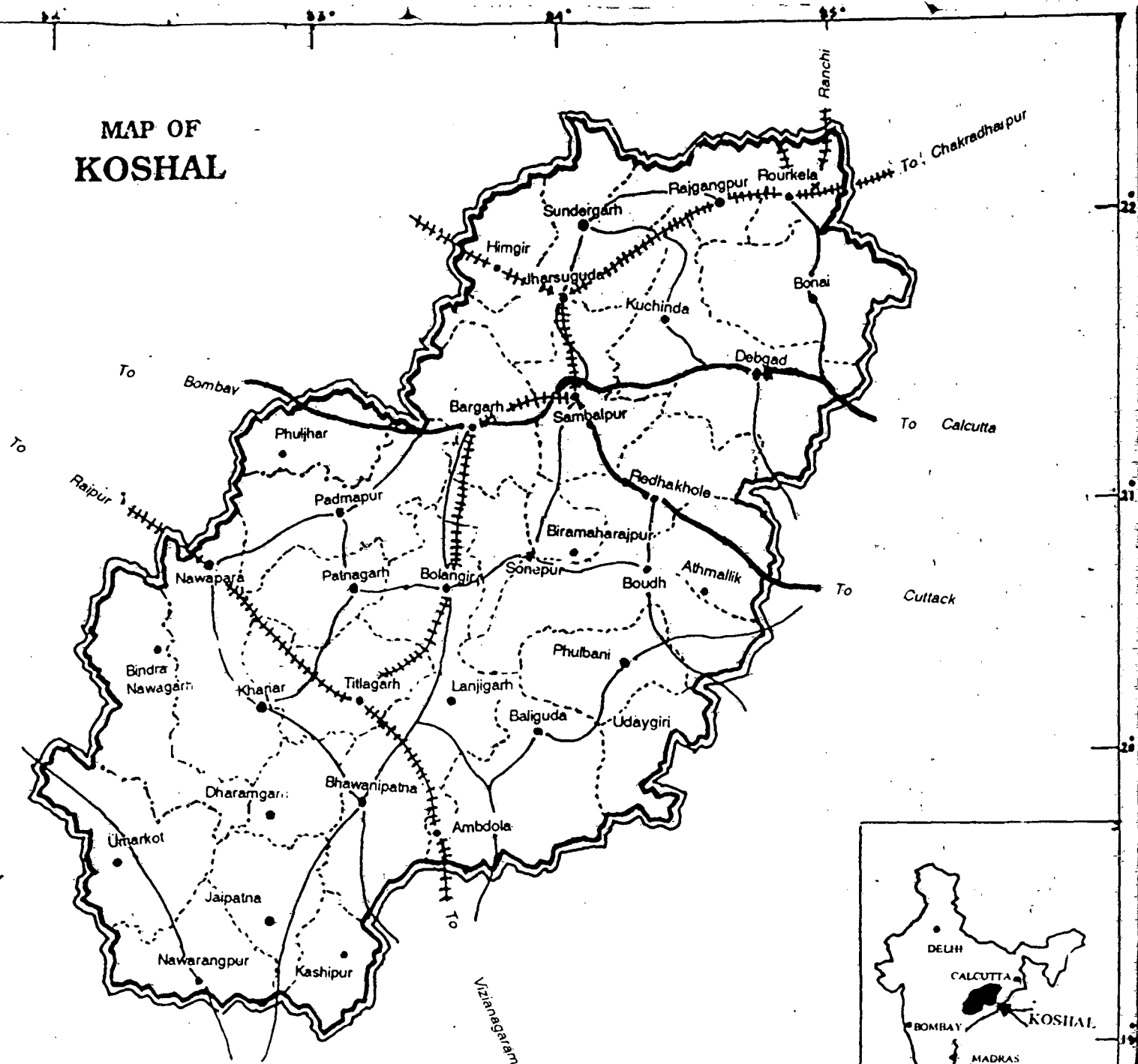
| State | Area | Population |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Bastar | 13,701 Sq. mts. | 6,33,888 people |
| Kalahandi | 3,559 Sq. Mts | 5,97,940 people |
| Patna | 2,530 Sq. mts. | 6,32,220 people |
| Raigarh | 1,444 Sq. mts. | 3,12,643 people |
| Sakti | 137 sq. mts. | 54,517 people |
| Sarangarh | 541 Sq. mts. | 1,40,785 people |
| Athmallick | 723 Sq. mts. | 72,765 people |
| Baudh | 1,156 Sq. mts. | 1,46,175 people |
| Bamara | 1,974 Sq. mts. | 78,277 people |
| Rairakhola | 857 Sq. mts. | 38,185 people |
| Sonepur | 948 Sq. mts. | 2,48,873 people |
| Bondi | 1,280 Sq. mts. | 92,537 people |
| Gangpur | 2,477 Sq. mts. | 3,98,177 people |
| Sambalpur District | 5,419 sq. mts. | 1,182,622 people |
| Phulhar | 792 Sq. mts. | 60,000 people |
| Bindra Naugarh | 1,473 Sq. mts. | 100,000 people |
| Deori | | 20,000 people |
| Khondmals | 800 Sq. mts. | 86,000 people |

Source: See R.N. Mishra, Regionalism and State politics in India

MAP OF KOSHAL



22
21
20
19



Issued by
KOSHAL SANGRAM PARISHAD

Area : 73,480 Sq. Kms.

83° 84° 85°

(Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, Appendix -XX P.230.

5.3 The Demands of the Koshal Movement.

There are always arguments for the industrial developments of three projects like Hirakud, Rengali Dam and Rourekela Steel Plant are taken as developments of Western Orissa. But by these large projects the elite section of the two sections have been largely benefited and the actual inhabitant whose lands had been snatched away by the government are yet to get rehabilitation benefits. Now a sum of rupees two crores sixty eight lakhs sanctioned by the government for this purpose would definitely lessen the burden of displaced tribals¹¹. Though the movement was confined to selected few of the western region but now the duly elected legislators, artists, the eminent persons of various fields of life are attracted by this parochial feeling at the cost of State interest.

The sudden inclusion of Koshal State demand in the State Cabinet's agenda created a sudden spark in the Cabinet meeting. Though specifically there is no influence on special area of Koshal agitation. On the basis of day to day report of special branch Home Secretary Sri Bhaskar Pattnaik had pursued State Chief Secretary Sri Ramakantha Rath to include this topic in State Cabinet's agenda¹². Though the ministers have different stand over the matter but the dissidents of various parties are in a mood to exploit the situation and to go a step ahead of their contenders. "The leaders of western Orissa like Prasanna

Acharya, Gasiram Majhi, Kiran Singhdeo, Basant Mahananda etc., congregated in the residence of Melchamund M.L.A. Mr. Murari Prasad Mishra and expressed deep anguish against coastal rule. He alleged the State budget as only 3 percent of entire budget is spent on western Orissa ¹³.

Similarly series of demands have been put forth by the votaries of separate Kohal State like setting up another Secretariat of Sonepur because Sonepur is locationally in advantageous position. The other demands of S.J.P. (Samajbadi Janta Party), are train line connection from Talcher to Sambalpur, Khurda to Bolangir, establishment of an Aluminium Plant langigarh of Kalahandi. Besides that certain demands had been made like setting up regional development council, establishment of proposed coal company at Sambalpur, separate Doordarshan studio at Sambalpur. Again a demand has been made for bringing up white paper in total amount of revenue collected and spent on western Orissa for development since independence ¹⁴.

Mr. Balgopal Mishra who is considered as a western Orissa leader always pleads to remove the regional imbalances which has crippled the economic backbone of the people of western Orissa. Besides the continued neglect, Socio-economic exploitation, political, subjugation and destruction of the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Koshali ethnic groups have created a psychological division and discontent in the minds of the people of western Orissa. The disenchantment against the establishment controlled by coastal power lobby was always there.

But some of the recent decisions taken by Biju Pattnaik's Janata Dal government have provoked the people to take up arms against the government.

5.4 Issues Raised by the Movement

The following issues which have been undertaken by the present Janata Dal government have contributed most for the discontentment of the people.

- a) The state government closed the special Yojana cell for Kalahandi.
- b) The decision of the government not to set up Doordarshan studio at Sambalpur and withdrew the facilities to make programmes.
- c) The state government's decision to set up the head office of proposed coal company in Bhubaneswar instead of some place in western Orissa having a vast resource of mines.
- d) Shifting of security circle of Hirakud dam from Sambalpur to Bhubaneswar.
- e) Agitation started when an advertise issued by Orissa State Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society, Bhubaneswar appeared in Femina on September 16, 1991. All he brook loose in western Orissa as the Sambalpuri saree displayed in the advertisement as Kutki. The people in Sambalpur and Bolangir took out protest marches demanding the resignation of state Textile Minister Mr. Mustafiz Ahmed. Even state excise Minister Mr. Prasanna Acharya wrote a letter to the President of OSHWCS condemning the adver-

tisement as misleading.

f, Funds released for flood relief in Orissa during 1930-35 were diverted for beautifying roads of Bhubaneswar and Cuttack. Constructing a ring road at Cuttack and for an elephant Sanctuary at Chandaka among other things.

g, Mr. Kalandi Charan Behra, Rural Electrification Minister declared in a public meeting that the people of western Orissa need not observe the Orissa day because they have no contribution for formation of Orissa province. ¹⁵

All these issues are collectively responsible for these unwanted development. Now all these national parties like S.J.P., B.J.P. and Janata Dal do not lag behind. In their demand for the people of western Orissa B.J.P. local unit has demanded a separate development board for western Orissa. At least the money acquiring from this area should be spent here the leader views. The local unit of CPI(M), also at its recent convention passed a resolution in this regard.

According to sources in the K.L.P. (Koshal Liberation Party), and K.L.F. (Koshal Liberation Front), most of the leaders of both the organisations including their governor Mr. Premram Dubey felt that the movement is not gathering momentum because of lack of proper leadership. They are of the view that some of the leaders who are involved with the movement have no social or political base in the western Orissa. Most of the citizens participating the students, youths, intellectuals, do not take

Mr. Dube seriously. Mr. Dube who is a practising lawyer has no base whatsoever among the people of western Orissa. Again the people are themselves convinced that the matter of the separate Koshal State cannot be materialised at any cost but it would certainly put the government in embarrassing condition by which the government will be compelled to enhance the developmental programmes of the area. The below table stands witness to the statement. As there is low percent support to bifurcation of the state and contrarily more people emphasis on developmental works.

Table 5.2 Showing people's involvement on the Kōsala movement

| | People's Participation | Supporter of Separate State |
|-------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Rural | 8.39% | 2.24% |
| Urban | 57.62% | 26.92% |

Source - The table is drawn by feeding the data received from the field tour.

Moreover the table also indicates that the people's participation is less in rural and more in urban areas. So it can be derived from the table that the movement is now purely confined

to urban educated elites and it has yet to take the support of village illiterate masses.

Now the spring board of instigating the parochial feeling are the three universities of Orissa. As for instances the Sambalpur University, which was started to fulfill the aspiration of the people of western region has become a victim of regional feeling. "A student leader Sukanta Kumar Pattnaik alleged that even the syndicate members are so parochial that they did not allow the students to invite a minister for cultural function who belonged to another region." ¹⁶

The Koshal Sammelan held its first convention at Barapalli in Sambalpur district to give concrete shape to separate state movement. Again in 29th March 1992, Kosala Sammelani was convened in Goyal Bhawan of Bolangir and following resolutions were passed. ¹⁷ According to Koshala party President Premram Dubey, western Orissa had been ignored in the matter of allocation of funds and development projects since 1972. He noted that in Rourekela Steel Plant hardly anyone find local recruitments and that only ten from the region could make it to Pattnaik's 36-member Ministry. A legislator claimed that Hirakud Dam Safety Project located at Sambalpur was shifted to Bhubaneswar soon after a grant of Rs. 70 crore. The statehood champion had already forced the state government to declare the Nuakhai day as Public holiday all over the State. ¹⁸

5.5 The controversy over Boundaries

The reported demand of the Jharkhanda Mukti Morcha (JMM), and their allies for the inclusion of Sambalpur and Sundergarh revenue districts of Orissa with proposed Jharkhanda State/Council and further deliberations of the Union Government in this regard, on the Report of the Committee on Jharkhanda issue has been viewed with grave concern in the close-door session of Koshal Sammelan held at Bolangir on the 29th March, 1992.

"The Koshali language speaking tract of Orissa consisting of ex-princely states of Gangpur, Barnra, Banei, Raikhol Boud, Sonapur, Patna and Kalahandi merged with Orissa on 1st January, 1948 on the basis of an Agreement of Merged dated 14th December, 1947. Prior to that the Koshali speaking tracts of Sambalpur and Khariel merged with Orissa under various treaties, and notifications of the British government." ¹⁹

The negligence of socio-economic exploitation, political subjugation and destruction of the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Koshali ethnic groups during the post independence period have instigated the people to cry for Koshal state. So any further move to transfer Sambalpur and Sundergarh districts would be highly prejudicial to the interests of the Koshali ethnic groups constituting 73% of the total population of these two districts.

Now a organisation has been formed to liberate western Orissa known as western Orissa liberation front, and K.S.P. is a outwardly an intellectual wing which is led by Mr. Prem Ram Dubey a law practitioner of the Supreme Court. On 16th February, 1992, he started a journey in a open jeep in the name of Kosala Rath Yatra to aware the people about the aims and objectives of the movement.²⁰

Besides there are many more issues which have been bone of contention between the people of western Orissa and the coastal belt, as for instances since the inauguration of India's 9th Doordarshan Kendra at Cuttack the people of western Orissa are up at arms against the coastal people. It was a peculiar arrangement as the people of the western part could see the programmes but could not participate in them and people of coastal participated in programmes but could not see them so in last November, 1991, a memorandum was given up by the people of western Orissa on the demand of setting up of another Doordarshan studio at Sambalpur on the plea that language of coastal Orissa is not understandable by the peasants of Western Orissa.²¹ Now a memorandum has been given to President of India, under Article 347 of the Constitution for recognition of Koshali language as an official language of Orissa. They have defended their demand by saying that Orissa is a bilingual state in terms of major link languages. The link language of Utkal Kalinga region is Oriya whereas that of the Koshali region is Koshali. The memorandum was submitted by Kosala party, a political party, registered under representation of Peoples Act

956, by the Election Commission, of India.²² Similarly the Kosala Sammelani stressed the need for establishment of a full-fledged aluminium plant in Bolangir with the assistance of a coal-based captive power plant of valley coal fields of Sambalpur district. It pointed out that since 65 per cent of the entire bauxite deposits of the country is available in the Kosala region then there is no need for disturbing the ecology and environment of the sacred Gandhamardhan Hills.²³

5.6 Assessment of the movement

Though the movement is still in low profile form and non-violent in nature but the occasional outburst of the violent has changed the nature of the movement. "In 1930 five western districts of Orissa passed through a hell of fire following certain ugly incidents in which some students of that region clashed with the Marwari trading Community over a matter of collection of funds for flood relief victims. So an Oriya version of the Assam agitation - the demand for expulsion of foreigners was in other words launched."²⁴ The son of the soil theory which was conveniently been propounded by the leaders of the political party to divert the peoples anger into channels which are not dangerous for the political clashes as a whole became handy in Orissa as in several other places.

When Biju was the opposition leader he had given full assurance to stop Balco Company and all the machineries had been removed before the 1989 election. Near about 90 per cent of the

people of this region depend on agriculture. So people would be unfit to this large scale industries. Secondly the project would be a disastrous factor for Nrusingnath Temple, which is a precious tourist place in western Orissa and it is attached with the sentiments of the western Orissa people. Again near about 327 crores of rupees would be spent on this project which would be a huge expenditure for western Orissa. The Sammelan was convened by a 15 member reception of Bolangir district headed by its Chairman Mr. Udaynath Darjee.

The demand of separate state of Koshal in western Orissa cannot be overlooked simply. The victim of regional imbalances have every right to express their grievances. They cannot be called sessionists because their forefathers have sacrificed everything for the integration of Orissa. The entire Orissa has gained profit by Hirakud Dam and Rangali Dam, Rourkela Steel Plants contribution is immense to countries exchequer and the local tribals had to loose everything for massive steel plant. The fact is that no political party has tried sincerely to give effective leadership to western Orissa during last 45 years of independence nor the coastal leaders have not accepted these discontentment as a challenge. A short period of 4 years Chief Ministership was enjoyed by Mr. R.N. Singhdeo. Besides him no leader has been able to build a strong base neither Congress (I), nor Janata Dal has faith that the interests of western Orissa can be protected within the leadership of Orissa. Even the political

parties do not take into consideration all these problems while distributing party tickets during election time. On the other hand few vested interests they know very well this is the plank to fight with coastal Orissa leaders. Once it gains peoples support, it will be very difficult to suppress this movement. Considering all these things leaders must strive now to contain all these splinter forces for integration of state.

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CHAPTER SIX

Summing Up & Conclusion

The crucial issue before the Indian polity and indeed Indian democracy is how to organize a system of governance which assists effective participation in a highly pluralised society, since the formation of the constitution in January 1950, the working of the federal democratic polity of India has brought to limelight the horrendous issues and troubles. Almost daily new issues arise whose origins can be traced to the basic requirements of a political system to respond to the pulls and pressure of the diverse and plural Indian society.

Mainly in India the regional identities sought to crystalize into sub-nationalism with fairly complex inner accommodation between their sub-regions and castes become apparent from the early nineteenth century. Since that time the regional uprising have passed through various phases with leaving behind a history. The present kosal movement is a tool which has been used by the self-proclaimed protagonists of the oppressed for mere personal gains. The present chapter has systematical analysed the supportive mechanisms of the current movement and has given a short description of the individual chapters which are earlier mentioned. Simultaneously efforts have been made to study the problem objectively with out fitting to either side of the uprising. An attempt has been made to spell out clearly the need for fundamental changes in approach to the system of governance, a system that has been characterised in its operation by an in-

creasingly reaction to the centralized authoritarian system. These have to be related to an analysis of identical socio-economic problems which exists elsewhere in the country. Thus time urges for clear change of direction governance.

6.1 Sub-Regional Movements : A Summing Up.

Regionalism in general is essentially a Product of India's diversity, whereas sub-regionalism in particular is the result of historical and geographical factors in it . Sub -regional movements have often been found to take the shape of movements claiming their separate identity either in the formation of separate states or in the formation of separate states or in the formation of regional political parties on the basis of localised support of the depressed region . In this context an attempt has been made to study the sub-regional movements of Orissa generally Jharkhanda state and particularly the kosala Sangram Parishad (K.S.P) in western Orissa.

Besides an effort has been made to analyse the broader as well as the contextual meaning of regional movements and sub-regional assertions. India is now pregnant with this type of fissiparous tendencies in every nook and corner of the Country. It is emerged in one way or the other on the basis of socio-economic, linguistic or, geo-cultural factors as for example kosala state in Western Orissa, Jharkhanda state in northern Orissa and Gandhamardhan in Southern Orissa.

Besides the sub-regional movements across the country like Bidharva agitation in Maharashtra, Telengana agitation in Andhra Pradesh, G.N.L.F in West-Bengal etc have been dealt with in due attention. Again the trends and analysis of sub-regional movement in Indian federal system have been carved out. Though work tries to concentrate attention on Kosala state but other sub-regional movements like Jharkhanda State has been explained.

While second and third chapter analyses the political processes and developments of regionalism and electoral battle in Orissa since the formation of the state until the present government. But this two chapter have been divided according to the development of state politics. The first chapter deals from 1936 upto 1967 when congress first suffered electoral set back. The next twenty years Orissa politics has been dealt with in the third chapter. This phase is often termed as political stable period. Besides a full sketch of Orissa party system growth of regional parties have been clearly mentioned with the fourth chapter has been described to deal various factors which are grossly responsible for whipping up this narrow sentiment, mainly four factors have been mentioned in this chapter namely Historical, geographical, Political and cultural factors. But the anatomical structure of Kosala movement and developments relating to that have been sincerely mentioned in the fifth chapter. In concluding chapter the impact of these movements in our socio-cultural and political life and solutions have been given to content these splinter groups and sub-regional forces".

6.2 Explaining Sub-Regionalism in Orissa

Regionalism has been a typical fact in Orissa . The geographical division of the state into Coastal and Western Orissa has been followed by social economic and political differences as well. The geographical and historical factors were the major contributors of this schism.

"High level concentration of tribal and backward population in Western Orissa followed by uneven economic development between the two regions accounts for the persistence of regionalism in the state. The pattern of land relations has not yet shown any encouraging trend. The different pattern of Land Regulations introduced by the Britishers had contributed for the emergence of new class of small Jamindars in coastal Orissa . In coastal Orissa a class of rich and middle class peasants emerged in place of old Zamindar while in Western Orissa these policies had a peripheral impact on the fental pattern¹".

The people of coastal Orissa are however sore with their counter part in Western Orissa with regard industrialization, like steel plant, cement factory, paper mills , MIG factory etc., have been set up in the western parts of the state . Recent movement to set up a second steel plant at daiteri is a glaring example. Thus

the level of socio-economic differences between the two regions of Orissa continues to exist and this has its impact on the political processes of the state . The emergence of political parties in the state took place because of regionalist feelings among the people of the two regions . The national parties were dominated in the coastal Orissa where as the Janatantra dominated the western region . But now the position have been changed completely. The electoral politics have contributed towards a political integration of the two regions . In 1961, 1977, 1980 and 1985 shown that a single party could gain support from both the regions - Thus while regionalism still continues to be a feature in the socioeconomic field but the differences have been lessened in the political field.

Broadly the state of Orissa may be divided into two main regions namely the coastal plains which stretch over about one fourth of the total geographical area of the state are densely populated part contain almost half of the total population of the State. As regards Communication , literacy, education, urbanisation and industrialisations etc are much advanced . Early spread of education in this part has been given rise to a middle class which have come to dominate the administration in view of their overwhelming majority in government jobs , where as the highland regions backward in every respects.

Apart from geographical features, there are some other characteristics of the region such as tribal and backward character of the population, mineral resources, spread of Christianity and rapid growth of industrialisation and urbanisation have distinguished this region from other regions. The leadership of the government of Orissa has mostly enjoyed by the people, belonging to the plains. Out of 12 chief ministers only 2 chief Ministers hail from western region of Orissa.

6.3 Tribal Characters of the state

Western Orissa comprises the districts of Balangir Kalahundi phulbani, sundargarh and Sambalpur. In the popular perceptions of people of coastal Orissa it is known rather contemptuously as the Gurjats and its people are considered as relatively backward.

Culturally the lifestyles of the people have large traits of the tribal culture which also are considered backward. Social composition wise, the backward population in western Orissa comprising SC and ST in 46.55 percent of the total population. The forces of change in western Orissa centered around land settlements introduced ever since 1864. "Modern communication network came in through railways in 1994 and modernization programmes in agriculture in the 1950 s through Hirakud Dam and in 1970's through ² renjali Dam in Sambalpur district. Industrialization] was brought about through the Rourekela steel plant in 1950's in Sundergarh District and through Balco in 1950's in Sambalpur district. The land settlements for the first time

introduced a new system of relationship in the ownership and use of resources, the state claiming ownership and introducing a system of private exploitation of resources. The introduction of the railways helped in the integration of the people with the national and international markets both at the production at the product level as well as labour value and provided a basis for commercialization of agriculture. Again the rich peasants co-existed with the feudal lords without being able to replace them. The feudals were converted into industrialists, traders or contractors. Whether it is the landlord or the rich peasants as far as the marginalised sections were concerned they exhibited no differences. Each force of change was only a step towards further marginalisation.

The marginalised sections of western Orissa had launched revolts, agitations against the various process leading to their marginalisation. One important feature of all these revolts was that they were also directed against the non-tribals who were encouraged by the kings and supported by British. The second stage revolts of the tribals can be seen in response British attempts to systematise the land revenue collection through the various land settlements which not only increased the revenue demand but also resulted in the loss of Control of land and forests for the tribals. The most important agitations which led against the modernization attempts of the state. Were, the Hirakud Dam and the Rourekela Steel Plant in the fifties, construction of the Rangalidam in Mid Seventies³.

" The on-going agitation against the BALCO at paikamal in Sambalpur district and Proposal to to construct a dam at Tikarapara which was later Shifted to Manivadra also draw discontentment of the people. One notices a Commonality in the entrust of the feudals and the people in the agitation. The establishment of the dam suppressing the movement did not usher in anti-feudalism, nor the failure of the feudals to resist the Dam meant their displacement from the power structure".

Two important aspects of the agitations against dam construction in Western Orissa are visible on the one hand the popular per captions relating to the sub-regional identity which become the instruments for the leadership to mobilise the masses and on the other, the lack of articulation by the marginalised section of the people on the basis of their own interests.

Western Orissa also witnessed agitations at the level of middle classes, and students at regular intervals such as in years 1964, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1972 and 1980 etc. surprisingly none of these agitations were based on problems of the students but relating to 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 is generally carried out by traders who are Marwaris, Gujaratis or Telugu Komtis.

A state with a single ruling class namely, a capitalist ruling class could have possibly effected such a break. But given the multiplicity of ruling classes in this context, each of these resistance movements are treated as a law and order problem in the locality. The state does not look at a radical redistribution of land as a process of restructuring. Society but takes the demand for land by the poorer sections as a law and order problem. While these illustrations reveal the inability of the state and the ruling classes to restructure a society in which the marginalised sections can get integrated, the state and the ruling classes provided basis for the continuing culture of resistance.

The tribal areas of the state present a slight different picture. Any one would find ethnically the tribals of the northern part of the Orissa have close affinities with the tribes of Chota Nagpur and share to a great extent a common culture tradition and mythology with them. Thus the drum beating of Jharkhand movement is also heard in Maurbhanja districts of Orissa.

The study of tribal politics in the State suggests the emergence of two dominant groups among the tribals viz:

- (i) "the loyalists who continue to maintain the old feudal bonds and
- (ii) The separation demanding a separate state of Jharkhand within the union of India. Thus the proposed state of Jharkhand there has

never been any proposal to include the tribes of Southern Orissa which suggests a strong localistic orientation in the politics of the tribal zones of the state".⁴

The geographical and historical factors were responsible for the concentration of feudal tribal aristocracy in the highlands and an educated middle class in the plains with the gradual weakening of the aristocratic class and the expansion of the middle class in the highlands. The conflict involves the middle class of both the regions, the backward classes stand divided a section of them extended its support to the land owning class of the highlands had participated in their movement while another section goes on changing its loyalty from time to time joining hands with identical groups outside the state. Thus there are three sections of the people involved in the regionalism] of the highland that is the landed aristocrats who are on the decline after the new series of agrarian reforms the expanding middle class and the backward classes particularly the tribes.

6.4 The Impact of Kosal Movement

Now the idea of Kosal movement is particularly confined to urban educated elites and middle class persons. The rural uneducated people are yet to be acquainted with the term kosal. Though attempts had been made by former princely chief of Balangir Mr. R. N. Singhdeo but the matter was immediately fizzled out and none could hear the sound of Kosal state. For the last two Years it

has again gained movement when regional exploitation reached its height during the J.B Pattnaik's regime . Though the few vested interest politicians exploit the issue but most of the people are not convinced about the materialisation of proposed Kosala State . But they are mobilised in the way that if they aspire and demand for a greater thing than a less acceptable package can be offered to them or it can be expressed in the way that they may be unsuccessful to achieve a separate Kosala State but major Chunk of State revenue may come to their hand. Now the so-called leader of Kosala movement gains support on the basis of regional exploitation perpetuated by State Governments. If this continues without an end then the idea of formation of separate Kosala State may not be ruled out.

It is true that the development in the Capital region and its adjacent territory can not be equated with the development of interior places. But contrary is possible in democracy. More over it is irony of the situation that as the western region is rich in natural resources and Contribute 70 percent to the exchequer but people are dyeing out of starvation in Kalahandi and Koraput which proves government is Solely responsible for loss of life . Even the governmental developmental programmes have been miserably failed to check the starvation deaths. Through any one can say the differences between the two regions is widely felt in all aspects of life but it can be mitigated by lessening of regional imbalances.

However the blame for emergence of Kosal State lies with the political representatives of both the regions, the coastal Orissa Leaders must take it as an Challenge and strive for stop of this tendencies Where as the Western belt leaders have been unable to snatch a minor] share from the state revenue and must strive to do that. The western belt is mainly inhabited by the tribes, but the protagonists of the so called Kosal State is no way worried for cause of local tribes, rather they are worried for getting as much cabinet berth in the state cabinet as they can, recognizing their festival by declaring public holiday. The regional demands of western Orissa people is mainly seen amongs the non tribals who are migrant from coastal Orissa and north India and this Kosal demand acts as an hindrance for those non-tribals who want to settle in Western Orissa. Thus the regional imbalances can not be mitigated by the minority rich middle class people nor by their leadership, moreover their leadership will whip up the regional sentiments of the masses and will act as a check to balanced development.

Moreover the effort of various so called tribal welfare group to make the tribes civilised by Hinduization Christinisation is nothing but a vague concept. Similarly imposition of Oriya language as mother tounge across the state is as much undesirable as the protrait of Sambalpuri language as a separate language. So if the interests of the different religions are taken into consideration then it would give the best opportunity to grow all language proportionately.

On the whole the lack of firm determination and commitment from governmental side for development has cropped the Kosala issue. But there is sign of relief from every quarter after Biju babu comes to power. Even the people of western Orissa feel that the present Janata Dal government is not as much localistic and coastal dominated as the previous Congress government was. But that is not enough to heal the wound. The government has to take lot of steps which would lessen the regional imbalances.

The following remedies can put forth after a detailed study of the problem. There must be balanced development and proportional representation of the two regions in the state Cabinet must be there. Cultural avenues should be opened for the artist of Kosal region and their art and culture should be given due recognitions. Enough self-employment schemes should be implemented to stop migration of the people of this region to the neighboring states. Exploitation of tribals and poor fellows in any form should be stopped firmly by converting the ~~une~~ducted masses literate. Moreover the political representatives of this region should pay more attention on regional issues rather than on their vexed interests.

Sub-regionalism is a product and concomitant of our pluralistic and diversified society with duly elected regional parties in the Power in a number of states. Sub-regionalism cannot be wished away nor can it be any longer dismissed as the handiwork of narrow minded politicians and anti-national elements

of forcing elements. Balanced regional development and increasing the Socialist content in our economy will take much of the sting out of regionalism.

Any attempt to impose monolithic unit will produce fission in the Country . A plural integration model rather than unitary integration is suited to our milieu . Sub-regionalism should be viewed less as danger to national unity and more as reaction against over-centralisation and a reflection of peoples urge to maintain their cultural identities and their desire for more balanced development. After all institutional structures including federalism have to undergo. Some modifications from time to time to meet the needs of the people for whom the constitution exists.

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APPENDIX-1

POLITICAL CHRONICLE OF THE KOSAL MOVEMENT

- (1) 1936-1946 - Orissa was constituted as a separate province in 1st April, 1936. The period from 1936 to 1946 which was a decade of expansion of nationalism in the Oriya speaking tract also experienced the birth pangs of regional particularism.
- 2 1946- A regional newspaper Hirakhanda Samachar was published from Sambalpur supported the cause of Kosal region people and aggravated the regional parochialism.
3. July 31st 1946 - Haratals and protest meetings were organised in different places against the coastal Orissa leaders for their planning to set up Hirakund multipurposes river valley project, which is hardly beneficial to western region.
4. August 14, 1946 - A meeting of about 500 people consisting mainly of village headmen, tenants labourers of the villages of Badatangi, Sapalahara, Baghara, Santangi, Rampaluga and Dungripalli was held at Salpahare village in Samoalpur Sadar Police Station demanding for formation of a new Kosal state Union.
5. 1947 - The Kosalatkal Praja Praishad was formed by the rulers who pleaded for the Union of Orissa and Chattisgarh states which they argued constituted the parts of the Kosal empire of Ramayana time.
6. Late 1950s - Government shifted two institutions such Braja Mohan Sahitya Samiti of Kalahandi and Kosal Kala Mandal of Bolangir to coastal region on the plea that they are engaged in

local research only. This created long resentment and anger among the western Orissa people.

7. 1973 - Formation of a "Paschim orissa Gana Samukhya" consisting of all the non congress parties of western region to redress the grievances of that region.

8. 1977 - Separate political conference of leaders of Western Orissa held at Baragarh to give a united fight against the Coastal Orissa leaders.

9. 1970 - An adjournment motion was passed in 1970 to discuss the problems of land acquisition, resettlement and employment facilities of western Orissa people in local factories.

10. 1980 - Some western districts of Orissa passed through a hell of fire following certain ugly incidents in which some students of that region clashed with the Marwari community over the matter of collection of funds for flood relief victims and the demand for expulsion of foreigners launched in western orissa.

11. Feb. 1989 - WOLF (Western Orissa Liberation Front), formed a Delhi wing under the leadership of Chitrasena Pashayat with the sole aim of development in western part of Orissa and putting pressure on central leaders for fair deal with the western region.

12. Feb. 16th 1989 - Mr. Bal Gopal Mishra of Loisinga a raised his voice against the hostile discrimination against the people of Bolangir. He was humiliated at the district natural calamities committee meeting by the District Collector, Mr. Ramesh Chandra

Behara. Mr. Mishra was 'physical' removed from the meeting.

13. Sept. 29th 1989 - A political party for western Orissa people bearing the name "west Orissa peoples Front" was registered in political parties list under the leadership of Prem Nath Dubey.

14. Aug. 9th 1990 - A group of ministers and leaders of ruling party belonging to west Orissa for upliftment of that area. Representatives from Bolangir, Kalahandi, Sambalpur, Sundergarh and a part of Phulbani districts agreed to celebrate the "Naukhai" festival in one day in entire western Orissa instead of different days.

15. April 1st, 1990 - There was a massive boycott of Orissa day celebration by people of Sambalpur and a bandh was organised from dawn to dusk and a parallel meeting was organised in support of formation of separate state of western Orissa on the day before the Orissa day that is on the 31st March. On the same day, Mr. Kalandi Charan Behera, Rural Electrification Minister of Biju Patnaik's Cabinet declared in a public meeting that the people of western Orissa need not observe that Orissa day because they have no contribution for formation of Orissa province created massive demonstration and resentment among the people.

16. May 1991 - Sambalpuri Sari was sold in the market in the name of Katakari Sari, people revolted against the name but Orissa Petroleum Minister, Mr. Prafulla Samal consulted the people and promised for non-repentance of such act.

17. June 1991 - The two eminent leaders of western Orissa, Mr. Balagopal Mishra, Mr. Bhakta Charan Marandi gave provocative speeches in support of session in a election campaign meeting.
18. Sept. 22 , 1991 - For the first time the state Government had declared the day of Nuakhai festival as public holiday all over the state to appease the western Orissa people sentiments.
19. Oct. 23rd 1991 - A meeting was organised by Orissa Cultural Society in Municipal House at Sambalpur. The meeting discussed the integration of west Orissa with the Coastal Region. In the meeting of senior Janata Dal leader and sitting MLA of Ruling Party Mr. Murari Prasad Mishra publicly declared his support to the movement and opined to accept leadership if circumstances needed. The meeting was attended by Shri Krishna Prasad Sarangi, the lecturer of G.M. College, the educationaist Shri Prafulla Kumar Patti.
20. Nov. 1991 - A memorandum was given to Shri Ajit Panja, Hon'ble Minister of Cultural Affairs and Broadcasting, Government of India for setting of a separate Doordarshan center at Sambalpur for persisting the programme in Kosali language.
21. January 26, 1992 - Kalahandi Liberation Front was launched by group of unemployed educated youth led by Mr. Madhuy Mohanty a mechanical engineering graduates. He opined of a formation of separate state in Kalahandi by means of violence and militant methods.
22. January 39th 1992 - A resolution was passed in Kosal Sammelini on 29th January, 1992 in Bolangir. The resolution demanded

formation of separate state in western Orissa on the basis of Kosali language consideration. Another resolution was passed demanding the inclusion of Kosali language of the eight schedule of the Constitution. The President^{of} ~~Sammelan~~ Mr. P.R. Dubey declared "Pausa Purnima" i.e. the full moon day of the month of January will be celebrated as Kosal Day. The meeting was attended by Shri Jadunandan Panda, Shri Bhakta Bandhu Swain, Shri Udayanath Chandan, Shri Bhagbat Prasad Nanda, Shri Kalanidhi Panigrahi, Shri Basanta Kumar Panda, Shri Premraj Sahu etc..

23. Feb. 15th 1992 - A Kosala Rath Yatra was launched in an open jeep by the President of Kosal Sammelani Mr. Premram Dubey. He was accompanied by Shri Jadunandan Panda, Shri Santosh Satpathy. They were given a farewell by former Municipality Chairman, Mr. Sangram Keshari Sahani. Communist Party Leader Shri Ashok Kumar Bisi, etc.

24. February 23, 1992 - Newly formed Kosala Sangram Parishad has threatened to launch an agitation for separate Kosal State comprising several western districts of Orissa. Mr. Premram Dubey admitted that the ultimate goal of the proposed movement was to achieve Kosal State.

25. March 1992 - Mr. Suresh Pujari an eminent leader of Western Orissa Liberation Front declared elected as Chairman of Sambalpur Municipality in an independent ticket.

26. March 30th 1992 - Orissa Law Minister Narasingh Mishra appealed to people of western Orissa to reject the call given by

certain element who have given a call for secession of western region and he opined Orissa could prosper on it remain united.

27. 1st June, 1992 - A memorandum was submitted to President of India for recognition of Kosali (Sambalpuri) language as an official language of Orissa.

28. August 1992 - An issue found its way to the agenda of the Orissa State Cabinet meeting, the cabinet was called upon to discuss the demand for a separate Kosali state comprising districts of Sambalpur, Phulbani, Bolangir, Sundergarh, Kalahandi and parts of Dhenkanal. The demand was put up by some non-party political activities of Kosal Pradesh Samiti people forum and peoples front etc.

29. August 1992 - A matter was decided for the first time that Paschim Orissa Gana Samukhya will participate in college union elections.

APPENDIX-II

Kosal Sammelan

39 - G.M. College Road, Sambalpur - 768004,

Orissa, Phone. 20706

Most Urgent

Dated: 7th April, 1992

To,

Shri S.B. Chavan,

Hon'ble Home Minister,

Government of India,

New Delhi.

Sub: Jharkhanda Issue.

Sir,

The reported demand of the Jharkhanda Mukti Morcha (JMM) and their allies for the inclusion of Sambalpur and Sundergarh revenue districts of Orissa with proposed Jharkhanda State/Council and further deliberations of the Union Government in this regard on the Report of the Committee on Jharkhanda Issue has been viewed with grave concern in the close-door session of Kosal Sammelan, held at Bolangir, Orissa on the 29th March, 1992.

The Kosali language speaking tract of Orissa consisting of ex-princely state of Gangpur, Bamra, Banei, Rairakhol, Boud Sonepur, Patna and Kalahandi merged with Orissa on 1st January, 1948, on the basis of an Agreement of Merger dated 14th December, 1947. Prior to that the Kosali (Sambalpur), speaking regions of Sambalpur and Khariar were merged with Orissa under various

Treaties, Charters and Notifications of the British Government.

The continued neglect, socio-economic exploitation, political subjugation and deliberate destruction of the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Kosali ethnic groups during the post-independence period by the Government of Orissa has now left no choice for the Kosali people but to opt for a separate homeland" for their ultimate self-survival. Any further more to transfer Sambalpur and Sundergarh districts, in part of the whole, could be highly prejudicial to the interest of the Kosali ethnic groups constituting 78 per cent of the total population of these two districts. Consequently, it is earnestly requested that a delegation of Kosal Sammelan may be accorded a fair opportunity of being heard before any final decision is taken by the Union Government on the Jharkhanda issue. For this act of your kindness we shall stand highly obliged.

Yours faithfully,

(P.R. Dubey)

President Kosal Sammelan-1992

Encl: Language Map of Orissa.

APPENDIX-III

FEW DROPS... FROM THE OCEAN OF CONSPIRACY

* 74.13 per cent. village of coastal Orissa has electricity, while western Orissa has 47.67 per cent. Utkal Region has 1598 thousand hectors of agriculture land against 2230 thousand hectors of kosal. But 709 thousands hectors of land of Utkal is irrigated while 471 thousand hectors of kosal is irrigated coastal belt as many as 45 lift irrigation Point per block while it is limited to five in western Orissa.

* Employment scope has been made in 352 Panchayat Industry in Utkal. It is 177 in Kosal. Orissa state Finance Corporation has provided a total amount of 25,760.86 lakhs as loan to 9672 persons of coastal belt while 4104 persons of Kosal have got only 7260.24 lakhs only. In self employment scheme 1912 persons ha got 583.6 lakhs of Rupees against 215.88 lakhs to 1148 persons of Kosal. In Jawahar Rojgar Yojna and Indira Aabash Yojna the discrimination in much higher. What Cuttack Medical gets as aid, Burla Medical gets only its 25 percent.

* (1) Employment in western Orissa - Interview at Bhubaneshwar
(2) Initial appointment as a daily wage and then making permanent
(3) Showing ultimate favourness to the candidates of coastal belt and mall practices, RESULT = (1) In the offices of Western orissa, almost all right from officers to the fourth class employees are from coastal region. (2) Establishment of colonies like that of Rourekela and Hirakund, Burla towns in the Sambalpur city.

* Utkal has 23.8 K.M. of Pakka road per one hundred square

kilometers against 12,9 K.M. of Kosal. Even all the roads of Western Orissa are in worst condition west Orissa is deprived of it's Tendu Patta grant, which is used in the two cities of Utkal.

* Conspiracy for shifting the proposed coal company head office of Sambalpur to Bhubaneshwar by keeping an eye on the proposed expansion and scope for employment. Shifting the C.P.W.D. office from Sambalpur. Conspiracy to establish the great Sambalpur Handloom as Katki, Odissi etc. Shifting the place for proposed Aluminum Factory from Lanjigarh of Kalahandi to other place.

* Agitation on the demand for a circuit high court for western Orissa. Counter agitation against this by the Advocates of Cuttack. Demand for establishment of Programme Production Centre at Sambalpur Doordarshan Kendra (estd. 1978, with telecasting facility for its own programme on the basis of regional centers like Silchar and Pondicheery, Cuttack officials and Government's anti-propaganda.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE FIGHT FOR A SEPARATE KOSAL STATE

ISSUED BY KOSAL LIBERATION FRONT

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APPENDIX-IV

KOSAL' SHAMMILINI

SPECIAL MEETING : DT. 3.12.1991 SUNDAY 2.P.M.

VENUE : BARPALI DHARMSALA, BARPALI

Dear Friend,

You must be quite aware of the Political, Economic and Culture Exploitation of the Kosali (Sambalpuri) language speaking area of Orissa & Madhya Pradesh during the Post-Independence period. The step-motherly attitude of the top political leaders of Orissa towards the Kosal region coupled with the docile mentality of the Ministers and representatives of our own region has resulted in our poverty amidst plenty. It is now left to the leading citizens of kosal to usher an era of change. With this aim KOSAL SAMMILINI is being convened in the month of January, 1992.

You are cordially invited to attend the same where the venue, date and agenda of the Sammilini will be finalized.

Yours faithfully,

| | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Prafulla Panda Sambalpur | Purnachandra Pradhan Bargarh | Santosh Satapathy Padamour |
| Nilmani Seth Redhakhol | Syam Sunder Pradhan Jarsuguda | Jitendra Pattnaik Khadial |
| Subas Pradhan Sarangad | Parameshwar Bag Kuchianda | Gorekhanath Sahu Sonepur |
| Promod Rath Kalahandi | Suresh Munda Sundergarh | Shkhigoal Pradhan Boud |

Communication.....

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| Political | Coordination | Cultural |
| P.R. Dubey Advocate Supreme Court Samalpur-4 Ph. : 20706 | Er. J.N. Panda Phatak Sambalpur Pin-768004 Ph. : 21035 | Dr. B.B. Swain Advocate P.O. Titlagarh Distt. Bolangir Ph.: 388 |