INTRODUCTION
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This thesis aims at presenting analytical study of the Government and politics of Orissa, a decade from 1952 - 1961. This work may be claimed as the first of its kind as no attempt has so far been made to throw light on the details of this aspect of Orissa politics. The study of the government and Politics of Orissa from 1952-1961 is in fact a subject of absorbing interest as the thesis covered the period relating to the phase of political instability which ended with the landslide victory of the Congress that provides a strong and stable government in Orissa. This thesis is an humble attempt at making a systematic study of the political realities, geographical conditions, events, circumstances and personalities which were responsible for political instability and untimely dissolution of the government in Orissa. Both the starting and ending of this decade are significant. After the inauguration of the constitution of India, the First General Election was held all over the country including Orissa on the basis of universal Adult Suffrage. It was a significant event in the political history of the country because limited franchise was adopted in the pre-Independence election.
Another important event which took place in the post-independence India was the merger of feudatory states both at Orissa as well as All India level and bringing the population of the state up to fourteen and one-half million, approximately double to that of the old Orissa province. The new-legislative Assembly contained 140 members instead of 91.

After the First General Election, the Congress Party formed the government and it never enjoyed a stable majority due to the emergence of Ganatantra Parishad, a regional party formed by R.N. Singhdeo, the ex-ruler of Bolangir, Sri P. K. Deo, Ex-ruler of Kaliand and others, which had strong base in Western Orissa. Another reason for which the Congress Party could not come out as a dominant party in Orissa was largely due to the intra party rivalry inside the Congress Party. The Ganatantra Parishad continued to be the main opposition in the Orissa Legislative Assembly during the period of 1952-57. After the First & Second General Elections, the Congress formed the government by allying itself with one or more smaller parties and considerable time and energy had been spent in keeping its narrow majority intact. The Ganatantra Parishad achieved grand success in the Second General Election by securing 61 seats, 5 less than the Congress and managed to hold the reign of Orissa by forming a coalition government with Congress in 1959 and eventually merged with the Swatantra Party after the Parliamentary Election of 1962.
The year 1961 is also equally significant and an interesting one in Orissa politics as the Mid-Term-Election to the Orissa Legislative Assembly was held in that year which marked the sudden rise of Biju Pattnaik under whose guidance and leadership the Congress Party won a landslide victory by securing 82 seats in the house of 140. It also came out successful after a few months later in the parliamentary Election. The Mid-Term-Election of 1961 is regarded as a new phase in Orissa politics because it relegated the old guards to the background and established the leadership of Biju Pattnaik. The election also created a great awakening in the minds of the people of Orissa, as Biju Pattnaik promised rapid industrialization on the one hand and power to the people through Panchayati Raj Institution on the other hand. This period from 1952-1961 is unique in the political history of Orissa because it started with the period of political instability and ended with the beginning of a new phase of buoyant optimism. This period also highlighted the politics of political stagnation in Orissa due to the confrontation between the leaders of the Western and Coastal districts.

During the decade under study 1952-1961 the Orissa Congress almost suffered by the elements of defection, corruption and political instability. This period had witnessed towering political leaders like N. K. Choudhury, H. K. Mahatab, R. N. Singhdeo and Biju Pattnaik and for pursuit of power, they organised groups in order to bring the party under their complete control. Orissa is one of those
few states in India which has encouraged factionalism from the beginning of 1950s. It also briefly describes the events leading to instability and further indicates the impact of kendu leave traders in Orissa politics.

The study of state politics in India acquires an important place in discipline of political science because the successful working of the welfare state largely depends on states. In other words, state politics is a connecting link between national politics of the villages. The study of state politics in India receives importance after the Fourth General Election in 1967 when a number of non-congress governments came to be formed. Iqbal Narain, Rajni Kothari, K. V. Rao, Myron Weiner, Jawaharlal Pandey have put emphasis on various aspects of state politics from a new perspective. Those discussions are from broad All-India perspective. But not much attention has been paid for long in most of the states including Orissa. Research based publications on Orissa politics are inadequate. Attempts have been made to focus on the various aspects of the political process of Orissa by S. C. Das. His writings in the Indian Journal of Political Science, Political Science Review and Iqbal Narain's(ed) state politics in India are only topical as they are not compiled in a single book. It helped the scholar to work on different aspects of government and politics in Orissa. F. G. Bailey, a western scholar, has also studied the Orissa politics but his study was simply confined to the specific period of 1959-1961 and which mostly dealt with election politics.
The present study is one of the first attempts of examining the government and politics of Orissa from 1952-61. It also tries to find out the characters responsible for political instability in Orissa and dominated the state politics since 1952. The study also dealt with the three governments formed during the aforesaid period which were untimely dissolved due to manipulation of artificial majority by the Congress Party. The thesis mainly dealt with the political process during this period and the important elements of its political culture like regional imbalance, role of pressure group, defection, corruption and the factional bouts within the party, upto 1961. It is with this objective that the present work was started. Several dissertations have been done in different aspects of the political development of the state of Orissa. The present thesis covers all the aspects and events of the Government and politics of Orissa during 1952-61 because the study of a part would not have given a clear picture about it.

S. Nanda in his thesis "Coalitional politics in Orissa" published by Sterling publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1979, covering a part of the period of research. R. N. Mishra in his thesis 'Regionalism and state politics in India', Ashis publishers, New Delhi, 1984, has dealt with regional imbalance between the coastal and western districts which encouraged political instability in Orissa. These two learned scholars have led the way for the future scholars to follow and collect detail materials from their thesis. B. K. Pattanaik
in his thesis "Politics of Defections" in Orissa and K. S. Padhy in his thesis "Politics of Corruption" in Orissa have given research-based informations which are valuable source materials on the subject.

The book "Smruti O Anubhuti" by Nilamani Routray, Grantha Mandir publications, Cuttack, 1986, who was a political leader during the period, is a notable work on the subject. He has briefly narrated all events and circumstances leading to the formation and dissolution of the ministries during the above specified period. He has mentioned rare events relating to the subjects, for which his work is a valuable record. Though not a research work, it is highly informative as he has mainly concentrated on the political events of Orissa. Besides, there are some biographies and administrative histories where-in a good deal of materials relating to the subject are found. The biographies of H. K. Mahtab, N. K. Choudhury, R. N. Singhdeo and Biju Pattnaik also provide some valuable materials. The autobiographies of "Godavarish Mishra, Nilakantha Dash and also the unpublished autobiography of Mahtab provide some important materials. However, no serious study relating to the Government and politics of Orissa 1952-61 has yet been done". "Indian State Politics"(ed) by A. P. Padhee, B. R. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1985, is a masterpiece which gives a systematic study and information of the political process of Orissa. V. P. Menon's "The story of Integration of the Indian states" is an authoritative account and a valuable source material on the subject. The Book "Beginning
of the end" H.K. Mahtab who was architect of integration of the Orissa States with Orissa, published by Cuttack Student's store, Cuttack, 1949, is also equally valuable to throw light on the subject in question. He has briefly narrated all events and circumstances leading to the integration of the native states with the state of Orissa.

The methods adopted in this study are both historical and descriptive analytical. Comparative analysis has been provided wherever necessary. Case studies have also been given to highlight the thrust areas of the topic. Important personalities who dominated the political scenario during the decade have been interviewed to elicit their views on various aspects of the Government and politics of the state. The scholar has examined both primary and secondary sources. The debates of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, the leaflets and other literature of the political parties have been used to get authentic data. Contemporary Newspapers of the decade (1952 - 1961) have been also used to collect materials. Election results have been analysed with the help of election data obtained from the office of the Chief Election Officer of Orissa. Besides, all relevant books, Journals, both in English and Oriya have been exclusively used for the study. The scholar had interviewed some veteran leaders of the state like H. K. Mahtab, Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, Surendra Nath Mohanty, Balram Mohanty, Sradhakar Supakar.
The thesis has been divided into ten chapters. The introductory chapter gives a bird's eye-view of the thesis. The first chapter throws a general idea about the geographical and ecological profile of Orissa. The second chapter discusses the constitutional evolution of Orissa which covered the period from 1936-1952. This chapter explains the political process and the two General Elections to the Orissa Provincial Legislature held in 1937 and 1946. After both the elections the congress party came to power and the Governments were formed by Biswanath Das and H.K. Mahtab respectively. This chapter also deals with the merger of princely states with Orissa and the origin and growth of the Ganatantra Prishad, a regional party, formed by R.N. Singhdeo and P.K. Deo, the ex-rulers of Bolangir and Kalahandi respectively, which highlighted the interest of the western districts of Orissa.

The third chapter deals with the First General Election the most important event in the political history of India, because the election was held on the basis of Universal Adult Suffrage. This period is the starting point of political instability due to the Orissa Legislative Assembly. N.K. Chaudhury formed the government with the support of some independent members and ultimately resigned in 1956 due to intra-party rivalry and the politicking of H.K. Mahtab.
The fourth chapter which covers the period from 1957 - 61 deals with the electoral debacle of the congress in the Second General Election and the return of Mahtab from Bombay to assume the office of the Chief-minister. The result of the Second General Election was shocking for the congress as it failed to secure a majority once again and Mahtab formed the government by manipulating an artificial majority. The Ganatantra Parishad at last succeeded in capturing the power of the state by forming a coalition government with congress in 1959. It remained in power till 1961.

The fifth chapter deals with the Mid-term Election of 1961 and the vital role played by Biju Patnaik in winning a thumping majority for congress and established the congress dominance by capturing 82 seats in the House of 140 and thereby ensured political stability in the state.

Chapter sixth presents a regional profile of the state and concerned with the problems, social economic and political peculiar to different regions. It also gives a general idea with regard to the origin of regionalism and its impact in the First and Second General Election. Moreover, it refers to the regionalist demands made by the people of the highlands from time to time which leads to the highland - versus the - plains conflict.

Chapter Seventh has been devoted to study the role of the kendi leaf traders in controlling the government of the decade.
This chapter also deals with pre-dominance of the kendu leaf traders who had a hand in forming and breaking the Government of Orissa during the decade irrespective of the party or persons.

Political defections, Corruptions and Enquiry Commissions have been studied in Eighth Chapter. It deals with the problems of constant defections and counter defection encouraged both by the congress and Ganatantra Parishad for capturing the power of the state. Corruptions was rampant during the decade as Mahtab completely indulged in corrupt practices and introduced horse-trade in the political system. Politics of commission have been studied in this chapter which started soon after the General Election of 1967. The Sarjoo Prasad Commission found Mahtab guilty of gross favouritism, improprieties and abuse of power as Chief Minister.

The value of such analysis, as described above becomes clear from the fact that no attempt has so far been made to put together systematically all available data relating to the topic chosen and to present an integrated and composite picture.
REFERENCES

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