



Sub-Regional Politics and Regional Political Parties- Biju Janata Dal

Madan Mohan Bhuyan, Research Scholar, P.G. Department of History, Berhampur University, Berhampur-760007, Ganjam, Odisha

Abstract: *The new party Biju Janata Dal (BJD) had attracted a surprisingly large number of supporters, including 29 MLAs. Inherent contradictions and tensions among the Janata Dal Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs), which had vitiated the political life in the state for last few months, after the demise of Biju Patnaik, came to an end with the formation of Biju Janata Dal in 1997. After the Lok Sabha election of 1998, in Odisha BJD-BJP combine became a major political force. This had resulted in the marginalization of the ruling Congress (I) and the decimation of the Janata Dal and its Left allies.*

Keywords: *Biju Janata Dal, historical, geographical, vote bank*

Introduction

While regionalism, in general, is essentially a product of India's diversity, sub-regionalism in particular is the result of historical and geographical factors in it. The term 'sub-region' refers to a smaller area within a region or 'nation' which for economic geographic, historical and social reasons is aware of possessing a distinct identity.⁽¹⁾ Sub-regional conflicts have often been found to take the shape of movements claiming their separate identity in the formation of regional political parties on the basis of local support. For the emergence of Biju Janata Dal in Odisha factors like political pluralism, religion, regional imbalance, anti centre, and caste factors are not largely responsible. It cannot identify a regional party in terms of its ethnicity or religion-cultural identity.

In 1997 after the demise of Biju Patnaik, the Odisha unit of Janata Dal showed the way for a split. There was also disagreement in the party over the leadership issue. At least 15 Janata Dal legislators out of 46 in the state legislative Assembly had advocated a pro-

Bharatiya Janata Party line for the party. Three senior leaders who were cabinet ministers in the previous Janata Dal government of Biju Patnaik-Biswabhusan Harichandan, Vedprakash Agrawal, and Sarat Kar joined the Bharatiya Janata Party. A section of the state Janata Dal legislators had taken enthusiastic interest to shape a joint opposition front together with the Bharatiya Janata Party against the congress in the forth coming Odisha Assembly election of 2000. Naveen Patnaik, who was elected an M.P from the Aska parliamentary constituency after his father's death and was holding a key portfolio under the Atal Behari Vajpayee at the central cabinet, was extensively leaned to be the leader of the dissenter group. Leaders like Dillip Roy, union Minister, Vijay Mahapatra, and other MLAs of western Odisha including Ananga Udaya Singh Deo and Prasanna Acharya were openly came in support of Naveen Patnaik's leadership.

The plan of a magnificent deal with Bharatiya Janata Party did not find helping hand with Ashok Das, leader of



opposition in the state legislative Assembly and Srikant Jena, Union Minister. They provoked the central Janata Dal leadership to meddle in this matter. A resentful Janata Dal President, Sarad Yadav warned, "we made it clear to the dissidents that we were willing to go to any length to accommodate their views, the only condition being that there should be no truck with the Bharatiya Janata Party". Old friends of Biju Patnaik like Surendra Mohan, Minister of Information and Broadcasting S.Jaipal Reddy and Planning Commission Deputy Chairman Madhu Dandavate were asked to meet Naveen Patnaik and talk to him. ⁽⁵⁾

I.K. Gujral one time Prime Minister of India met Naveen Patnaik for an hour and tried to impress upon him the need to avoid, "compromising with the very forces your father spent his lifetime fighting". Ignoring all the request of the senior Janta Dal leaders Naveen Patnaik group was all set to form a regional party. Subsequently Asok Das, who held both the state units Presidentship of the Janata Dal and the leadership of the Janata Dal legislature party, was asked to quit his Assembly post. ⁽⁶⁾

So by the time the wooing of Naveen Patnaik began, the split was almost a certainty. In his last attempt Sharad Yadav, the President of the Janata Dal at national level phoned Naveen Patnaik from Mumbai, "Come to Delhi tomorrow and you will get the letter appointing you as president of the janata dal at the airport itself. Naveen Patnaik did not take into account the plea of Sarad yadav and at the same night he and his group decided to break away. ⁽⁷⁾

In the last week of December, 1997 Naveen Patnaik stood under a giant cut out of his father at 'Naveen Nivas', Biju Patnaik's house in Bhubaneswar and announced that he and a large number of legislators were breaking away from the Janata Dal (JD) to form the Biju Janata Dal (BJD). "My father had a lot of dreams for Odisha," he intoned, "to realize those dreams are our goal". He also promptly declared that the new party would have an alliance with the Bharatiya Janata Party. Shortly afterwards, Asok Das, State Chief of the truncated Janata Dal, reacting to the new development demanded, "We are the real party which will strive to fulfill Biju Babu's dreams". ⁽⁸⁾

The new party Biju Janata Dal (BJD) had attracted a surprisingly large number of supporters, including 29 MLAs. Inherent contradictions and tensions among the Janata Dal Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs), which had vitiated the political life in the state for last few months, after the demise of Biju Patnaik, came to an end with the formation of Biju Janata Dal in 1997.

Going by the ground realities in Odisha, the Bharatiya Janata Party could not be kept at arm's length. Though the Bharatiya Janata Party was yet to win an election in the state both for 147 Assembly and 21 Loksabha seats - the party had emerged as a major factor in the state, especially in western Odisha. In the 1996 elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party secured over one-lakh votes in half a dozen parliamentary seats, helping the congress to win by default. Logically, there fore, the Janata Dal leaders had to ensure their own survival by working out an arrangement with the Bharatiya Janata Party to counter the challenge of the congress. ⁽⁹⁾



As things stand then, the BJD was the second largest party in Odisha. They had 29 legislators, while the Bharatiya Janata Party had only 10 members. Therefore, in the BJD's working relationship with the Bharatiya Janata Party, the B.J.D was "A" team and the Bharatiya Janata Party was "B" team.

On the contrary, the Congress Chief Minister J.B. Patnaik was wary about the emerging alliance between the BJD and the Bharatiya Janata Party. Both the parent Janata Dal and the congress had been found wanting in framing a political response to the sudden development. The Janata Dal central leadership badly misread the warning signals emanating from Odisha and could do little to retrieve the situation. Even J.B.Patnaik realized he had few options before him. Naveen Patnaik's main slogan was going to be "Save Odisha" and there was little that the rivals could do to oppose such an emotive plank.⁽¹⁰⁾

The man who fathered the Biju Janata Dal latter found to his dismay that he presides only over a handful of leaders and not the party itself. There was a trouble for the BJD chief at home as the party headed for a split. The BJD led towards a vertically split between groups owing allegiance to Naveen Patnaik and to rebel leader Vijaya Mahapatra. Mahapatra was the nuts and bolts man who was controlling the party network particularly in vital coastal Odisha. Building a strong pressure group with 10 MLAs in his grip he always threw his gauntlet against Naveen Patnaik. Things had reached a stage where even minor party mandarins can publicly lambaste the party president and wonder of wonders -get away with it⁽¹¹⁾

Interestingly, both sides (Naveen Patnaik and Vijay Mahapatra Group) accused each other of being agents of Congress Chief Minister J.B.Patnaik. While the loyalist camp alleged that the rebels were out to break the party at the behest of J.B.Patnaik, the rebels pointed the fact that the party president, Naveen Patnaik, for all his talk of uprooting the "Cynical, corrupt Congress government" in the state, had failed to spearhead any meaningful agitation against the J.B.Patanaik Government.⁽¹²⁾

Naveen Patnaik had clearly underestimated the clout and support Vijaya Mahapatra enjoyed in the party. His decision to induct Damodar Rout and Sarat Kar had disaster written all over it. If Naveen Patnaik really believed that the entry of these gentlemen would sore up his party, it was a genuine error of judgment. After all both of them had lost the last Assembly election badly - Damodar Rout from two places and had done precious little till then. But Naveen Patnaik's subsequent moves suggested that his action was designed to snub Vijaya Mahapatra who had a long-standing rivalry within them. His decision to reconstitute the party organization to ensure that no Mahapatra loyalist remains in a position of authority had brought the party to the brink of a split. And it could have a miracle of sorts if it continued the crisis.⁽¹³⁾

Naveen Patnaik suspended five party MLAs for anti-party activities. Naveen Patnaik badly faltered at the first test of his leadership quality. Not only had he failed to rise above the various factions within the party and to keep them on a leash, he had also failed enthuse the party cadre. Apart from an occasional memorandum to the Governor



or a stray press statement demanding the resignation of Chief Minister J.B.Patnaik, there had hardly been an agitation worth the name against the state Government. In the wake of law and order situation, attacks on the Christian minority, Anjana Mishra case and the ongoing battle of attrition with his powerful deputy Basant Kumar Biswal, J.B.Patnaik was at his most vulnerable during 1998-99. In view of the slender majority of the ruling party in the Assembly, a concerted opposition attack could have made life miserable for him. But, the intra-party conflict, it was the opposition, which was gasping for breath.

In another significant development, 18 Janata Dal legislators from Odisha had announced that they were opposed to any type of understanding or alliance with the BJP. These MLAs included Narasingha Mihsra, Judhistir Das, Surendranath Nayak,, Prafulla Ghadei, Prafulla Samal, Mangala Kissan, Ranendra Pratap Swain, Duryodhan Majhi, Bira Sipka, Balabhadra Majhi, Jogendra Behera, Suryamani Jean, Prasanna Kumar Patsani, Bijay Ranjan Singh Bariha, Hrushikesh Nayak, Bikram Kesari Aruk and Madhabandnda Behera.

Later the leaders of the BJD led by its President Naveen Patnaik Staged a *dharana* in front of the residence of the Speaker of the State Legislative Assembly for not granting recognition to their break-away group in the State Legislative Assembly even as the house was adjourned sine die.⁽¹⁴⁾ Speaker of the State Legislative Assembly later, on December 19, 1997 recognized the break-away group of Janata Dal, thus formalizing the split.

Meanwhile dates for the election to the 12 Lok Sabha was declared. In the 1998 elections to the 12th Lok Sabha the BJP and Allies⁽¹⁵⁾ secured 252 seats (BJP-179, Siva Sena –6, Samata Party-12, BJD-9, SAD-8, TC-7, Lok Shakti-3, H.V.P –1, AIADMK-18, PMK-4, MDMK-3, TRC-1 and J.P.-1) The Congress (I) and its allies⁽¹⁶⁾ secured 166 (Congress (I)-140, RPI-4, IUML-2, KC (M)-1, UMF-1, RJD-17, RJP-1. The United Front secured⁽¹⁷⁾ 96 seats and independents and others⁽¹⁸⁾ secured 23 seats. The BJP-led Government assumed power at the Centre. The withdrawal of support of one of its allies, the AIADMK resulted in its losing the trust vote by one vote 269-270.

After the Lok Sabha election of 1998, in Odisha BJD-BJP combine became a major political force. This had resulted in the marginalization of the ruling Congress (I) and the decimation of the Janata Dal and its Left allies.⁽¹⁹⁾ The BJP won seven seats out of nine it contested. Most of the seats were in Western and Northern Odisha. The BJP has won 9 out of 12 seats it contested.⁽²⁰⁾ Significantly, the BJD-BJP combine also made inroads into Congress (I) strongholds in constituencies with a substantial number of people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The huge margins with which many of the candidates of BJD-BJP combine won were indicative of an upsurge of popular support in favour of this combine.⁽²¹⁾ The combine fought with the slogan "able leadership and stable government". Some Congress (I) leaders, however, saw a strong anti-establishment mood, combined with the Janata Dal's obliteration, which led to a consolidation of the opposition votes, contributed to the Congress (I) debacle. The people of Odisha also stamped their approval on Naveen's status as the real inheritor of



Biju legacy. The BJD not only appropriated the Dal vote bank but also formed a powerful combination with the ever-growing section of the BJP sympathizers.

The exceptional success of the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Biju Janata Dal in the elections to the 13th Lok Sabha elections in Odisha had started a new trend in the politics of the state. Out of 21, the BJD-BJD combine had captured nineteen seats. This was three more than the number of constituencies it had won in the last Parliamentary elections. The BJD has scored 33 per cent of votes as compared to 24.6 per cent by the BJP. In the two constituencies, Dhenkanal and Koraput, where the Congress had won, the margin of victory was really small. The victory of K.P.Singh Deo, a former Union Minister from Dhenkanal was attributed to the presence of a rebel BJP candidate in the constituency. Another significant trend was that the BJP-BJD combine led in 128 assembly segments out of 147. In the coastal area, the alliance got nearly 58 per cent of votes. In the 1999, elections to the Lok Sabha the BJD-BJP combination secured 19 seats (BJD-10, BJP-09) out of 21 seats. Naveen Patnaik-led BJD had declared unconditional support to BJP-led Government at the Centre, unlike other partners of the coalition. ⁽²²⁾

But Bijay Mohapatra has been arguing in the party forums that their leaders should not only strive to maintain separate identity but also fight for the interests of their state. The BJD MPs staged a walkout in the Lok Sabha over the poor allocation to the State in the Railway Budget. The BJD wanted an Oil Refinery project at Paradeep. Another demand of the BJD was to declare Odisha as a special category state.

On the other side of the situation the political scenario of Odisha gradually became worse with the growing of sycophants centering round Janaki Ballav Patnaik's Ministry. On the other hand his continuance in office became untenable, politically since the 1998 Lok Sabha election with Biju Janata Dal-BJP Iliance own 16 out of 21 seats and morally since Anjana Mishra was gang raped a month ago. The above situation further precipitated when the Australian Missionary Graham Stewart Stains and his two sons were torched to death in the deed of night of the village Manoharpur in the district of keonjhar, Odisha. ⁽²⁵⁾

Within the fortnight of these events, a Nun belonging to the daughters of a Charity Home was attacked at Bripada in Mayurbhanja District. Even before the people would recover from the shock of the Baripada incident, suddenly appeared the killing of two youths at Mandasore in Kandhamal district. ⁽²⁶⁾

Similarly, the R.Udahagiry incidents in the Gajapati district indeed deserve a much closer look. It was not merely a law and order problems. The incidents undoubtedly had a definite pattern symptomatic of issues of larger dimensions like the economy and social order. It is an admitted fact that the slightly better of Pana Harijan's many of whom are Christian converts have been systematically exploiting the innocent Adivasis. And the tribals are gradually losing faith in an administration apparently indifferent to their woes. ⁽²⁷⁾ At the behest of political intricacies on 9.2.1999 Janaki Ballav Patnaik preferred to sacrifice him self offering his resignation to the Congress President sonia Gandhi on the ground of moral responsibilities for the spate of violent incidents, especially gruesome attacks on Christians by the communal forces in the



State.⁽²⁹⁾ J.B.Patnaik was replaced by Giridhara Gmango to save the party's image. In the in the meantime, during October 1999 the coastal areas of the State were flattened by a killer Super cyclone and tidal wave and the Government kept itself busy for a considerable period with relief operations. But no significant headway was made in any field of development. Giridhara Gamang's government proved total inefficiency in providing relief. Resentment brewed among the natives of the cyclone affected areas. And then it was in the grip of a worsening political crisis even Sonia, the President of Congress acknowledged his as the most ineffective chief minister in the state's history.⁽³¹⁾ As an administrator Gamang was not a great success. He was soon replaced. He was succeeded by Hemananda Biswal, a tribal leader from western Odisha.⁽³²⁾

In this vague state of affairs then the general election in 2000 came off at the peak of anti-congress wave in the state. the BJD-BJP coalition was again victorious in 2004 and Patnaik continued as the Chief Minister, but the friction between the ruling partners was getting more and more apparent, especially after the killing of Swami Laxmanananda Saraswati^[14] in the Kandhamal district of Odisha in 2007–2008 and also active participation of Bajrang Dal in the riots that hit Kandhamal region. In the run-up to the polls for the Lok Sabha and Legislative Assembly of Odisha elections in 2009, BJD walked out of the BJP after severing ties with the BJP and joined the nascent Third Front constituted mainly by the Left Front and few regional parties. He did it after severely criticising BJP's involvement in Kandhamal anti-Christian riots during 2007. The BJD won a resounding victory in both the

Vidhan Sabha (State Assembly) as well as the Lok Sabha elections in 2009, winning 14 out of 21 Lok Sabha seats and 103 of the 147 assembly seats and was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Odisha on 21 May 2009 for the third consecutive term. Elections 2014. Naveen Patnaik won a huge victory in both the 2014 Indian General Elections and the Legislative Assembly of Odisha elections in 2014. Naveen Patnaik's Biju Janata Dal secured 20 out of the 21 Lok Sabha Seats of Odisha and 117 of the 147 Odisha Vidhan Sabha Seats.⁽³³⁾

Achievements of the Party: The party under Navin's shrewd dynamic and transparent leadership has attained marked popularity as is evident from re-election of Navin and triumph of his party in the assembly election.

(a) The Power to the People: To strengthen the Panchayati Raj system, the state government has kept 21 subjects concerning 11 departments under the control of Gram Panchayats.

(b) Pani Panchayat: To involve farmers in the maintenance and operation of irrigation, 9182 Pani Panchayats have been set up under the irrigation management scheme. So far, 4498 Pani Panchayats have been given over 3.41 Lakh hectares for irrigation management.⁽³⁴⁾

(c) Biju Krushak Vikas Yogna: Nine hundred fifty one Pani Panchayats have been formed under Biju Krushak Yojana which facilitates irrigation of 30,000 hectares of land.

(d) Watershed Mission: It involves the setting up of drought proofing mechanisms to harvest rain water for agriculture.



(e) **KBK (Kalahandi- Bolangir Koraput) Development:** Poverty reduction, social security coverage and road connectivity—important areas of development in the districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput—have been undertaken vigorously.

(f) **Development of Backward Areas:** The Western Orissa Development Council has been established to initiate, execute and accelerate projects in the western districts of Orissa.

(g) **Sarba Sikshya Abhiyan:** Three hundred and twenty five new primary schools have been opened. Plans are afoot to open 780 more primary schools and 2,771 upper primary schools.

(h) **Inception of Regional Centre of AIIMS:** In order to provide better medical and health care in the region, A.B. Vajpayee—the P.M. laid the foundation stone for the regional centre of AIIMS at Bhubaneswar.

(i) **Paradip Oil Refinery:** Indian Oil Corporation is to operations the oil refinery project at Paradip in the near future.

(j) **Industry:** Six integrated steel projects in the State are being launched. The alumina project of starlight industries of Laujigarh is already in progress. Navin—the C.M. Orissa emphasised that Orissa's abundant natural resources untapped energy and vast work force make it a potential gold mine for the investors while its rich cultural heritage is a haven to visitors,' He remarked in an interview, "I believe that Orissa will be one of the most advanced states of India in 10 years from now. We have the vision and the resolve to realize this." He is rated as one of the best C.Ms, of India.⁽³⁵⁾

As a regional party, the BJD has made a number of significant contributions to the political scenario of the country. Some of these are listed below:

- The BJD is committed to a holistic development of women and children in the state, through education and empowerment. A 50% reservation has been made for women in the Odisha Municipalities. It has implemented a number of schemes for women and children, such as the 'Mamata Yojna', 'Mission Shakti', 'Tupti', 'Nua Arunima' and the very crucial 'Self Help Group Energy Franchisee Arrangement (SEFA) Program'.
- Essentially an agricultural state, the farmers of Odisha is the backbone of the state. The BJD government initiated a separate agricultural budget for the farmers, increasing the budget allocation for agriculture from rupees 2,000 crores to rupees 7,000 crores.
- Through a number of schemes such as the 'Biju Krushak Vikas Yojna' and the 'Biju Krushak Kalyan Yojna', Naveen Patnaik has ensured agricultural loans at a nominal 2% rate of interest.
- Odisha is the first state in India to organize animal health camps, operating in more than 12 districts and treating more than 24 lakh animals so far.

Ideology and Party Base of the Biju Janata Dal:

The character of politics at the national and state level has been changing and regional aspirations are getting more prominence in the national politics too. There is some commonality among national and regional parties so far as



there are changes in the process of adapting to the new situation. It is against this theoretical background of a transitional polity that the Biju Janata Dal has been singled out for the analysis. Some broad conclusions drawn from this analysis are given below. These should not be taken either as definite or even as authoritative because we deal with an entity, which is nascent and still growing.⁽³⁶⁾

a. The Biju Janata Dal emerged as a product of political developments at the national level and state level. In the national level, the decline of the congress party, regionalisation of national politics, coalition culture, political realignment, etc., on the one hand; and at the state level two political developments within the inter party leadership crisis and factional conflicts on the other hand. In this situation of an open division, the state unit of Janata Dal would not be in a position to function as an effective opposition; rather it plays an effective role as a state party to consolidate anti-Congress politics by forming an alliance with the BJP. Naveen Patnaik was a true inheritor or Biju's Janata Dal, he has formed the BJD, a typical regional party.

b. So far as the question of its social base is concerned, it suffers from a dualistic approach. On the one hand, it originated in anti-Congressism that is; it evolved as a party of middle class/ caste, especially the three upper caste Brahmin, Karan and Khandayat. The other sections of society - women, dalits and minorities not neglected. No doubt, the party organisation is dominated by the middle caste but it claims to be a broad based, mass political body dedicated to the aggregation and articulation of the interests of a cross-section of the society. This is a characteristic of normal feature most of the Indian parties.

d. Orissa is one of the few states in the country that have not witnessed any major sectional mobilisation along caste or class lines. The absence of a large peasant caste has meant that politics is still the prerogative of the small upper castes and that mandalisation has had no effect. It is true that the OBCs, SCs and STs, all have been politically mobilized on the decision making processes but they are still too fragmented and are less dominant in the political scene in Orissa.

e. The changing pattern of party system from two party Congress-Janata Dal and then a triangular (Congress-BJD-BJP) competition has added little to the political agenda except the question of regional discrimination. But this pattern changed in 1998. The emergence of bi-nodal party system was the outcome of a process of alliance between the BJD-BJP in the 1998 general elections. The changing patterns of party System in Orissa since post mid 1990s as political observer pointed out in past as bipolar i.e. the Congress and the BJD-BJP shift towards the hi-nodal party system i.e. the anti-Congress vs anti-BJP at the State of Orissa. The BJD-BJP alliance is an example of anti-Congressism. This is due to the party merger, party splits and electoral alliance etc.⁽³⁷⁾

f. The leaders of the Biju Janata Dal are from higher socio-economic background. It does not mean that other socio-economic backgrounds are not represented in the BJD. The emergence of the educated legislators in BJD is a positive sign in party politics in Orissa under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik which was lacking under its predecessors party i.e. Janata Dal. They were centred on a single leader. However, the BJD as in the case of many other state level parties lacks internal democracy and is



centered on a single leader. This makes the party authoritarian in nature.

Conclusions

The Study shows that the Biju Janata Dal has a member of achievements to its credit, for instance, providing a clean and transparent administration, achievement of socio-economic targets, a fair deal to the down trodden, especially the dalits and minorities. Most of these came as a package with the launched of "Mission Shakti" which became a social movement. This paved the way for gender equality enabling women's involvement in the political process. The opposition parties failed to take into accounts the hopes and aspirations of newly emerging classes. In these circumstances, the BJD could maintain itself because it has already created an independent political base. The future prospect of the Biju Janata Dal is seems to be better. A number of factors indicate the possibility of a rise of Biju Janata Dal in future. First, the internal fighting among the sister parties like Janata Dal and Orissa Gana Parishad and their close alliance with the congress; secondly, Naveen's shows more flexibility in adapting to the new development quickly; thirdly, the unfortunate record of Congress party while in power in the state and finally, BJD's alliance with the BJP will most likely favoured electoral competition.⁽³⁸⁾

References:

1. Dasarathi Bhuyan, Naveen Patnaik: The Best Chief Minister, 2006, Indian Publisher's Distributors, Delhi, 81-7341-402-5
2. From greenhorn to history-scripting politician, *The Hindu*, 18 May, 2009
3. Naveen Patnaik's master stroke in Odisha – Rediff.com India News. In.rediff.com
4. Reshmi R Dasgupta, TNN 10 May 2004, 03.13am IST (10 May 2004). "Naveen Patnaik sets stage for GeNext Doscoc – Economic Times".
5. "Naveen Patnaik: The man who would be king, or would he? – Economic Times". Articles. economictimes.indiatimes.com. 26 February 2012. Retrieved 21 November 2012.
6. "Profile-Chief Minister of Odisha". Orissa. Gov.in. Retrieved 27 May 2012.
7. For Naveen, politics is a way to complete father's agenda. Indianexpress.com (10 May 1997). Retrieved on 25 December 2010.
8. "UN citation to Naveen for Phailin evacuation" (Business Standard). 20 December 2013.
9. Dasarathi Bhuyan, Politics of Orissa: From 1936 to Contemporary, 2010, Mangalam Publications, New Delhi, ISSN: 978-93-80013-51-0
10. Sadasiva Reddy, Electoral Processes: case for Institutionalization of reforms, Politics India, Vol-III, NO-4, October, 1998, p, 29.
11. The New Indian Express, March 15, 2009.
12. Dasarathi Bhuyan, Peoples' Mandate, 2010, Abhijeet Publication, New Delhi, ISBN 978-93-80031-68-2
13. Neeraja Chowdhury, "The fighting gets murkier", New Indian Express, Bhubaneswar, 9March, 2009



14. Prakash Patra, "Naveen's Googly", New Indian Express, Bhubaneswar, 10 March, 2009
15. Surya Narayan Mishra, Naveen Patnaik Authors a New Chapter for Odisha,, Economic and Political Weekly, September 26, 2009, VOL.XLIV No.39, pp-148-150
16. India First, Bhubaneswar, 26 March-1 April, 2005
17. India First, Bhubaneswar, 8 October, 2005.
18. Prafulla Das, Resistance and Tragedy, Frontline, Chennai, January 27, 2006, P, 41.
19. V.R. Krishna Iyer, Conflagration Nandigram, Mainstream, November 9-15, 2007.
20. D. Bandyopadhyaya, A Betrayal, Mainstream, November 9-15, 2007.
21. S. Gurumurthy, Kandhamal and Bengaluru, a Column in Indian Express, 11 September, 2008.
22. Indian Express, August 29, 2008.
23. Indian Express, August 30, 2008.
24. Indian Express, Friday, 19 September, 2008.
25. Indian Express, Friday, 26 September, 2008.
26. Indian Express, Monday, October 6, 2008.
27. Indian Express, Bhubaneswar, October 7, 2008.
28. Neeraja Chowdhury, "The fighting gets murkier", New Indian Express, Bhubaneswar, 9March, 2009.
29. Prakash Patra, "Naveen's Googly", New Indian Express, Bhubaneswar, 10 March, 2009.
30. The New Indian Express, Bhubaneswar, March 20, 2009.
31. Dasarathi Bhuyan, Government and Politics in Odisha, 2014, Abhijeet Publication, New Delhi, ISBN 978-93-5074-114-6
32. Ram Madhav, "Local factors led to Kandhamal violence", 8 January 2008, Rediff India Abroad.
33. Kandhamal caused BJP-BJD break-up: Naveen Patnaik – Politics News – IBNLive.Ibnlive.in.com (3 February 2010). Retrieved on 25 December 2010.
34. Dasarathi Bhuyan & Dayanidhi Parida, Role of Regional Parties in Orissa, 2010, Abhijeet Publication, New Delhi, ISSN: 978-93-80013-55-8
35. Smita Nayak, Examining the nature of Verdict in Parliament & Assembly Elections in Odisha (2014), OPJS, Vol.XX.No1, 2014
36. Dasarathi Bhuyan, Role of Regional Political Parties in India(ed), 2007, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, ISBN:81-8324-191-3
37. Dasarathi Bhuyan, & Simanchal Muni, Dynamics of Coalitional Politics, 2010, Abhijeet Publication, New Delhi, 978-93-800031-56-9
38. "NDTV Opinion Poll One Year Report Card of UPA 2". 18 May 2010. Retrieved 15 November 2014.