Development Administration in Odisha: Mainstreaming Biju Patnaik's Contribution and Achievement

Dr. Shridhar Charan Sahoo

Biju Patnaik was a towering and multi-dimensional personality no less than a colossus in every sense of the term. For a person who neither worked with him nor saw him from close quarters, it is virtually a herculean task to grasp his total personality. The author who belongs to this category having only a little bit of bookish knowledge can only salute this great and proud son of Utkal Janani (Mother Utkal) whose contributions were not only multi-dimensional but even transcended the periphery of Odisha and India extending to the international domain. A pilot-cum dare-devil nationalist, he was closely associated with stalwarts like Jai Prakash Narayan, Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and others. He extended his all-out support to them during the Quit India Movement (1942) carrying in his aircraft those nationalist leaders to their destination. He also distributed handbills of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and that is why he was court-martialled and was sentenced to three years imprisonment.

Apart from contributing his mite in India's struggle for freedom, he as an 'international activist' for freedom was closely associated with the Indonesian freedom struggle unconcerned of all the life-risk that it entailed. His expanded love for democracy and freedom also found expression in his association with the 'Nepalese democratic movement since 1953'.

Every inch an ardent patriot and a fearless nationalist, he served Mother India and safeguarded its national interest both in Kashmir (1947) and during the Chinese aggression (1962) or when called upon to do so.

In the post-independence period, he emerged as a high-profile and successful industrialist rolling in riches and affluence. However, destiny ordained it otherwise. He was not cut out to be only an industrialist getting engrossed in business and industry in the private domain of life. His other-regarding self virtually propelled him to enter into the public domain which in course of time
catapulted him to blazing lights of prominence and popular acclaim.

This legendary leader and idol of the masses had almost a hectic and uninterrupted political career serving his state and the country in turns working in different capacities. He was a distinguished and talented member of Odisha Legislative Assembly, an outstanding leader of opposition, a remarkable Chief Minister of Odisha in 1960s and 1990s and an efficient Parliamentarian and effective Central Minister. "His contribution to India's democracy was the role he played tenaciously and repeatedly in Odisha and at the national level for forming opposition unity through times of factional politics.

In the midst of his hectic political life and career, he had neither the opportunity nor possibly the required leisure to evolve a systematic thought pattern of his own. But then, he showed the traits of a real thinker with some innovative ideas and a vision of his own particularly in the realm of nation-building and development.

The present article entitled 'Development Administration in Odisha: Mainstreaming Biju Patnaik's contribution and achievement' is an humble attempt to systematize his achievement, ideals and vision in the said field. It is being preceded by a conceptual framework felt necessary by us to evaluate Biju and his contribution in the right manner and spirit.

Simplicity is a sign of greatness and lucidity of expression is an art. Biju Babu appears to be a connoisseur and past master in this art. His ideals and vision though couched in the simplest of expressions are nonetheless very significant words being backed by a huge fund of experience. His dreams, ideas and vision if adhered to and followed in right earnest will greatly help in creating a more vibrant, a more prosperous and a more developed Odisha of Biju's dream and vision.

(A) Concept of Development

Development is one of the major concerns of our times. Whether one is a politician or a political scientist, an administrator or administration theorist, a planner or an economist, a sociologist or social scientist, almost everybody talks of development. But the concept of development as such or its goals and strategies have grown and evolved over the years. In its initial stage development was primarily concerned with economic growth and was often measured in terms of changes in Gross National Product (GNP). A country was said to be developing if its GNP was increasing.¹

But now this concept of development has acquired a broader and more comprehensive connotation. It has come to mean broad human development which includes not only physical but also socio-economic and civil - political development. Social Development embraces provision of social services like education, health and recreation and provision of justice for the socially deprived groups such as scheduled castes, backward classes and women. Civil Development implies provision of civil liberties and political rights. This is evident from the emerging human rights perspective on development.²

Moving from the economic growth and GNP dimension of development through human development, the concept has further grown embracing two new conceptions of development, namely Sustainable Development and 'Ethno-Development'. The concept of sustainable development gained currency in the 1980s following the emphasis put on it by the world commission on Environment and Development (known as Brundtland Commission framed by the United Nations in 1983). Broadly speaking sustainable development refers to "such development as is not damaging to ecology and
destructive of environment." The concept of 'Ethno-development' which has emerged out of a pragmatic study of development issues and problems states that development of a country cannot be divorced from the socio-cultural realities and ethos of its society. The mode and model of development of the western world, for example, may not suit the underdeveloped or developing states in its entirety to be willingly adopted or thrust upon them by any outside pressure or agency. Hence, Ethno-development emphasizes on an indigenous mode of development which is compatible with the socio-cultural ethos of a society.

While the U.N. initiative for sustainable development has created an awareness for reformulation and restructuring economic development policy in terms of protecting the environment and ecology for the present and future generation, other developments since 1990 of the last century have raised a critical debate over development policy. There has been a switch over to the policy of liberalization, privatization and globalization. The policy seeks to reduce the role of the state in the development process to the minimum.3

What is marked now is that under this policy, state is retreating more and more from the socialistic and welfaristic ideology leaving social service sectors like health and education etc to private sector. India, as we know has adopted this new policy of globalization, liberalization and privatization since 1991.

Keeping in view this new turn in India's policy of development, it has been rightly said: "These kinds of changes call for debureaucratisation of our development administration. What we need to-day is a machinery of development administration which is flexible, responsive and above all committed to the cause of improving the lot of socially deprived economically under-privileged and politically-oppressed sections by our society".

(B) Emergence of Development Administration

After the Second World War (1939-45), quite a sizable number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America freed themselves from colonial rule and emerged as independent sovereign states. During centuries of colonial rule those countries had no choice of their own to think about their problems of development and determine the order of priorities in which they would employ their resources both human and material.4

Most unfortunately, the natural resources of those countries were exploited by the colonial rulers to their own profit and advantage. As it were, they showed little concern about their development or well-being and consequently those countries under colonial rule became helpless victims of poverty, hunger, ignorance, inequality and backwardness. Now the main task before the government and leaders of those newly independent states was how to get out of this cycle of poverty and backwardness and accelerate and speed up their economic, social and political development. As it were, by the beginning of sixties (1960s), development became the dominant issue in the third world or developing countries.5

To meet the needs of development of those newly independent developing countries there emerged a new species of administration, a special mode of administration called development administration.6

The concept of development administration developed with this background. It is mostly used in the contextual specificity of those newly independent developing countries...
who have been trying for their rapid progress and development. Some scholars consider it wrong to presume that development administration is solely concerned with the administration of developing countries. Developed western societies, in their view, also face the problems of continuing socio-economic and political development. Moreover, confining the concept of development administration to developing countries will reduce its utility and discourage us to have a comparative analysis of developed and developing countries.

(C) Development Administration: A Theoretical perspective

The term 'Development Administration' is of recent origin. It was first coined by Goswami in 1955 and was popularized later on by eminent scholars like Fred W. Riggs, Edward W. Weidner, Joseph La Palombara and Albert Waterson etc. Weidner was the first who introduced the concept of development administration.

Defining the concept of development administration is quite a difficult task since its meaning has undergone changes following new development and experience in developing countries. Weidner who is said to be 'the first' to have introduced the concept of development administration defined it as "the process of guiding an organization towards the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives that are authoritatively determined in one manner or the other."  

Merla Fair Soul, who is another eminent scholar has explained the concept of development administration taking a functional approach. It embraces according to him the array of new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernization and industrialization. Development Administration involves the establishment of machinery for planning economic growth and mobilizing and allocating resources to expand national income.  

Thus, modernization, industrialization and institution building for planned economic growth and development constitute some vital dimensions of Development Administration.

This agenda of development administration embracing modernization, industrialization and other development goals could be successfully realized only by a bureaucracy which is efficient, dedicated and committed. Hence, Development administration rightly emphasizes upon "the building and improvement of a public administration system as part of the total effort of national development."  

The building and improvement of the public administration system has two dimensions it embraces a structural improvement or the improvement of the structure of administration where needed and also enhancing the capacity and commitment of those who run the structure of administration. Hence, Development administration requires not only expansion, improvement or even basic reorganization of the administrative system but also enhancement of the capabilities of administrators to orient them to the task of national development. This type of administrative system is currently termed as development administration.

Apart from improvement of the administrative system and enhancement of the capabilities of administrators for the pursuit of development, development administration today has to address itself to issues of justice, equality and human rights. It has been aptly said by Bryant that with the awakening issues of human rights and basic human needs and a changing international order, development administration can and must address equity and redistributive issues with a focus on implementation problems that these issues raise.
So development administration has to ensure human right and provide the basic human needs of people such as food, shelter and clothes.

Conventional Public Administration differs from Development Administration with regard to its objective and scope. The objective and scope of development administration has a broader horizon than that of conventional public administration concerned primarily with maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue etc. As it were, development administration is a goal oriented administration which is geared to the objectives of nation building and socio-economic progress. But this nation building and developmental role can be successfully played only by an administration or by a type of bureaucracy which is capable and efficient. This necessitates the development of administration and enhancing the capabilities of administrators for the realization of development goals. So, two things constitute the essence of development administration. First of all, it involves strengthening and improving administrative capabilities as a means of achieving development goals and secondly, development administration has to act as an instrument in the implementation of development programmes, projects and policies.

The scholars of administration refer to it as 'development of administration' and 'administration of development' respectively.

In fine 'development administration is the process of carrying out development programmes and projects in the direction of nation-building and socio-economic progress through a developed administrative organization.

In view of the difficulty to find a suitable and all inclusive definition some of its important elements are referred below to find out its linkage or applicability to the dynamics of development administration in Odisha with special reference to the Biju Regime of Chief Ministership.

Development administration is a goal oriented administration with its pre-dominant focus on nation building and socio-economic development.

In operational terms, it refers to planned and organized efforts to carry out development plans and projects in the direction of state-building and socio-economic progress. But this has to be done as quickly as possible and also within a definite time-frame. This time-frame or temporal dimension is of "great significance" in development administration "since development programmes are prepared for a certain time frame say five years and must be completed within that. Thus, Development Administration is result and target oriented. Development Administration, moreover seeks to build up a set of development administrators. They are not to be primarily pre-occupied with maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues like the bureaucracy of our colonial days with hardly any concern for people's development and welfare. They are supposed to be development-oriented administrations geared to the task of development and people's welfare with a sense of dedication and commitment. So, in development administration, the organizational role expectation is commitment to development and a concern for completing time-bound programmes. This necessitates strengthening and improving administrative capabilities of the bureaucracy and of course internalizing in them a development centric-mindset for achieving development goals. It has been very aptly remarked that a band of officials "brought up and trained in the colonial administrative structure,
wedded to weberian characteristics of hierarchy, status and rigidity in the adherence of rules and concerned mainly with enforcement of law and order and collection of revenues were quite unfit to perform the duties expected in the changed situation of an administration geared to the task of development."

Development Administration is progressive and change oriented. It is expected to work towards achieving progressive political, economic and social objectives. The distinctive feature of development administration is said to be "its central concern with socio-economic change" and it is this which distinguishes it from regulatory or traditional administration which is basically concerned with maintenance of status quo.'

Development Administration would involve greater participation of the people in the development process. The people are not passive beneficiaries, they are active participants in the development programmes. A development oriented administration makes use of the strategies of decentralization, delegation and consultation and 'makes the administration grass-root oriented' over and above, development administration expects the bureaucracy to think, ponder and develop creative and original ideas to facilitate and expedite the development process. It calls for 'positive, persuasive and innovative stances from the bureaucracy' whose advice would stimulate and facilitate the implementation of defined plans and programmes of development.

Development Administration is essentially 'a people centered administration its motto being service of the people and positively oriented towards satisfying the needs of the people. The crucial test facing the post colonial administrative systems is to cater to the needs of the poorest of the poor. It has to be responsive, accountable and committed to people's welfare. 'They need to possess and demonstrate their willingness, dedication and even perseverance to achieve the progressive goals of development.'

Last but not the least development administration has 'a close nexus with politics'. 'The what and how of development' says Prof. Mohit Bhattachary 'are political questions' determined and guided by the political leadership and to be worked out by the administration under its direction. As rightly said : 'Development administration without politics is like the drama of Hamlet without the prince of Denmark'.

To Sum up:

a) Development administration seeks to achieve progressive political, economic and social objectives.
b) The objectives are authoritatively determined by the government and political leadership.
c) Industrialization, Modernization and institution - building for planned economic growth and development are vital dimensions of development administration.
d) Building and improvement of the public administration system as a part of the total effort of nation development. It embraces;
i) Improving and re-organizing the structure of administration.
ii) Enhancing the capability of administrators who are to implement the development agenda.
e) Development Administration has to address itself to issues of human rights and guarantee basic human needs of people.
f) It has to act as an instrument in the implementation of development programmes, projects and policies.
g) Development Administration is goal-oriented and involves planned and organized efforts to carry out development programmes and projects in the direction of state-building and socio-economic progress.

h) Development Administration is result and target-oriented. It seeks to carry out development programmes as quickly as possible and within a definite time frame.

i) Building up a set of development administrations who are not to be wedded to or unduly circumscribed by Weberian characteristics in the adherence of rules but to perform their duties as a team of administrators geared to the task of development.

j) Its central concern is progressive socio-economic change unlike the regulatory or traditional administration basically concerned with the maintenance of status quo.

k) It involves greater participation of the people in the development process. It is 'people-centered' responsive, and accountable to the people.

l) Development Administration calls for a creative and innovative bureaucracy which by its ideas facilitate development and carries it forward to greater heights of achievement.

(D) The Dynamics of Development Administration in Odisha Under Biju's Chief Ministership.

In the light of the afore-said parameters of Development Administration, our article entitled "Development Administration in Odisha: Mainstreaming Biju Patnaik's contribution and achievement" seeks to study the contributions of Biju Patnaik in the domain of development administration in Odisha. Over and above, we would like to examine the relevance of his ideas on development administration to extend the frontiers of Odisha's development to greater heights of excellence.

Biju Patnaik, as such needs no introduction either in Odisha or outside as the frontiers of his activities and dynamism transcended the peripheral limitations of our state, our nation and even extended to the international domain. However, a brief profile is submitted below regarding his Chief Ministership, his mission, his dreams and priorities as is relevant for our study.

Biju Pantanik became Chief Minister of Odisha on June 23, 1961 with a massive mandate of 82 in a house of 140 members and it was for the first time in independent Odisha that Congress Party secured an absolute majority. By then he had built up a national reputation as a firebrand and dare-devil nationalist displaying remarkable courage during the Quit India Movement or in his Indonesian expedition or in saving Kashmir. Over and above, he had already established his credentials as an imaginative industrialist with a splendid vision of an industrialized Odisha establishing some major industries like Odisha Textile Mills, the Kalinga Refrigerator Works, Kalinga Airlines and Kalinga Tubes etc. All this endeared him to Nehru and his good and favourable equation with him proved to be a great blessing for Odisha's progress and development.

It may be recalled that industrialization of Odisha or an industrialized Odisha was the central theme of his election manifesto in the mid-term election of 1961 which brought him to power.

Biju had a brief tenure of Chief Ministership as a Congress Chief Minister from 23.06.1961 to 02.10.1963. This brief spell is considered as the golden age in Odisha's progress and development particularly in the field of industrialization.
It was after a lapse of twenty seven years, Biju made an unprecedented comeback and became the Chief Minister of Odisha again for the second time on 5th March 1990. Unlike the first spell of Congress Chief Ministership, he headed now a Janata Dal Government. This tenure as Chief Minister came to an end on 15th March 1995 and became the first non-Congress govt. to have stayed in power for almost the full term.

After assuming power in his second spell as Chief Minister he fixed up three priorities of his Government namely-

a) Ensuring a clean and non-corrupt government in the state.

b) Establishment of a second steel plant, deepening of the Paradeep Port, the extension of railways network etc. and

c) The functioning of the government in such a manner as to be identified with the poor.

In the light of this goal-orientation during his two spells of Chief Ministership, we have to study the contribution of Biju Patnaik in the domain of development administration.

Biju was neither a political scientist nor a theorist of administration. He has certainly not contributed any systematic theory or philosophy of administration that could satisfy our political scientists or administration theorists. However, he as the Chief Minister of Odisha in 1960s and 1990s and as a Central Minister had acquired practical experience of the working of bureaucracy and administration both at the state and central level. His speeches delivered on various occasions and at different times throw enough light on the working of his mind on bureaucracy administration and development. It has been very aptly said that Biju Patnaik as an administrator deserves a lengthy discussion so far as his own philosophy of administration is concerned.

The ideas and actions of a political leader whether on administration bureaucracy, development or development administration do not develop in a vacuüm. It is shaped and moulded by a multiplicity of factors like one's philosophy of life, one's commitment and of course the contextual specificity of one's own state. Biju was a proud Odia and loved Odisha with every fibre of his being. He wanted his beloved Odisha to grow, prosper and develop into a number one state in India. He was quite often vocal about the rich natural and human resources of his state and felt anguished that inspite of all this Odisha remained poor and backward. This paradox of prosperity in natural resources and poverty of its people rankled in his mind off and on throughout his life. So how to develop Odisha and bring about its all-round and rapid development became the prime agenda of his life and mission.

As it were, Biju was a man in a hurry. He dreamt of rapid development of Odisha and eradication of its poverty as quickly as possible. As regards, bringing about rapid development of Odisha and eradication of its poverty, Biju had a mind of his own as to how his administration should work, what should be its motto and what should be the focus of its loyalty. His ideas and answers concerning all this and in some other dimensions appear quite similar to the concepts and ideas of development administration.

E) Biju's first spell of Chief Ministership (1961-63): A Glorious Era of Industrialisation and Development

Development Administration embraces an array of new functions assumed by the developing countries embarking on the path of industrialization and development.
In Odisha, Biju Babu embarked on this path of industrialization and development almost with a reckless abandon. In fact, his first spell of Chief Ministership in the 1960s marked a vibrant era of industrialization and development. Biju, as it were, had a vision - the vision of an industrialized Odisha. That Odisha inspite of its rich natural resources would remain backward and poor was unbearable to his inner urge which dreamt of a powerful and prosperous Odisha. His exposure and impression of the developed world made him convinced that it is industrialization and modernization alone that could lift Odisha out of its grinding poverty and backwardness.

On June 23, 1961 Biju Babu became the Chief Minister of Odisha. At the helm of affairs Biju now encouraged small and medium entrepreneurs to set up their units and contribute to the industrialization era of the state. He invited large industrial houses and magnates to put up some of their units in the state. He accelerated completion of major projects like the Rourkela Steel Plant and Hirakud Dam Project which lagged behind completion schedule or slowed down in respect of isolated minor works.  

It may be said here that Biju Patnaik as an administrator belonged to the school of development administrators who emphasized on a time frame - a definite time schedule of completing projects. He hardly possessed the patience to bear with bureaucratic delay or red-tapism. As it were, he was a leader in a hurry for the sake of Odisha's rapid progress and development either in the sphere of industrialization or in relation to any other sphere of development.

Apart from accelerating the completion of major projects like the Rourkela Steel Plant and Hirakud Dam Project, another memorable achievement in the field of Odisha’s industrialization was the establishment of the Mig Engine Factory at Sunabeda in the tribal district of Koraput. The establishment of this factory at Sunabeda was virtually the outcome of a battle royal which Biju fought with Nehru. He even went to the extent of sounding a note of warning to Nehru that if the Mig factory was not established in Odisha, he was going to resign from his Chief Ministership. It clicked. Sunabeda had the Mig Engine factory.

As an imaginative industrialist, Biju started with his own initiative and with the state's resources two power projects since it was of absolute necessity for the industrialization of the State. Thus Balimela multi-purpose project in Koraput district and Talcher Thermal Power project in the present Angul district were launched during his first spell of Chief Ministership.

The most outstanding supplement to his achievement as a development administrator was the construction of the Paradeep Port. Attributing the growth of Calcutta to the port system he cherished the idea that Paradeep Port could be the greatest factor for priming the pump of economic development.

The way, he took up the construction work of Paradeep Port quickly smacked of his dashing and go-ahead disposition as an administrator. He had no patience for hundred and one clearances' from the Central Government nor could he wait for sanction of funds by the Central Government. He was not the man to bend or succumb to the 'stiff opposition from the Odisha Bureaucracy' or to be thwarted by the 'do delay for delay's sake attitude.'

As is known, he lost no time to earmark funds from the state's budget for the construction of the port and 'spent 19 crores from state's contingency fund to complete the first phase of the port's construction.'
Justice H.R. Khanna who headed the Khanna Commission instituted against him in 1967 rightly said "my own view of the matter is that Paradeep Port was to some extent a creation of Sri Patnaik." 20

This Paradeep Port which was the brainchild of Biju became 'the pride of Odisha and the gateway to its prosperity.

The Daitari Paradeep Expressway which is the indispensable ancillary project of the port project was also constructed simultaneously and in the same swift manner as the port work was undertaken.

A more detailed discussion is called for to appreciate what Biju did to actualize the Paradeep Port and the Daitary Paradeep Expressway.

Development and nation-building was almost an over-riding passion for Biju Patnaik. He was second to none in his dedication and determination to achieve it. No hindrance and no obstacle could deter his dogged determination. He knew how to cut through the Gordian knots and reach his cherished goal with of course the vision of a statesman who looks far ahead into the future. This trait of his character and vision was amply evident when he transcended all difficulties and obstacles and got the afore-said Paradeep port and the Daitari Paradeep Expressway established in Odisha.

Sri Barendra Krushna Dhal, a very popular and prominent journalist has brilliantly highlighted the afore-said traits of Biju's character in an article published in Dharitri on 29.01.2008 under the title "Paradeep Bandara Akami Hoijiba !". That brilliant article shows the extent and degree of Biju's determination to realize his dream of a developed Odisha. We take the privilege of translating Mr. Dhal's article acknowledging our debt of gratitude.

In the words of Mr. Dhal "Paradeep Port was the brainchild of Biju Patnaik----- the Govt. of Odisha under Biju completely met the expenses of the port in the beginning. It was virtually a bold and reckless adventure of Biju. Whenever any zeal or inclination entered into his mind, it more or less stuck to and preoccupied him until he got it realized. In those days, there was virtually no road communication to Paradeep. Nor was there electricity. But Biju was determined to make Paradeep a major Port. He started its work in right earnest and also the work of express way to connect Paradeep Port with the mine areas of Keonjhar and Sukinda. These two projects were sent to the Planning Commission for approval which however rejected them as unrealistic and made no provisions of money in the budget. But Biju was unperturbed and unrelenting. He had an inward and impelling faith that once the construction of the Port and express way was completed, he could influence Jawaharlal Nehru and convert them into Central Projects. That he did and could. Nehru, as it were, agreed to inaugurate the Paradeep port on January 3, 1962. Before Nehru came, a guest house along with two tin sheds were constructed. The guest house was named Nehru Niwas. Some roads were constructed on war footing and electricity was also supplied to different areas. Prime Minister Nehru accompanied by Biju went from Anantapur by boat and stayed in Nehru Niwas at Paradeep. On the inauguration stone it was stated: "willed by the people, I commend you to this yet another national venture".

An amount of 16 crores was spent for the Paradeep Port and Rs.7crores was incurred for expressway. It was then a very expensive project for Odisha with only 55 crores and 20 lakhs as Odisha's total revenue in 1961-62. In view of this inhibiting expenditure Paradeep Port project was considered to be "a white elephant"
for Odisha and was vehemently opposed by a sizable chunk of Odishan leadership of the time.

B.G. Verghese who was editor of the Times of India wrote, however, a brilliant editorial on Paradeep port which in no uncertain terms acknowledges Biju as a remarkable and far-sighted statesman unlike a mere politician who is near-sighted and unable to look ahead into the future. As B.G. Verghese has been quoted "the project has evoked controversy and criticism. But 5 or 10 years from today, there is little doubt that Paradeep will stand as one of the finest achievements of the third plan. Paradeep is not just an individual project. It is also a symbol. xxx Paradeep is a symbol of the effect system to which the country has become囚犯 and of the outmoded framework of development. The restrictive influence of the system costs the country dearly in money and time and Paradeep is irregular and has become a scandal because it has broken out the system and worse succeeded xxx Paradeep is a splendid achievement and ornament in the third plan ------> it is not the project but the system and the narrow suffocating atmosphere it breeds that stands condemned" (19th June 1965). Those far-sighted words of Verghese have been proved true. As it were, Paradeep is today a major port of the country and stands out as a brilliant monument of Odisha's development map epitomizing Biju's vision as a development icon.

The extent of Biju's all-out effort to actualize his dream of Paradeep Port and expressway comes out in bolder relief from what Mr. S.K. Banarjee, the then Secretary of Steel and Mines said to Mr. Barendra Dhal in 1975 as highlighted in his article. As he is reported to have said "it is unfortunate for Odisha that a leader like Biju has not been brought to power and administration again. It was possibly September 1962. I do not exactly remember the day. In the early hours of morning, the calling bell in my house rang. My daughter opened the door and came running almost perturbed. As she said: Daddy! Daddy! a very tall man telling himself Biju Patnaik is standing on our door. I was virtually surprised. I thought "why should Biju Patnaik after all come to my house? I was then on my cup of morning tea. I hurried up the door. I just could not believe my eyes when I saw Biju Patnaik standing in front of my door. I said to him: "Sir I could have met you had you summoned me". Biju looked at me and said: "are you Banarjee? My wife nodded her head. Then all of a sudden Biju Babu said: "should I stand here or you will invite me to your drawing room. Immediately I invited him to my drawing room. After sitting in the drawing room Biju Babu humorously said: "Mrs. Banarjee, for your husband I have not taken my morning tea". By then, I was almost in a state of surprise and confusion. I could not make out as to why should such a big gun like Biju Patnaik, the Chief Minister of Odisha and also a very close confidant of Prime Minister Nehru come to the house of a Deputy Secretary like me. After a while my wife came with tea and while sipping tea, he said in chest Bengali: "Mrs. Banarjee, Ami jani Bangali Mahilara Khubai Budhimati. Apnar Swami ke Akthu Buddhichena kena? (Mrs. Bannarjee, I know Bengali women are very intelligent. Why don't you give out some intelligence to your husband? Then he looked at me and said: "Banarjee, you have opposed my proposal on expressway. You have suggested for a railway line. I am interested in the Paradeep Port and expressway must be completed by 1964. Can the railway line be completed within two years? I could then only know why Biju Babu
had come to my house. I then said: Sir, I have sent the file to the Minister." Biju Babu then said: "I have told Rajbahadur to send back the file to you. You please today get back the file and O.K my proposal. On the same day, said Banarjee, I went to the then Shipping and Transport Minister, Mr. Rajbahadur; got back the file and sent it back supporting Biju Babu's proposal. As Sri Banarjee said further "Biju Babu's love and concern for Odisha was unparalleled and exemplary. He knew, moreover, how to get things done for Odisha.

Biju Patnaik also established Rural Engineering Works Organisation to offer engineering expertise and service in the execution of small but numerous rural road and building projects. Minor irrigation projects constructed by this organization added to the irrigation potential in a small but momentous way. By establishing Rural Engineering Works Organisation, Biju Babu provided engineering expertise and service to small but numerous rural road and building projects, which in turn helped to increase the irrigation potential in Odisha.

Industrialisation was the quintessence of Biju's concept of development. But that did not prevent him from according due importance to agricultural development. As has been said: "…… attention was given to the improvement of obsolete techniques and the change of uneconomic cropping pattern. Power tillers, tractors, sprayers were provided. The change in cropping pattern included double cropping programme and spread of cash crops and for this decision was taken to step up lift irrigation through the co-operative societies of cultivators." During his Congress Chief Ministership, Biju opened the eyes of Odisha to various ways like rapid expansion of engineering, medical and agricultural education. He persuaded and prevailed upon the central government to set up Regional Engineering College at Rourkela and with munificent grant from the Central Government, he funded the University of Agriculture and Technology at Bhubaneswar. Biju Babu was a student friendly Chief Minister. Scholarships and stipends to meritorious and poverty stricken students multiplied during his tenure.

Burla Engineering College and the Regional College of Education at Bhubaneswar were also established during his first spell of Chief Ministership. Patnaik's regime also witnessed mushroom growth of general colleges which helped democratization of higher education. Through his encouragement thirty four private colleges were established making it possible for the poor and middle class students to have the benefit of higher education at their doorstep. The establishment of those colleges by the positive encouragement of his government led to greater politicization.

Popularization of science through general education was also accorded top priority and in this respect Biju played the role of a promoter of science. Like Nehru, he had immense faith in and commitment to science. Biju believed in the modernization of society on a scientific foundation and he was for inculcating a scientific temper. He spent also a lot of money for research and development and formed an institution in the name of Kalinga institution of technology and design whose main objective was research and invention. He also used lots of money to incorporate the Kalinga International Award for popularization of science and technology. This award is being managed by UNESCO and given every year to internationally eminent scientists. He also formed Kalinga Foundation Trust through which he helped thousands of brilliant boys and girls of Odisha to take up higher studies in this country and abroad. All these were meant to help the Odias to gain confidence in themselves and also to earn name in the national and international scene.

Biju Babu was a student friendly Chief Minister. Scholarships and stipends to meritorious and poverty stricken students multiplied during
Biju's Chief Ministership. More particularly his government was quite liberal in extending scholarship to students prosecuting technical education. It was a matter of policy of his government and in fact, the Governor’s address to the first session of the Odisha Legislative Assembly on 21.08.61 said: My govt proposes to tackle the problem by seeing to it that no promising student ..... who aspires to receive technical education in the future is deprived of the necessary educational facilities because of his poverty. Scholarship for such deserving students will be freely provided.

Biju’s regime displayed its special concern for the academic improvement of Adivasi students. The construction of Adivasi hostels multiplied with the liberal provision of funds. In reply to a question of Sakila Soren dated 6th October 1961 Biju Babu said: "The Government have estimated an amount of Rs.1 lakh and 4 thousands for construction of Hostel.

Scholarships to Adivasi students for the study of Science and Engineering was also specially encouraged with Rs.27 per month and Rs.75 per month for the science and engineering students respectively.

Thus Biju Patnaik’s first spell of Chief Minister made rapid strides in the realm of industrialisation, development and modernization.

(F) Biju Patnaik and Institution building

Development Administration involves the establishment of machinery and institutions for planning economic growth and development. It seeks to augment national income by mobilizing and allocating available resources.

Biju who was a symbol of dynamism made use of his innovative acumen for the progress and development of Odisha. He established a number of new institutions or structures of administration. As it were, he formed a number of Corporations like Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) Odisha Forest Corporation, Odisha Mining Corporation and Odisha Construction Corporation etc during his first spell of Chief Ministership in 1960s. Whereas the Industrial Development Corporation was formed to facilitate the industrialization of the state, the other Corporations were designed to augment the revenue of the state.

Rural development is an important segment of our development process. It is specially important for Odisha where the predominant section of people live in villages. Biju who is known for his dynamism and innovative stances evolved and implemented an innovative scheme of rural development called panchayat industries. Under this scheme seven Sugar Mills, twenty tile making units, ten carpentry units, ten small foundries, a paper mill and factories based on agricultural products were established in a single year. He had an idea to industrialise each Block in due course, to utilize the available resources and to generate employment for the rural people. To increase zeal and enthusiasm for industrialization at the Block level, prize money amounting to rupees twenty five thousand to one lakh was floated. Co-operative Bank and other financing institutions were directed to finance the Panchayat Industries. Besides three revenue divisions of the state he declared an award of one crore each to the Panchayat Samiti for its achievement in the field of industrial development.

This novel scheme of Panchayat industries aroused 'great enthusiasm' in the country. Jaya Prakas Narayan was full of praise and remarked that it gave concrete shape to the ideas of Panchayati Raj of Mahatma.
Over and above, it was greatly appreciated by the Planning Commission and was recommended as a model of rural development to other states. Some lecturers of Economics selected this scheme for their Ph.D. degree and many journalists also published articles.\(^\text{35}\)

Biju was of course ahead of his times. In 1960s he could think of eradicating rural poverty through small scale and cottage industries by his Panchayat Industries scheme. On the other hand, it was in the second part of 1970s that government of India created District Industries Centers for the promotion of small scale rural industries. It has been said with reasonable pride that 'what Biju thinks to-day, India thinks decades after'.\(^\text{37}\)

The then ambassador of U.S.A. Chester Bowles was also fascinated by this scheme of panchayat industries. In his book entitled 'MAKING OF A GREAT SOCIETY' - he significantly said: 'Odisha would have been an equal of Japan in the development domain had it implemented the panchayat industries scheme sincerely.\(^\text{38}\)

Another machinery for planning economic development was the creation of the Planning Board at the state level. It was his brain child and 'became a trend setter for other states as well for their planned development'. 'He is said to have done an original work in setting up this Planning Board at state level on 15June, 1962. Its utility was subsequently realized by other states and now it has been accepted by most others.\(^\text{39}\)

(G) Biju Babu and Development of Administration

Development administration seeks to improve the public administration system, enhance the capabilities of administrators to implement the development goals and the task of nation-building.

In Odisha, Biju Babu tried to do his best in this direction. As it were, he not only tried to reorganise the administrative structure where needed but at the same time tried to build up a set of development administrators who would be people-oriented and committed to the development goals of the state. To streamline the bureaucracy and administration, he worked with tenacity and determination the like of which was possibly not done by any other Chief Minister to the extent of inviting their wrath and displeasure.

He advised the bureaucracy to be development-oriented and people centered repeating time and again their role in the development process and their accountability to the people in a democratic system. He even went to the extent to encouraging assault on corrupt officials who worked not for the people for whom they were paid but for their own interest and at the cost of the poor taxpayers money spent on them.

In the past a number of efforts were made to decentralize administrative structure in the district level in Odisha so that the administration could reach the doorsteps of the people and serve them well. During the Chief Ministership of Nandini Devi, the Rajkishore Das Commission was formed to reorganize the districts. But this could not be carried out due to opposition of vested interests and lack of strong political will.

Biju Babu realized the need of breaking up big large districts in which neither law and order could be effectively maintained nor could development programmes be properly supervised. During his second term as Chief Minister, he with a stroke of pen broke up the 13 districts and reorganized them into 30 districts. Many political leaders and so called intellectuals were opposed to this step but did not have the guts to oppose the strong political will of Biju to
carry through the reorganization process in the interest of his people. Supporting this step in the right direction it is said: "Is it possible for a Collector and S.P. sitting at Cuttack to maintain law and order in Jagatsinghpur, Paradeep, Kendrapara, Athagarh and Banki? Is it possible for them to monitor and supervise the development programmes? Undivided Koraput District for example is little less in area than the state of Kerala. Is it possible for the Collector and S.P. to manage this problematic Adivasi dominated District? Small districts could certainly tackle their law and order problem well and also supervise the development programmes more effectively."

To streamline the administration Biju advised, warned and cautioned the bureaucracy on various occasions so that it works in the interest of people by providing them a clean and efficient administration. In fact, after being sworn in as Chief Minister on March 5, 1990 Biju Babu underscored the paramount need to streamline the administration. He wanted the bureaucracy to come up with decisions, instead of writing notes on files. You should have the mind of an entrepreneur and promoter' was the advice of Biju to Secretaries of different departments who called on him.

He advised them to give their best to the people in return for the money and comfort that the state gives 'you should not enjoy on people's money but should rise to people's expectations who were watching your performance', said Biju to them.

He told them to be independent, bold and upright and help in the development of the state by giving proper advice to the political executive. He also tried to cleanse the State Administration of corrupt elements. As regards this he took a very tough stand when he said "I will be the harshest administrator in Odisha as far as curbing corruption is concerned".

Biju Babu's views on the police and administration deserve a look as it is a vital organ of justice delivery system in the state. If any thing Biju calls a spade a spade and does not hesitate to even reflect upon the conduct of his own breed of politicians vis-à-vis the police administration. Serving the public interest is the paramount concern of development administration. The police personnel are expected to act accordingly instead of becoming stooges of politicians and ministers. Hence, he called upon the police personnel to become the true sentinels of public interest rather than remain as stooges of politicians and ministers.

The behaviour of the police towards the public also engaged his sincere attention. They can not afford to behave like oppressive kings and emperors of the past in a democratic order. 'It is high time,' said Biju, that they should mend their ways." "you are no more a machinery to safeguard the hegemony of the Britishers but public servants of your country which calls for a social security organ of government rather than oppressive machinery.

It will not be out of place to record the views of Biju Patnaik on the relationship of the Bureaucracy with the government. As per his vision, during the second term he was not in favour of public servants becoming conformists or taking to the path of placating the government. He asked the top bureaucrats to shun sycophancy and be bold and upright. He regretted that the public servants rank and file try to placate the government. In his view, 'It is basically wrong since as public servants, the ideal that should be kept in mind is that you are working for a cause. That is the cause of the people. Not of unscrupulous politicians and power-mongers.

Biju Babu's inaugural address on 15 June 1962 in the State Planning Board also shows that he was not in favour of his civil servants becoming
conformists and spineless yesmen. On the contrary "he gave them every right to differ on occasions when they honestly felt in favour of giving a dissenting note".

"I do not expect my officers to be loyal to me nor to my government, but they should be loyal to the destinies of the state. In the new set up, in the new adventure which we are going to embark upon, I would expect my officials to be thinkers and administrators in turn. I would expect them to collectively and willingly push the state towards the goal of prosperity. I would expect them to be leaders of men and not leaders of longest notes on files. They should be serious men".

Biju Babu even though not a theorist of administration or a researcher in the domain of administration, had the penetrating perception of a researcher. In a way, he like a researcher was raising the question of values, motivation and aptitudes of the bureaucracy entrusted with development tasks and responsibilities. Possibly, he saw to it that the attitudes of the bureaucracy were dominated by the procedural rigidities of the law and order state and had not changed to meet the demands of new development responsibilities. What he wanted is that the bureaucratic ethos should change suitably to meet the demands of development responsibilities and the massive task of nation-building.

(H) Biju Babu's Stress On A Result and Target - Oriented Administration

Development administration is a result and target - oriented administration. It seeks to carry out development programmes as quickly as possible and within a definite time frame. Biju Babu stressed upon this dimension of development administration both during his first spell of Chief Ministership in 1960s and in his second spell in the 1990s. In course of an address in 1960s, he asked his officers to take risks in Odisha's interest and expedite the process of development. He had no faith in a system of administration where files move from one department to another causing unnecessary delays in the decision - making process. Technically this method may be right so far as rigid adherence to rules is concerned but what made him more concerned was that it held up progress and development. In this connection he said. "What I would add is that he (the officer) may be right but the government cannot and I repeat can not appreciate his attitude. There is no prestige for any officer or any minister unless collectively we have pushed the nation to some place of pride."

Unveiling a statue of Mahatma Gandhi installed by the Puri Municipality at Gandhi Ghat in the sea-beach on April 26, 1990, Biju Babu came down heavily on the officers belonging to I.A.S. and I.P.S cadres. He criticized them for only endorsing files submitted by subordinate officers with the remarks as proposed without recording their opinions independently and fearlessly. But more significantly he took them to task for wasting their time and energy in meetings only and delaying government decisions. I want officers to be independent and quick in taking decisions and implementing them," he said. On May 26, 1990 he again outlined the thrust of his administration that it should stress upon achieving results in co-operation with people.

This focus on a result-oriented development administration and his almost fanatic commitment to speedy execution of development projects at times unconcerned of rigid adherence to rules was Biju's style of development. What irritated Biju was that the bureaucracy moves like a passenger train and that priority and speed seem to be an anathema, pungency to it." It may be recalled that Biju during his first spell as Chief Minister wanted to build up the Paradeep Port with a jet's speed. But the more he longed to
hurtle his dream project…. The more it was throttled and thwarted by do-delay for delay's sake attitude of the bureaucracy. Even then he was the last man to tolerate it and inspite of stiff opposition of Odisha bureaucracy, he went on in his work and devised the ways to construct the Paradeep Port quickly.

Regarding Biju's concept of development it has been said: Biju ideal of development, Biju idea of development and Biju notion of development is well manifested in the execution of the Paradeep Port project. He was not sentimental or sober in regard to development of industrial projects. It is rumoured that he gave strict and whimsical instructions to all and sundry that people associated with the port construction work must not be stopped, obstructed or hindered.

The opposition castigated Biju for the highhanded and whimsical manner in which the twin projects Pradeep Project and Daitari Paradeep Express way were executed. It was alleged that the speeding trucks and the cruel contractors crushed many pedestrians and poor workers in the name of speedy execution of the project.

Biju's response in the light of this criticism is significant "without semblance of regret or sense of remedy, Biju spoke clear-throated on the floor of that august house (Odisha Legislative Assembly) that one should not regret the loss of a few lives when a major development project was executed for the welfare of the masses of the state".

(I) Biju's Vision: A Participative and People - Centred Administration

Development Administration involves greater participation of the people in the development process. It is people centred, responsive and accountable. Biju Babu emphasized categorically on this participative orientation of development administration. He minced no words to say that government machinery alone can not boost the present economic condition of the state unless the people developed a sense of collective responsibility and actively took part in the issues concerning development.

As regards participation of the people in development process, what deserves further mention is that Odisha under Biju became the first state to streamline the Panchayati Raj and local-self Govt. institutions to make democracy participatory and not the aristocracy of a few nit-piking intellectuals.

During the colonial days bureaucracy behaved almost like overlords and showed little concern for people's welfare and development. They developed a power centric and egoistic mindset and kept aloof from the ordinary people maintaining a great distance from them. That this mindset should continue in certain sections of bureaucracy in the era of democracy and development administration was quite unbearable to Biju Babu. He wanted to see a people - centred administration a responsive and accountable bureaucracy dedicated to serve the masses. He called upon District collectors to get out of their cages', deal directly with the people and solve their problems. In no uncertain terms, he reminded them that they are mere "sevaks of people and should always bear this spirit in their minds". Even he as chief executive of the state described himself as the chief butler and the people of Odisha as the masters who are supreme in a democratic set-up. Accordingly, he cautioned them to be responsible and responsive and not behave as overlords or masters. The interest of the poor was to be the focal point of all their activity. He advised them to move out of their offices and go to villages to find out the problems of the poor. In his view,
evolving schemes in the air-conditioned offices, bungalows and circuit houses would not solve poverty. The collectors must ensure that benefits of development really reach the people for whom various schemes have been evolved.  

Those ideas are quite akin to the ideals of development administration which emphasizes upon a people centred, responsive and accountable administration. As it were, in his second spell of Chief Ministership Biju Babu showed remarkable concern for the poor and deprived lot who had either not made any demands earlier or their voice recorded in the corridors of power.  

Showing his concern he further said, I would refuse to recognize the Constitution of a country if I am poor. My idea of a Constitution is that it should be the Constitution of the poor masses. This concern for the poor and downtrodden led him to take the wage hike decision in march 1990 which was almost a personal decision of Biju Patnaik. By a stroke of pen, he immediately increased the wages for unskilled workers from the existing Rs.11/- to Rs.25/- per day with immediate effect. He took this decision, he said, by the suggestion of a poor old lady in a remote village in Bolangir district during the last Assembly Election.  

Biju took also bold and outstanding steps to ensure participation of women in the Panchayati Raj institutions. "Before any other state had come up with a policy on women, it is Biju who showed the path towards empowerment of women by reserving one third seats for them in Panchayati Raj institutions. It was certainly a bold, stimulating and decisive step which Biju took. It requires no further evidence that thirty thousand women in local bodies have come to assert their powers."

During his second spell of Chief Ministership women development became an over-riding consideration. A women Bank and a Commission for women were established. The setting up of the Mahila Bikash Samabaya Nigam was another important step of Biju regime for the development of women. The objective of the Nigam was to promote entrepreneurship among the women, organize women in viable groups and support group activities and co-ordinate development programmes for women.  

(J) Biju's vision: A Creative and Innovative Bureaucracy

Development administration calls for a creative and innovative bureaucracy which by its innovative ideas facilitate the process of development. Exactly and in the same vein Biju Babu exhorted his bureaucracy to do a great deal of original thinking in the realm of development. Addressing them he said, "You will find that you have to break away in a very large measure from all that you are used to do. This is not going to be easy. We are working under some positive inhibitions which we have to remove from ourselves and which have no value in modern standard. The only value which the modern world understands is achievement and visibly so."

During the second spell of Chief Ministership in 1990s Biju equally harped on the need of a creative and innovative bureaucracy. Bureaucracy, in his view, should imbibe creative ingenuity' and their collective intelligence should be channelised for the development of state.  

What Biju possibly wanted is that the bureaucracy should think and ponder on the question of development and tender its matured advice to political executive to push the state towards the goal of prosperity". Writing only longest notes on files will not do. It hardly helps. What helps is their commitment, dedication, interest and motivation and becoming true advisors in the development drama.
(K) Biju’s Concern for Human Rights

Before the 1960s, government organizations were emphasizing on attaining economy and efficiency. But with the expansion in the functions of government to cope with the complex problems and urgent demands of national development many development experts recognized that economic and efficient management is not enough and administration must be geared to the pursuit of new development goals. It has been said that development administration has to address itself to issues of human rights and equity and redistributive issues.

Biju was quite alive to the issues of human rights, justice and equity and took some steps in that direction. He had clear-cut and well considered views on terrorism, crimes against women and weaker sections of society which of course deserve consideration by lovers of democracy and freedom who put high premium on human life, human dignity and human freedom. This would be evident from his address at the conference on Human Rights on September 14, 1992 at Delhi and from his address on Administration of criminal justice on Nov. 13, 1992. His views on Human Rights may be summarized as below.

(a) He castigated foreign organizations and their Indian followers who prioritize human rights of terrorists and secessionists but blissfully ignore the human rights of innocent people, men and women who become victims of terrorist bullets.

(b) As per his view, the onus of responsibility to uphold and defend human rights lies with the government. He seems to favour a pro-active and effective government machinery rather than constituting commissions and committees to protect the rights of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or that of the rights of women and minorities.

(c) He had a sense of deep concern about the violation of human rights particularly by the police personnel. Incidents of custodial crimes or physical torture through third degree methods engaged his serious and special attention. Custodial crime is a very grave and serious offence and must be curbed regardless of the status of the offender. Apart from merely awarding punishment, he emphasized upon the need of building up the right mindset in the police force. He was against politicizing the police force for narrow political ends which emboldened them to violate human rights.

(d) He was no ivory-tower advocate of human rights but a down to earth realist. He rightly felt that human rights would be a marginal experience for the poor, weak and down-trodden unless there is an effective system of punishment of crimes.

(e) He was an ardent and passionate advocate of equal rights for men and women. In fact, crimes against women and other disadvantaged sections of society deeply concerned him.

(f) He focused on a strong administrative will to check violation of human rights of women and other disadvantaged sections of society.

(g) He dreamt of a social order in which the individual whatever his religion or caste, or sex or income status could live with dignity. He was, however, not unaware of the realities of the Indian situation as regards the position of a Harijan, a woman or a poor man. He was for a combined awareness drive across parties and groups, an awareness which will not condone any crime against a Harijan, a woman, a poor man or a person who calls his God by a different name.

So Bijubabu addressed himself to issues of human rights of particularly the weaker and
poor people. The question of justice and equity rankled in his mind.

**Federalism and Development in India - The Biju Prescriptions**

As a development administrator, Biju's two speeches one at the 18th meeting of the Eastern Zonal Council held on 25th September 1991 at Bhubaneswar and the other at the meeting of the National Development Council on December 23, 1991 are extremely significant. They have their bearing on federalism and development in India. It breathes out in bolder relief his outlook and vision on the management of our federal polity and bring him out as a far sighted thinker and statesman.

The rise of extremist activity in some parts of Odisha and Bihar engaged his mind and attention. He made a serious probe into this and felt convinced that it would be wrong to equate it with terrorist activity elsewhere. He linked it with the broader issue of development. He possessed the maturity of a statesman to point out that extremism in eastern states is caused by poverty, inequality and deprivation and should not be merely treated or tackled as a law and order problem. In his view this extremism could be more successfully faced when our political system, our federal polity and system of governance tries to establish an egalitarian, exploitation-free and equitable social order which guarantees the barest minimum to one and all. The Central Government can contain extremism by implementing a special programme of economic development to eradicate poverty and deprivation from those states. So development of underdeveloped states needed special and specific attention by the central authorities.

The break up of the Soviet Union in 1990s was before him and in order to avoid such a situation in case of India's federal polity, he put up or he was for a new technique of political management. He emphasized on equitable regional development and development of under-developed states. He rightly realized that disparity in the matter of development may be a cause of discontent and tension among different states and 'may weaken our integral nationhood'.

He was for financial autonomy of states and decentralization of economic authority. It is not good to make the states excessively financially dependent on the centre making them 'charity boys' while they are performing functions of rural development and implementation of five year plans.

Another important suggestion that Biju made was that a state should have the freedom to arrange funds from abroad to bring about rapid development. 'The state government' he said, should be allowed to 'mobilise within the parameters of national, policy external resources. Talking about him and his own state Odisha he said': "I am trying to do so in areas of mineral development and energy production.

Biju Babu and controversies: an appraisal

Biju Babu conceptualized a holistic development agenda. In that holistic development agenda, growth, industrialization, ports and projects were ok and fine. But what still concerned him most was development with a human face - the vital need of prioritizing the interest of the poor and the down-trodden, a sizable chunk of which were denied the benefits of development.

The concern for the interest of the poor and the downtrodden and their development made him analytical and critical of the Bureaucracy and the system of governance as a whole. It propelled him to pounce upon the corrupt officials and officers with almost an aggressive posture. His objective analytical and critical sensibility even did not spare his own breed of politicians and their
responsibility vis-à-vis the emerging issue of Naxalite violence which directly or indirectly was linked up with poverty, injustice and deprivation making one ponder over the whole spectrum of post-independent development scenario and the extent of its reach to the poor and the downtrodden.

In this connection, his anti-corruption drive with a call to assault corrupt officials and politicians and his views on Naxalites deserve a little elaboration more particularly because they created a spate of controversies. Over and above, Biju’s controversial warning to the Centre for its neglect of Odisha and its development also needs mention if one is to remove the cobweb of misunderstanding.

Our parameter in regard to those controversies is to understand Biju; not merely to judge him with the eye of an all-out critic. Let us listen to the spirit and sincerity behind Biju’s words and see what really moved him to say those words.

(A) Biju’s Anti-Corruption Drive as Chief Minister

Biju with his long innings in politics and administration realized that corruption was one of the vital causes which hindered the benefits of development to reach to a major chunk of the poor and downtrodden for whom they were meant. To ensure a clean and non-corrupt government, Biju took a very tough stand that he would be the harshest administrator in Odisha as far as curbing corruption is concerned. As a part of his anti-corruption drive, Biju removed some corrupt officers at the top, organized searches of houses of many Engineers, I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers including the premises of the previous Chief Minister and many of his heavy weights. In his zeal to undertake anti-corruption drive, Biju government’s decision to raid the Eastern Media premises of Sambad ‘appeared to be vindictive and certainly tampered with the freedom of the Press’.

On November 29, 1990 Biju came down heavily on the State’s bureaucracy dubbing it as corrupt and frankly expressed his feeling of helplessness to run the government. He urged the people to assault the corrupt officials to make them realize their mistakes and rectify themselves and also asked them to give the same treatment to corrupt Ministers and M.L.As including him if found corrupt.

This obviously extraordinary and startling statement was vehemently criticized and even the Division Bench of the High Court observed that the Chief Minister Biju had transgressed his limits. However, it appears to be the helpless outburst of a man who even as Chief Minister could not think it possible to root out corruption which like an octopus had spread its tentacles into the whole system of administration and politics. Moreover, Biju who was no hypocrite in politics to shed crocodile tears for the poor and the downtrodden and who wanted to really do something for them found a corrupt, unconcerned and anti-people bureaucracy virtually a stumbling bloc not co-operating with him as much as it should. It is significant that a man of his doggedness frankly admitted that the administration under him was less responsive than what it was 30 years ago when he was Chief Minister first. He found to his unhappiness and anger that it had now been divorced from the people.

(B) Biju Patnaik and the Naxalite issue

The massive naxalite attack launched on the town of Nayagarh-90 Kms from Bhubaneswar had sent shockwaves throughout
Odisha and the country at large. It happened to be the most serious case of naxalite violence in Odisha in which thirteen police officers and two others were killed. The Naxals also 'made off with roughly a thousand weapons stolen from the city's armoury, including sophisticated light arms. The naxalite threat needs to be taken with all the seriousness that it deserves and government of Odisha is doing its best in that regard with all sincerity.

It has been suggested in different quarters that there is 'need of greater co-ordination between security forces and intelligence wings of Naxal - affected areas as well as between states and centre. The other suggestion being mooted is that 'along with policing other arms of state machinery need to act and reach out to tribal areas where Naxalites or Maoist insurgents are based. That means schools, roads, healthcare, easy credit, market access and other social welfare measures needed to mainstream India's tribals and poor'.

What is being talked of today was more or less indicated by Biju Patnaik in 1990s emphasizing particularly on the need of prioritizing development and welfare work for the poor and downtrodden in naxal affected areas or what Biju calls giving social justice which has been denied to them.

Biju was misunderstood when he expressed a sense of admiration of naxalites who as per his assessment at the time felt that they were working for the poor and the down-trodden in far off and remote areas deserving a little recognition. But then Biju was neither an advocate of violence nor condoned violence or killing of people though he tried to probe into the root cause of this Naxalite violence.

Biju was a statesman with a definite perspective standing head and shoulders above an ordinary politician. He was hardly prepared to judge the Naxalite question and their violence from only a law and order angle-from the angle of a security concern to be responded to as and when violence occurred and forget it thereafter without studying the problem in all its ramifications and thinking of it in terms of a long-term strategy. Possibly he felt that only by strong arms of the police and bureaucracy, the Naxalite menace could not be successfully tackled. Hence, he made a deeper probe into the cause of Naxalite violence becoming himself self-critical and raising and answering the question himself as per his own assessment.

His few words on the issue are as simple as simplicity could be but nonetheless pregnant with considerable significance. It eloquently speaks of Biju, the man, the real Biju in his heart of hearts and of course, Biju, the statesman. What he really indicates is the need of a more responsive administration, a people-friendly governance with a good welfare package for the tribal poor and downtrodden people. Possibly, he felt that, that could strike at the support base of Naxalites and win and integrate the poor and the tribals into the national mainstream.

In this connection his sincerity for the uplift of the poor and downtrodden in his second spell as Chief Minister was simply amazing. It really touches and straightway enters the heart when one reads between his lines "He asks why the Naxalites have taken to violence"? And he answers "only because we are not able to give them social justice. In the areas where they are active either God or Naxalites will come to uplift the People".

On 4th January, 1991 he said, "I want to handle them (Naxalites) by being a revolutionary myself. Why the hell not? What is so wrong in a Chief Minister being a revolutionary? What is so right as a Chief Minister being corrupt and a
hypocrite shedding crocodile tears for the downtrodden? Have we not seen enough of the type in this country of ours, whether of Left, Right or Centre?"^^68

This was Biju Patnaik, the Chief Minister of Odisha, the development-centric Chief Minister of the sixties who possibly now was conceptualizing the idea of development with a human touch - a development that has got to be addressed in right earnest to the poor and down trodden 'who had not made demands earlier or their voice recorded in the corridors of power'.

When Biju Patnaik asked the people to beat up anti-people and corrupt officials and politicians and even admired the Naxalites, he was only faithfully voicing the just feeling of the people who have been denied the benefits of the independence and democracy they obtain in this motherland of theirs.^^69

(C) Centre's neglect of Odisha and Biju's warning

A few months after his second year as Chief Minister in 1991, Biju was deeply concerned with the Centre's neglect of the state's plea in certain areas. That included permission for an integrated steel plant, development of Railway Projects and Paradeep Port. This enraged Biju to throw a missile-a warning that Odisha should 'secede from India if it was not granted financial autonomy'. It created a spate of misunderstanding in certain circles raising their finger at Biju's nationalist credentials. However, it was more a pronouncement of anger against the step-motherly attitude of the centre towards the state and more the articulate outpourings of a state autonomy activist than any real intention to secede from India. What he was trying to apprise the centre was that in the Indian federal system the states should be given appropriate authority to develop their state rather than being made a victim of the excessive power and authority of the centre which in his opinion has given rise to strong fissiparous tendencies.

It was believed by Biju that "unless the states become strong, India can never be a strong nation. That is why when he fought for Odisha's development, it was not by reason of any narrow consideration but to make India stronger as a whole. He realized that true federalism will result in strengthening India's unity in diversity and will hasten the pace of progress of our nation as a whole".^^70

Biju was after all Biju. He was unique and different. He said what he felt and what spontaneously came from his heart. He was bold and fearless and talked without ifs and buts. Nothing deterred him. Consequences hardly bothered him. It led to misunderstanding and controversies. But, then he talked sense, talked truth and truth in its most naked form. May be, we were not prepared to see it. He said, people will remember me and my words when I die and leave them. It is indeed true and true in a large and substantial measure.

Biju Babu - Generator of constructive ideas and vision

Biju Babu was not an economist in the professional sense of the term but he was more than an economist having made definite forays into the realm of industrialization, planning and development that would surprise even experts in the field. He had more or less the mind of a supersonic jet that could quickly grasp over a problem and bring forth ideas and vision which were pragmatic and far-sighted.

Some of those ideas which are thought-provoking have definite relevance in the realm of development. As a legislator and parliamentarian he showed all the traits of a thinker with an
analytical and critical mind. His speeches concerning industrialization, planning, development, public and private sector and on cottage industries etc. vibrate with vibrant ideas. His views on the relationship between Legislature, Executive and Judiciary and their role, views on our parliamentary democracy, federalism and electoral process bring out the depth of his analytical mind. Those were pragmatic ideas with a functional perspective intended to better up things either in the realm of development or in the working of our parliamentary democracy. All this and many more demand a special treatment on a different occasion beyond the purview of this article and its constraints.

Conclusion

Biju Babu is a Chief Minister with a development-centric mindset. His vision was an industrialized Odisha and an Odisha which is developed and prosperous. He wanted that his development agenda and goals be achieved quickly and within a definite time frame. His vision of administration was a creative and innovative bureaucracy who would be not experts in writing the longest notes on files but a bureaucracy with original and innovative ideas of development which would help facilitate the development process of the state and take it to greater heights of excellence. As it were, his over-riding motto was development of his state and to realize that, he was not prepared to be bound down by an inflexible and rigid adherence to rules which slows down or causes unnecessary delay. He had a go-ahead, and getting-the-work-done mentality for the causes of his state's development and progress. He tried to cleanse and streamline the administration and energise and activate the bureaucracy by persuasion, warning and even threat some times getting himself desperate. But behind all this was his concern for the development of his beloved state and providing its people a people-friendly administration which is responsible, responsive and accountable. His vision of bureaucracy and administration; his ideas on our federal polity and development of the states even though neither profound or original, are pragmatic and of course do have a relevance of its own for the development of not only his state but for the development of the country as a whole. If any thing, those words are sincere and came out of a man who was actively concerned with governance and development both at the state and central level for a good number of years.

During his 27 months of Chief Ministership in the 1960s, Biju was primarily concerned with the industrialization and over-all development of the state. The construction of the Paradeep Port and the Express Highway, the setting up of the Sunabeda Mig Factory, the Talcher Thermal Power Station and the Balimela Multi-purpose Project, etc., bear the unmistakable imprint of his personality as a development-centric Chief Minister. It was a most fruitful period of engineering and construction and even his harshest of critics would admit that he proved to be a dynamic Chief Minister whose short spell of only 27 months heralded a new era of industrialization and over-all development of the state. It may not be far from truth to state that no other Chief Minister of Odisha after him nor he even himself in his second spell as Chief Minister in the 1990s could repeat such dynamism in the arena of industrialization and over-all development of the state. The feverish pitch of industrial activity and the launching of giant industrial projects which marked his first spell as Chief Minister may be regarded as the golden period in the history of Odisha's industrialization and Biju Patnaik may rightly be regarded as the pioneer of industrial renaissance in Odisha.
Biju's second spell as Chief Minister in the 1990s cannot hold a candle before the dazzling light of the achievements made during his first spell of the 1960s in respect of industrialisation and development; nevertheless he will be fondly remembered for his steps in the field of women development, reorganization of districts, for his sincere efforts to streamline and rejuvenate the Panchayati Raj and local-self Government institutions and more particularly for the pro-poor orientation which he sought to give to his second spell as Chief Minister.

In his second stint as Chief Minister, Biju Patnaik of course 'was not able to materialize the steel plant in Odisha'; but it is also a fact that he laid the infrastructure for the steel plant at Duburi'.

Biju had the vision of an industrialized Odisha-a prosperous and powerful Odisha. What he had always in mind was to lift his beloved Odisha from backwardness and poverty. He made untiring efforts for this whether in power as Odisha's Chief Minister or outside when out of power. He did a lot for Odisha during his two spells as Chief Minister. He was always prepared to fight with the central authorities where the interest of the state was concerned. It is doubtful whether a personality of Biju's stature will ever emerge in Odisha politics to steer the ship of the state. Let his vision of Odisha inspire all of us to put in our best to build up a prosperous and powerful Odisha.

References:
5. Dr. N. Hazari, Development Administration, A theoretical perspective. The Odisha Political Science Journal Vol-VIII 1988-89 (Page -98).
12. R.K. Sapru, Development Administration (Page 125).
20. R.P. Shastry, Biju Patnaik, A great Son of Odisha, Jayanti Avinandan Granth 1987 (Page -97)
23. Sun Times, March 4, 1990 Article captioned Biju Patnaik is 75.
29. Ibid (Page 188)
31. Ibid vol-1 No. 27 (Page 16)
35. R.P. Shastry, Biju Patnaik's Place in Odisha's Political history, Ananya, 1990, Cuttack (Page 214)
37. Natabar Khuntia, Binsha Satadbira Binsha Odia Best Selker publications, Bhubaneswar (Page 123-124)
38. Ainthu Sahoo, 'Panchayat Silpa-Biju Babu', Samaya dated April 18,1997
39. Sukadev Nanda op. Cit(36)
41. Sun Times, March 6, 1990
42. March 8, 1990
43. March 8,1990
44. April 27, 1990 sun Times
45. April 27, 1990 sun Times
46. S.Nanda, coalitional polities in Odisha op. cit. (Page 40)
47. April 29, 1990 Sun Times
48. Hullasa Behera, Biju Patnaik, the legendary pilot and live-wire politician, op. cit.(page 133)
49. Hullasa Behera Op. Cit. (page133)
52. Sun Times, April 2,1990
53. Bhaskar Prichha, Biju Patnaik a political Biography (page 108)
54. Sun Times May 20, 1990
55. April 23, 1990
56. Sun Times March 22, 1990
57. Bhaskar Prichha (page 103)
58. Ibid (page 108)
60. Inaugural address on 15 June, 1962 in the State Planning Board, Sukdev Nanda.
61. Sun Times, March 28, 1990
64. Ibid., Dec 4, 1990.
70. Biju Patnaik, The Parliamentarian, Research Branch, Odisha Legislative Assembly, Bhubaneswar P. 197.

Dr. Shridhar Charan Sahoo, Reader in Political Science, Ravenshaw Junior College, Cuttack.