CONCLUSION

A political system is best analysed to my view, by the nature of its political parties. The success or failure of the political parties measure to the success or failure of its political systems. Parties contribute for a process of political development, political stagnation and even political decay in the new States. Our analysis of the party system in Orissa reveals certain important features which have affected the political development in the State.

Regionalism:

Regionalism continues to play an important role in Orissa politics. The emergence of political parties took place because of the regional factors. Although in 1961, 1977 and in 1980, the electoral politics contributed for some degree of unification between these two regions, yet, the problem still continues to exercise a greater influence over State politics in recent years.
Party Organisation:

Although we have not specifically dealt with a study of the organisational pattern of different political parties of Orissa, yet, it can be said that the organisations of both the Congress and Opposition parties have weakened due to factionalism within the party. The organisational leadership has always been subservient to the legislative leadership.

Mergers and Alliances:

Mergers and alliances have been quite common with the political processes in Orissa. In a way, all the National Movements are mergers because in order to fight out the ruling foreign powers, the National Movement gradually took the shape of mergers and alliances of various factional and rival groups. In Orissa, the National Movement was confined to only one geographical region, i.e., the coastal Orissa. There were sporadic movements in the princely areas which were bordering the districts of British Orissa. There were Praja Mandal Movements in the Princely States. Thus, two levels of political development took place in the State prior to independence.
1. Political development at the national level. Orissa could not keep itself away from the national politics and freedom struggle.

2. Political development at the regional level. Leaders in Orissa, during this period constantly attempted to establish a separate identity for the Oriyas.

The pattern of political development after 1947 is conditioned also by merger and alliances which were temporary, weak and ineffective. For example, the Congress-GP coalition of 1959, the JC-Swatantra coalition of 1967 and the UC-Swatantra-Jharkhand coalition of 1971. The Pragati Party, the B.L.D., the Janta Party are all outcome of mergers of several Opposition parties at one time or another. These parties have merged together because of their anti-Congress feelings.

Therefore, the pattern of mergers and alliances show that they are temporary and weak in character. Either the new combination wins the election, in which case its component elements start quarelling over the spoils of office, or it loses the election in which case the shock of defeat is enough to scatter the frustrated elements once more.
Again, the mergers also create conflict within the parent body. For example, in Orissa, the merger of the P.S.P. with the Congress in 1972 did strengthen the Congress in Orissa. However, during 1974-1976, the factional conflict in Congress was led by a section which was dominated by the ex-P.S.P. men. This weakened the Congress as a party to a great extent.

Lack of Discipline:

Another trend in State politics and party system in Orissa shows the lack of discipline, lack of ideological and financial loyalty and sense of responsibility among the politicians. Lack of discipline amongst the party members have resulted in defections and party splits.

1. It was not uncommon to see that the leaders of the same party contradicting each other at different times. The Congress ministers, who at one time or another had been factional leaders within the party had resorted to criticizing each other. For example, Biju Patnaik later became a staunch enemy of Mahtab. Similarly, both Mahtab and Patnaik were against the leadership of R.N. Singhde of GP/Swatantra. But on opportune moments, these leaders did not hesitate to form alliances together against the Congress.
Similarity of Programmes:

Another source of confusion has been the similarity of programmes among various parties. An analysis of party manifestoes shows that almost all parties more or less have similarity of programmes. They promise for same socio-economic and welfare measures for the people. For example, land reforms is common to all the manifestoes of the political parties in the province.

Under such circumstances, this monsterful ideality have confused the electorate, facilitates floor crossing and kills party individuality. It has made personalities more important than principles. Because if all the parties had the same aims, the citizens might well vote for the leaders they liked more or from whom he expected maximum benefits.

Besides the similarity in programmes, the parties also ignore them systematically. Promises made to eradicate poverty, usher in fundamental changes in social and economic level of the general population; are yet to be fulfilled. Both the Congress and the Opposition parties in Orissa have
been in power, but their performance show that there is a wide gap between their promises and performances.

**Leadership Issues:**

The politics in Orissa is plagued by leadership issues and conflicts among the major parties. Our analysis of Congress party shows that factionalism and defection within the party revolved around the personality of certain leaders like Patanaik, Mahtab, Choudhury Acharya, Satpathy etc. Caste, regionalism, language, religion, policy issues play a secondary role. The leadership crisis has resulted in making and unmaking of ministries and political instability.

The top leadership has remained almost same in Orissa, only the nomenklature has changed. With the exist of top leadership from the Congress to the Opposition parties, there has been the emergence of a new leadership in the Congress.

Again, from 1947 to 1977, no party could provide for a leader who was acceptable to all parts of Orissa. The important leaders of Congress, UC, JC, Communists, Socialists and GP/Swatantra etc.
woro only popular in particular region of the State. This is why regionalism plays a great impact on political development and party system in Orissa.

But such argument cannot be extended to the Congress performance in 1980. This shows that the Congress has been able to recruit leaders who are acceptable to both the regions of the State. The emergence of a new leadership in the Congress, the frustration of the people with Opposition performances have contributed to party consolidation of the Congress in post-1980 phase.

Defections and Factionalism

Defections and factionalism are characteristic features of State politics in Orissa. Factionalism may either strengthen or weaken a particular party or party system. Factionalism within the Congress in Orissa have been one of the important reasons for the Congress set back in Orissa. This has resulted in defections, leading to political instability in the State since 1967.

These transfers of loyalty are certainly unreasonable and undemocratic and are hard to satisfy by any standard. The only efficacious remedy to
Defections is said to be that every member of an Assembly must resign his coat if he changes his party loyalty. Betraying a particular party means betraying the electorate.

**Party Building in Orissa**

Parties and party systems are the best means to analyse the interaction between the polity and society in a country. In the developing

1. In a modern political system the parties perform several essential functions:
   1) They unite, clarify and stabilise the political process. They bring together sectional interests, overcome geographical distances and provide coherence to sometimes decisive government structures.
   2) Parties struggle for power and they strive to form order out of chaos. They seek to widen the interests they represent and harmonise these interests with each other. They tend to represent the diverse social, economic and geographical sections of the political society.
   3) The parties act as a linkage between the government and its people. They try to educate, instruct and activate the electorate. Thus, political mobilisation is one of the essential functions of political parties.
   4) They recruit political leaders from different sections of the society.
   5) Political parties present issues; they set value-goals for the society. All parties have philosophical bases, no matter how blurred and no matter how divorced from the actual behaviour of the party they are.
   6) Political parties serve as the 'broker of ideals' by selecting a certain number of the countless issues confronting a society in some order of priority and focusing attention on them in campaign and election, thus fixing a battle ground for the political troops.
countries, where political habits and tradition are yet to grow up, the political parties do the job of political modernization. They try to shape the government, provide the link among different social and economic groups, constitute the primary instrument for political education and socialization, breakdown traditional behaviour and act as the binding force in communication divided by groups based on tribal affiliation, religious denomination or national origin.

Again, there is one dysfunctional aspect to every political party and party system. They may polarize opinion in ways dangerous to the stability of the political system. Thus, to what category the party system in Ojinca stand? Whether it has been able to perform all the functions enumerated above? Whether it has been able to integrate an apolitical and traditional society? Or whether it has contributed for further disintegration of the society?

In a traditional society, the process of party building involves tremendous challenges from the society. Society is traditional, whereas parties
are modern phenomenon. In Orissa, the political parties like the Congress and other Opposition parties have acted as sophisticated and modern political institutions. They have contributed for the increased participation of the masses in the political processes of the State. Of course, other factors like education, communication etc. have contributed for a process of modernisation in the State. They also make people aware of the governmental functions. But it is the political parties which have brought in people's involvement in the political processes in the State.

The Congress Party in Orissa after independence have tried to mobilise people from all classes of the society. This is also true in case of other political parties like GP, Swatantra, JC, UC, BLD and the Janta Party. They plead for betterment of these sections in their respective manifestoes. This has, therefore, brought in a new type of interaction between the government and the society. More and more people have shown their interest for political processes in the province. Several elections that have been held in the province since 1952, prove
that everytime, the people have tried to institute a government that can guarantee political stability to them. There has been increase in the percentage of voters' participation since 1952.

Therefore, there is no doubt that party system and political parties in Orissa are caught in the process of political development. Of course, from the point of view of political and governmental instability, the question may arise whether we can categorise it as political development or political decay? However, as Huntington remarks that political decay is not necessarily opposed to political development. Instead, it can be said to be a part of the process of political development and political modernisation.

**Institutionalisation of Political Parties and Party System in Orissa:**

The political institutions of the Western world evolved out of the confluence or the conflict between a number of political theories and out of the more practical problems arising from the difficulty of adjusting theory to an ever-changing reality. The Western heritage derived from Classical Greece
and Rome, in which a number of contemporary institutions like Christian Church etc. were first tried out. Political institutions developed out because of the complexities of political activity. Parliaments evolved out of the King's councils created to help the monarch to deal with the intricacies of decision-making and making them acceptable. Cabinet grew out of the complexities of parliamentary activity.

Thus, the "political party", emerges whenever the activities of a political system reach a certain degree of complexity, or whenever the notion of political power comes to include the idea that the public must participate. The political parties and party system gradually got institutionalised with the development of representative form of government.

In Orissa, the party system has got institutionalised to a certain degree. This can be analysed on the basis of the institutionalization of the Congress and institutionalization of the Opposition parties

Institutionalization of the Congress:

The Congress in Orissa (especially in the Coastal Oriissa) started primarily as a National
Movement. Gandhi's visit to Oriisa in 1921, led to
the establishment of the Oriisa branch of the
Congress. Unlike Rajasthan, the Congress in Oriisa
did not come into being with a view to fight the
feudal system particularly for the grant of civil
rights. Its primary objective was to fight the
Britishers and to establish a separate identity for
the Oriyas.

In the post-independence era, the Congress
vied with other political parties through elections,
worked for the mobilisation of mass support and
recruited members from the princely and tribal areas
of the State.

In the First General Elections held in 1952,
the Congress faced stiff opposition from the G.P.,
which represented the feudal and tribal sections of
the society. By the second General Election, the
GP was a much stronger party. The Congress, on the
other hand, was weakened by factionalism and leader-
ship issues. It fought the election and formed the
government. The party's lead over GP in the election
was slender and therefore, the Congress had to accept
the proposal for a coalition government with the GP
in the province. At one stage, there were attempts from both the sides for the merger of the two parties, but it could not materialise. The Congress was able to be in the government till 1961. It won absolute majority in the elections for the first time. This was because the party consolidated itself at the organisational level under the leadership of Biju Patnaik. But, factionalism and corruption issues once again brought cracks inside the party to surface. The emergence of JC, and the merger of the GP with the Swatantra, made the Oppositional challenge far more difficult. This brought an end to the "Congress Dominance" in Orissa.

The Congress had always tried to accommodate Princes, Zamindars and tribals into its fold. It has been able to achieve this by widening its base in these areas, since independence. Political patronage like granting ministerial positions and other posts of influence have been a typical feature of party-building not only in Orissa but also in all other States of India. This has become a central feature of party building and party consolidation in developing countries, undergoing a process of modernisation.
This is why parties tend to recruit persons from different areas and different regions of the province with higher social and economic background, who can wield a greater influence among the people from the areas they represent. Orissa is no exception to this.

The Congress has followed a path of compromise. Although it has pursued many policies like land reforms, nationalisation of Konda loof etc., but in performance and composition, the party can be considered to a "contrivist party". It has all along followed a policy of "consensus" and "compromise".

The policy of land reforms as promised by the party which can bring radical changes in the economic structure of the society; had hardly changed the economic picture of the State. The promises made by the party to bring about social change and economic development over the years, seem far from being true. There has been much difference between the promises and performances made by the Congress. The party's promise that it was the torch-bearer of National Movement and as a historical force, which
can provide political stability in the State, does not hold true. One is yet to see whether the party which has mustered a 2/3 majority in the recent Assembly elections of 1980, will be able to be in power for a full term and provide political stability in the true sense of the term.

Thus, although, Congress is the oldest party in the State, yet it is still caught in a process of party building, legitimization and party consolidation. Party building as Weinor has repeatedly mentioned in his book "Party Building in a New Nation" in a traditional society involve tremendous challenges not only at the organisational level but also at the legislative level; not only in the policy and programme level, but also in the performance level.

Institutionalisation of the Opposition:

The emergence and working of the Opposition parties like the CPI, Socialist parties, Muslim League, Forward Block, etc., dates back to the pre-independence period. But the role of the Opposition in those days were limited in the sense that, the Congress dominated the political scene of the
Country. For them, the immediate goal was the attainment of freedom and Congress was almost identified with the National Movement.

After independence, the Oppositional challenge was strengthened by the alignment of the feudal sections of the society. In Orissa, the Gantantra Parishad gradually became a formidable force in two successive elections (1952 and 1957). In the post-57 period, the GP challenge became so forceful that even the Congress had no other choice than to agree for a coalition in the province. The Swatantra, the JC, the UC, the PLP, the BLD and the Janta Party have contested elections on the issue of "oust Congress" from power. The Congress has faced defeat on various occasions because of factionalism, defection, leadership issues etc. Therefore, factionalism has weakened the Congress as a party. It has further strengthened the Opposition to a large extent especially after the 1967, 71 and 77 elections. Conversely, when the Congress is more disciplined and has a strong leadership, the Opposition challenge has been limited.

The Opposition parties in Orissa have had the opportunity to make alliances and coalitions amongst themselves to consolidate their position in the State.
But these alliances and coalitions have proved temporary and ineffective. The Opposition parties in Orissa are nothing new and they are yet to get institutionalized.

State Politics - Autonomous?

Thus, the question arises whether or not State politics is autonomous of National politics? The federal system provides that the States are one of the major constituents of the federation. As such, party system and political development in the States affect and are affected by the party system and political development at the Centre.

Our study of the party system, political processes and political development in Orissa shows that the politics of Orissa is not separate or autonomous of national level politics. This is partly because a large number of national parties contest and win the elections at the State level. The success and dominance of the Congress Party and also that of the Janta Party in 1977 show that, in the State Assembly elections, people tend to vote for the party which commands power at the Centre.
For the first time in 1967, a change in the pattern of "Congress dominance" occurred when the Congress lost majority in a number of provinces, although it was voted back to power at the Centro, in Orissa, for the first time, non-Congress government was set-up after 1967 elections. The pattern was again repeated after 1971 elections. In fact, the 1977 elections were fought by the "Opposition" on the issue of "regional discrimination" of the Congress party at the Centro. Several factors were responsible for the collapse of the coalition and united-front governments in Orissa, and one of the factors can be the Congress dominated Centro versus non-Congress governments in the States.

In the 1977 Lok Sabha poll, the Janta Party was voted to power with a majority of votes. But, soon the Assemblies of various States, where the Congress governments were still in power, were dissolved and fresh elections were held in June, 1977. The pattern of voting behaviour showed that the Janta Party was voted to power in all these States.
This pattern was again repeated in the recent 1980 elections. This proves that there is every chance that the party which dominates at the Centre will tend to win a majority of the seats in the Assembly elections. However, in 1967 and 1971, the Orissa voters have voted twice against this trend.

The working of the party system shows that the Centre plays an influential role in making and unmaking of the Cabinets in the province. This was true in case of the formation of the Congress as well as the Janta ministry in Orissa. In 1952, Choudhury, in 1957 Nahtab, in 1961 Biju Patnaik, in 1976 Nandini Satpathy, in 1976 Dinayak Acharya and in 1980 J.B. Patnaik — became Chief Ministers because they were acceptable to the Congress High Command. Similarly, in 1977, Hirn Nirmani Routray, could be made Chief Minister as he was a strong supporter of Biju Patnaik, who was then the Minister of Steel and Mines in the Janta government.

Foudal Order and Political Modernization:

The influence of the leaders of traditional order, the princes, has gradually decreased in Orissa politics since independence. Princely candidature
for public office serves as a link between traditional society and modern political institutions. It helps to integrate more effectively into the political system the traditional elite who take part in democratic politics.

The pattern of electoral politics and political development in the State shows that the challenge to the ruling party was formidable when the two leading Royal families of Belangir and Kalahandi, led the princes and zamindars and organised a separate party - the GP - which later merged with the All-India Swatantra Party. In 1952 and 1957, the GP was a major challenge to the Congress, while in 1967 and 1971, the Swatantra Party was a major threat to the Congress dominance. The Congress had to make an alliance with the GP as early as 1959 to be in power; whereas in 1967, and 1971, the Congress had to bow down before the Swatantra-JC alliance of 1967 and Swatantra-UC-Jharkhand alliance of 1971. The Swatantra party later became a constituent unit of the PLP in 1976 which later merged with the B.L.D.
As mentioned earlier, the princes and the landed elites constituted a major political force and even the Congress thought in terms of incorporating these sections of the society in the Coastal Orissa, while the feudatory rulers of Western Orissa centred around the banner of the GP and the Swatantra. Again, many of them who were mobilised by the Congress, enjoyed positions of power in the Party's organisations and government. This arrangement proved adverse to the Opposition's attempt to unite all the "feudal groups" under its banner. However, many princes and landed elites have preferred to fight elections as independents rather than align themselves with the ruling or opposition parties.

Again, elections have brought about a decisive change in the process of social and political change in the State. They have acted not merely as the instruments of according legitimacy to one regime or the other, but they have acted simultaneously as the index and instrument of dynamics of the democratic processes which affect and transform the traditional order into a modern society. Elections are institutionalised and are commonly accepted as the sophisticated modern instruments for the settlements of
political issues. In the choice between the extra-parliamentary political process such as mass movements, strikes, dharnas, etc. that defy laws and democratically constituted authority and parliamentary processes, particularly authority established through elections, the people of this province seem to have indicated a preference for the latter. The several general and mid-term elections held to elect popular leaders within a span of 20 years prove the fact.

Having discussed the politicisation of the traditional order and the persisting influence of the traditional and old elite on politics of Orissa, we now proceed to examine certain trends which constitute the theoretical formulations of the politics of developing areas.

Political Development or Political Decay?

Looking at the panorama of State politics and party systems in a traditional, backward and developing State like Orissa, question may arise whether political parties have contributed to the process of political development or political decay in the State?
Political development since independence has taken place in the context of a concrete effort by the State to promote social and economic changes, the creation of employment and educational opportunities, the improvement of living standards and an attempt to reduce inequality. Increase in literacy, rise in urban population, and an expansion in the coverage of the media of mass communications (like circulation of newspapers, radio etc.) have important bearing on the role of political parties and party systems in Orissa.

These factors have led to the emergence of a new political culture and new politicisation in the State. Those factors have an important bearing on the electoral politics in the State; for elections lead to the establishment of a legitimate system of government.

It can be referred here that the role and functions of parties with regard to political development in developing countries has been identified as national integration, political participation, legitimacy and conflict management. In Orissa, the parties and party systems also face these problems
Thus, Orissa serves as a typical example of a developing society, which can be placed in the "transitional stages of political development", which is characterised by an economy embarking on the early stages of industrialization and a political system which is accordingly undergoing a transformation. Political uncertainty and political instability have been constant features in Orissa politics. However, political decay rather than political development takes place in these political systems in the early phases of the development.

Politics of Flux:

The study of Orissa politics through party systems and political processes show that the voter

1. The stability or instability, the development or decay, of a political system depends on the nature of the problems that a political system is confronted with. Different people demand different forms of participation, national integration, economic betterment, etc. Unlike the modern and developed countries, in the backward and developing societies, these demands emerge suddenly and their effect is cumulative and reinforcing. Almond and Powell identify this problem faced by the new nations of today as "the cumulative revolution".

is increasingly becoming more and more articulate and his growing sensitivity to the economic and political problems show that regionalism is only one of the many determining factors in his voting behaviour. Recent elections have proved this. This shows that politicisation of the voter is gradually undergoing change in Orissa.¹

The impact of westernisation on the political system of India is not complete. It is a developing country and is undergoing a process of modernisation. Its history, geography, culture²

1. W.H. Morris-Jones is of the opinion that the impact of westernisation on the Indian political system is well-nigh complete whereas its impact on society is partial and uneven. This has led him to observe that in India, the incoherence of polity and society is fully disclosed only with the start of an independent polity.

2. Myron Weiner has commented that even in the post-independence period, "two political cultures operating at different levels of Indian society. One culture is in the districts. It permeates local politics, both urban and rural, local party organisation and local administration. It reaches out into State legislative Assemblies, State Governments and State Administrations... It is an expanding culture. And although it is permeated traditional... the second political culture predominates in New Delhi. It can be found among Indian contd.....
is reflected in its provinces. Each State has its peculiarities - peculiarities, which are common and peculiarities which are different from other States.

The process of westernisation or modernisation can be said to be greater on political institution than on the social structure. In Orissa, even the feudal Orissa, which was brought under the experiments of democratic politics after independence, have shown remarkable capacity to respond to a democratic polity.

Party systems and political parties are on the process of institutionalisation, absorbing traditional, feudal and backward elements into it. Party building in a traditional, feudal, backward society involves tremendous challenges. And there is bound to be political instability at the initial stages. Under such circumstances, the "incoherence"

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planners, many national political leadership, and in the secular administrative cadre. It is also widespread in the army and it is showed by most of the English speaking intelligentsia... But, though this culture is expressed in a modern language, and is permeated with elements which we ordinarily think of as modern, it is not wholly modern".

between the polity and society is stronger and from both sides forces move into establish consistency.

The State of politics in a traditional society is "politics of flux". It is a phase in the process of further political development and further political modernization. Almond emphasized that every political system is dualistic or mixed falling somewhere along a continuum between the modern and the traditional. It may be stated that the distinguishing features of modern politics are the greater differentiation of the secondary structure and an attempt on the part to penetrate and modernize the primary structure. It may be stated that modernism and traditionalism are the twin interacting features of Indian political movements, the proportions of the mixture usually varying with the level of the organizations. Traditionalism in style and even conflict continue to be strong at the base and top leaders try to be modernist.

The simplistic model of the non-western political process which contemplates that the range from and channels of political activities in under-developed countries are motivated by traditional
consideration like casto, religion and regional loyalties is, however, misleading.

Our study has revealed that the party system, political parties, political process and political development in Orissa is undergoing changes. The polity and society is undergoing a process of modernization simultaneously. The political system is exposed to several challenges from the society. And these challenges are bound to affect the working of political parties and political development in the State.

The politics of Orissa, like the politics of any other State of India, is not autonomous. It is bound to be a part and parcel of politics at the national level. It is complex mixture of tradition and modernity. It tends to aim at the achievement of political, social and economic modernization, but the means employed to achieve them may be traditional, neo-traditional and even modern.