CHAPTER - II
STUDYING PARTY SYSTEM IN ORISSA:

AN INTRODUCTION

This Chapter serves as an introduction to the study of Party System in Orissa. The chapter is roughly organised into three parts. Part I deals with the relevance of state politics and political parties in national political system in India; Part II pinpoints the specific features of state politics that have emerged in recent years; Part III discusses how these features operate in the political system of Orissa. In this section, we have focussed more attention on the problem, its theoretical identification, methodology of study, hypotheses etc.

Section A: Relevance of State Politics in National Political System

This study deals with the emergence and working of party systems in the political development of an Indian state: Orissa. As we have mentioned earlier, the questions often posed in studies on Indian politics relate to the aspects of integration, disintegration and polarisation. Such questions are of continuing relevance in the light of many
political changes which have taken place in India in the past three decades: first the decline and disruption of the Congress Party following Nehru's death and then its resurgence under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, the emergence of Janata Party as a national alternative for a brief spell, draught, political unrest, attempts towards Green Revolution and state capitalism, more drought, economic stagnation and proclamation of emergency; three wars, new foreign alignments in the context of developments in Afghanistan and Iran, the emergence of India as the single major power in South Asia; the spread of literacy, rising political consciousness and the appearance of new, mobile, locally-anchored elites. All these factors have combined to make the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s as the "most dangerous decades" for India.

After the death of Nehru, many centrifugal forces grew in strength in India's party system. This was rather clear within the Congress Party of India. It was plagued by intra-party conflicts which led to the emergence of independent and semi-independent state Congress parties. Many states which were former areas of Congress dominance were marked by the politics of defection, factionalism,
and governmental instability. In 1969, the Congress split led to the emergence of Congress-R and Congress-O. The Congress-R under Indira Gandhi won decisive electoral victories at the national and state levels in 1971 and 1972, and again in 1980. The emergence of Janta Party as a national alternative to the "one-party dominance system" both at the centre and states could not wipe out the old symptoms of instability in the party system in India.

The above picture of political instability and disruption is one view held by many an observer of Indian politics.1

An alternative perspective concentrates more on the factors lending greater cohesion to the system. For example, India as a nation-state has not been subject to disintegration, or witnessed civil war like many of the post colonial and feudal states like Nigeria, Pakistan and more recently in Afghanistan and Iran. Or that immediately after Independence in 1947, some 560 feudal

or princely states were integrated into the Indian
Union. Or, that inspite of all the splits and
factionalism, largely the same political leadership
has remained in power since Independence. ¹

These aspects of national politics have
their repercussions on the state politics too.
This is because state politics and party system
are an important aspect of national politics and
national party system. The state, both analyti-
cally and empirically, is most accurately conceived
as a political subsystem because it has clearly
defined boundaries, structural mechanisms and
popular perceptions for maintaining them.

India, again, is a country with diversities.
This diversity is reflected in its history, culture,
religion, language, pattern of life and so on.²

1. For disintegrationist view, see: Ronald Segal,
The Crisis of India (London, 1965); Kuldip
Nayar, India, the Critical Years (Delhi, 1971);
J.D. Sethi, India in Crisis (Delhi, 1975).

2. As Rupert Emerson rightly commented: "Here was
a vast sub-continent, an Europe in itself chara-
ccterised by a diversity of language, religion,
and patterns of life, which had still achieved
through centuries some feeling, however, loose
and ill-defined, that the diversities had their
place in a single whole. This amorphous spiri-
tual identity had found virtually no expression
in political unity".
Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation: The Rise
to self-assertion of Asian and African Peoples.
The political process of a country is intricably related to its history and socio-economic environment within which they operate. India is no exception to this. A study of political processes and institutions cannot be fully made in India without an inquiry into the history and socio-economic set-up within which they have worked and operated.¹

Thus, India, as a country with a long colonial history² provides an interesting scope of study with regard to party system and political development³.

1. S.P. Huntington observes that the pattern of socio-economic and political development differs largely between the countries which have experienced a long colonial past and the countries which have had little or no colonial heritage. In: Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968), pp.140-191.

2. The Princely India was the most extensive and the largest lasting manifestation of indirect rule in any of the European colonial empires. Roughly two-fifths of the territory and one-quarter of the population of the pre-partition India were covered by the princely states. According to the Census of India, 1941, the population estimate was nearly ninety millions in colonial India, which was probably the greatest number as compared to all of the other indirectly ruled countries of Asia and Africa. This parallel existence of the "two Indias" till independence provides for a fascinating comparative political analysis.

3. For a study of party building in a new nation, which is struggling on its way to modernity, see: Myron Weiner, Party-Building in a New Nation: The Indian National Congress (Chicago, 1967).
both at the macro- and micro-levels.¹

Theoretical Framework for the Study of State Politics:

The states as constituent units and sub-systems offer great scope for the study of political processes and party systems at a micro-level. Literature on Indian party system in general and state party systems in particular has grown in recent years.²

1. For a study of the struggle for modernisation of the African and Asian states, who were colonies of super-powers at one time or another, see: Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation: The Self Assertion of Afro-Asian Peoples, Op. cit.


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19) Horst Hartmann, Political Parties in India (Neerut, 1971).


26) Sukdev Nanda, Coalition Politics in Orissa (New Delhi, Sterling publishers, 1979).
These works throw a significant light on the political processes at the state level, besides sometimes providing fleeting glimpses of the structure, recruitment, attitudes, values and performance of legislators. These works focus attention on several theoretical issues of state politics. In other words, several theoretical issues of state politics have been broadly identified by scholars and researchers in recent years.

A broad framework of analysis for the study of state politics has been provided by Myron Weiner and Iqbal Narain. The importance of state politics has been accounted for by Myron Weiner on three grounds:

1. The states are the constituent units of Indian federal system, and therefore, have important powers over agricultural development, education, rural taxation; the effectiveness of national planning is conditioned by the performance of the governments that function in different states.

2. The states also serve as the training ground for national politicians. Many leaders of national status, at one time or another, play a
decisive role in the state political system.¹

3. Further, the Indian states provide with an unusual microcosm and macrocosm for studying processes of political development. It is a microcosm because they are the constituent units of a larger system, and a macrocosm because the units are so large that they can be studied separately as total systems.

The diversities of Indian society are reflected in its constituent units - the states. They differ from one another, on the basis of their history, economic set-up, social structure, political processes and so on. And this is why Weiner rightly observes that:

"the instabilities and shocks associated with economic development processes are felt first at the state level and only thereafter move into national politics. Thus, the state governments affect and are affected by patterns of economic development".

Myron Weiner, thus, suggests that a study of state political system can be done on the basis

1. For example, leaders like Lal Bahadur Shastri, K. Kamraj, G.B. Pant, Brahmanand Reddy, Morarji Desai etc. were the pioneers of state politics before they became office-bearers at the national level.

of the socio-economic environment and the political processes of the state concerned.

The theoretical framework provided by Iqbal Narain, for a study of state politics is revealed in the following words:

"The political system of a state in India has got to be viewed as a point of confluence of national, state, and local politics; as a system of inter-connection and inter-actions between leadership and political institutions and processes, between tradition and modernity, as a political society in question of self-identity through the somewhat self-neutralising process of continuity and change; as a split person-fighting against its own self-alienation, and in sum, as a miniature replica of states' life in its totality."  

**Theory and Practice of State Politics:**

Although these theoretical frameworks have contributed greatly for a systematic study of the state politics in India, yet there are many other theories which have been tentatively attempted by scholars and researchers into the "problem areas" by concentrating on the functioning of political processes in different states. Therefore, it can be argued that there has been "a theory and practice" of party politics in India,

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and on the basis of this theory and practice, the states in India are differentiated from one another.¹

These 'problem areas' cover specific issues like integration, caste,² language, region, federalising processes, history, social and economic structures, elite structure, etc. And it is on the basis of such issues, that the general diversities among these states as reflected in their history and socio-economic structure are brought into focus. And this finally shapes the political processes of different states in India.

Finally, the nature of state politics in India can be analysed and studied on the basis of its history. In first category are the British


For several articles on Caste, see: Rajni Kothari, ed., Caste in Indian Politics (New Delhi, 1970).


Andre Beteille, Caste, Old and New (Bombay, 1969).

For a critique and different approaches to caste, see: Hira Singh, "Caste: Old and New", Political Science Review (Jaipur), No.82(2), (April-June, 1971), pp. 195-212.
states like West Bengal, Punjab, Bihar etc. The second category consists of Princely states like Rajasthan, Mysore and in the third category are a "hybrid" of the above two - like Orissa.

Features of State Politics:

The features of state politics in India in recent years in different type of states have been:

1. Regionalism: The issue of regionalism has demanded the attention of great scholars in the form of Centre-State relations and sub-regional agitations within a particular state. The Indian federation has come to be questioned at different levels. For example, states like Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab, Haryana and others have been examples of victims of regionalistic issues. Marcus Franda discusses these issues while making


a study of the 'federalising process in India'.

He rightly observes that:

"a study of the Indian federalising process is even further complicated by the great diversity of the sub-continent, which in itself defies analysis....." (p. 252).

His conclusion was that the reorganization of the state boundaries which were carried on in accordance to the Report of the State Reorganization Commission, divided India on the basis of linguistic provinces. But such an arrangement could not produce homogeneous and unified states. Instead, the state reorganization has been accompanied by an intense inter-state rivalry on such issues as industrial location, language policy and allocation of tax burdens and finance and it has also resulted in militant sub-regional movements within the new states. This is proved from the division of Bombay and Punjab in 1966. Telangana, Belgaum, hill districts of Western India, tribal areas in Bihar and Orissa are some of the sore points in the sub-regional disputes. In

fact, many political parties and factions have emerged on the basis of such sub-regional attachments.¹

Thus, as a historical factor in Indian polity, regionalism has been treated differently by different scholars under different compulsions. Regionalism has been generally considered as anti-system, anti-federal and against the basic interests of a well-integrated and well-developed polity.

The federal system in India has been accepted as the judicial and statutory solution to the regionalistic factor in India.² But, by doing so, the non-judicial, non-statutory, primordial and parochial factors in the growth and development of

1. For example, the Muslim League, Jharkhand, DMK, B.K.D. of Charan Singh, Akali Dal, etc. have taken up the issues of sub-regionalism in India. Again the Swatantra Party has made special appeal in the ex-princely areas of Orissa, Rajasthan, Gujarat, while the communist appeal has been more intense in Kerala and West Bengal.

2. P.K. Sharma, Federalism and Political Development: Developed and Developing Areas (New Delhi, 1979). In this book, he advocates that heterogeneous societies can cope with developmental problems by adopting the federal system of government. The author quotes extensively from authorities on constitutional history in support of his thesis that the formation of federal states within the Union of India, on linguistic and cultural basis in 1956 had strengthened democracy as well as federalism in the country.
regionalism in India were sadly ignored by our constitution makers. This non-constitutional regionalism was inspired not only by primordial factor like caste, linguistic, minority groups, sub-cultures and what Leonard Binder would call, "attitudinal sub-cultures", but also the prevailing economic conditions of the different regional communities.

This processes of regionalism, which has manifested itself in caste, language, religious

1. Language has been one of the most touching issues of Indian Political Development. The state reorganisation which was carried out in 1956, organised the various states on linguistic lines. However, such an arrangement has not brought an end to language problem in its totality. It continues to be a powerful issue in many states, like Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and others. See:
   - S. Mohan Kumarmangalam, India's Language Crisis (Madras, 1965).
   - Brass, Paul, Language, Religion and Politics in North India (Vikas, 1974).
overtones in different states, has also been influenced by the colonial structure of these states. For example, factors like administrative infrastructure, means of communication, education, etc. have influenced the growth and development pattern among these states and also within the states. The structural imbalances of the colonial pattern aggravates the traditional jealousies and rivalaries of antagonistic groups. And this pattern has its impact on the future course of social and political developments in the states as well as in India as a whole.

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2. Religion has been one of the most powerful factors in human life in the political development of Indian society. Religion, so aptly defined by Matthew Arnold as "morality touched by emotion", often plays a vital role in the affairs of mankind. The important work on role of religions in states' politics is manifested in: Baldev Raj Wabar, Minority Politics in Punjab (Princeton, 1956).
Again, caste factor has contributed to the enhancement of regionalistic feelings in particular. Caste has played a decisive role in the various elections in India (parliamentary, state as well as local elections). Caste considerations seem paramount in the selection of candidates in various states. The most prominent states have been Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra etc. Various political parties in these states exploit caste factor, for their own ends. ¹

2. **Political Participation:**

Political participation in various Indian states since the institution of a democratic pattern of society has not been uniform. Generally, states with higher rate of literacy and more urbanization have shown greater turn-out of voters. This is true in the case of Kerala, which stands prominent in electoral participation because of high literacy and more urbanization. The national average turn-out percentage for past three general elections in

1967, 1971 and 1977 worked out to 59.03 per cent. Orissa registered the lowest average turn-out 43.74 per cent for these three elections, while Kerala had the highest 73.12 per cent.

Again, factors like linguistic agitation and nationalist movement have carried political participation to new heights, even in states with lower literacy rates and less urbanization. This is true in case of Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, where linguistic movements and national movements have contributed to a greater political consciousness among the masses. In Orissa, this can be perceptible from the fact that in the coastal districts which were the centres of linguistic and national movements, the voters' turnout at elections has been more in comparison to the western and hill districts, which were out of the domain of national movement.

Myron Weiner and John Osgoodfield have done a cross-national analysis of sectional and national electoral politics and have edited four volumes of books on various Indian states like Rajasthan, Orissa and Bengal. The fourth volume focuses attention on the state party systems in
five Indian states, viz., Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Mysore (Karnataka) and Kerala. Their focus of attention was on the inter-party competitiveness caused by sub-cultural changes in a developing multi-ethnic society like India. ¹

3. New Leadership:

There has been an emergence of a new group of political elite in various states. Elite studies have attracted the attention of various scholars in India in general and states in particular. ² These studies show the emergence of new political leadership

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This study is broadly based on holistic review of five Indian states, representing variously the regional, ethnic and cultural nationalism of Punjab and Tamil Nadu, the caste-cum-factional cleavage in Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka and the inter-party ideological mobilization and cleavage pattern of Kerala. It examines the trends in the electoral behavior of various political parties, their support structure and institutionalization of electoral support at constituency level. It also examines the overreaching role of the political elite in transcending prevailing antagonism through what the writers call as the "accommodation differences".

in various Indian states. For example, Richard Sisson's study on the Congress elite in Rajasthan; V.M. Sirsikar's study on the "Rural Elite", etc., are mostly empirical investigations about the leadership pattern in various levels revealing the socio-economic background of leaders.

4. Increasing Competitiveness at State Level:

Party competition has been more intense at the state level than at the national level because of simultaneous existence of a number of national and regional parties. To illustrate, party competition is more in the states like Kerala, Madras, and even Orissa because, in these states not only national parties operate, but there are strong regionalistic parties who at one time or another, have posed powerful opposition to these national parties. The Kerala Congress, the D.K.K. of Madras, the Gantantra Parishad, Utkal Congress, Jan Congress in Orissa are typical examples of such regional parties.

5. Factionalism:

Another important feature of state politics and national politics has been the infighting in various parties - whether they are national, state
The conflict between the organizational and legislative wings has become quite frequent in recent times. Paul Brass's study of *Factional Politics in an Indian State, Uttar Pradesh* is a study of this kind. Factationalism in Congress has led to the emergence of various political parties in India. For example, in Orissa, factionalism in Congress led to the emergence of Jan Congress and Utkal Congress which later aligned with Swatantra to form B.L.D. and Janta Party. This proved a powerful opposition, and in line with national political developments, the Janta Party could come to power in 1977. In fact, in many Indian states, leadership has grown out of factional

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1. The best documented account of factionalism at the district-level is Paul Brass's study of the Congress Party in five districts of Uttar Pradesh, *Factional Politics in an Indian State* (1965). Operating on the basic definition of faction as a leader-follower arrangement, Brass's basic thesis is that the faction is the basic unit in the politics of Uttar Pradesh. A similar kind of study is made at the district level in different parts of the country made by Myron Weiner, *in Party Building in a New Nation* (1967). These factional leaders are a group of new politicians who are adept in "machine politics" (p. 89) and have replaced the older generation of independence movement of the early years. Brass concludes that factions in U.P. are neither ideological nor communal but personal and shifting (p. 54).
conflict. To illustrate, Charan Singh, who was the Prime Minister of India, was a factional leader in U.P. and was the organiser of the Bharatiya Kranti Dal - a state based party in Uttar Pradesh. In Rajasthan, similarly, leadership issues centered around factional conflicts based on caste. The Rajasthan section of Richard Sisson's study on "Congress Party" deals with the process of conflict management and organizational integration in this society caught in an unsettling process of social, economic and political transformation.

6. **Defection**

Another feature which is closely connected with factionalism is defection. This has become so problematic at times that the very political stability of the states concerned becomes uncertain. The defection game has become quite common in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Haryana, Bihar, Punjab, West Bengal, etc., which have affected the political future of those states to a great extent. Defections have been the product of various socio-political complexes under which we operate and have to be accepted as a hard sociological reality. In fact, during 1967-73, nearly 45 state governments
were toppled in quick succession and as many as 2,700 cases of defection by legislatures were recorded. This flow has continued unabated, only the direction has kept on changing with the winds of time. The defections have become "routinised and an important part of the country's political culture". While discussing the various historical, institutional, political, social, economic and motivated courses of defection, Subhas Kashyap rightly felt that the root cause of defection in India and the states lies in the history and nature of our political parties particularly the Indian National Congress (pp. 67-68).

The recent move to curb defections have been undertaken by the Sheikh Abdullah Government in Jammu and Kashmir by passing the Anti-Defection Bill - the first of its kind in the country.  


2. The Bill was passed after a six-hour debate during the recent eight-day session of the Assembly and received the approval of Governor L.K. Jha within 24 hours. It provides that a member of the legislature will lose his seat "if he having been elected as such, voluntarily gives up his membership of the party by which he was set up as a candidate" or "if he votes or abstains from voting in the House contrary to any direction of the party without obtaining proper permission".
Coalition: Another feature of state politics, specially after 1967, has been the coalition governments in various states. The problem of coalition governments is further complicated by the federal system and wide diversity between states and by some peculiar political incidents like the Chief Minister conducting a hunger strike against his coalition ministry (Ajoy Mukherjee in West Bengal) and state governments supporting mass agitations and strikes.

The term 'coalition' has been used to imply a multi-party government, an electoral alliance between different classes and groups within one party, and inter-party cooperations. But the most common definition of "coalition" refers to multi-party government.

Iqbal Nariam has suggested three phases of development in coalitional politics:

1. The 1967-69 period of anti-Congress, non-ideological coalition politics;

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1. For a volume with many articles concerning coalition, see: N.C. Sahni, ed., Coalition Politics in India (Jullunder, 1971).

2. the 1969 phase of anti-Congress programmatic coalition politics;

3. The 1969-70 phase of programmatic coalitional politics.

And thereby, he concludes that there is no definite or one pattern of coalition politics in India but several.¹

Therefore, these problems of state politics are common in a traditional, multi-dimensional society struggling in its path towards modernisation. They are certainly transitional phases, but, they undoubtedly exercise a tremendous impact on the political process of these typical societies.

After having discussed broadly the various issues of state politics, we now proceed to extend our study of party system in Orissa, through questions which are similar as well as different from the questions of state politics posed in this section.

See also, Sukadev Nanda, Coalitional Politics in Orissa (New Delhi, 1979).
Section B: The Problem and Theoretical Orientation:

The emergence, development and the working of party system in Orissa presents an interesting study, because the state has been primarily a tradition-ridden, under-developed, backward and feudal state struggling in the path towards modernity. It therefore, offers a unique opportunity to examine the capacity of political development to effect socio-economic change. Looking at the political instability which has been persisting in the state for last several years, it is interesting to note and study the role that the political parties have played in bringing about such change.

The paradox of a state being rich while the people are poor is clearly manifested in the case of Orissa. A maritime state, with 600 kms of sprawling coastline and vast natural resources, the state enjoys an enviable position in the country. But, Orissa still continues in the orbit of poverty and backwardness. Its place in the ladder of economic prosperity is continually decreasing because of the low rate of economic growth and an increasing gap between it and other states of India. There are also inter-regional disparities as well.
In these cases, it is interesting to study as to what role have the party systems played in the overall political system of this traditional, developing society: Whether they have contributed to the integration of the political system and the society as a whole? Or, whether they have contributed to its disintegration? Or, has the party system been able to hasten the process of modernization in this traditional feudal society?

Orissa, like many other Indian states, has its own problems which are peculiar to its history, social structure, economic set-up etc. A successful party system in a traditional society, tries to overcome these problems. In fact, the capacity of the party system in a traditional society to integrate or disintegrate is closely related to its success or failure.

This study, therefore, makes a study of party politics in Orissa in its various aspects. Following the terminology used in the philosophy of science, this research has therefore, both a macroscopic as well as a microscopic dimension. It tries to explain the evolution and functioning of party system in general, in relation to the
microscopic aspects, legislative role and their behavior in the state legislative Assembly.

The decision to study parties by focussing attention on legislators also needs some explanation. While making this decision, one cannot overlook Frank J. Sorauf's view of the party as structural hybrid consisting of three elements:

a) The party organization, represented by leadership, hierarchical decisions and levels of activity;

b) Party in-government especially the legislative government; and

c) Party in the electorate composed of voters who are loyal to the party and provide its vital support.

This study does not deal with electorate as such, as it represents party supporters but not party leadership. This is more relevant in the case of developing countries, where inadequate education of the masses and communication difficulties often create a considerable gap between the general population and political leaders.

Party organisation at times lack the specificity of structure and functions and characteristics as found in more developed systems. The lack of structural differentiation and functional specificity are particularly clear in a number of small and regional parties in Orissa. Of course, the Congress Party of India has a well developed and hierarchical organization, whereas, many other parties do not have so well-organised organizational structure. This means that a sample, including members of these Congress Committees would often have no comparable counter-parts from other parties. This problem was more acute in Orissa firstly, because even in the Congress Party, there were hardly any materials with regard to the organisation. Many of the files covering party membership etc. were missing. Secondly, this study makes a general study of political parties; and also because there are a number of regional parties (that emerged because of factionalism, defection, etc.) in Orissa. Therefore, the highest degree of comparability seemed assured by defining the universe as those party members elected to the national and state Assemblies.
Defined this way, the universe includes representation of all parties in the area and at the same time remains concerned with a particular political context. A further difficulty about including party members who occupy various governmental positions is that below the state level, Congressmen, still hold power in many Panchayats and other units of local administration. Since, this is a study of several political parties in one region of India, it did not seem relevant to study institutions, whether of the party or of the government, which would yield data relevant only to or primarily about the Congress party.

In terms of collecting universal data, therefore, the universe for this study includes the members of several parties represented in Orissa Legislative Assembly. These legislators are primarily leaders of their parties. Again, in the context of Orissa, the parties are in a constant flux and this exerts its influence on the legislators too. The state has experienced a long period of political instability, during which the state legislatures were dissolved and the central government took-over the administration.
Parliamentary institutions have not been stable in the state and this instability has posed problems for any study exclusively in the parliamentary context. One of the reasons for not studying legislator in the Parliamentary context is the tendency to link party and parliament that has been particularly common in earlier institutional studies.

In the opinion of Duverger, numerous parties in the earlier days emerged as a result of parliamentary structures and activities. Instead of being created as a result of parliamentary activities, parties in the developing areas have often been created in opposition to these activities. They form the opposition to the ruling body. As a result, they often lack identification with loyalty to the existing social, economic and political structure.

It would, of course, seem quite reasonable to study parliamentary-developed parties in

the parliamentary context, but this contextual relationship does not exist in the case of parties developed outside the parliament as is frequently the case in the developing areas.

A final justification for this study concerns the role of political parties in the process of political development. Therefore, in considering political party as an index to political development, the study mainly deals with the evolution of political parties, their development, behavior of the legislative leadership, programmes and ideologies, defections, factionalism and election performance.

The methodology therefore, includes not only survey of primary and secondary materials, but also interviewing the members of the 1974 Legislative Assembly of Orissa. Since this study does not focus any definite attention to any specific party, therefore, the members who were interviewed belonged to various parties in the Assembly. Besides, many ex-leaders of various parties who were not members of the 1974 Assembly were interviewed to give their own versions about the political developments of the state. Materials
available from party offices were very few except the election manifestoes etc., because the offices were mostly disorganised. Party splits has been one of the causes, of the non-availability of materials about party organisation.

However, looking at the political instability of the state since 1952, the specific questions and hypothesis, which the study is going to focus attention on are:

1. The feeling of regionalism which continued to dominate the panorama of state politics since independence have undergone change to some extent.

2. The Congress party, which has its origin and development from the pre-independence days is plagued by factionalism which is weaved around the personality of a handful of leaders.

3. There is no effective opposition in Orissa. The various parties, which have appeared on the political scene from time to time are the products of factions of the Congress. Therefore, political alignments and realignments do not have any definite pattern in case of politics in Orissa.

4. These facts lead to the next hypothesis that defection has been a constant feature especially
after the Fourth General Election.

5. The impact of backward castes and tribes plays a significant role in the state's political development. Caste conflict in Orissa does not play a major role in the state politics; nevertheless, it has its impact on politics. For example, the tribal people have their hold on state politics, through Jharkhand Party. However, other parties like Congress, the Swatantra and other major parties try to win away these backward sections of the society.

6. Political elites of the state come from a higher socio-economic strata than that of ordinary masses of the state.

7. In addition to the above factors which have tremendous impact on the state politics, the absence of an ideology among the political parties has also exercised a profound influence on state politics and political development.

8. The political parties have failed to evolve an all Orissa mass-based leadership for the entire state. This is clearly perceptible from the pattern of electoral politics in the state. There have been
few mass movements in the politics of Orissa in the post-independence era - like the student agitation of 1969 and the state-wide agitation for the location of second steel plant in the state launched in July, 1970.

After having discussed the importance and relevance of the study of party system in Orissa in the process of political development, and assuming certain hypotheses we now proceed to discuss the socio-economic structure of Orissa.