CONCLUSION
Political Instability:

The stability of a government seems to be correlated with the acceptance of its authority as legitimate and uncontroversial by those who are under the domain of such authority, though support of a numerical majority on the floor of the popularly elected House of the Legislature is taken as an index of governmental stability in a parliamentary democracy. In other words, a government, backed by the majority support in the appropriate legislative chamber, having for its authority respect of the electorate, is a stable government. A significant index of political stability is that the people for whom the decisions are meant, accept the decisions as authoritatively allocated. Instability, one could deduce from it, indicates a situation or a condition representing a peculiar pattern of behaviour. The government may not, in such a situation, have majority support or even if it is backed by the necessary majority its decision may not be accepted, by the relevant clientele as legitimate and authoritatively allocated.

Taylor and Herman define stability in terms of the proportion of the legal tenure that a government serves. This concept of stability, as given by them, is inadequate in as much as it fails to reflect instability which might occur even when the government is in office.

Even when a government is in office, if there is a war of nerves between one group of ministers and others, one could reasonably say that the government is unstable in as much as it fails to be effective since it lacks unity of purpose and cohesion in approach. Indices of instability may be, apart from those noted earlier, frequent changes in the composition of government, resignation of Chief Ministers or other Ministers on some specific issues, removal of Ministers, cabinet crisis resulting in governmental immobility, adverse vote in the legislature, failure of representative government and the imposition of President's rule.

As is evident from our analysis in this work, by whatever standard of stability, Orissa has almost been totally deprived of that. Important decisions taken by the government have, almost as a matter of policy, not been taken as legitimate. The appointment of several Commissions of Enquiry bear testimony to this. Similarly, during the last 31 years, Orissa has had as many as 15 governments formed and broken, no government completing the legal tenure, two Chief Ministers have resigned under instruction from the Centre, two Chief Ministers have been removed by the President under Article 356.

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despite the possession of necessary majority by them in the legislature, a number of Ministers have resigned under instruction from the Chief Minister and the State has come under President's Rule for six times since 1961.

Political Instability in Orissa:

As discussed earlier, the political leadership of Orissa, like that in many other new societies, did not, it appears, accept the adverse electoral preferences as an index of its own failure and thus failed to try to mend its own principles, policies and methods of functioning in order to win a favourable verdict at a later date. Probably, it refused to accept the oscillation from office to opposition and from opposition to office as the normal trends of a healthy democracy, may be due to the lust of power it developed after the wars of independence. In its attempt to reject the people's verdict as wrong and artificial, the political leadership seemed preoccupied with the problem of mustering a majority on the floor of the House and the stability of the regime. All means, both fair and foul, were adopted by the political executive to continue on the seat of power.

Purchase of Conscience:

Artificial means of purchasing conscience of legislators belonging to the opposition, through defection and also coalition seemed unavoidable in case of the leadership. The purchase of every thing is done always at a price. So was the purchase of conscience. Defection became frequent and each succeeding defection became costlier than its preceding one in terms of monetary payments, said to be, made by the political leadership.

The kendu leaves trade took full advantage of the fluid political situation and, probably, created situations in which the ruling party had to depend on it on all possible occasions. The Opposition, at times, being financed by the kendu leaves, the political executive was rendered thoroughly helpless.

Since the major attention of the political executive was focussed on the problem of mustering a majority on the floor of the House, the question of bringing in important social, economic and political changes was bound to be neglected. This had reflection on the subsequent electoral verdict which made the political executive still more helpless, and the kendu leaves traders further domineering.

6. The kendu leaves financed Choudhury's opponents in 1956. Also, the kendu leaves aided the opposition parties in their participation in the S.R.C. movement of 1956.
Dimensions of domineering:

Since the authoritative allocations or governmental decisions are based on communication between the political executive and the civil servants, placed on the decision making centres, in the relevant files, purchase of conscience tended to be comprehensive in some cases. The kendu leaves traders who made significant donation etc to party funds, as would be evident from our foregoing analysis, moved on the corridors of power for the achievement of their objective. In course of their functioning, they adopted the different pressure techniques for the achievement of their own objective.

Here, we are inclined to accept the thesis of David Apter that politics, like sex, is a subject to avoid in a polite society. This politics and its practitioners i.e. the politicians do normally generate very intense feelings of love, hatred, loyalty, shame, anger and vengeance in such a way that the polite man views them as unsavoury. However, Politicians and politics seem less dangerous and untrustworthy when they are compared with the kendu leaves traders and their style of functioning. Power to a practitioner of politics is what scarcity may be to a businessman. The politician who tends to view power as the prime concern, always at least professes that his search for power is motivated by his desire to bring about social, economic and political changes for the welfare of the people.

Of course, in course of facilitating such changes or even less than those, the politician exercises power for personal self-aggrandizement. The kendu leaves pressure group which operates outside the specific confines of legal and constitutional arrangements, was on the other hand, always guided by its own 'interests', and as such its functioning is almost always, in minimum, indifferent to the interests of the society in general. The kendu leaves, if one could say, facilitated a ganging up of the political executive with the bureaucracy. Linkages were established. This meant the end of legality or propriety of the things and procedures in the functioning of the government.

Bureaucracy being involved in inappropriate deals, with the connivance, at times encouragement, of the political executive, the governmental decisions seemed not to be authoritatively allocated values, and as such the symptoms of instability came up the surface.

Discipline of the civil service became one of the early casualties. Convenient persons were posted in key positions, some times in quick succession on the basis of the recommendation of the pressure groups. Some of the civil servants tended to view the kendu leaves traders as those capable of showing great professional favours. Honest and frank opinion, did not matter much in one's professional prospects.

Impugned reputation of Civil service: a serious set back.

If Arjun Satpathy, a low ranking officer of the Forest Department of the Government of Orissa succeeded
in undoing the actions of the Secretaries (in quick succession) of the Department, morale of the service was broken. This being known to the masses through the press and the other channels of communication created suspicions in people's mind about the genuineness of the decisions of the government. Corruption became frequent, and apart from this, the talk of corruption became so great and pervasive that elections seemed based on issues relating to corruption.

Commission politics:

Elections being based on issues relating to corruption, the political parties, in course of aggregating the interests, included the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry. This resulted in appointment of three Commissions of Enquiry and two Probe Bodies involving expenses of crores of rupees which otherwise could have been utilised for fruitful purposes. The Khanna Commission, the Sarjoo Prasad Commission and the Mitter Commission held some people guilty but no legal action could be taken against the culprits. All these Commissions proved purposeless and unproductive. Tax revenue, along with the non-tax revenue of the state was drained due to the abuse of office made by some civil servants and political leaders at the behest of the pressure groups.

Change of Governments:

Calculated functioning of the kendu leaves traders did not permit any particular individual to stay in power for a long time in Orissa. Almost all governments in Orissa have been prematurely dissolved, and change of leadership
and composition of government became so frequent that each govern-
ment seemed significantly different from its predecessor. This
resulted in frequent reversions in the techniques of social and
economic change. Each government takes some time to do what is
known as, the 'undoing of the previous regimes' mistakes.'
Therefore, despite massive man power, great mineral and natural
resources, long coastal belt, great power potential and the
history of affluence in the past, Orissa continues to be one of
the classical examples of paradox of poverty in plenty. Taking
the practical points into consideration, it may be said that
because of the linkages in which the politician, the civil
servant and the pressure group participated, good money of
lakhs of rupees was misappropriated by the unscrupulous
executives and, the untrustworthy or more appropriately, anti-
social kendu leaves pressure group.

The greatest injury that this pressure
group has inflicted on the State of Orissa and its political
process is the destruction of the trust. This decline in the
levels of political trust created a situation of wide-spread
basic discontent and political alienation. It led to "creation
of hostility towards political and social leaders, the institu-
tions of government and the regime as a whole."

8. See Arthur H. Miller and Jack Critin's Trust in Government,
The American Political Science Review, Vol. LXVIII, No.3,
September, 1974, page-974.
Large segments, as Miller argues, in context of United States, of people of Orissa had unfulfilled needs and blamed the government for its failure in ensuring any satisfactory improvement. The level of political discontent was so high and the lack of trust in leadership was so shocking that it endured long. Voting out the incumbent leaders, probably, could not restore adequate trust for the leadership, an unavoidable instrument of representative democracy. The frequent change of governments and the appointment of commissions of Enquiry are eloquent examples of this point.

Had the political leadership been careful, conscientious, sportive and democratic, had it reoriented itself and its party-programme and ideology according to preferences of the people reflected in the electoral verdicts, had it not been actuated by the desire of self-aggrandizement and avoided encouraging or, at least, conniving with the bureaucracy in corruption, the Kendu leaves pressure group, probably, would not have damaged the things and conditions of Orissa in the way it has done. But that would not happen. The pressure group would operate and would adopt all methods and techniques for the achievement of its own objectives.

9. Even now in Orissa we donot have a leader to rally round in the hours of crisis.
If the kendu leaves business has been nationalised and as a pressure-group it has been destroyed, its successor, the sal seeds have come up. What is necessary is a sense of determination in the minds of the political leadership and bureaucracy to see that the safety of the State exchequer is not in jeopardy. If this determination is possible, no Probe Bodies and Commissions of Enquiries, will be necessary. If this determination is, on the other hand, impossible, there is no need of Probe Bodies and Commissions of Enquiry because liberty lies in the heart of men and women. Where it lies, no force on earth can undo it. Where it does not lie, no constitution can ensure liberty.