CHAPTER – I
INTRODUCTION

The federal structure of Indian political system allows multiple parties in both at the center and state level. However, soon after independence; there were no important national or regional parties to challenge the ruling Congress. The rise of anti-Congress parties in Southern states at the regional level in the 1970s heralded a new era in Indian politics. The 1990s have witnessed further decline of national parties and the rise of regional/state parties in a number of states in the country. Regional parties became more viable to take the regional aspirations related to the economy, culture etc. which national parties failed to address after independence. The history of the rise of regional parties in Orissa can be understood upon this background.

Since independence, Orissa has had a number of state parties such as the Ganatantra Parishad (1948), Jana Congress (1961), Utkal Congress (1969) and Jagrata Congress (1985). However, most of them do not exist now. More recently, few other parties such as Biju Janata Dal (BJD) and Orissa Gana Parishad (OGP) came up as a result of not just anti-Congressism but also anti-establishment (for instance Orissa Gana Parishad rised against BJD).

The period under the study (1990-2004) witnessed many changes within the political system both at national as well as state level. Over the period of time the initial vibrancy and strength of the Congress lost. The organizational lethargy, corruption and lack of innovation in party management made Congress decline gradually. In addition, its ideologies, which failed to address the aspirations of
different sections of people and various regions, made Congress less appealing. Upon this backdrop many regional parties came up and became indispensable in the Indian politics over the period of time.

The *mandalisation* politics, which put forth the backward castes in the forefront of power in the states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar; the *Hindutva* politics, through which BJP acquired power in the center stage are some of the important turning points in Indian politics.

Janata Dal, which was formed on the basis of anti-Congress philosophy at national and at various state level were disintegrated in post National Front Government at the centre. In a time span of about one and half year the Janata Dal which had been active as a nodal point of non-Congress, non-BJP political forces in the country, disintegrated into various state parties like Rastriya Janata Dal and Samata party in Bihar or the BJD in Orissa. It was thus a case of regionalisation of a national party. The state unit of Janata Dal in Orissa under the leadership of Biju Patnaik always functioned independently. But the state unit of Janata Dal almost suffered from defection after the demise of Biju Patnaik and formed various political groups mainly under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik, Srikanta Jena and Ashok Das and for the pursuit of power; they organized groups in ordered to bring the party (JD) under their control. But under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik a new political orientation was given to BJD (former JD) with some social base, which tries to cope with the responsibility and expectatation of a party that claims to be the real inheritor of JD in Orissa.

The formation of BJD is interlinked with the rise of BJP in Orissa politics. The rise of BJP has changed the relative power position of major political parties
existing in Orissa politics. The transition towards a new pattern of party system is not a sudden development (read political) but the cumulative end product of changes taking places over a considerable period of time and shifts in the political party system both at national as well as state level. This transition is evident in two major changes in end of 1980s i.e. at the time of re-alignments among political parties and the changes in the social and regional bases of parties. The BJD-BJP alignment may be put as a case in point.

This thesis mainly examines the changes both within the political parties and party system in the specific context of Orissa. Within this framework it examines the ideological orientations, support base, programme and policies of BJD.

In this thesis important issues are examined the concerning political parties, especially the BJD in Orissa party politics. The first concerns the effect of the electoral system and federalism on the party system. The second pertains to the role of social cleavages; more precisely, the relation between social cleavages and political mobilization. It is worth investigating whether there is any connection between party’s electoral base and the social groups in Orissa? How does the BJD articulates and mobilises the various social interest groups in a transitional society like Orissa? The other two features which are interlinked with the above two issues are coalition-based structure of party politics and the rise of regional parties to prominence at national level in general and Orissa in particular. These are some of the questions, which is the main interest area of study for the researcher.
Theoretical Framework: Party System in a Transitional Society

The political parties and party system in transitional society like Orissa where the mute mobilization on the form of caste, class, religion or region. The parties and politics, on a field of study have been neglected in Orissa. Only a few works are available on parties like Ganatantra Parishad & Utkal Congress. Even in these studies no attempt has been made to provide a theoretical framework of regional party / parties. This is a big handicap for researcher intending to study parties and politics in Orissa.

This is also the initial difficulty that researcher has faced with and has made attempt to surmount this difficulty and in the process has presented an analytical framework for the study of parties and politics in Orissa. The researcher would try to answer the most fundamental question in this context: what makes the changing coalition structure of party system in Orissa politics? The researcher would also try to answer the trends of party competition with the larger framework. Within this framework where the BJD, a regional party exists, in this relative power position in mid 1990s? Factors like factionalism, regionalism (categorized by the rivalry between western and coastal region of Orissa) and personality-oriented politics would be examined.

Orissa is the one of the various states in India that broke away from Congress hegemony around 1990. Orissa took a more ambiguous route involving a transition from hegemony to multiple convergences of sorts. Thus, Orissa is moving from Congress hegemony to multi-polar convergence with a brief half at bipolar competition. In Orissa, the politics of a first a bipolar (Congress–JD) and
then a triangular (Congress-BJD-BJP) competition has added little to the political agenda except the question of regional discrimination.

In this existing political environment the regional parties based in regions are competing for power at the center. In other words, in the states, regional or state level parties compete with national parties for power. This is due to the failure of National Front/many component of National Front have identifiable regional bases built over a considerable period of time. The Janata Dal (later BJD) state unit constituted as one of the component of that region based party, where as the Congress party is confined to those states where it has managed to retain its social base.

In the 1990s state level parties have aligned with either BJP or more recently the Congress in order to both strengthen their own base at the state level and to obtain a share in governance at the center. In other words, a new relationship is also developing between the national parties and the state/regional parties, seen in the attempts by the former to form alliance with the latter in order to strengthen their regional base and the latter alliance with the former to strengthen its regional base and defeat to the Congress party. Because a number of state parties have formed as the nucleus of anti-Congressism.

The political reality was readiness of regional parties to enter to alliances with the BJP rather than with the Congress. Since most of the regional parties had a tradition of anti-Congressism and a social base, which was mobilized on a non-Congresss ideological basis, these parties were constrained in choosing electoral allies. In Orissa the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) needs the support of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to capture state power or build a social base, which can
challenge the Congress, which enjoyed dominance once a long period of time. Emergent from the Janata Dal, the BJD as a typical regional party, whose base is not "regionalism" as in many other states. In this sense, it is different from the Akali Dal (AD), Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) or Telgu Desam Party (TDP). However, changes are taking place in the Orissa Party system corresponding to those at the national level, which could enable it to emerge as a regional party. This requires building a social base not only among the upper castes/classes who have traditionally enjoyed power but also among the slowly emerging SCs and STs. This process is incomplete and Orissa is a society in transition where this process has been more gradual than elsewhere. It is within this framework of change from the older party system to a newer one that this study of the BJD is placed. Nevertheless, the existing regional party had some charting effect upon the Congress for a time. Some of these parties have played the constructive role of opposition with main objective of reforming the Congress. While corruption is an endemic phenomenon in Indian politics, many of these regional parties took shape as a revolt against the betrayal of political morals and aimed to eradicate corruption from public life.

Regional party/parties have mobilized their strength in favour of local issues and regional demands to which the leaders at the national level have shown an indifferent attitude. Some regional parties not only shared power at the state level but also influenced the decision making at national level.

What is more significant is that Orissa has provided a fertile ground for the germination and growth of many regional parties and they seem to continue to play a significant role in future. In spite of gradual decline of some regional parties like
'Utkal Congress' and 'Jana Congress' which came into existence before 1990 and after, the study of the regional parties in Orissa is significant for the following reasons. Political situation in Orissa seems fast developing towards the formation of a regional party in the state to fight against the Congress. The recent growths of BJD as a regional party in terms of regionalism with a development outlook and in the broader prospective of their role and activities have to be properly studied.

**Concepts used in this Study**

Conceptual framework is an important aspect of any research work various concepts used in this study have been examined in this section in order to get a clear perspective of the subject matter.

**Political Party:** A political party is an organised group that seeks to gain political power either by itself or in coalition with others to the extent that political organisation is essential to the functioning of modern political systems, it is difficult to conceive of realistic alternative to political parties. Competition between parties gives practical meaning to democracy. In reality, the parties have the characteristics features of protective as well as promotional groups which are open to all members of society protective groups are characterized by the fact that they defend classes or castes of society. Therefore, their membership is limited. Political parties are both general and open. It wants to capture power through democratic means of mass mobilization and voting. Heterogeneity is one of the features of the party structure.

In a system of competitive elections, the parties also play an important educative role through the promotion of principles and alternative conception of good life by argument and debate. They are the most important two-way link
between society and government. They give national dimension to local politics and translate public opinion into public policy. By performing the function of interest aggregation, political parties convert a number of different individual and social demands into collective goals. They are also the channel for recruiting and socializing elites into the political process, and mobilizing the populace for the task of nation building and state-building. Yet even while the political party modernizes society, it is in turn indigenised and imbued with traditional features like caste, religion etc. calculations. In modern democracies, a party also effectively uses the power of parliament.

**Democracy:** Democracy defies definitions, as no concept of democracy can adequately the powers of parliament comprise the vast history – which the concept connotes men here find its essence in the character of electorate, the relation between government and the people, the absence of wide economic differences between citizens, the refusal to recognize privileges built on birth, on wealth, race or creed.\(^1\) As the core of democracy is the principles of popular sovereignty which holds that government can be legitimized only by the will of these whom it governs and the main democratic procedure is, of course, elections.\(^2\)

**Coalition Politics:** The term ‘coalition’ as it is generally use in political science, is a direct descendent of the exigencies of a multi-party system in a democratic set-up. It is a phenomenon of a multi-party government where a number of minority parities join hands for the purpose of running the government, which is otherwise

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1 Encyclopedia of Social Science (New York, 1931), vol. 5, p.76.
not possible in a democracy based as a one-party system. A coalition is formed when many splinter group in a House agree to join hands on a common platform sinking their broad differences and form a majority in the House. It is an astonishing chorus of discards. Though outwardly a coalition appears to be one solid mass, inwardly it is ridden by past foibles and frantic party fervours and it is for this reason that coalition prove to be transient.³

Regionalism: In India regionalism began to raise its head in different parts in different forms soon after independence. Regionalism in our country is essentially a product of its diversity. The historical division of the country into British Indian provinces and princely states before independence led to the disparities in the levels of politico-national consciousness. The areas of the princely states remain backward and under-developed-socially, economically, and politically compared to the areas under the direct British administration. This created a sense of deprivation in the minds of the people of the princely states.⁴ This is true in a larger context between the states and inside a State. We can find the uneven development situation in Orissa, where the inland districts were under the princely rule and coastal districts under the British administration. The prevalence of two different types of administrations in the two regions contributed to the uneven development situation.

Political Stability: Orissa politics is divided with two phases. The first phase is the politics of instability from the year 1936 to 1980. The second phase starts from the

year 1980 onwards as politics of stability. From 1952 to 1980, not a single ministry completed its full time year term. In this respect both the Congress and non-Congress governments have equally failed.

Political instability in Orissa was initially due to strong regionalism, which was manifested in the shape of the Ganatantra Parishad – later, the Swatantra Party, which was formed with the objective of highlighting the problems and promoting the interests of western Orissa. A strong Ganatantra Parishad militated against the emergence of a strong Congress and prevented it from gaining absolute majority for a long time. The second factor, which seems to account for the recurrence of political instability to the absence of cadre politics and proliferation of amorphous parties whose followers, in general, are committed to personalities and patronage rather than to any ideological programme. A factor responsible for the absence of political instability in the state is intense factionalism in the dominant party – the Congress. Large defections, rise of splinter parties, and frequent political charges; are caused by factional conflicts affecting the Congress Party. Further, another factor in this regard is the absence of strong leadership. In the second phase or in the period of political stability the ministry was not interested to work for the upliftment of the poor people. The above account shows that Orissa is, in general, poor and backward and is permeated by a high dose of feudalism.

**Factionalism:** Paul Brass makes an interesting study of factional politics in U.P. In his application of the factional approach to coalition politics. Brass concludes that inter-party divisions are more important than intra-party divisions are more important than intra-party. But, here we assume that both divisions are equally
important which leads to party proliferation due to defection, and create a space for instability in a political system. It is, therefore, necessary to examines the factors responsible for such a conflicts within the party system.

The phenomenon of factionalism within the caste is the locus of power and decision-making. Factionalism at one level tends to spilt over to the others. It has the tendency to flow down and move up. Factionalism in Orissa may be discussed at their levels, namely local, district and state. Factionalism from top to bottom is more frequent and faster than bottom to top. In other words, it is much easier for state factionalism to seep into lower levels than for local factionalism to move up to upper level politics. On the eve of 1967 Assembly election the Congress Party in Orissa was revived with intra-party conflict, the party began to be split at the district level, block level and village level. The same happened a few months before the formation of the Utkal Congress in 1970. On the other hand, local factionalism has been rarely reflected in state politics.

In Orissa factionalism is not confined to the dominant party – Congress mainly. Other political parties in the state big or small are afflicted with it. The Congress Party has often suffered from factionalism. In Orissa political factionalism was prevailed up to 1980 and again 1990. Factionalism in state of Orissa suggests some points.

1. Big parties are prone to factionalism while the small parties are not.
2. Cader parties with committed followers are less likely to afflicted by factional politics.

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5 *ibid.,* p.79.
6 *ibid.,* p.82.
On the other hand, ‘Coalition Parties’ with non-committed followers are prone to be victims of factionalism. As Lewis has called them occasional alliances which are the locus of power.\textsuperscript{7} A Cader Party belonging to any point of the continuum – where a left party, center party or right party tend to be disciplined and united. In case of coalition parties, the followers tend to support personalities rather than ideologies, factional leaders rather than party programme. Factional loyalty is not strong. The moment there is a more allowing offer from the leader of another faction, the members of one faction would tend to defect to the former. The political history of Orissa from Independence to the year 1980 was constable because of factionalism.

\textbf{Objective of the Study}

The study has examined the following objectives:

1. to map out the emergence, growth, support base, ideological orientation, programme and policies and pattern of leadership of BJD in Orissa party politics.

2. to find out whether there has been any different strategy employed by BJD to challenge the Congress parties as well as to create support in the grass-root politics.

3. to look into the mobilization strategies and electoral performances of BJD during post-mid1990s when the dynamics of politics is changing at a fast speed, both at the regional and national level.

4. to look into the class and caste representation in the BJD and how does it address the issues relating to the large section of population during its history of existence.

5. to examine the gravity of the identity surrounded with the leadership of Naveen Patnaik (as contrasted to the son-of-the-soil), its problems and prospects.

The BJD: Problems of Analysis

The origin, social base, leadership structure, ideology and programme of the BJD, an offshoot of the anti-Congressism both at the national and state level, is the subject of study of this work. The problem to be analysed is whether BJD as a regional party dedicated to the objective of promoting the interest of states with the objective of building an industrialised Orissa. BJD is generally representative of the middle classes and the problem to be analyzed is whether it also articulates the various sections of transitional society or it is merely a middle class party.

Finally, BJD’s success is due to Naveen Patnaik, a dynamic leader capable of winning popular support and maintaining internal party discipline. There can be no doubt about that Naveen Patnaik is the driving force for growth in Orissa party politics. This study, seeks to examine how the BJD copes with a changing political environment in its effort to consolidate support base and maintaining inter party democracy. Whether the BJD has articulated the various interests exist in transitional society like Orissa or whether BJD has methodically established itself in the organisational decline and realignment of social forces that have taken place in Orissa in 1990s. Whether the BJD has the capacity for new forms of mobilisation in contrast to the Congress which is so long as dominant political fact
of Orissa in past, and that of the BJP has emerged as a third political force in Orissa party politics.

Methodology

The methods adopted in the study are descriptive & analytical. The comparative analysis has been provided wherever necessary important personalities who dominated the political scenario during (except late Biju Patnaik) the last decade have been interviewed to elicit their views on various aspects of the parties and politics of the state. The researcher has examined both primary and secondary sources. The debates of the Orissa Legislative Assembly and other literature of the political parties have been used to gate authentic data. Contemporary newspapers of the decade have also been used to collect materials. Election results have been analysed with the help of election data obtained for the office of the Chief Election office of Orissa and Election Commission of India. Besides, all relevant books, journals both in English and Oriya have been extensively used for the study. The researcher has interviewed Srikanta Jena, Prasanna Acharya, Bijay Mohapatra, J. B. Patnaik, Ashok Das, Dillip Ray, and many more. Some veteran leaders of the state like Shri Rabi Roy and Shri Naveen Patnaik, who had influenced the politics of the State during the period under study, have also been interviewed.

It is also appropriate to mention that the information obtained by personal interviews has been checked and corroborated with other concerned personal and/or published literature. Such facts and information, which could not be sustained, have been omitted for the study.
Review of Literature

The systematic study of the sub fields of politics, for instance, parties and the party systems in the Indian states began in the mid 1960s, with two collaborative volumes by Myron Weiner and Iqbal Narain, which provided for the first time, a detailed history of the function of many states, their politico-administrative structure, economic conditions, party system, pattern of leadership etc. Narain characterized politics in the states on “segmentary” i.e., political happenings in one State did not effect other states or the Centre. Thus, a general characteristic of the literature of this period was that while attention was focused upon the states, they were viewed as sub-systems with in a larger system, as existing on the “periphery” and contributing to all-India trends. Even major shifts in the states such as the 1967 elections were “fitted in” as part of a larger systemic change.

While a number of study by individual scholars on the politics of particular states – were studies by Zoya Hasan and Paul Brass on Uttar Pradesh, that of James Manor on Karnataka, of Jayanta Lele and latterly, of Thomas Blom Hansen on Maharastra, of Ghana Shyam Shah on Gujarat, and of Baldev Raj Nayyar etc., John R. Wood’s collaborative volume on state politics in the early 1980s clearly portrays the shift in focus from the National to the State level, conceding to the latter an independent political space within the Indian political system. While the individual contributions examine political developments within particular states,

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9 See Introduction of both volumes.
such as decay of the Congress, emergence of opposition parties such as Janata Dal, Samajwadi Party etc.

This shift is visible in many significant studies on Indian politics in the 1980s and the 1990s. Atul Kohli’s study on the effectiveness of different party regimes in Karnataka (that of the Congress under Deveraj Urs), in U.P. (the Janata Coalition) and in West Bengal (the Left Front), in relation to poverty reduction. In fact, Kohli concluded from his comparative study that differences between the political regimes of different states do make a significant difference, specifically to the adoption of pro-poor policies in the Indian context.

Many aspects of electoral politics in the states are examined in depth in a four-volume study in the late 1970, on the impact of variables such as modernisation, social cleavages, rise of left parties, and mobilization of disadvantaged sections by Weiner and Field. The two volumes study of the changing bases of Congress support and challenges posed to it by regional, session list and identity – based movements in the 1980s, edited by Sission and Ray, underlines the growing importance of electoral behaviour and party politics in the State for national governance. In fact, increasingly studies on Indian politics in the 1990s examine political developments in the states in order to understand the future direction of the economy and polity.

An assessment of literature on regional politics and regional political


parties in the Indian states is long overdue. Interestingly many of the regional political parties in most of the states have largely remained unrecognised and unstudied. Although there has been a spate of studies on each of the national parties in India but very little research has been done on the regional parties. This apathy towards the study of regional political parties seems to be partly rooted in the insufficient appreciation of regional politics as an operationally significant level of inquiry even though the regional parties in many states have increasingly gained strength and some of them have repeatedly held reins of power at the state level. The complacency of scholars may be also partly due to the continuing emphasis on the study of national parties and the dominance of regional parties by national parties. The net result was that the study of regional parties was not accorded due institutional support and was allowed to remain a dark area in the studies of Indian politics.

In early 70s, both foreign and Indian, have undertaken studies on political development and political change in the Indian states. These studies by way of their discussion on parties and political development have made only indirect reference to the regional political parties in the States. By and large these studies formed a part of their work on state politics and therefore, were not expected to deal with the regional parties in details. The works on State Politics edited by Myron Weiner and Iqbal Narain are cases in point. They mainly emphasised the

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17 ibid.
electoral behaviour of the Political Parties at the state level on the basis of electoral cleavages and party alignments. Their main aim was to identify the working of the Political System. The scopes of these studies are therefore, limited and the regional parties received, at best, scant attention in these studies. Almost similar is the case with the studies of political parties, which were largely confined, to the national politics and their factional conflicts in some states. Regional parties in these studies hardly figured at all. The spate of election studies in India made by both foreign and Indian scholars reveal that due emphasis was not put by them on the study of the electoral behaviour of regional parties.

Rajni Kothari's works on Indian politics and the developing political pattern in the states provided a comprehensive analysis of political processes in India. His framework of “one party dominance”, however, did not suit all the states and, moreover, the form and substance of one party dominance in the states was not studied on a comparative basis. Iqbal Narain visualised a linear development from one party dominance to stable party system through the intervening stages of “Polarized Pluralism”, the transition from one stage to another being characterized by phases of political equilibrium and disequilibrium. Through this theme of polarization he also attempted to correlate in a broad way, the patterns of electoral alliances and coalition governments in the


22 Sushil Kumar, op. cit., p. 100

states. None of the studies of these two eminent political scientists did include any individual study on regional parties. They, however, pointed out the importance of the study of regional politics as part of the study of political development in under-developed areas.24

The formation of coalition government both at national and state level, and the emergence of regional parties as their constituent partners after 1967 elections became yet another important development which attracted the attention of many scholars. This new development of regional parties as coalition partners sharing power in some states increased the legitimacy of the regional parties as well as the importance of their study. The coalition governments in the states were studied from the perspective of the issues involved in their nature and functioning. Several theoretical, constitutional, and developmental issues were raised in the studies of coalition governments.25 But these studies were also too insufficient, as they did not make any in-depth study of the regional parties from the perspective of their contextual dimension and intra-regional imbalances.26

There are still very few independent studies on purely regional parties. These studies are limited only to DMK and Akali Dal. Hardgrave’s works on DMKs27 are notable in this context. In his works Hardgrave has mainly focussed on the aspect of “cultural nationalism” and “separatist tendencies” in DMK. While emphasising the cultural difference between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Hardgrave attempted to study how culture had been used as a weapon by one

25 Sushil Kumar, op. cit., p 100
26 See Introduction of Iqbal Narain in State Politics in India in Iqbal Narain, ed. 1976, p. 20
group of castes against another. The author has, however, extensively dealt with
the cultural renaissance of the caste groups and its radicalism, which had far-
reaching political consequences. Nayar’s\(^2\) work has been so far the best on Akali
Dai. Nayar’s primary question was to study the problem of nation building in India
and keeping in view this major objective the study focussed on two aspects. It
aimed to understand the basis, and dynamics of one specific demand for the
formation of a: new state out of the territories of the Punjab in Northwest India.
Secondly it examined the complex relationship between diversity and national
unity as well as between the diversity and democracy in India. While studying the
state’s politics since independence he examined the origin and political strategies
of Akali Dal. However, the works of both the scholars primarily emphasised the
stresses and strain in federal relationship between the Union and the States in
India. Thus, the two parties were not free from separatist tendencies and
communalism respectively. In this respect one can say that there has been no work
on a regional party from purely regional perspective and particularly on those
parties which are regional, yet they’ have not posed any threat to the national unity.

The survey of available Literature on Orissa politics shows that it lacks in
terms of focusing much attention to the parties and politics in Orissa. The first
major attempt to study Orissa politics was by F. G. Bailey in his book, ‘Politics
and social change in Orissa in 1959’, examines from sociological approach and the
relationship between parliamentary democracy and the traditional forms of social
and political organisation in Orissa.\(^3\)


In his work Bailey has analysed the composition of Oriya people of Orissa as well as in neighbouring states showing the cultural and social background of the area. The politics of the state and the political culture has been analysed in terms of regional variations. He has focused on issues of land reforms, economic development of a particular region and how it has influenced the political and social beliefs of the people of the state. In the article “Politics in Orissa – voting pattern in hill and coast” he has analysed politics of hill and coastal areas in terms of social, cultural and economic variations.30

Geographically, Orissa is divided into two well-demarcated areas, the coastal districts and hilly areas. These two areas are connected both culturally and economically for they had same language, religion, and cultural values. But there are fundamental diversities between these two regions as they had different administrative systems. Bailey has analysed the impact of these differences on the pattern of politics in Orissa. His articles, “Parliamentary Government in Orissa (1947-1959)”, and “Politics and society in contemporary Orissa” are also quite similar to his earlier articles in their approach and focus. These works of Bailey on Orissa politics were undoubtedly pioneer and were based on empirical survey. His treatment of the Ganatantra Parishad mostly confined himself to the politics of the formation of this study. He has not elaborately dealt with its ideology, structure, organisation and leadership pattern. The present author seeks to fill up these gaps in the study of the Ganatantra Parishad. Bailey’s31 articles, “Ganatantra Parishad” a regional party of ex-princely states, which affected the politics of Orissa in the

1950s, and early 60s. He has shown the prominence of regional parties in Orissa based on personal interests and how Orissa remained free from the Congress dominance in the 50s. We get informations about the nature of politics in the Orissa in the context of political relations with the center through regional based interest groups. Orissa’s politics in the aftermath of independence is characterized by intra regional rivalries rather than center-state or inter-state issues.

Most of the pricely states remained cut off from the main currents of Indian freedom struggle owing to the deliberate policy of British government alienating the people in the princely states form National freedom struggle and suppression by local rulers. These princely states were mostly in the Western Orissa, and their nature of interests differed considerably from the coastal regions in terms of economic, political and social aspects. Despite prajamandal movements in Western Orissa, the people could not accelerate as people in the coastal regions who participated vigorously in the freedom struggle and asserted their dominance in politics after independence. This caused suspicion and every in the minds of people in the western upland which characterized the politics of Orissa in the first two decades after independence with fierce intra-regionalism.

Dr. Kishalaya Banerjee\textsuperscript{32} has dealt this aspect of Orissa politics in “Regional political parties in India”. His work has given a sufficient insight to the background of geography, history and politics of Orissa and discussed the causes and genisis of regional parties in Orissa. In his work he traced the roots of regionalism in interest based resource distribution in terms of political, educational and infrastructural availabilities within the state. In fact the movement for a

regional justice was taken up by the erstwhile princes who felt alienated in the political alignments with the emergence of Congress party at the state-level. They were organised under “Ganatantra Parishad” to fight 1951 elections. The main issues raised were, growing dominance of outsiders i.e. from coastal region and non-Oriyas. Underdevelopment that means the terms of low literacy, infrastructure government expenditure and finally, bureaucratic harassment. They capitalized more in the “Anti-Hirakud agitation” which was supposed to save Cuttack from flood submerging large tracts of land and evacuation of thousands of people from Western Orissa. Though movement soon died out after a green revolution in the area by canel irrigation, the ex-rulers in the regional party of Western Orissa had taken political advantage out of this. Transformation of certain territories to Bihar and West Bengal also created anger among people. A by outsiders taking away their forest produces and land at unfair prices also made them hostile towards the other region i.e. coastal in Orissa. All these factors are responsible for a regional interest based politics in Orissa. Dr. Banerjee also examines leadership element in Orissa politics vis-à-vis center and shows how in the early decades Orissa was free from the one party dominance syndrome.

Congress has not been able to secure absolute majority in the Assembly elections, except in the 1961 mid term elections 1980 & 1985 assembly elections. The presence of strong opposition parties and factional ridden Congress was cause of concern for the central leadership. Creation of Jana-Congress in 1969 from Congress factional politics in Orissa shows the weakness of the central leadership to effectively charnalise resources and reach compromise. Dr. Banerjee also examines the organisational structure of regional parties in Orissa. A potential
point has been shown by his analysis i.e. while National parties like Congress
organised their party in a hierarchical manner, allegiance to one leader at the
National level, picking up membership and leadership from all section of society,
regional parties are more or less based on decentralized pattern of leadership. He
concluded that all the regional parties are centrist parties with the exception of Biju
Patnaik’s “Utkal Congress” which was rightist. All other regional parties like
“Jana-Congress” and “Ganatantra Parishad except Utkal Congress addressed
removal of regional disparities as their main plank.

K.V. Rao,33 in his article “Politics in Orissa”, has given a good account of
the origin of the Ganatantra Parishad. He seems to argue that the emergence of the
Parishad was in the logic of things. The party’s birth was due to historical
antecedents, “cultural clashes” and “regional pulls”. He points out that the
geographical division of the state between coastal and hilly area was intermeshed
with two different cultures and two different economies, one strongly believing to
have long been exploited by the other. Rao then proceeds to analyse the
competition between the Congress and the Parishad to capture power from 1952 to
1961. He, however, has not looked into other aspects of the Ganatantra Parishad
like its ideology, organisation, and leadership pattern, which did not form parts of
his canvas.

A few scholars have undertaken the studies of political development and
political change in Orissa. These studies by way of their discussion on parties and
political development have made only indirect reference to the regional political

33 K. V. Rao, “Politics in Orissa: Social Ecology and constitutional compulsion”, Indian Journal
of Political science, vol. 26, 1965, pp. 101-110; See also his article on Orissa Politics in State
parties in the state. The work of A. P. Padly\textsuperscript{34} and Ashwini Kumar Tiwari\textsuperscript{35} are in case. They are mainly emphasised political process of Orissa till 70s. Besides highlighting the working of various governments. They mainly emphasized the electoral politics, political culture, political economy and the pattern of political development. Their main aim was to identify the working of the political system in the state.

Dash,\textsuperscript{36} in his article, "Government and politics in Orissa" has mainly dealt with the factionalism in Orissa Congress from 1936 to 1961. His approach to the analysis of Congress factionalism is mainly caste-oriented. His thesis is that the rift in the Congress for gaining power before independence and in its aftermath was between the Satyabadi group consisting of veteran Brahmin leaders and the other group comprising Khastriya, Khandayat and Karan leaders. Only marginally he has dealt with the origin of the Ganatantra Parishad (G.P.) and its challenge to the Congress in state politics in first three general elections, that is, 1952, 1957 and 1961. Dash has briefly analysed the formation and dissolution of the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad Coalition government. But here he has paid more attention to the internal wrangling of the Congress Party, which led to the fall of the coalition than to the role and performance of the Parishad as a coalition partner. Thus the Congress politics has absorbed most of the attention of Dash while the G.P. has got only secondary importance in his analysis of state politics.

B. B. Jena has analysed the formation and growth of different political

parties in Orissa and their performances in assembly and Lok Sabha elections upto 1967. In particular, he has provided a detailed account of the origin of the Jana Congress that was a product of the group fighting within the Congress in early sixties. He has critically examined the pre-election understanding between the Swatantra and the Jana Congress and their performances in the 1967 Assembly election. His article, “Feudal Grip”, is one of the first and best on the switchover of the ex-feudal lords to the democratic politics of post-independence India. It points out the considerable influence that they exercised upon the politics of the state in the post-independence period. It also draws the line of the gradual erosion of their stranglehold upon the state politics. The Utkal Congress, the other regional party, which came into being in 1970, was obviously outside the scope of his study.

Puspa Asthana in her doctoral work is a useful way of looking into the politics of Orissa in terms of factional rivalaries and personality clashes. Showing the trend of factionalism from pre-independence period to 1960s and 70s, she has blamed the illiterate electorate and selfish motives of the leaders in Orissa which made the prime issues of development and growth secondary to power politics. She has made a historical empirical study of different political parties since independence. She has also argued leadership crisis, factional politics in relation with the center till 1980.

Mohanty and Mishra, in their study of election politics of Orissa from 1952 to 1974, have briefly dealt with the regional parties, viz., the Ganatantra Parishad, the Jana Congress, and the Utkal Congress. Their study is permeated with a regional perspective. They have stated that a recurring feature of Orissa politics is “collaboration or confrontation between the leaders of the western hill districts and the eastern coastal districts”. Orissa politics is marked by long “political stagnation” which has been caused by feudal dominance in the western region, and the Congress factionalism and personality-oriented politics. “The Congress in Orissa has been plagued by factionalism. What is worse, the factions are weaved around a few individuals, they observe.

J. K. Mohapatra in his work, “factionalism politics in India”, has been pointed out in post 1967 phase defection is characterized by individuals shifting loyalty to other parties on the basis of personal interest. Balram Mohanty has also written about Orissa politics in the 1970s about the support base, ideology and programmes of different regional parties vis-à-vis the center. J. K. Baral and Jayanta Mohapatra in their jointly written “Political Culture of backward Indian State: Orissa” have revealed the grass root factors of backwardness in Orissa politics. Showing Orissa’s under representation in central cabinet blame the central leadership dominated by north. This is probably because of Orissa’s low participation in freedom struggle. Baral and Mohapatra accounts for this to the

42 ibid, p. 260
location which is neither strategically important nor nearer to the capital, and its contribution to the National income in terms of tax mobilisation is not so high. Secondly, due to the culture of political opposition, many times the Congress that has ruled mostly at the center, failed to win absolute majority in the state legislator and as a result of Orissa has been considered a strong fort of the opposition. On the contrary during the ten years of Congress rule in the state from 1980-89, there was not a single Oriya in the central cabinet. This shows that, why Orissa is better represented at the center during non-Congress rule.

Amol Ray, a keen student of Orissa politics, has focused on sub-regional equation in state politics. He has identified some of the factors responsible for recurring strain between the coastal region and the western region. He believes that the absence of a sizeable segment of the “indigenous professional middle class” and the presence of a cohesive group of “core-followers” in Western Orissa made possible for a feudal party like the Ganatantra Parishad (later Swatantra) to maintain its sway over the voters of the region for a long time. On the other hand the shift-prone loyalty of “mercenary followers” who abound in coastal Orissa fanned factionalism in the Congress, mostly coast-based, and made easy the formation of regional parties like the Jana Congress and the Utkal Congress. Ray has also dwelt upon the differential degree of political mobilization in coastal and western Orissa.

Nanda, as the title of his book suggests, has studied the dynamics of coalitional politics in Orissa. He has dealt with the Congress-Parishad coalition, the

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Swatantra-Jana Congress coalition, and the Swatantra-Utkal Congress coalition. Thus the GP, JC and UC, which are the objects of our study, come also within the scope of his study. But he has primarily confined himself to the coalitional aspects of these parties. Other aspects of these parties like their formation; ideology, organisation and leadership structure etc. have got scant attention from him. At times he has indulged in making sweeping statements. At one place he says that the Parishad was a “party of the tribals”. This is far from the truth. He has sketched profiles of one or two important leaders of these parties without following any scientific method or principle of sampling. He has not attempted any systematic analysis of the leadership pattern of these parties.

Sarangi, in his study of the Utkal Congress, states that it came into being as a result of the defection of the dominant faction of the Orissa Congress because of the intervention of the High Command on behalf of the minority faction. He says that, in Orissa, factions are seldom based on caste and kinship ties; these mostly veer round their respective leaders, Sarangi has briefly examined the ideology and programme of the party. In analysing the socio-economic background of the Utkal Congress legislators, he observes that it does not seem to be widely different from that of the general pattern of Congress and other political parties. He has briefly studied the electoral performance of the party both in 1971 and 1974. But he has completely neglected its leadership pattern and performance in other fields.

Surya Narayan Mishra in his “Party Politics and Electoral choice in an Indian state” has tried to look into Orissa Politics during 1947 to 1987 from the

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point of view of center i.e. how change of governments or leadership out the center affected the politics in Orissa.\(^{49}\) He has also analysed the nature and implication of presidents rule for Orissa through interplay of political parties at National and regional level.\(^{50}\) In the first phase of political development during one party dominant Congress system, he has shown that due to its uniform rule, the Congress had shown unitary tendencies in spite of federal constitution that is continued till today.

The studies discussed above have, no doubt, contributed to our understanding of regional political parties in Orissa. But our understanding in this respect needs to be further improved by a more systematic and comprehensive study of regional parties, These studies, by and large, have confined themselves to the analysis of election polities in Orissa. In that context they have discussed formation and electoral performance of these parties. In earlier writings it was only one regional party--the Ganatantra Parishad, which received some attention. Only in later writings all three regional parties of the state were subjected to some descriptive analysis. Moreover other important aspects of regional parties like ideology and programme; organization and leadership and performance profile have either received scant attention or no attention at all from the scholars on Orissa politics. The present work is an humble attempt to provide a systematic, comprehensive picture of all important aspects of regional political parties in Orissa. Besides fruitfully utilizing the existing knowledge of the phenomena under study, it would tap new sources of data to enrich our knowledge on the subject.


\(^{50}\) *ibid.*