Chapter Five
CHAPTER -V

BJD IN ORISSA PARTY POLITICS:
PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

This chapter examines the position of the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) in Orissa. An extensive and critical evaluation is made in this section to understand the problems and challenges faced by the party, despite its electoral success in recent years. The later part of the section deals with the researcher’s remark on the challenges faced by BJD from the other competitive political parties. Therefore, this chapter raises a number of questions such as, what would be the position of the BJD in Orissa politics? What have been the major challenges faced by the party and finally whether the BJD under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik will prove capable of constructing a new consensus acceptable to all section of society? These questions can be used to analyse the various problems and challenges faced by BJD and vice-versa.

The 1990s have witnessed the collapse of the one party dominant Congress system and a transition towards a new “region based” multi party system in which state and national party systems interact with each other in a complex manner. The main objective of interaction by the latter to form alliance with the former in order to strengthen there regional base and defeat the Congress party. This pattern of anti-Congressism of which the BJD-BJP is a good example is different from earlier episodes as it has a regional axis. On the light of the political competition

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and transformation of party system both at National as well as state level in post 1990s, the second chapter, therefore, has taken an precious effort intracing the evalution of anti-Congress in Orissa politics and its impact over current political dynamics.

As earlier mentioned that the middle class/ caste nature of the Oriya political elites has contributed to the consolidation of region-based politics in Orissa. But the political competition and transformation of the party system at the state level, which give impetus to the new pattern of state politics is due to the mingling of various political developments. These were: the decline of Congress party, the emergence of BJP as a third political force and the demise of third force in political reality in post-Congress polity. Therefore, it is the political compulsion, which also contributed to the consolidation of region-based politics in state in many states including the state of Orissa.

As political scientist observed that the Orissan party system fall under the bipolar or two party system states. However, looking at the vote shares by the major political parties, they find that the presence of a significant growing third political force-BJP-whose votes shares though in double digits but not its enough to win significant number of electoral seats. This made both existing major political polities, i.e., Congress and janta dal(former BJD) to seek the support of emerging thired force to defeat each other. The history of electoral strategy in various non-BJP states also signifies its emergence as a potential state party due to its role as a major political alliance with the concerned dominant political party. though BJP

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3 Shuhas Pulashikar, 'Ragional parties and democracy', p.314
5 Bishnu Mohapatra, 'Politics in post cyclone Orissa', pp.1353 -55
has been satisfied itself as a second rung political party in these state i.e, Karnataka, Bihar and Orissa. though the Janata Dal dominance has been shattered by fragmenting itself or aligning with the Congress in Bihar and Karnataka, the same is not the case of Orissa. The anti-congressism ideology of Janata Dal still persists in orissa through its re-emergence as Biju Janata Dal (BJD). Although Biju Patnaik chose to participate in non-Congress politics at the all India level, their state level politics continued to be anchored in a regional discourse. The Janata Dal has played an anti-Congress and anti-BJP under the leadership of Biju Patnaik till his untimely death in 1997. In post-Biju phase polity has changed these equation in Orissa state politics. It is because, the BJP emerges as a third political force in terms of vote share at the state level and, hence, threatening to cut into the votes and seat prospects of either or both of the dominate parties i.e. the Congress and the Janata Dal. Hence it creates incentives for the weaker of the two leading parties to ally with it. Typically the regional party, the BJD, has done after Biju demise. This is the pattern in Orissa has been exists in post-Biju phase polity.

In the contemporary Orissa party politics, the Biju Janata Dal has generated strong enthusiasm among the people all over the state and attracted support from the various sections of society in an unexpected manner. The formation of the BJD was a few months before the Lok Sabha election in 1998. The unexpected gain for BJD in the 1998 election made it a real successor of Janata Dal in Orissa politics. (BJD got hight Lok Shaba seats in orissa in 1998 and 1999 in Lok Sabha election with 8&9 seats respectively). The BJD political leadership projected the party as

7 There is one ground that might have been responsible but steady shift from National to State specific may be in order here. Firstly, Biju Patnaik refusal to implement the Mandal Commission Report by the JD government at State and the JD was constituent of national Front under the leadership of V.P. Singh at National level. This is the example about not following the High Command instructions.
the anointed successor of the Congress, in case of TDP in Andhra Pradesh and
DMK/AIDMK in Tamil Nadu party politics. It holds like the BJD has came to be
accepted as a major component of the party system, and a principal pole of party
politics. As many observer argues that the electoral data from Orissa reveal that
since 1977 until the early 90s the Congress and the Janata (first the party, then the
Dal and new the BJD) have been the two main contenders of power, both enjoying
an all Orissa presence. This constitutes a significant shift that has given a degree
of ‘stability’ of to the state politics. Thus, since the 1970s the party system in
Orissa has undergone some significant changes, which have resulted in two-party
competition in the state. The BJD-BJP alliance operates broadly within this
framework.

Party politics in Orissa has witnessed through two tumultuous periods in
the last one decade. The results of the 1996 Lok Sabha elections indicate that there
was a third political force, i.e. BJP in the changing orissa political dynamics. It is
argued that despite the BJP’s attempts to mate its Hindutva ideology and style of
campaigning leading to some broadening of its social-base, it has not emerged as a
broad based aggregative and dominant party in Orissa in the lines of Congress and
the Janata Dal (latter BJD), and faces structural limitations in doing so. In the
typical multi-party system of Orissa, the BJD being a regional/ state party has
made its presence felt due to the gradual decline of Congress (I), the Janata Dal (S)

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8 See, Yogendra Yadav and Suhas Palishikar, “From Hegemony to Convergence: Party System
and Electoral Politics in the Indian States 1952-2002”, Journal of Indian School of Political
Economy, vol. 15, nos. 1 and 2, January-June 2003, pp. 5-44.
9 Bishnu Mohapatra, “Election and Everyday Politics”, Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 35,
no. 4, January 2000, p.173.
10 ibid.
11 Bishnu Mohapatra, “Politics in Post Cyclone Orissa”, Economic and Political Weekly, vol. 35,
no. 16, 15 April 2000, P.1354.
12 ibid.
under the leadership of Ashok Das, which was failed to emerge as a cohesive force
due to within intra party conflict and left parties inability to make inroads into
Orissa politics. However the existing tripartite political formation i.e. the BJD,
the BJP and the congress (I) have emerged as competitors for power at state level.

Keeping the above political development we focused various factor to
analyse the power position of the BJD in Orissa party politics. This chapter
analyses the ideological position, pattern of mobilization, decline of party image,
leadership etc. It is true that it has already discussed in the Chapter two of this
study.

Regional Parties operating at the states level are not new a phenomenon in
Indian politics. What is new is the all-India role of these parties and their
relationship with the so-called all India parties like the Congress and the BJP.
Since 1989, the regional /state parties were played a significant role at national
level. Barring a few states like Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, all the states
now have their political space divided between the all-India parties and
regional/state level parties. These state level parties represent a wide range of
social forces and ideological orientation. Infact, the state parties have brought
about a change in the field of representation and ideology.

13 Interview with Robi Das, a political analyst and the editor of Paryavakshika on 16-5-2004.
15 ibid.
16 Representation means drawing a line of distinction between or among social groups. In
particular, this differentiated representation is prominently displayed for the issues of caste.
Thus, representation means separate representation rather than aggregation.
17 The Ideology includes the political philosophy of a Party and their Programme for mobilizing
the various sections of society.
The Biju Janata Dal as a disaggregated structure of representation means that there would be a certain amount of ideological ‘fuzziness’; ideological boundaries would not be very strictly demarcated because parties would be more interested in ‘representing’ certain section rather than making any ideological claims.\textsuperscript{18} In case of BJD, it would be characterized as the development logic unlike the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) in Andhra Pradesh, while the congress Party and the BJP as coming under the ‘ideological zones’ of neo-liberalism.\textsuperscript{19} The structure of political competition has intervened in this respect. It is also appropriate to analyse that the arrangements for sharing power are such that cross ideological alliances are the order of the day in the ideological spectrum of party politics in Orissa. TheCongress (I) stands at the center representing the traditional Indian nationalism, the BJP represents the unique Hindu Nationalism and stands in the right of the Center. In case of BJD which was characterised by the political analyst as Biju legacy is carried by the Oriya nationalism\textsuperscript{20} within the Indian nationalism. The fuzziness also arises from the fact that sharp representational often accompanied by power sharing aspirations rather than ideological formulation and clarity.\textsuperscript{21} The structure of political competition has further intervened in this respect. Arrangements for sharing power are such that cross-ideological alliances are the order of the day. The 1900s also show attempt to superimpose a sanitize version of bipolar

\textsuperscript{18} There is an emergence of broad ‘ideological zones’, one ideological zone is represented by the rhetoric of social justice (RJD, Samajvadi Party, BSP, etc.). Another is represented by regional identity (National Conference, Akali Dal, AGP, DMK, AIADMK, etc.). The third ideological zone is occupied by the idea of political Hindu tva. The fourth is the ideology of neo-liberalism (BJP and Congress). The fifth zone is represented by the anti-globalisation

\textsuperscript{19} Suhas Palshikar, \textit{op.cit.} p 10.

\textsuperscript{20} Oriya Nationalism: Biju emphasized the great part of Orissa and glory of Kalinga to invoke popular sentiment and unity among people to fight central a party and impoverishment of Orissa.

\textsuperscript{21} Suhas Palshikar, \textit{op.cit.} p 10.
ideological competition in the form of communalism vs. secularism. But the alliance of this period are based more on "the imperative to aggregate votes and not an ideology."\textsuperscript{22}

After analysis of ideological position of these three major political parties. It is interesting to examine the pattern of leadership among the parties. The politics of Orissa is characterized by leadership issues and conflicts among the parties, factors like caste, regionalism language, religion, policy issues etc. playing secondary role.\textsuperscript{23} The leadership crisis has resulted many times in making and unmaking of parties and political uncertainty in the state.\textsuperscript{24} As far as the Congress Party, once an umbrella political organization has declined to a considerable extent. After the end of Mahatab-Biju-Mitra type of leadership, the Congress is suffering from leadership crisis.\textsuperscript{25} The new leadership of the party has failed to maintain its traditional support base and mobilize the people of Orissa at large. For instance the tribal people alienate from Congress Party in Northwestern region where the tribal dominated areas as seen since the mid 90s General Elections. It is true that Congress Party from 1980, the one leader dominant in Orissa politics as Janaki Ballav Patnaik alternative Chief Minister or PCC (I) Chief, no doubt sometimes two tribal leaders are taking these position for short time. In the absence of strong leadership the party after resembles like a divided house. It is more interesting that the present political map of leadership in Congress Party is transformed to the Janki Patnaik Dynasty. It is so because its family members are

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{24} \textit{ibid.}
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control the affairs of party these days in both the organization and structural wings of Congress Party. In the electoral history of Orissa the Congress had failed in two successive Lok Sabha elections i.e. 1998 and 1999 to its position as maximum number of seats. It is clear that the hour of need as a strong leader who could maintain traditional support base through articulate such interest to mobilize these sections of society.

Before analyzing the leadership position of BJD, it could be fair to pin points the leadership of the Janata Dal under the Late Biju Patnaik. During the Janata Dal there is factional conflict within the party among the various groups as well as individual within the party but under the charismatic leadership of Biju Patnaik has succeeded to maintain understanding among the leaders. With the demise of Biju Patnaik in post mid-1990s was leads the leadership crisis in Janata Dal. To solve this problem the politically inexperienced Naveen Patnaik took over the leadership of Janata Dal. This is one of the internal causes of the split of Janata Dal, which latter became the BJD under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik. Under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik the party has succeeded to maintain the traditional support base and to mobilize the people of Orissa at large. It is true that many leaders who were initially opposed to the formation of the BJD are now

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26 The PCC (I) Chief Janaki Ballav Patnaik perpetuating by securing the Lok Sabha tickets for his wife Jayanti Patnaik (2004 Lok Sabha election from Cuttack), Son-In-Law Soumya Ranjan Patnaik and the Assembly ticket for himself and for his Son-In-Law’s elder brother Niranjan Patnaik.

27 In the 1998 and 1999 elections indicate the fall of Congress fortress. The Congress Party captured 16 seats with 44.9 percent popular votes while in 1998 and 1999 won 4 and 2 seats respectively in Lok Sabha election but the surprising decline of votes share i.e. 40.4 and 36.8 percent respectively. Again in 2004 Lok Sabha election won 2 seats with 40.4 percent. In 2004 state assembly election vote share increase because of alliance with four parties like OGP, JMM, CPI and CPI (M).


helping Naveen Patnaik run the party.\textsuperscript{30} On the other hand, the BJP has developed a strong network of dedicated workers at the grass roots level without any state level leaders, though none of the top-line leaders of the party has even attraction of the popularity as Naveen Patnaik enjoys.\textsuperscript{31} It is interesting that all the non-Congress parties including BJD are trying to identify the Congress-culture with misrule with out any ideological value.\textsuperscript{32} They held the Congress leader were responsible to great extent for the deterioration of Orissa polity, society and economy.

The rise of BJD and the relative decline of the Congress Party in Orissa are not all that incongruent with the larger all-India picture. What does cohere with the larger picture is the performance of the BJP in Orissa. Explaining this might help understand the Orissa party politics better in a comparative perspective. The pattern of mobilization can explain the relative success of the BJD in Orissa.

The BJD appears to have vision under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik, it is not only the Biju's legacy. He had created a strong anti-Congress base in the state, but also a new issues like 'governance' and 'development' were contribute to mobilize the different section of society.\textsuperscript{33} It (Party) also speaks of regional pride as well as Orissa's backwardness. Therefore, the anti-Congressism combined with the state's progress must have been appealing to the middle class voters. In addition to that the BJD has also mobilize through various organisational structure

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{The Frontline}, vol. 21, no. 8, April 10-23, 2004, p.23.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{ibid}
\textsuperscript{32} Let me mentioned some of the slogans articulated by BJD-BJP campaign: 'The Congress Synonymous with Corruption, Immoral conduct and Rape of Women' (Congressara tinoti nama/durniti, bhrashtachara, nari dharsana) Even Naveen Patnaik criticise the Congress Party as a 'Corruption Club'. \textit{The Frontline}, Vol.21, No.11, May 22-June 4, 2004.
\textsuperscript{33} see Election Manifesto of BJD, 1998, 1999 and 2004.
and works with mass support base. It is true that the party is a transitional politics with having mass support base.

The BJP as a cadre-based party has a distinct advantage vis-à-vis the BJD in mobilizing its support base for its agenda. In an atmosphere of competitive mobilization a cadre-based party cannot turn out in Orissa unlike its happened in Rajasthan and Gujarat. There are many factors for this turnout. As earlier mentioned that the state has not experienced of any strong mobilization on religion basis. The changing political environment at national as well as state level is not the only strategy to mobilizing the people as mentioned in earlier of this chapter. This is, in fact, how things turned out in Karnataka, Bihar and UP where state parties edged out the BJP. 34

The two communist parties and their allies have got limited based and confined to small pockets of districts, especially coastal districts. They are trying to consolidate their support base by adopting land reforms and pro-labour policies. A Leftist Parties like CPI, CPI (M) not mind to realignment with Janata Dal or Congress Party at the state level to fight in elections. 35 This leads to the limited traditional support base due to lose of ideological sharpness.

With in the framework of tri-polarised political forces into coastal (BJD), North-Western (BJP) and Central (Congress) areas on the base of the socio-cultural life of Orissa. This is indicating from the previous chapter (see previous chapter).

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35 The CPI on several occasion in Orissa, has followed a policy of ‘opportunism’. The Party has been alliance with the Congress under Nandini Satpathy during the emergency. The left parties alliance with the Janata Dal in 1989-95 and the recent alliance with the Congress in 2004 General election. The communists, who claim to follow a scientific ideology, are deviated in Orissa.
In spite of the phenomenal rise of BJD in Orissa politics, it has equally suffered severe setbacks. With the expansion of support base, the party is confronting with new types of problems and challenges, which are ultimately affecting its prospects. An interesting study to attempt is in order to highlights the various problems and challenges faced by the party in Orissa politics.

Problems of BJD in Party Politics

The Biju Janata Dal (BJD) has emerged as one of the prominent regional parties in the country, it has shranned with various problems in the changing political dynamics. The party has made four electoral alliance with the BJP. Although it has out numbered the Congress, BJP and other parties individually in both Lok Sabha (1998, 1999 and 2004) and State Assembly elections (2000 and 2004), still the problems confront the party on several grounds. There are many charges leveled against the party which pose several bottlenecks for its politico-electoral success.

(a) BJD as a Biju’s Legacy

Many political observers are trying to make the party as nothing but a Biju’s legacy. It is true that the Biju’s legacy has contributed to the rise and growth or BJD as Biju’s legacy. The BJD has been criticized, as “The BJD appears to have no vision it is thriving on the legacy of Biju Patnaik who had created a strong anti-Congress base in the state”. It’s aims at capturing the political power for consolidating the ‘anti-Congressism’. As has already been mentioned that the rise of BJD to the center stage of Orissa politics is largely due to its mobilisation of

36 Interview with Robi Das, Political analyst and editor of the Oriya daily paryabakhyk, Paryabakhyek office, Bhubaneswar dated 20-3-2004.
regional sentiments which emphasis on Orissa’s backwardness with anti-
Congressism. It pursues anti-Congress with the state progress as the means for
strengthening and building up the state.

The criticism may not be justified considering the BJD’s promise to realise
Biju-babu’s dream of building a prosperous Orissa. No doubt, the Biju legacy
keeps BJD alive in party politics in the transitional society like Orissa. But it is not
only the sole factor. Other factors certainly play a role to come power and
consolidating party support base among the various section of the society.
Naveen Patnaik himself was a fresh face and the son of the charismatic leader Late Biju
Patnaik. According to him “I have inherited my father’s responsibilities, not
privileges.”37

However, it is wrong to claim that BJD is alive only because of BIJU’s
legacy. Naveen Patnaik as a genuine commitment to have stuck to his promise of
providing a clean and transparent administration.38 For instance, he was
demonstrated drive against corruption by throhing out various alleged including
ministers and bureaucrats from his ministry.39 This makes him a better alternative
to the till date congress lead Orissa Politics. According to Lopamudra Boxipatra,
“It was because of the Chief Minister’s clean image that people voted for our
alliance across the state. It was also because of his Charisma that the BJP’s lotus
bloomed in the state and the Congress failed to put up an impressive show.”40

39 Let me mention once at his public meetings Patnaik proclaimed: ‘I do not spare anybody— be it
an engineer, an Indian Administrative officers, Ministers or even the speaker of the State
Assembly”. The Samaj, dt. 2.04.04.
40 Interview with Lopamudra Boxipatra, General Secretary of the BJD’s Youth Wing, BJD
office, Bhubaneswar, dt. 15.05.04.
In order to get rid of the charges, the BJD has restated to adopting a purely unique ideological position like TDP in Andhra Pradesh which aims at Development and transparent administration. The party claims that as against the ‘Development’ practiced by all other parties the BJD is the only party which emphasis on Orissa’s backwardness. The another thing is to put forward to secure “special category state”, yet it is not fulfilled.

Ironically, the BJD is persisted not only due to Biju’s legacy but also Naveen Pattanaik has been successfully articulating the interests of various sections of society, with various development initiative.

(b) The BJD has / Political Character

The Biju Janata Dal (BJD) in Orissa was not born out of a political movement but it has been in power since its inception in December 1997 and has emerged as one of the prominent regional parties in the country. The BJD has been criticized for not having any political character, it has not been able to raise any issues relating to Orissa’s development or the continued neglect of the state by the center”. According to Dillip Ray, ‘we formed the BJD to build the Orissa of Biju Babu’s dreams, by joining hands with the BJP, we hoped to get a better deal for the state from the center. But the BJD has been acting as the B-team of the BJP with Patnaik clinging onto power by compromising the states interests.

A few groups of expelled BJD leaders criticised BJD that it has no political vision. But when we highlights some of the political issues under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik it may clear that he was given a new political vision in future

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41 Bijay Mohapatra, one of founder members of BJD, later formed a regional forum i.e. Orissa Gana Parishad.
42 Interview with Dillip Ray, one of funding member of BJD, dt. 14.4.2002.
course of political discourse among the political scientist and researcher. In this context the research will be focused on a few progressive policies and programme initiated under his government. For example "Mission Sakti".

Like his feminist father, Patnaik also enjoys overwhelming support of women whom he seems to have consciously cultivated as a vote bank, women were the focus of his Government in the past four years when a number of schemes under Mission Shakti were launched to improve the gender equality.

The criticism may be unjustified considering the BJD’s success to present in front of central government regarding to secure ‘special category state’ status for Orissa and got special grant for the state as well as KBK (Kolahandi-Bolangir-Karaput) districts. The BJD has been able to take up the case of Orissa at least on two major issues not allowed to privatization of the National Aluminum Company (NALCO) and put effort to project of Indian Oil Corporation which under constructions. This is all about the deal for the statement from the Centre.

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43 Mission Shakti launched on 8th March 2001 by Shri Naveen Patnaik, Chief Minister, Orissa to empower women through formation and promotion of women Self Help Groups is marching ahead towards the goal. Since then, by end of September 2003, 96 thousand 661 WSHGs with 12 lakh 42 thousand 313 members have been formed. In short, Mission Shakti campaign has by now taken the form of a social movement. For more see, Orissa Reference Annual – 2003 Information and Public Relations DepartmentGovernment of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, P. 209.

44 The planning commission had decided to accord “Special Category state” status the new state had to come across the hurdles of several conditionalities. However, it fulfilled several criteria like hilly and difficult terrain low population density, strategic location, economic and infrastructural backwardness apart from the non-viable nature of its finances for inclusion in the list of special category state. There are eleven states till considered as special category states were all eight northeast Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Sikkim, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Mizaram, Jammu-Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Devised in 1969 under Gadgil formula on central assistance as 90 percent grants and 10 percents loans, where as the general category state get only 30 percent grants, where as loans are 70 percent. More see The Frontline, vol. 18, no. 15, July21-Aug03, 2001.

(c)  **Factional Conflicts**

With the growing politico-electoral strength of the BJD, the party is facing a new type of problems like factionalism and dissension. The organisational structure of the party have been ridding with factionalism and dissensions since its formation on 15 December 1997. The BJD's survival has been as dramatic on its birth, with Naveen Patnaik facing several revolts against the leadership. Each time he has won by using suspension and ouster as his main weapon. 46

Criticising the emergence of "groupings" in the party many leaders from district resigned from the party and again return to the party and strengthen the position. 47 A round up of different regions, which are considered as the strong holds of the party, would reveal the nature and intensity of factional fights and group rivalries among BJD. In coastal region, the rift is demonstrated at the higher level of the party. Bijay Mohapatra one of the founder member and General Secretary of the party belongs to one group while Naveen Patnaik, the president and Chief Minister of Orissa belongs to another groups. This tussle between the two groups often affects the smooth functioning of the party. Naveen Patnaik only encourages the BJP-BJD alliance in the state.

The face off between Biju Janata Dal president Naveen Patnaik and a powerful group of dissident continues despite efforts by moderates in the party to avert a split. One may assume that this consolidation of the party under Naveen Patnaik has lessened intra-party frauds and defection in the state. But this is not so.

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47 Tathagatha Satpathy, (former MP from Dhenkanal) was resigned from party and re-joined in the BJD before the 2004 with Lok Sabha election on 17th February 2004.
Dissidence activities began in the party soon after it came into existence before the 1998 Lok Sabha election. Mr. Bijay Mohapatra, the then General Secretary of BJD and the Party’s Political Affairs Committee (PAC) Chairman, who was backed by Union Minister of State for Coal Dillip Ray, was first to speak out against the party leadership and for that he was expelled from the party.\textsuperscript{48}

In October 2000, the dissidents under the leadership of Bijay Mohapatra, split the party with launching of another political forum the Orissa Gana Parishad (OGP).\textsuperscript{49} He criticized Mr. Patnaik and condemned his style of functioning as authoritarian. He also added: the BJD has no political character. It has not been able to raise any issues relating to Orissa’s development or the continued neglect of the state by the center.

Cracks in BJD developed once again towards March 2002 when Naveen Patnaik expelled Dillip Ray, one of the founder members of the BJD and a former union minister, from the party on the issues of anti-activities challenged to party leadership.

The factional fighting became intense, which followed a ministerial reshuffle on August 7; depend with the suspension of three members of parliament of the party for “anti-party activities”.

\textsuperscript{48} The Frontline, July 1998.

\textsuperscript{49} Bijay Mohapatra, a founder member of BJD, was formed a political ‘forum’ and not a political party in Oct 29, 2000. The OGP was backed by the leaders of the Janata Dal (united) headed by Narasingh Mishra and Janata Dal (secular) headed by Ashok Das, former president of the undivided Janata Dal in Orissa. Prominent leaders of the OGP are MP Tathagata Satpathy, a MP of BJD rejoined before 2004 general elections, former BJP MP Upendra Nayak, and BJP leader Shanti Das. As political observers argued that the nomenclature indicates that OGP is a harbinger of a regional party. The immediate objective was occupy the space of the political opposition. In recent past alliance with Congress lose its ideological value of anti-Congressism.
In September 2002, the dissidents criticized Mr. Patnaik and condemned his style of functioning.\textsuperscript{50} Their allegations were:

(a) Naveen Patnaik had ruled the state alliance with BJP, a better deal for the state from the Centre. But he has been silent on important issues for the interest of the State and acting as the B-team of the BJP; and

(b) Loyalty to the Prime Minister and BJP Central High Command.

Another problem with BJD is the relationship among its leaders. The leadership is committed to the task of liberalizing and democratizing the image of the party in order to broaden its social base. For instance Prasan Acharya replaces Union Water Resource Minister Arjun Sethi, a Patnaik loyalist. Patnaik however, had refused to accept Acharya as this party’s leader in Parliament.\textsuperscript{51} Reacting to the development, Prasana Acharya without referring Patnaik, he said, “There who have been running the party in an autocratic manner should change their style of functioning”\textsuperscript{52}

The factional fight became still intense with the approaching of simultaneous elections for both Assembly as well as Lok Sabha in April 2004. A large number of sitting MLAs and ministers were denied the party tickets on the charges of corruption, loss of confidence on them in their respective constituencies, loss of confidence in the party leadership, etc. Some of the prominent ministers who joined the Congress were Mr. Ramakrishna Patnaik and Nalini Kant Mohanty former state finance minister, and works, housing and parliamentary affairs

\textsuperscript{50} The dissident groups were Kumadini Patnaik (MP) Bhatruhari Mahatab, (MP) Jagannath Mallick (Member of Parliament), who represent Jajpur, Kendrapara and Aska constituencies, respectively (1999-2004). The Frontline, September 27, 2002.

\textsuperscript{51} The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, dated 18-11-2003.

\textsuperscript{52} The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, dated 21-12-2003.
minister respectively. While resigning from his office, Mr. Ramakrishna Patnaik had made a statement that the BJD cabinet in the state consisted of a large numbers of who were corrupt and efficient since he was opposed to their activities, he preferred to resign from it.

The dissidents, on the contrary, have not been able to exercise their influence after break away from the BJD to join in Congress party. Some of the prominent ministers and member were Kumadini Patnaik and Ramakrishna Patnaik a former state finance minister and others. Mr. Ramakrishna Patnaik who was the state finance minister in the Naveen Patnaik cabinet (2000-2004), charged the chief minister with being inefficient and ineffective a first non-Oriya speaking chief minister. These charges did not influence the masses to articulate anti-Naveen to mobilisation on their sides in both assembly as well as Lok Sabha elections in 2004 because of various reasons like:

1. The dissident are considered to have aligned themselves with Dillip Ray, a former BJD M.P. and who was expelled form party because of anti-party activities.

2. The most important factor was that these dissidents group have no leader who can pose a challenge to Mr. Patnaik’s leadership in the state Orissa politics has always been personality oriented.

Thus, a careful study shows the magnitude of factionalism in the BJD in the state. Factionalism is manifested within an inter-party democracy of BJD. The inter party feud have contributed towards in equilibrium and sizeable defections. It has

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54 The Hindu dt. 7-2-2004.
given little opportunities to the party leaders to provide a wholehearted attention to the problems of the state. The party has followed an “open door policy” while recruiting new members.

It is interesting to know that at one time Chief ministers of JD Late Biju-Patnaik was tried to bind the defectors in a party platform. After all under his leadership there is no large number of dissidents voice against his leadership. It is also true that Biju Patnaik was a one-time defector. In the changing political map, a large number of defections would create among the BJD for the political instability in the state to a large extent.

The BJD’s survival has been as dramatic as its birth, with Naveen Patnaik facing several revolts against his leadership. Interestingly, the BJD continues to maintain its position despite the exiting of several of its founder members. But the outfit may fade into oblivion it its fails to build a strong regional identity.

Keeping in view these, the BJD could contribute to the consolidation of region based politics in Orissa to participate in non-Congress politics at the all-India level, their state level politics continued to be anchored in a regional discourse. This is true in case of BJD under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik. One of the major issues of BJD is to ‘secure special category state’ status for Orissa could prove his credential of leadership, yet it is not fulfilled.

The BJD has faced various challenged from its alliance, opposition party as well as within party mainly on social, and front. These challenged can be analysed as under.

55 The five leaders who played prominent roles in formation of the party were: (1) Dillip Ray, later joined in Congress Party; (2) Bijay Mahapatra, later formed O.G.P. and in 2004 General Election formed political alliance with Congress Party; (3) Prasann Acharya; (4) Anang Uday Singh Deo; (5) Naveen Patnaik.
Before analysing the various challenge faced by the BJD, it would be better to examine these cases individually. The first challenge is the style of leadership under the Naveen Patnaik. It is interesting to note that at one time Chief ministers of JD late Biju-Patnaik was tried to bind the defectors in a party platform. After all under his leadership there were no large number of dissidents voice against his leadership. It is also true that Biju Patnaik was one-time defectors. The changing political map a large number of defection would create among the BJD leaders accounts for the political instability in the state to a large extent and this will weaken the inter-party democracy within the party.

A party has to persist in political landscape it must maintained own identity, so that it could be different from the other political parties. To understand these, it would be appropriate to analyse party wise on various grounds like-pattern of mobilization on the basis of various sections/ communities of existing society, support base political alliances and ideological position, etc.

To analysis the above grounds how BJD methodically established itself in the organisational decline and realignment of social forces that has taken place in post BJD political formation in 1997 in Orissa.

A closer look at the social groups profile of last few elections of the state the Congress’ task is more difficult than it appear over the last decade or so, the Congress has experienced more than just a few defeats. It may have suffered long-

56 Biju Patnaik was defection from Congress on the issues of worth supporting the candidative of Sanjiva Reddy in the presidential election. It is also presumed that rejection of his candidature for Rajya Sabha election was rejected for the Central Parliamentary Boards. Add to that Mrs. Gandhi rejected Biju’s nomination as that might have affectected Nandini Satapathy’s position.

The Indian Express, dt. 7.04.1970.
term erosion in its support base. The party did win the Assembly elections held in 1995, but it was hardly a victory the Congress could be proud of. Its vote share did not touch 40 percent while the party had crossed the 50 percent mark earlier elections. All the parliamentary elections held in post BJD formation in the state show a consistent decline of the Congress party's vote share. The Congress Party should be particularly worried about the erosion of the Tribe vote in the northern region. The border regions of Jharkhand and Bengal, the STs are majority. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and other Jharkhand political groups articulate the scheduled Tribes in these areas to build their political platform stronger. The Congress has suffered deep erosion in the backward region of Western Orissa as well. In western regions, the BJP successfully the cause of the backwardness of Western Orissa that struck a sympathetic chord with the people of this region. BJP has lost support among the Muslim communities in Orissa. Perhaps the Congress Leadership has recognised this and has decided to have pre-election alliances with the JMM, the CPM, the CPI and the OGP. However, it did not succeed in the exercise. BJP has cultivated a base among the STs, in as much the same fashion as it has done in Chhattisgarh and the rest of Central India.

Thus, the BJP’s social and regional support basis complements the BJD’s social base. The BJD is stronger in the largest and the most developed region of

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57 In the 1990 State Assembly election poll, the share of votes polled the Congress Party were reduced drastically as comparison with next assembly elections in 1995, 2000 and 2004. See figure number 2.3.

58 Prominent leaders of the OGP are member of parliament Tathagath Satpathy was rejoined to BJD because of its alliance with the Congress Party. The other prominent leader of OGP were former BJP MP Upendra Nayak, State President of the Janata Dal (U) Narashingha Mishra joined the Congress. See The Times of India, New Delhi, dt. 4.03.04.
coastal Orissa and developed region of coastal Orissa and draws support from all sections of society.

Orissa is now one of a few states in the country that have not witnessed any major sectional mobilization along caste or class lines.\textsuperscript{59} The absence of peasant caste has meant that politics is still the prerogative of the small upper castes and that mandalisation has had no effect.

The BJD's capacity for new forms of mobilisations in contrast to that of the other political parties of undermining the politics of these parties and open up new spaces for political gains. It is a party that is capable of creating new stirring in the state. Even its rhetoric for development and pro-poor measures a sharp mobilisational edge. For instance, as previously mentioned that Naveen Patnaik tried to maintain his father's responsibilities as clear from his intention to consolidate women vote bank in his party platoform.

It is true that each party to survive in the political map must be take into all out the every sections and folk of society. The future of BJD in Orissa depends upon how the party adapt itself to the new situations and connects to the changing aspiration of the people in the state.

\textbf{Social Challenges Faced by BJD}

The Biju Janata Dal has been claiming secularism on one hand and making alliance with the BJP on the other hand, the BJD wants to hide its leaning towards soft Hindu consciousness. As many observer argues by looking at the two incident like murder of Graham Strains and his two children by Bajrang Dal Activists and the entry to State Assembly by Bajrang Dal Activists gave new message gave the

\textsuperscript{59} The Hindu, New Delhi, May 20, 2004.
to communal party like BJP. Under this circumstance, it has become a serious challenge for BJD to maintain harmony among people of different communities. The most important questions arises however here that how can the BJD with its secular outlook integrate all sections of people with a pluralistic and diversified society like Orissa? So the major challenge came from its alliance, which is a communal in its outlook.

It would be appropriate to mention here that the ideological boundaries would not be very strictly demarcated because parties would be more interested in ‘representing’ certain sections rather than making ideological claims. This is a phenomenon, which is already occurring at different states. For instance, Ms. Mamta Banerje’s Trinamul Congress sees the CPI (M) as its opponent and hence would not mind joining hands with the BJP, which is not a force in West Bengal. The Akali Dal in Punjab faces threat from the Congress and hence would align with the BJP. Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav and Mayavati also aligned with BJP in Uttar Pradesh. This is true in case of BJD align with the BJP.

The major challenge BJD faced from other parties on ‘representation’ rather than ideological position. The social support of the party came mostly from middle class elite who are belong to mainly three dominant castes ie. Brahmin, Khandayat and Karan. This party was loosing its SCs/ STs social forces, which is about 38% of total population of the state. It does not mean that the party is not representing this section of society. As for support base are concerned the SCs are consolidating with Congress and the STs are at the BJP platform. So the challenges were coming from other political parties on ‘representing’ rather than ideology. It is true that

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there is mute mobilization of caste, class or region basis in pluralistic and diversified society like Orissa. There is no single party is representing on caste or class basis.

**Political Challenge for BJD**

The first and foremost challenge before the BJD is to maintain intra-party democracy and accommodating internal dissent. Since its inception, it has been a party of expels and has always been a party of personality worshiper. Most significant founding members of the party such as Nalini-Kant Mohanty, Bijay Mohapatra and Dillip Ray, have been expelled for one pretext and other from the party political leadership on the basis of anti-party activities. As many observers said if Naveen Patnaik faced revolts against his leadership then each time he has won by issuing suspension. BJD’s Chief Naveen Patnaik has started controlling all in one role in the party leaving no dissension behind. This has not only strengthened his position but also negates the principles of accommodation and shows lacks of intra-party democracy in the party. Though people of Orissa have undoubtedly welcomed the move through the mandate in the Current Assembly election, but expelled members have been so high that for the future it will create the gap between the party leader and other organisational structure.

Secondly, Naveen Patnaik’s term has been termed as a corruption free administration in the contemporary Orissa politics. But the ironical part of his term is that being an ally of the NDA administration at the centre during 13\textsuperscript{th} election, he has failed to derive any benefit for Orissa. Orissa is still the most poverty-ridden state in India having a residing state of abundant storage of mineral-resources. It is

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61 Interview with Rabi Das, political analyst and editor of the Oriya daily peryabekhyake, peryabekhyake office, Bhubaneswar, dt. 20.03.04.
difficult for Naveen Patnaik to make bargaining while its opposition (Congress) is in power in the Centre.

Thirdly, BJD has started facing problem from its ally BJP in the power politics also. It is to be noted that BJD’s political base is located in the coastal Orissa, BJP’s in North West Orissa, and Congress in South and Central Orissa. Coastal region is quite progressive that all other region and has been BJD’s strong hold. In this region, mostly urban rich and upper middle class and middle class people inhabited which has always been supportive of the BJD, but their support base won’t help BJD for the long run. BJD’s support base in among SCs and STs has started dismantling. The reason is BJD has not done substantially enough for their welfare. They have started shifting their base to BJP, which therefore has been a bone of contention between two political parties. BJP as an ally to BJD has gained significantly and not vice-versa. Another factor in this context is BJP’s endeavour to get maximum political mileage out of Naveen’s govt. It has not only demanded key ministerial bearth, but started feeling not to play second fiddle any more to the Naveen’s BJD. These entire factors have started creating a political rift between these two allies.

The importance of regional party/parties grew offten due to the growth of political alliance without considering the ideological positions. This is due to the political development i.e. regionalisation of National Party. The BJD is formed out of these political developments.

In 1998 Lok Sabha elections, the BJD encountered new political problems as it worked out electoral alliance with BJP, though the electoral verdict largely went in favour of BJD and its allies. It is interesting to mention that the BJP
felicitated the formation of the BJD on the condition that the new regional outfit would be its ally in Orissa. The social and cultural life of Orissa has been tri-polarised due to the existing political forces in Orissa. The electoral datas analyse the three political regions such as, the BJD has been concentrated in coastal, North Western (BJP) and Central (Congress Party). In this context, how can BJD, even if it has emerged as a single largest party, hope to capture power without the support extended by BJP and other political forces? This very problem prevented BJD to remain in power, even though it emerged as the single largest party in last two state assembly elections. Its growth and the compulsion of having an ally need to be seen critically. Being a regional party it depends upon how long it walks with the national parties without compromise with state interests? If it will have alliance with the national parties by compromising the state interest, then there is a challenge from the other political parties. It is also clear that the national parties like the BJP and the congress party made their policies national level. So how long regional parties compromise with national allies on policies? How much the regional parties would able to safeguard its interests?

Whatever may be the allegation by the non-BJD political parties on the issues of political alliance, it is the fact that the BJD has occupied the center stage of Orissa politics as a regional political party. In spite of the problems and challenges, the party comparatively performing well in elections.

This section mainly deal with the positive orientation of Biju Janata Dal (BJD) in Orissa Party politics. The BJD’s continued success lies in his ability to manage its relations with the alliance partner in the center.
The Researcher in this section gives a positive explanation about the existence of BJD in a long run. As it has already been said that the state unit of Janata Dal under the leadership of Biju Janata Dal played independently, keeping a few objective in mind like how BJD has methodically established in itself in the organizational decline and realignment of social forces that has taken place in Orissa in 1990s. It also focuses the relation with other parties and it future prospects.

a. Reconsolidation of BJD in Orissa party system:

There are various explanation about the reconsolidation of the BJD as a unique regional party in Orissan party system over eight years of its formation. One of these potential explains the process of reconsolidation of the party system into alliance with the BJP. The support bases of the two main competitors remained remarkably stable between the 1999 and 2004 elections. The BJD-BJP combine retained its dominance among the upper castes and OBCs. The two have strengths in different areas of the state, with the BJD strongest in the coastal

63 The concept of 'backward classes' is an important one, and is politically alive in India. There is along history of official debate over whether or not members of certain other caste groups should be the subjects of positive discrimination – as are the scheduled castes – on the account of their 'social' backwardness. Article 340 of the Indian constitution refers to 'other backward classes' who may be eligible for preferential treatment in access to public sector employment or to educational institutions, and requires that they should be identified by a commission appoint by the President. When the V. P. Singh government decided in 1990, to adopt the recommendations of the second such backward classes commission there was violent protest from members of upper castes, especially across northern India. The extraordinary sensitivity surrounding 'Mandal' (the name of the Chairman of the second Commission, which came to be applied generally to the recommendations of the report) is in part a reflection of the increasing political strength of some of the 'OBCs' ('other backward classes'), and may also have contributed to its development, one reason for favoring the use of Church's distinction between 'middle' and 'lower' castes, rather than – as it often the case in political commentary in and on India – using only the category of 'OBCs', is precisely that the later are quite clearly differentiation in the way that church suggest.
region, whilst the BJP saw its strongest growth in the west and tribal areas. Similarly, there is an apparently neat fit between the BJP’s traditional appeal to upper caste voters and the BJD’s support from the OBCs, going back its roots in the Janata Dal.

Thus, the BJP’s social and regional support basis complement the BJD’s social base. It is also true that, being a typical way of regional party it draws support from all section of society. The logic of the deepening of the political consciousness among the peasant caste continued to dominate which had earlier replaced the upper castes. For example, the rise of Jat in UP, Punjab and Haryana, the Lingayats and the Vokkaling as in Karnataka, the Reddy in Andhra Pradesh, and the Pattidars in Gujarat.

The changing socio-economic development since 70s in these states were these backward caste challenged by other backward caste. For example, in Gujarat Pattidar/ Patel’s dominance was challenged by the KHAM (Kshatriya, Harijan, Adivasi and Muslim) alliance. Likewise Devraj Urs had done this same in Karnataka much earlier in the Late 1970s.

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64 In the 2000 and 2004 elections, the Biju Janata Dal was alliance with BJP both at State and National level, in the 2004 assembly election poll, the vote of share of the BJD and the BJP in Coastal and North-western regions respectively remind constant compared to 2000 assembly election. In 2000 assembly election the BJD as dominate with 30.4 percent in coastal region while the BJP dominate in North western with 29.18 percent. For more, see Table 3.7 and 3.8, p. 88.


69 Studies of state politics in Karnataka during the Chief Minister ship of Derraj Urs show that Urs was successful in building a non-dominant backward caste coalition at the state-level. See
Keeping this social and economic change in various states as mentioned the above clear that Orissa is now one of the few state in the country have witnessed few major sectional mobilisation, along caste or class lines. The absence of a large peasant caste has meant that politics is still the purogative of the small upper castes and that the mandalisation has had no effects.

The purpose of above discussion about the social groups which are dominate in many state. With this framework we proceed the Orissa politics. As earlier said that the emergence of a regional political arena is the nature of the elite in Orissa. It is largely drawn from the middle class and from the ‘middle class’ and from three castes, namely, Brahmins, Karan and Khandayats. Mohanty argues that “a Brahman-Karan middle class dominate society and politics in contemporary politics; on that “ the failure of caste association of opposition parties to pave the way for the autonomous politicization of the lower castes – facilitated the continuation of upper control over major political parties.”

The question arises whether the BJD has methodically realignment of social forces, so long as dominant political fact of Orissa? To understand this question it would be better to analyse under the leadership of Biju Patnaik. The state unit of Janata Dal of late Biju Patnaik, who maintained widening social base of electoral politics and mobilizing the rising ‘agrarian middle class.’

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70 See Roderich Church ‘The pattern of state politics in Indira Gandhi’s India’ in J. R. Wood, ed, state politics in contemporary India: Crisis or Continuity? West view, Boulder, 1984.


72 ibid.

73 According to Manaranjan Mohanty the ‘agregrian middle class’, including notably Khandayats, numerically the largest single caste group, and who should probably be
Patnaik, leader of the BJD, which is an alliance with the BJP, have competed for power, operating from the same social base. It is unlikely here noteworthy to mentioned that the changes of party-regime are depend upon the polity or its implementation.

**BJD and its relation with other parties:**

Another aspects that should be of some interest to us in this context are the way in which the BJD maintained its relations or forged alliance with other parties in the state. Initially, many political observers had argued that the BJD under the leadership of Naveen Patnaik could not fare well. The central and the state congress leaders realized the gravity of Naveen Patnaik, the way he was articulate the various interest of society to maintained its position in the state political arena. In early phase of BJD, political analysts have argues that BJD is alive because of Biju’s legacy. Once again this disapprove their predication which is reflected in the post 2004 elections both the Lok Sabha and the State Assembly.

Naturally, the Janata Dal (former BJD) and the Congress held divergent views on the role of regional parties. As congress party harped on the same old views on regional parties which is dangerous for the unity nd integrity of the country, as they represent fissiparous tendencies. It was late Biju Patnaik attacked the Congress for depriving the states both powers and finances for the development of states economy and peoples welfare.\(^74\) He mentioned that only Janata Dal alone was capable of fulfilling the aspiration of people of Orissa.\(^75\)


\(^75\) *ibid.*
It was the only instance in the political history of India when a state leader late Biju Patnaik challenged the center for the secession from the union if the center will not give responsible treatment. A few months after his second year as Chief Minister in 1990, Biju Patnaik was deeply concerned with the center’s neglect of the states plea in certain areas. That included permission for an integrated steel plant, development of railways projects and Paradeep port. This enraged Biju warning that Orissa should break away from India, if it was not granted financial autonomy.\textsuperscript{76} The very genesis of the BJD lies in its opposition to the Congress and its continuation depends upon its ability to keep itself as the only alternative to the Congress party in the state. It is also true that Naveen Patnaik is not like Biju Patnaik on issues of dealing with Congress party and leader. As we know Biju Patnaik had a Congress background and he is as shrewd as the Congress leaders. Unlike Karunanidhi and Jayalalitha in Tamil Nadu who do not want see each others face, in Orissa, Naveen Patnaik and Janaki Patnaik, the top leaders of the BJD and the Congress respectively, are on talking terms.

Like the Congress, the non-Congress opposition parties, especially the left parties, could not initially realized the significance of the emergence of the BJD. Although the existence of left parties in itself a question mark, as it is role in politics a small pockets of coastal area of the state. It is true that the left parties along journey alliance with Janata Dal (former BJD) under the leadership of Biju Patnaik from 1989 to 1995.

A major challenge in BJD’s relation with non-Congress parties came in 1998, when Naveen Patnaik aligned with BJP as he wanted to prevent the

Congress from forming government at the state and the aspiration to play role at the all India level. BJD victory in 2000 and 2004 assembly elections can be largely attributed to this alliance with the BJP. If the BJP gained at the central level, the BJD gained heavily at the state level, and that was what that mattered to both of them.

The relations between the BJD and other non-Congress parties, which are national parties, were basically determined by the considerations and compulsions of National politics rather than the state politics. For instance, the state BJP leaders were critical against Naveen Patnaik as it is 'disgusted over the government's non-performance and the Chief minister's style of functioning in post Rajya Sabha election in 2002, but turned good relation was set right at the National level.

Thus, there was no unanimity of views among the non-Congress parties in regard to the BJD. They had their political calculations clash of interest and personalities, and often they were at critical with each other in their attempts to maximize their advantage from their respective alliance with the BJD.

Future of BJD in Orissan Party System:

To understand the feature of BJD in Orissa party politics, it would be better to analyse a synoptic view on contemporary Orissa politics. The major questions are, what kind of changes did elections bring about in the various arenas of politics in Orissa? How did the modern political structure affect the “traditional” forms of authority and power?

These are some question political analysts working on Orissa in the 1950s. A decade later, political scientists argued that Orissa suffer from 'Political stagnation', If not decay. These political developments were due to political
opportunities, corruption, instability of government, etc. In 1970s, the emergence of bi-party system was between the Congress and the Janata Dal with all Orissa presence their support base. In 1980s a significant shift has given a degree of stability to the state politics because of strong bi-party contenders for power. The trend however has been shifted significantly in the 1990s. The Researcher has been looking at the positive political outcome in state political arena with some argument.

The most contributing factor to the emergence of a regional political arena is the nature of the political elite in Orissa. As has been earlier mentioned the middle class-upper caste nature of Oriya political elites has contributed to the consolidation of region-based politics in Orissa. It is largely drawn from middle-caste/class and these are from three castes, namely Brahmin, Karan and Khandayat. As political analyst argued that wherever these caste-domination over the party/ parties remain in power politics in Orissa. This is true in 1961 under the leadership of Biju Patnaik, again in 1980-90 and 1990-1995 of Congress government and Janata government respectively.

The Researcher puts forward the positive political outcome of the BJD in the state political discourse in future Orissa party system on the basis of three arguments.

The first argument is that the role of middle class/ caste domination in society and politics in the state is nothing but a new phenomena as it is exist under the leadership of Biju Patnaik in 1960s. But the three things are the state of affairs among the people of Orissa. These are backwardness, an ideological construct, a great cementing force, and an issue for the politics of mobilisation.
The first issues on backwardness or under development and the uses to which it has been put have always been multiple. Whether it is in colonial period or postcolonial phase, the issues raised by the middle class to forge regional identity and at the sometime to eradicate the inequalities in society. The agitation against Marwars and Gujarati traders in Western Orissa, the talks of financial autonomy by Janata Dal leader Biju Patnaik, strong emphasised by Naveen Patnaik on special status for State or Congess (1) slogan of “one thousand industries in one thousand days” are because all political leader realised the survival of middle class is dependant upon them.

Naveen Patnaik uses the language of ‘development’ with Orissan backwardness to mobilise and get support from the people of Orissa. It is true that the language of “development” as the obsession of Biju Patnaik with a second steel plant in the state is driven by this political need. In this sense, there is little difference between the Congress (1) and the BJD (latter BJD). Both are “centrist” in their ideological persuasions.

The third argument was the politics of mobilisation. During this period, Orissa has not witnessed any large-scale mobilisation based on class or caste. It is true that the OBCs, the SCs, STs, all have been politically mobilized and exert considerable influence on the decision making process, they are still two fragments to dominate the political scene in Orissa. There is stiff competition for each and every segment of society. The political fortunes of the three major parties in Orissa politics the Congress (1), the BJP and the BJD will be shaped less by their professed ideological than by whole of conjectural factors like image of party leadership etc. But the most advantage of the BJD on the process of mobilisation of
women segment of society through the programme of “Mission Sakti” which is similar to its predecessor party i.e. Janata Dal, under the leadership of Biju Patnaik.

As many political analyst argues that the domination of party in state politics depends upon the unique identity relation to the other parties in terms of reflecting the ideological construct an a issue for the political of mobilisation and highlights the state economic backwardness because still the ecological degradation, corruption are a description of the state affairs.

In the above grounds the BJD in Orissan party system will be continued a feature political discourse among the political analyst. Thus, the future of BJD depends upon its ability to maintain its image of the upholders of anti-Congressism, defender of strong and unified state, as representative of the interest of the all section of society and working for the development of the state.

The future of BJD depends upon its ability to maintain its image of the upholder of anti-Congressism, defender of strong and unified state; as representative of the interests of the all section of society, and working for the development of state.

**Summing up**

a) The rise and growth of the BJD in Orissan party system has posed the problems of political touchable Vs political untouchables. It is true that the BJD is not only the first regional party, which is alliances with the BJP, but also the other – regional parties like TDP, Trinamul Congress, DMK/AIDMK, AGP, and Lok Sakti alliance with the BJP in their respective states. These problem lending both National level as well as State level party system into two types of polarization i.e. anti-BJP Vs anti-Congress. Whatever may be the
allegation by the parties, it is fact that the BJD draws support from all sections of the society in way a typical regional party.

b) The relation between the Congress and the BJD is concerned, the genisis of the BJD as the nucleus of anti-Congressism. The relation between the BJD and other non-Congress parties, which are National parties, were basically determined by the consideration of compulsions of National politics rather than State politics. Thus, there was no unanimity of views among the non-Congress parties in regard to the BJD. They had their political calculations clash of interest and personalities, and often they were at critical with each other in their attempts to maximize their advantage from their respective alliance with the BJD.

c) The BJD, as a typical regional party, which maintain its image of the upholder of anti-Congressism. The real defenders of three aspects i.e. backwardness, ideological construct and a new form of politics of mobilisation, especially women, Dalits and minorities.

d) The prospect of BJD as a unique regional party depends upon its clarity over its defending ideology and potentiality of mass mobilization. The Biju legacy is faded away, the BJD will face a daunting task ahead with regards to maintaining its identity in competitive party politics. Naveen Pattnaik’s performance in this continued term will be a significant factor in the future of BJD’s electoral presence in the Orissa’s political landscape.