CHAPTER VII
This study has been made to discern the changes in the representation to the Lok Sabha from Orissa Pradesh from 1967-1989. On the basis of the preceding chapters, it could be asserted that there has been some changes in the social, economic and political profile of the members of Lok Sabha from Orissa. Besides this, it is also found that the representation for Lok Sabha has an inseparable link with the state politics, which is influenced by various factors like caste, community, religion and sub-regionalism and thus Orissa politics has some specific features which influence the representation to Lok Sabha. This chapter gives a summary of the work and specific features of Orissa politics and therefrom draws conclusion.

In the first Chapter, we studied the historical background of Orissa politics. We have dealt with the political development of Orissa with relation to representation. Orissa was for a long period under the British rule. The rulers of the feudatory states were more inclined towards the British rulers. Initially, the people of the feudatory states were reluctant to fight against the rulers. The frantic efforts made by many social reformers and political leaders such as Radhanath Rath, Balukeshwar Acharya, Madhusudan Patnaik, Govinda Chandra Mishra to convince the people against the oppressive rulers.
They were influenced by Mahatma Gandhi. Ultimately, under the common platform of "People Conference" they organized the mass movement. Afterwards, the Praja Mandals or Peoples movement were formed to fight for the rights and liberties of the people. Many of the leaders were joined with the movement. Kailash Chandra Mohanty, Banamali Das and H.K. Mahtab took special interest on the problems of the people.

Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, a dynamic leader of Praja Mandal led the people of Kosala of Angul with the support of Dashrathı Pani, Maguni Chandra Pradhan, Gaurishankar Pradhan and Kuetibas Rath. The prominent congress leaders A.V. Thakkar Bapa, N.G. Ranga, C.F. Andrews and others visited to study of situations of Orissa. The people also launched movement in Dhenkanal, Athgarh, Ranpur, Palilahara, Banai, Tigiria, Nayagarh, Hindol, Keonjhar etc. against the rulers.

There were several organisations formed to place the demands of the people. The Utkal Sammilani or the Utkal Union conference under the leadership of Gopabandhu Das and Madhusudan Das was formed with a motive to integrate the ancient Utkals, Kalingas and Ordras. The leaders demarcated the oriya speaking areas to integrate with the feudatory States. Madhusudan Das, who influenced many princes like Hari Har Mardaraj of Khallikote, Krishna Chandra Gajapatı Dev of Parlakhemundi, Srim Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanj towards the people's cause. The demand of the leaders to separate the oriya speaking areas and feudatory states on the linguistic lines.
The National Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi attracted the leaders and the people of Orissa. They unanimously expressed that the freedom of India from the British was more important than to demand for a separate province of Orissa. Gopabandhu Das was closely associated with Gandhi and propagated the ideology and culture of congress party. Gopabandhu was the first person of Orissa who sowed the seeds of congress party in Orissa.

The Oriya leaders established different ashrams in Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Bhadrak etc. and educational institutions to spread education among people. The political movement and the spread of education were the two important task before the leaders. A number of magazines, newspapers, journals published to provide information to the people.

The issue to form the separate Orissa province was initiated in the Round Table Conference in 1932 by the Congress leaders. Mahatma Gandhi was also convinced by congress leaders of Orissa about the problems of separate province in Karachi session. Lord Curzon considered the necessity to demarcate the Orissa province on the basis of language. The Orissa province was finally formed by the order of council entitled the government of India order, 1936.
The first Ministry of Orissa was led by Sri K.D. Gajapat, the Raja of Parlakhemundi of the United party. The representative government was formed after the elections in 1946 under the premiership of H.K. Mahtab. The politics in Orissa from the beginning was caste-ridden and faction-ridden. Mahtab opposed the domination of Brahmin politics of Nilakantha Das, Godabarish Mishra and Biswanath Das. There was change in political situations took place when the socialist leaders Sarangdhar Das, Surendranath Dwivedy and Naba Krishna Choudhury differentiated themselves from the Communists.

In the second chapter, a picture of the socio-economic structure of Orissa was described. Orissa is a backward state. The percentage of education and per capita income of Orissa is much lower than the other states. The coastal regions and the western regions of Orissa still widened with no consensual unity. The State has higher proportion of scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes population. They constitute 37 per cent of the total population. The Hindus constitute 95.42 per cent followed by muslims 1.60 per cent and the Christians are 1.82 per cent together. In Orissa, 85 per cent people speak Oriya. The major source of income of the people is agriculture. Orissa has a vast resources of different types of minerals such as Chromite, Bauxite, Iron Ore, Nickel, Dolomite etc. The iron and Steel plant of SAIL at Rourkela and Alumina-Aluminium complex of NALCO is the largest mineral based industries in the country.
In the third chapter, an analysis of the political parties and state politics of Orissa has been described by the researcher. In addition to that factionalism, defaction, floor-crossing, corruption, conflict etc. also discussed. The emergence of regional parties were due to many specific reasons. The political leaders who left congress party either due to the problem of survival in the party or having differences with the High Command or could not cope-up with the congress party formed their own parties. The Jana Congress of Mahtab, the Utkal Congress of Biju, the Jagrat Orissa of Satpathy etc. were the product of such leaders. The regional parties are basically personality-oriented parties. In course of time, these parties declined because the leaders aligned themselves with the national parties. The factional politics and vested interests of the leaders have resulted in degenerating the regional political stature and effected the deeply the parties. Presently, the regional parties are non-entity in Orissa.

The structural linkages of the regional parties have closely identified with the national parties. Since most of the regional party leaders were from congress party. They made their parties manifestoes, programmes and politics much identical with the congress.
The fourth Chapter focussed on the representation of Orissa. It is true in the sense that the political parties which won in the Lok Sabha elections also secured maximum number of seats in the assembly elections. At the same time, the electoral change in Orissa took place with the political change in centre. In this chapter, a correlation between the previous chapter was made with relation to the assembly elections. After the fourth Lok Sabha elections of 1967, there was a drastic change in the political scenario of India. The defeat of congress party in many states in 1967 and the grand split of the party in 1967 provided strong grounds for opposition unity. The periodical elections have given new political instruments and mechanism for political change. In a parliamentary democracy, these political instruments are represented by the Parliament, which is empowered to enact laws to provide social change. The constitution which has equipped the electorates with fundamental rights with a motive to sustain the democratic institutions. In Orissa, the changing political environment is fertilised by the electoral politics. Elections, not only play a significant role for political development and change but also enhance the new political climate to create a new culture and awareness.
The fifth chapter demonstrated the socio-economic background of Lok Sabha members. On the basis of our study, we have arrived to a point that there was no drastic change in terms of the socio-economic conditions of the Lok Sabha members. Many of the members have won the Lok Sabha elections for more than one term. Especially, Lok Sabha members from the coastal areas were at the top of political activities irrespective of parties. The middle class professional elite maintained their status quo in terms of educational, legal, economic agricultural background. In many cases, persons with narrow social bases were elected to Lok Sabha due to the party's positions. The agriculturists, advocates from the higher caste group represented to Lok Sabha from Orissa.

In the Sixth chapter, we have focussed on the political issues and the electoral campaign, the two major factors of every elections. Some specific political issues involved in different elections to mobilise the electorate. Orissa, due to its overall backwardness, the large chunk of electorates were illiterate and bereft of political consciousness. The political change in the centre always creates an atmosphere of waves accordingly. The political issues such as Jai Jawan-Jai Kissan, Indira Go Back, Garibi Hatao, Bekari Hatao, Restore Democracy against Dictatorship, national unity and integrity etc. have deeply influenced the electorates and political parties.
It is very difficult to outline the exact amount of monetary investment in the elections. But the electoral show maintained by the political parties indicate that the monetary investment in the elections was disproportionate as per the provisions of the constitution. The candidates and the parties collect money from the businessmen, contractors, industrialists in the form of donations. The donors help to those persons who in return favour them by using political power. Gradually, fighting the elections is more of a business than a political enterprise. Most of the top political leaders in Orissa were branded as corrupt and dishonest due to their close nexus with the business-houses. Present political situation provide us enough evidences to say that the political game and elections are primarily rich people's adventure. The unchecked investment in elections is resulted in distorting the democratic institutions.

The summary of the above chapters constitute the basic framework of our analysis, which has revealed certain important features of Orissa politics.

The important features of Orissa Politics:

First, the political instability was the root cause of factionalism, coalition, floor-crossing, defection etc. in Orissa politics. The emergence of regional parties checked the domination of congress party which was ruling the state for a long time.
The role played by Ganatantra Parishad, Jana Congress, Utkal Congress, Jagrat Orissa, Pragati Party are very important to weaken the congress hold in the state politics. In fact, the leaders of these parties were mostly defected from congress party. They formed parties on the basis of their political convenience at the time of elections. Their political activities changed the nature of state politics in Orissa. The regional parties appealed to get the support of different sections of the society. The politics of the western region and the coastal region become more effective due to the emergence of the regional parties.

Secondly, the multi-party system has given maximum scope to coalitional politics. The above mentioned parties were largely what Duverger described as "Personality minor parties" they were in general fairly fluid and shifting. In Orissa, the coalition government and politics are based on three types of alliances. They are electoral, parliamentary and government levels alliances. Electoral alliances find expression in various forms like putting up joint candidates or joint list of candidates. Parliamentary alliance can take shape of parliamentary parties uniting in support of the government or against it. A Government alliance necessitates as a pre-condition, a positive agreement, a common minimum programme to be pursued during the tenure of the alliance.

1 See M. Duverger, Political Parties, 1951 1.18, M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organisation of Political parties. Vol.1 1902 P.140
Thirdly, the defected leaders in Orissa Politics created dissident activities in the state. The problem of defaction and dissident activities have deep roots in the past-independence politics. "Politician of new classes of society has taken place many of the new leaders came into politics without any effort at either participation in national struggle or in social service. They have never known the idea to live for politics." 3 Mahtab's Jana Congress, Biju Patnaik's Utkal Congress, Nandini Satpathy's Jagrat Orissa etc. were the creation of dissident leaders.

Fourthly, the political representation in Orissa was widened by the middle class professionals. They were journalists, lawyers, teachers, doctors and others. They are successful lawyers, businessmen, land-holders with a narrow district background and a parochial outlook." 4 Apart from the professionals, the rise of small farmers and upper peasantry occurred due to the structural change after independence. They gradually emerged in economic as well as political spheres.

Fifthly, the leadership structure in Orissa politics was mostly dominated by high castes politicians. In fact, the upper castes brahmins, who earlier occupied the centre of the political power have now been replaced by the middle caste castes Karans, Khandayats, Kshatriyas.


Their increasing agricultural-based prosperity has greatly facilitated to their political domination. In the lowest rung, the numerous castes such as SC/ST and back-ward classes who are occupationally predominantly agricultural labourers, landless labourers, contractual labourers remained out of the orbit of political power. Indeed, they formed part of the electoral political arithmetic right from the beginning.

Sixthly, Orissa lacks a radical and dynamic political culture. It embraces a vast variety of cultures of different sub-regions. The urban-rural, elite-illiterate, modernists-traditionalists involvement in politics resulted in a real co-existence of tradition and modernity. Orissa's political culture indicates that Orissa was a very small group of middle elite. Although democracy as a system based on the principle of "equality" yet in a democratic society, the knowledge, wealth, social position, access to officials and other resources are always unequally distributed. In every democratic society beneath the facade of democratic politics, a social and economic elite usually runs things.

5 Ibid.  
Seventhly, one special feature of the Indian electoral systems relate to reservation of seats in the Lok Sabha for SC/ST. Article 330 (2) of the Constitution provides that a number of seats proportionate to the number in the population to the number of SC/ST within its boundary.

The SC/ST representatives were elected to Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies on the basis of reservation provision. They were facilitated by this provision to take part in the legislature and political parties.

Eighthly, the emergence of non-congress parties such as Swatantra party, Utkal Congress, Jana Congress, Communist party etc. posed a serious challenge to the Congress party. These parties were heterogenous, ideologically, incom-pitable and un-organised. These parties could not counter the congress party till 1977 in Orissa. The leftist parties are gradually becoming a formidable force after 1977. The non-congress parties always depend on the strength and support of the national parties. The socialist parties in Orissa are confined to the coastal regions.

Ninethly, the unprincipled temporary political alliances of the non-congress parties are the unavoidable feature of Orissa Politics. The state wing of Janata Party in 1977 and Janata Dal in 1989 were the important examples of the political alliances made by non-congress opposition parties.
These parties are nothing but the united support of the non-congress parties in the state to the national parties.

Lastly, the political opportunism of the leaders has resulted in instability and chaos. The intra-party and the inter-party rivalries arose due to the vested interest of the representatives. In fact, the top leadership of various parties are challenged by the new ambitious political elites. The political elites who had inherited the culture of the independent movements were almost out of the political scene in Orissa.

**Change in Representation:**

Our study shows that the basic change in representation took place after the fourth general elections held in 1967. Most of the representatives belonged to the small but relatively affluent middle class of Orissa. They were imbued with liberal ideas and ideologies of the west. They also believed in the liberal nature of politics. With the universalisation of the franchise, politics became more participative than representative than it had been before. The electorate in Orissa have participated in electoral politics and changed the pattern of representation in many aspects.

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The periodic electoral waves changed the pattern of representation. The waves appropriately favoured either the ruling party or the opposition party in the centre. It is appeared from our study that the political parties fought all the elections with important issues. The state politics in Orissa has direct link with the national politics. The political change in the national politics gets support and strength from the state politics. The emergence of non-congress parties in 1967 posed a challenge to the congress party in Orissa. The 1971 general elections revealed that congress(R) improved its position and weakened the opposition parties. The non-congress parties united themselves in 1977 and removed congress party from power in the state. They lost miserably to congress party both in 1980 and 1984 Lok Sabha elections. Again in 1989, the non-congress parties defeated the Congress (I) both in the centre and state.

The lack of the charismatic leadership has affected the politics of the state. As a matter of fact the new brand of political elites emerged in the Lok Sabha could not influence the different segments of social-infrastructures without getting the support of the political parties. Due to the pressure of social diversities and the internal contradictions among the leaders which not only counter to provide strong leadership but also pressurised them to drive in different dimensions.
The political instability, the dissident activities, the multi-party system, the personality oriented influence, the political manipulation due to the closeness of state leaders with the central leaders, the grass-root activities ignored by the state leaders etc. were the important reasons of inter-party and intra-party fractions in Orissa politics. Keeping in view all these political reasons, the new brand of political representatives were crippled to face the political challenges. Even if, they were supported by the top political elites they have no political experience to lead the State.

Our study focussed on the development and decline of certain political parties. The Swatantra party, Jana Congress, Utkal Congress, Pragati Party etc. were one time of the tough of the political arena. Subsequently, these regional parties were declined to the level of non-entity because the political situation in Orissa was not favourable for the survival of regional parties for a larger period. Even if the regional parties have linked themselves with the socio-economic problems of the people of Orissa.

The regional parties high-lighted the local issues and played with the regional sentiments for their survival in the electoral politics. They made regional issues as the tools to mobilise electorates to serve their political interests. They used new electoral media, poll strategies, campaigning to capture the electorates in Orissa.
There was a great deal of change occurred between the Lok Sabha members of 1967 and 1989. The members elected in 1967 were mostly participated in the Indian National movement for the freedom of the country. They had cultivated wide experience by directly associating themselves with the people. The Lok Sabha members in 1989 were mostly new-comers and unknown to the people. They were elected on the basis of the elections waves. Perhaps in the tenth Lok Sabha elections especially from Orissa not only the personality factors but also the clean integrated approach of candidates apart from their respective party manifestoes and programmes would play a major role to change the pattern of representation. The main merit of candidates and parties would be to command the confidence of the electorates to protect the democratic values and practically convince them to implement the policies and programmes of their respective parties after coming to power.

The change in political representation could not brought about major changes in the socio-economic conditions of the State. Whatever the socio-economic changes occurred till 1991 was below the expectation of the people. Possibly, this type of stagnation would largely effect the disinterested attitude of the electorates towards electoral politics. It is very essential on the part of the representatives to make strong efforts to promote employment, create more avenues for jobs, develop the living standard of the people. Unless they strive to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions, representation remains fruitless.
It is observed from our study that the traditional domination of the princely and feudal lords have decreased and the new political elites emerged with modern ideas and values. The political participation of the numerically larger groups and the legitimisation of caste based politics facilitated the higher castes politicians to influence the people. The parochial attitude of the leaders and caste loyalties of the people stimulated the relevance of caste solidarity. The political competition of the new brand of elites in free elections attracted large number of people into the political fold. The scheduled caste and scheduled tribes people too developed their interests in politics. Due to their sizable number, most of the political parties attached importance and preferred to induct them in politics. The representation of women in Orissa is very less with comparison to their population. All political parties including the congress party yet to promote women in politics in Orissa.

The political development in Orissa can be assessed not by the number of political parties or the emergence of new political elites but to face the challenges of the society. Though Orissa is a multi-faceted society, it is bound to create groups, divisions and disintegration.
The political parties can not escape from the divisive forces. In this regard, the parties play with the regional issues and sentiments. It is of course true that regional parties contributed a lot to fetch the strength of national parties. Our federal structure and multi-party system have provided enough ground for both national as well as regional parties to act together or separately for their continuation in politics.