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## **A study of Jatiya-politics in Bihar: Historical continuum**

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### **Abstract**

This paper gives a drawn out account of developments for social change in Bihar, encouraged by the consistent ascent to political force by the retrogressive classes/Jatiya in the state, since 1989. Finding this second in a more extended force of battle since 1920s, it tests the precursors of ongoing social change in Bihar governmental issues. Contextualizing this cycle inside a long recession, it follows a bigger law based pattern of strengthening returning to mid twentieth century. The paper endeavors this historicisation of Bihar governmental issues by drawing upon an assortment of sources – from authentic records to papers – and enhancing them with pertinent auxiliary writing.

**Keywords:** Jatiya-politics and Historical continuum

### **Introduction**

Developments for social change in Bihar have suffered for longer than famously saw and their 'changing shapes' require a chronicled story just as an ethnographic analysis. Personified by Lalu Prasad Yadav since 1990, their constituent rise were prior viewed as speaking to 'another phase'. Lately, it has been proffered as the result of a 'state arrangement that delivered structures of intensity and personality inside which a Jatiya-based governmental issues fairly caught the state so as to methodically debilitate it'. In India, where Jatiya stays inescapable and transcendent, 'examining' it has predominantly been anthropological and sociological, the Republic of Bihar included. Older records of Jatiya in Bihar legislative issues were confined in doubles of social stagnation or monetary growth, while more up to date works compare the classifications of vote based system and improvement.

In the compositions of Harry Blair on Bihar, spreading over from mid 1970s to 1990s, one can see the whole array. Beginning from discussing cast as a 'differential mobiliser' to following the resulting 'social change' and contemplating contemporary political conduct of cast to building up their constituent help, Blair delivered a corpus on the convergence of Jatiya and legislative issues and called it *Bihariana*.<sup>8</sup> In the most recent decade, land, religion, peacemaking, government moves and the Naxal battle have given different passage focuses into Bihar's present political pathologies. <sup>9</sup> Simultaneously, Lalu Prasad Yadav and, his replacement, Nitish Kumar have seen books composed on them in endeavors to comprehend the state's undoing and making through their creation and redoing, respectively.<sup>1</sup> Then again, when one turns towards the current significant writing in Hindi, one discovers works, particular in their extension, extraordinary in their substance and clearing in their treatment of time. Vikas Kumar Jha composed a comprehensive volume on the post-Independence governmental issues of Bihar named *Satta ke Sutradhar* ('The Narrators/Protagonists of Power', Delhi: D. K. Distributers, 1996). His other book, *Bihar: Rajniti ka Apraadhikaran* ('Criminalisation of Politics in Bihar', Delhi: D. K. Distributers, 1991) was a littler volume. At that point, there are the three conclusive works of Prasanna Kumar Chaudhary and Shrikant: *Bihar mein Samajik Parivartan ke Kuch Aayaam* ('Some Aspects of Social Change in Bihar', New Delhi: Vani Prakashan, 2001), *Swarg standard Dhawa: Bihar mein Dalit Aandolan 1912-2000* ('The Dalit Revolution in Bihar 1912-2000', New Delhi: Vani Prakashan, 2005) and *Bahi Dhaar Triveni Sangh Ki: Bihar mein Samajik Nyaya ka Pehla Sangharsh* ('Triveni Sangh: The First Institutional Struggle for Social Justice in Bihar', Patna: Loktantra Prakashan, 1998), individually.

Following afterward and drawing upon state documents and commonplace papers, especially *The Indian Nation* and *The Searchlight*, this article endeavors to outline a somewhat known

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story in a more drawn out setting. At the core of the Jatiya 'legislative issues' from 1990 lay the Jatiya 'structure' of old – 'neighborhood relations of predominance and subjection' – that prompted a "regional vote based system" of Jatiya empowerment'.<sup>2</sup> Bihar governmental issues has frequently been portrayed by delicate establishments of liberal advancement, uncertain political characters, egalitarian talk, defilement and crimes. It apparently started with 'the British never figuring out how to build up more than a "Restricted Raj"'.<sup>3</sup>

'Institutional rot' in Bihar developed with the two-decade rule of the Indian National Congress after the exchange of intensity (1947-67), was exacerbated by the emergencies, abundances and crisis of the next decade (1967-77) just as the libertarian reaction to it drove by Jayaprakash Narayan (in 1974-75), and showed up at a basic point with the ensuing extending of social and strict partitions inside the north Indian culture (1986-89).<sup>4</sup> At the turn of the 1990s, the inquiry for Bihar was the deep rooted one: does it 'need a general public got from political force or legislative issues got from social fabric'?

### **Communists, Naxalites/Maoists and the Politics of Jatiya**

The rise of Socialists as the significant resistance power in Bihar happened against this previously mentioned 'social emergency', existing inside and exuding from the Congress. There developed a belief system, which fundamentally impacted the rising working classes among the regressive Jatiyas and their ascent as a political force. In this manner, practically all gatherings mirrored a communist and libertarian statement of faith. Nonetheless, to adjust George Bernard Shaw, this 'social insurgency' in Bihar, 'didn't end oppression; it simply moved the weight to different shoulders'. In the wake of isolating from the Congress in 1948, the Socialists needed to confront a two-overlay battle of setting up their different political and philosophical way of life just as combining their social base. This was met by the firm Dr. Smash Manohar Lohia (1910-67) and the pliable Jayaprakash Narayan (1902-79), in their own particular manners, after the 1952 discretionary failure and the resulting troublesome years.<sup>5</sup>

Inside his 'New Socialism', Lohia held Liberal Populism and Gandhism yet supplanted Marxism with his own comprehension (since called 'Lohia-ism'), which connected the proceeding Jatiya and social-statement developments of the regressive with the socialists. In so doing he perceived a home-truth of Bihar Politics, as The Indian Nation re-attested fifty years back: 'The overall impression is that nearly everybody is Jatiyaist'.<sup>6</sup>

### **The fall, rise and obscuration of Congress**

The period from 1967 saw the social development of the Backwards arriving at the passageways of intensity unexpectedly. In the following four years, Bihar had five boss Ministers (CMs) from the Backward Jatiyas, two Scheduled Jatiya CMs, just as the main Backward Jatiya serve from Congress. Somewhere in the range of 1967 and 1972, Bihar had nine governments, including ones that kept going as quickly with respect to three days and nine days. In any case, the promotions of these 'regressive Jatiya/booked Jatiya pastors' had been the consequence of political trade off and didn't change the social vantage. The absolute most huge bit of social enactment for the Backward Jatiyas, in this period, was the choice of Karpoori Thakur, as

Education Minister in the Samvid Sarkar (1967-69), to nullify English instruction from school and school educational program just as to cancel its prerequisite in establishments of advanced education. This prompted a sensational change in the social organization of establishments of advanced education, with a flood of understudies from rustic territories and Backward Jatiyas, and an ascent of the 'forward among the regressive's (Yadavas, Kurmis, Koeris). Conversely, Congress' accomplice of landed, taught and contracted first class headed by men like Harihar Singh, L. N. Mishra, Daroga Prasad Rai, Kedar Pandey and Abdul Ghafoor didn't modify in that 'the dominant part both when the 1969 split, stayed with the Forwards and the Upper Backwards'.<sup>7</sup>

Twenty years before Lalu Prasad Yadav enraptured Bihar's discretionary scene, Jayaprakash Narayan (JP) had just expressed the cardinal adage of Bihar governmental issues. In 1974, he had stated, 'Jatiya is the greatest ideological group in Bihar'. By now, Bihar had become the war zone of the biggest cross country understudy development against Indira Gandhi's standard, driven by the Bihar Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti, took care of by famous distance among the metropolitan working classes against the Congress, and upheld by the understudy fronts of Jan Sangh and Samyukta Socialist Party. The Indian Nation had written in January 1974, of 'overwhelming costs, intense deficiency of fundamental items, running expansion, mounting joblessness and virtual financial stagnation. In any case, the resistance couldn't make any significant increases as they had neither the capacity nor the leadership'.<sup>8</sup> Now, helmed by JP, it turned into a cross country mainstream crusade. At first, it had an eight-point plan including understudy association rights, arrangement of professional instruction, bank advances for business, joblessness recompense, convenience and grant, powerful understudy portrayal, swelling, moderate food and study material.

### **Approach of Lalu Prasad Yadav**

Karpoori Thakur kicked the bucket a less than ideal passing in 1988. By at that point, yearning and more youthful Yadav officials had just bothered and subverted him to the point of depletion, especially the trinity of Anoop Lal, Srinarayan and Lalu Prasad Yadav. They teamed up with the Speaker of the State Assembly, Shiv Chandra Jha,<sup>84</sup> and had Thakur taken out from the post of pioneer of resistance in a questionable scene. The void left by Karpoori Thakur's removing and passing was the one, which Lalu Prasad Yadav loaded up with some karma and some assistance. He accepted the seat of Karpoori Thakur yet neither by a consistent choice nor a greater part decision rather as a trade off up-and-comer. Devi Lal and Sharad Yadav guaranteed his progression over that of Anup Lal Yadav on the grounds that, among different reasons, the last had welcomed the Brahmin Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna for a feast.

The 'Subaltern Saheb' began his political life as the Patna University Student Union's President.<sup>85</sup> He had been a member of the student organisation committee for the 1974 movement. He entered the Lok Sabha in 1977 and Vidhan Sabhas in 1980 and 1985, emerging as the leader of opposition in the latter, in 1988-89. In March 1990, he became the CM despite not contesting the 1990 state elections, having earlier won the Chhapra Lok Sabha seat in the 1989 general elections. The 1989 Lok Sabha and 1990 Vidhan Sabha contests had, as their major issues, the Bofors

Scandal, the corruption of Rajiv Gandhi's Central Government and the permutations forged by Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Devi Lal, Chandrasekhar, the BJP and the Left front. But the strongest undercurrent was that of backward empowerment, encapsulated in the word 'Mandal' apart from the 'Mandir/Kamandal' politics around Ayodhya Ram-temple. In the 1989 Lok Sabha elections, Janata Dal won 31 seats out of 54 in Bihar and for the first time the number of Backward Jatiya MPs (18) (Yadavs (11), Kurmis (3), Koeris (4)) was equal to that of upper Jatiya MPs (18). This issue of backward empowerment became even more important in the 1990 Vidhan Sabha elections. Janata Dal emerged victorious with 121 seats leaving behind Congress (71), BJP (39), CPI (23), CPM (6), and JMM (19). Independents also emerged as a major force having won 30 seats.

Politics is an act of self-location. Lalu Prasad Yadav loomed large because he emerged at a particular historical conjunction. With his advent, also emerged the 'backwards among the backwards'. The one real change Lalu Yadav brought was a change of the Jatiya character of the exploitative order. He gave the Backwards a sense of political participation and the Muslims a qualified sense of security in fractured times. He undid the hegemony of the upper Jatiyas and installed his own. He was a product of Jatiya and not its producer. Political violence and electoral malpractice in Bihar much predated him and his constituency had long been the victims.<sup>9</sup> Be it corruption or political crime, Jatiya war or anarchy, the Congress had set the precedents. Lalu Prasad Yadav was a response.

In the process, by mid-1990s, 'the killing fields of Bihar...the site of persistent warfare against the poor, the weak, and the exploited of the rural countryside' had descended in 'the seven years of Lalu Prasad Yadav's chief ministership as the populist champion of the poor, into "administrative atrophy" and "anarchy". Besieged by fodder scam charges, while Lalu Prasad Yadav was battling his lack of 'right or suitability to continue' as president of his party and chief minister of his state, the state seemed 'on the verge of infrastructural collapse at the most fundamental levels of administering a civil society'. Lalu had an unvarnished and unrestrained 'social justice theme' in his first term, 'of assuring izzat i.e., self-respect to the socially and economically deprived of the land'. Deep into his second term (completed by his wife Rabri), 'the political calculus showed splits in the backward Jatiya, untouchable-Dalit, and Muslim alliance which Lalu had crafted so brilliantly before and after the 1990 and 1991 elections'. As Mohammad Sajjad has shown, 'Muslim society also underwent change in challenging upper Jatiya hegemony during Lalu Yadav's Chief Ministerial tenure. The Momins/Ansaris, the Rayeens, the Kulhaiyas, Pamarias and the Bhatiyaras mobilised their Jatiya groups for access to social justice, not only reservations...but also a share in political power'.

### Conclusion

Today, Bihar is a heartland of an expected 100 million individuals, 40% of whom are underneath destitution line and 90% of whom keep on having a provincial presence. They share an aggregate direction that can be followed to the frontier production of lease looking for proprietors by the lasting settlement of 1793. That set Bihar on turning into an 'exemplary enclave economy' through the British Raj.

Post-autonomy, the 'cargo leveling plan', an 'unstable blend of Jatiya and class battles', 'move of Jatiya power and material advantages to underestimated', a 'deinstitutionalized state mechanical assembly and shortened turn of events', and, huge social gatherings, from the 14% twice-conceived Jatiyas, 39% OBCs (20% upper OBCs, 19% lower OBCs, 12% Yadavs, 3.5% Kurmis, 4.1% Koeris), 15% Dalits, 16% Muslims have worked inside a worldview of progression of Jatiya and class struggle. In these seventy years, from the Congress' 'social alliance of limits' overwhelmed by the upper Jatiyas, trailed by first the rise and afterward the fracture of the OBCs, if Karpoori Thakur represented was a forerunner for the accompanying Lalu Prasad Yadav, at that point the last exemplified a 'majority rule upsurge', a 'plebeian governmental issues of tight poor redistributive alliances'. Since 2005, Nitish Kumar has spoken to a 'wide-helpless alliance of Dalits and upper Jatiyas', with the 2015 Bihar gathering races indicating that 'topics of character stay fundamental to preparation endeavors of ideological groups'.

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