

# Chapter- 1

## Introduction

Modern age is considered as the age of democracies. The successful functioning of a democracy largely depends upon the nature and functioning of political parties. The life blood of democracy are political parties. Parties are studied by many as intermediate organization between the citizen and the state. “They are regarded as having an important place in a democracy, carrying the weight of expectation and aspiration upwards from citizen to state, and the burden of policy downwards, from state to citizen”<sup>1</sup>. Political parties are the vehicles through which individuals and groups work to secure political power and exercise that power. They make people politically conscious, that is, aware of their role as citizens. This role cannot be performed simply by voting, but must be a continuous one, if government is to be kept responsive to public interest. “Thus, political parties are responsible for maintaining a continuous connection between the people and those who represent them either in the government or in the opposition”<sup>2</sup>. The constitution of India recognises and accepts the rights of the people to participate actively in the governance of the country. The participation in public affairs has to be on an organised basis. “Thus political parties, as organized media for the conduct of public affairs, play a vital role in the parliamentary set-up of the country”<sup>3</sup>. In Indian political system, the federal structure allows multiple parties to function at both centre and regional level. However, Indian National Congress dominated the Indian Political system till the end of 1970s. “The rise of anti- Congress parties, especially after 1975 emergency, indicates a new era in Indian politics”<sup>4</sup>.

The era of 1990s have witnessed the upsurge of many regional parties in number of states in the country and decline of national parties influence in national as well as in state elections. The rise of regional parties was a result of regional aspiration linked to the culture, economy and social motivation which national parties failed to mark after

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<sup>1</sup> Sridharan, E and DeSouza, P. R (2006), India’s Political Parties, New Delhi: Sage Publication India Pvt Ltd.

<sup>2</sup> Ramalingappa, K (2011), Regional Political Parties in India: A Study on Telgu Dessam Party in Andhra Pradesh, Ph.D Thesis, Anantapur: SrikrishnaDevaraya University.

<sup>3</sup> Sharma, S (1995), State Politics in India, New Delhi: Mittal Publications.

<sup>4</sup> Shetty, B.N (2009), Parties and Politics in Orissa: A Study of Biju Janta Dal, Ph.D Thesis, New Delhi: Jawahar Lal Nehru University.

independence. Most of the contemporary dominating parties in many states emerged after emergency period and consolidated their position in the Indian political system. Bihar was one of the first state in India where congress lost power in 1967.

The year 2012 marks the centennial year for coming into existence of Bihar as a separate state, carved out of Bengal Presidency on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1912. Bihar is the most historical topographic point in the universe that has been the provenience of Hinduism, the birthplace of Buddhism, Jainism and the tenth guru of Sikhs. One of the first known republic in the earthly concern, Licchavi, existed in the region since before the birth of Mahavira. The classical Gupta dynasty of Bihar was known to have been a flow of great cultivation and learning inside Republic of India. The Gupta period is known today as the Golden Age of India. The first democracy of the humanity "Maurya Empire" was also given by Bihar (Vaishali). Carving out of Bihar as a separate state from the Bengal presidency in 1912 proved instrumental in galvanizing the national freedom movement in Bihar where Mahatama Gandhi launched his famous *satyagraha* at Champaran and the state of Bihar soon joined the national mainstream of freedom struggle<sup>5</sup>. History testifies that Bihar has been at the center of politics in India since a very long time. After independence, many significant political changes that have taken place in India have had their genesis in Bihar. The state was the epicenter of the anti-Emergency movement of 1975 against the national Emergency imposed by then Prime Minister Mrs.Indra Gandhi which was led by great socialist leader Jaiprakash Narayan<sup>6</sup>. The state was also the epicenter of the anti- and pro- Mandal agitations in the 1990s. "The post-Mandal politics in Bihar that began with the national party- Congress-versus the regional party- the Janata Dal (JD) - in the 1990s has finally turned into an electoral battle between the two dominant regional parties- the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) and the Janata Dal (United) or JD (U), with two national political parties- the Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) - playing secondary roles as alliance partner with the regional parties"<sup>7</sup>. The Political Landscape of Bihar in the past was largely dominated by the Congress party, like many other states in India. The Congress party didn't face much challenge in Bihar till 1990 with only minor interruptions in 1967 and 1977 when

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<sup>5</sup> Anil Singh (2013), '*Bihar: Chaos to Chaos*', New Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation.

<sup>6</sup> The anti-Emergency movement of 1975 was also referred as the "JP Movement" and his slogan of "Total Revolution" is also associated with it.

<sup>7</sup> Kumar, S (2018), '*Post Mandal-Politics in Bihar: Changing Electoral Patterns*', New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd. P. xxii

the state had a non-Congress government. The major changes in the nature of electoral politics and political representation in the state was witnessed during the post-Mandal Politics. "This period witnessed the rise of regional political parties and regional leaders with a reasonable support base, especially among the voters belonging to the lower social strata-namely, the Other Backward Classes (OBCs), the Dalits, the Adivasis (in undivided Bihar), and the Muslims".

Bihar, since independence of the country has had a number of state political parties such as Jharkhand Party (1949), Lok Sewak Sangh (1948), Chota Nagpur & Santhal Parganas Janta Party, All India Gantantra Parishad (1948) etc. However, most of them do not exist now. At present JD (U), under the leadership of Nitish Kumar, RJD under the leadership of Tejaswi Yadav LSP under the umbrella of Ram Vilas Paswan, and some newly emerged parties like RLSP under Upendra Kushwaha and HAM under Jitan Ram Manjhi (former CM of Bihar) are the influential regional parties in Bihar. These smaller regional parties normally played a very minor role in the electoral politics of the state but at times their role have become very significant in the state. In 2005, February assembly election, Ram Vilas Paswan led LJNSP refused to extend his support to any bigger parties, in the hung assembly which resulted into October assembly election of 2005 in which JD (U) led NDA formed the government in the state and Nitish Kumar became the Chief Minister of Bihar. Similarly in 1967 state assembly election in Bihar, the role of JKD became very important in the formation of first non-Congress government in the state. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha from JKD became the first non-Congress Chief Minister in the state<sup>8</sup>. The politics of Bihar after 1990s have been mostly dominated by two regional parties of Bihar, RJD and JD (U) and national parties like Congress and BJP are playing a helping hand in the functioning of the government in the state. Though the role and significance of BJP in the parliamentary and state assembly election of Bihar as a coalition partner of JD (U) was always important since its alliance with Nitish Kumar in 1996 but after massive victory of saffron party in the last two Lok Sabha election of 2014 and 2019, the party may expect to increase its role in Bihar government in the upcoming state assembly election of Bihar to be held in

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<sup>8</sup> Despite getting 13 seats in the assembly election of 1967, Mahamaya Prasad Sinha became the Chief Minister of Bihar from Jan Kranti Dal (JKD). In the 1967 state assembly election Congress won 128 seats but couldn't form government in the state. The second largest party was SSP which secured 68 seats in that elections.

2020. Congress on the other hand couldn't make much impact in the electoral politics of Bihar after 1990s, contesting election separately in the state or as an allied partner of RJD<sup>9</sup>.

The present study is divided into five chapters, which includes Introduction and Conclusion also.

Chapter 1 deals with the basic objective, research question, rationale of the study, research methods used in the study followed by review of literature related to the subject under study. This chapter also explains the basic terms used in the study.

To understand the rise and development of JD (U) in Bihar, it is important to know the history of political rule in Bihar and other political parties that have influential role to play in the state politics. Hence for that purpose chapter 2 deals with the parties and politics of Bihar from 1990 to 2015. This chapter explains the role of Congress, Janata Dal, RJD, LJNSP, RLSP and HAM in Bihar politics.

Chapter 3 deals with the origin of JD (U) in Bihar with an explanation of various factors and stages of its emergence. This chapter also explains the role of coalition partner BJP in the state with three perspectives, of which one is the acceptance of Nitesh Kumar as the leader of NDA in Bihar.

Chapter 4 explains the electoral performance of JD (U) in Bihar from 2005 to 2015. The assembly election of 2005, 2010 and 2015 have been explained in detail to explain the various factors responsible for the victory and rise of JD (U)-BJP coalition in the state. Lok Sabha elections of this period have been also discussed in brief.

The last chapter deals with the conclusion part of the study and leaves few points for further studies on this topic or related one.

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<sup>9</sup> Impact of the Congress party have been analysed based on the electoral performance of the party in the state including the state assembly election and parliamentary election held between 1990 to 2015. The electoral performance of the Congress party have been explained in chapter 2.

## **Studied Concepts:**

“Conceptual framework is a vital aspect of any research work”<sup>10</sup>. In this study I have used few concepts that have been illustrated in this part in order to get a clear context of the subject matter.

### **Political Party:**

Political parties are generally identified as an essential factor in political life. The fact that political party has become a universal phenomenon is indisputable. At present a country may be moulded into a single-party model, bi-party model, or a multiparty model or a peculiar mix of them. Prominent political thinkers like Maurice Duverger, Sigmund Neuman, Lord Bryce, and many others have outlined the significant role of political parties whether big or small with ideological commitment or with neutrality. The origin and development of political parties may be traced to England from the Glorious revolution of 1688<sup>11</sup>. Hence, the British Party system is responsible for the growth of political parties in democratic countries around the world especially in Commonwealth Nations. Political party has been defined as an organised group or an association in support of some principles. Political party has also been defined as a group of citizens constituting a body with some objectives. Here are some definitions of political party given by various scholars.

According to MacIver, “a political party is an association organised in support of some principle or policy which by constitutional means endeavours to make the determinant of governments.” Herman Finer, defines that “a political is an organised body with voluntary membership, its concerted energy being employed in the pursuit of political power.” Sigmund Neuman defines that “Political party is the articulate organisation of society’s active political changes, those who are concerned with the control of government power and who compete for popular support with another group or groups holding divergent views.”

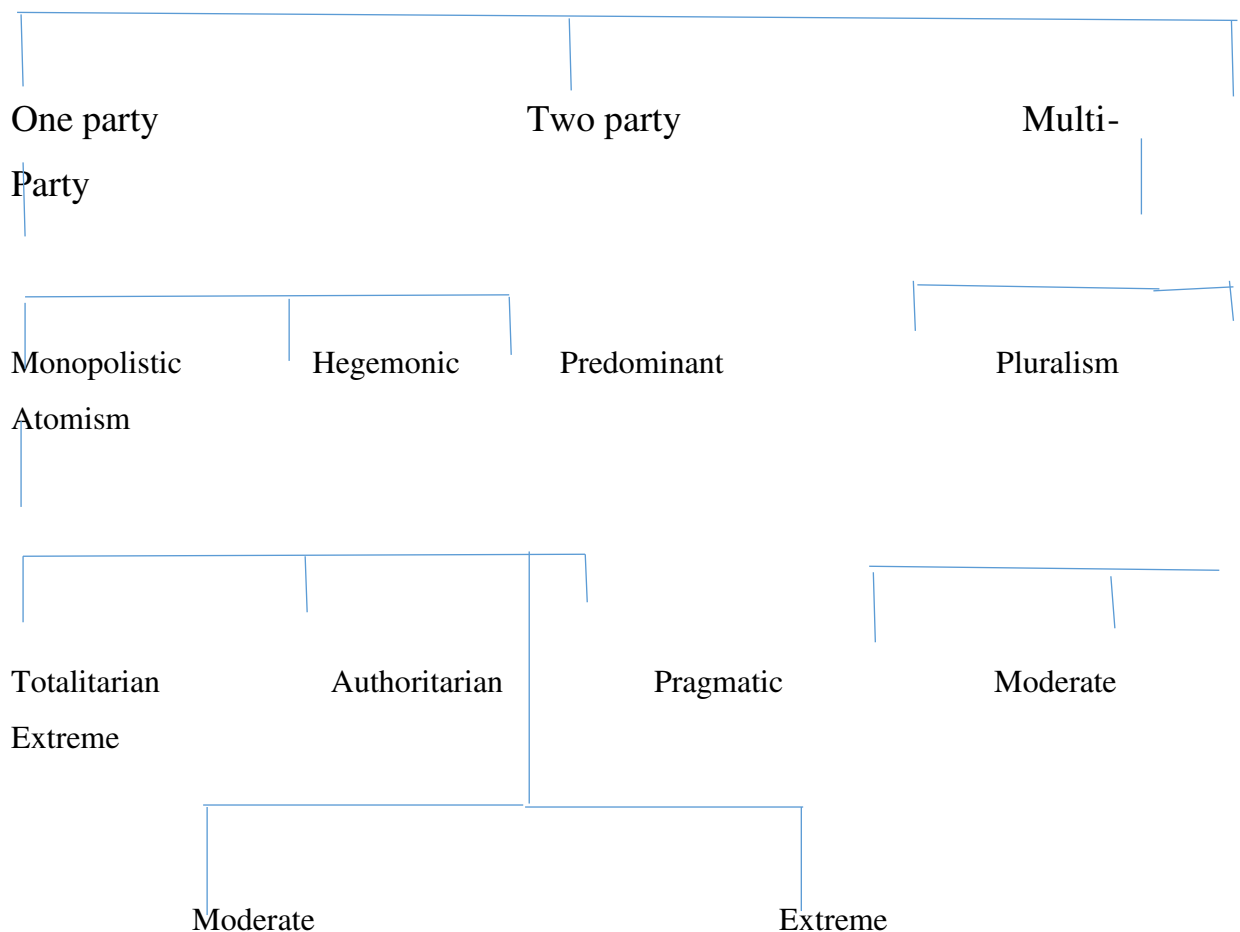
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<sup>10</sup> Shetty, B.N (2009), Parties and Politics in Orissa: A Study of Biju Janta Dal, Ph.D Thesis, New Delhi: Jawahar Lal Nehru University.

<sup>11</sup> The Glorious Revolution ultimately established the supremacy of parliament over the British Monarchy. [https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil\\_war\\_revolution/glorious\\_revolution\\_01.shtml](https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/glorious_revolution_01.shtml)

For Gettel, “Political party consists of groups of citizens more or less organised, who acts as a political unit who, by the use of their voting power aim to control the governments and carry out their general policies.” While differentiating between the democratic and totalitarian models of democracy, David Apter Observes “In western practices, a political party is a function of a larger system in which it operates; that is, it is a servant of the constitutional framework. Totalitarian parties are different; and to understand their role, it is necessary to examine totalitarian societies and governments.”

### Classification of Political Party<sup>12</sup>



<sup>12</sup> See Ramalingappa, K (2011), Regional Political Parties in India: A Study on Telgu Dessam Party in Andhra Pradesh, Ph.D Thesis, Anantapur: SrikrishnaDevaraya University. P. 10  
While the British and the American party system are the models of bi-party, many other countries of the western world (like France, Italy, Switzerland, and Canada) have Multi-party system. On the other hand some Countries like China, Cuba etc. follow Single party system.

The present party system in India have developed originally in the context of freedom struggle and after independence within the framework of parliamentary government. The emergence of party system in India in late 19<sup>th</sup> century was a response to challenge the British colonial rule in India. The formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was the beginning of party system in India. Indian National Congress played an important role in the freedom struggle of India and after independence became the largest and most dominating party in both National and state level elections. “The framers of the Indian Constitution didn’t give importance to the development of party system in India as it was expected that India would follow the British Political ideas and political system”<sup>13</sup>. But India adopted a unique system being heterogeneous in character. As A.S Narang defines that the Indian party system has undergone various phases like One-party dominance phase, Multi-party system and an era of Coalition politics in India. One party dominance or Congress System as viewed by Morris Jones and Rajni Kothari respectively, dominated the Indian party system in its initial years. The possibility of emergence of two party system was seen in the general election of 1977 when the Janata Party and Indian National Congress secured 75.8 percent of total voted polled in that election<sup>14</sup>. The Indian party system entered into the Multi-party system and coalition era with 1989 general elections and the subsequent election of 1991 and 1996 further consolidated this phase, which gave rise to the regional parties at one hand and the coalition politics on the other.

### **National and Regional Parties in India.**

National Party	Regional Party
Bahujan Samaj Party	Asom Gana Parishad (AGP)
Bhartiya Janata Party	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)
Communist party of India	Samajwadi Party (SP)
Communist party of India (Marxist)	Janata Dal (United) JD (U)
Indian National Congress	Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)

<sup>13</sup> Ramalingappa, K (2011), Regional Political Parties in India: A Study on Telgu Dessam Party in Andhra Pradesh, Ph.D Thesis, Anantapur: SrikrishnaDevaraya University.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. P. 31

Nationalist Congress Party	Lok Jan Shakti Party (LJNSP)
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Source: Election Commission of Indian. Sep 26, 2018.

Note: The number of recognised parties keeps on changing on the basis of their performance. At present there are seven national parties and 47 state political parties in India.

## Regional Party:

“The rise of regional parties has been one of the most important political development in independent India. While in the last few years numerous works has been done on particular regional parties but few attempts have been made to analyse the factors underlying the rise of regional parties and the central role they have come to play”<sup>15</sup>. The rise of regional parties in India has been complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon and also should not be seen merely as a consequence or a by-product of regionalism rather as phenomena on its own rights<sup>16</sup>. In a country like India with vast diversity, where political fluidity continues indefinitely, many minor parties or parties of purely local or regional origin have emerged with local issues. The Election Commission of India (ECI), registers political parties for the purpose of elections and grants them recognition as ‘National’ or ‘State parties’ on the basis of their poll performance<sup>17</sup>. The criteria to determine whether a party is national or regional involves two factors in India: (1) the number of states in which it enjoy popular electoral support and (2) the percentage of votes polled by it in the state assembly and Lok Sabha elections. The first criteria is territorial and the second criteria is related to the popularity of the party. Further, “some scholars seeks to identify a regional party in terms of its ethnicity or religious cultural identity”<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Pai, S (1990), ‘Regional Parties and the Emerging Pattern of Politics in India’, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 51 (3): 13.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> The Election Commission of India recognise political parties as National and State parties based on their political performance and the other parties are simply declared as ‘registered-unrecognised’ parties. Hence ‘regional party’ is not a base of recognition in India.

[https://eci.nic.in/eci\\_main1/politicalparty.aspx](https://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/politicalparty.aspx)

<sup>18</sup> Ramalingappa, K (2011), *Regional Political Parties in India: A Study on Telgu Dessam Party in Andhra Pradesh*, Ph.D Thesis, Anantapur: SrikrishnaDevaraya University. pp 59-60.



## Coalition Politics

“The term ‘coalition’ as it is generally used in political science, is a direct descendent of the exigencies of a multi-party system in a democratic setup”<sup>19</sup>. Coalition politics is defined as an episode of multi-party government in which many parties joins hands for the objective of running the government, in absence of required majority to any single party in the elections.<sup>20</sup>. “A coalition government is a combination of heterogeneous socio-political elements which are susceptible to political turmoil and storms emerging from changing socio-political conditions and compulsions”<sup>21</sup>. The Indian political system after independence in 1947 was largely ruled or governed by one party, Indian National Congress till 1977 at the national level. Though Congress<sup>22</sup> lost power in few states after 1967 but on a large scale remained influential in the political domain of India. The first experience of coalition politics in India at national level was seen in 1977 when non-Congress forces united under the leadership of Morarji Desai in the name of Janata Party. Indian National Congress was defeated by Janata Party government in 1977 Lok Sabha elections and Morarji Desai became the first non-Congress Prime Minister of India. Since then coalition politics have become an intergral part of Indian Politics. In 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections BJP secured full majority in the parliament but still decided to offer important portfolios to the member of allied parties of NDA<sup>23</sup>.

Coalition politics have not only influenced the national politics but state politics have also adopted the same pattern to catch the power or remain in power in the state respectively<sup>24</sup>. The case of Bihar is one of the example of such coalition politics in India. The current ruling government in the state led by JD (U) is a coalition partner of

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K. Ramalingappa in his Ph.D. thesis titled ‘Regional Political Parties in India: A Study on Telgu Dessam Party in Andhra Pradesh’ have defined DMK, AIADMK, (represents Tamil Culture and Tamil Nationalism), SAD, BJD, AGP etc. as a regional party in India.

<sup>19</sup> Shetty, B.N (2009), Parties and Politics in Orissa: A Study of Biju Janta Dal, Ph.D Thesis, New Delhi: Jawahar Lal Nehru University.

<sup>20</sup> Coalition politics is a feature of multi-party system and the same conduct is not possible in a democracy based on one-party system.

<sup>21</sup> Patil, S.H (2001), ‘India’s Experiment with Coalition government at the federal level’, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 62 (4): 587.

<sup>22</sup> I have used Indian National Congress and Congress interchangeably in my dissertation.

<sup>23</sup> NDA (National Democratic Alliance) led by BJP and UPA (Union of Progressive Alliance) led by Indian National Congress are the two coalition symbols or platform of coalition politics in India.

<sup>24</sup> Few examples of coalition government in the state are BJP-Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, JD (U)-BJP in Bihar, INC-JD (S) in Karnataka etc. (June, 2019).

BJP since 1996. The current government is a coalition government of JD (U) and BJP in the state. In Oct, 2005 both the parties got majority to form government in the state by defeating the 15 year rule of Lalu Prasad Yadav and his party.

## **Rationale of the Study**

The origin, social base, leadership structure, ideology, programme & policies and electoral performance of JD (U) is the subject of the study. JD (U) was formed to challenge and change the RJD and Lalu-Rabri rule in Bihar which was often called as 'Jangal Raj'. Nitish Kumar before leaving Janat Dal in 1994 blamed Lalu Prasad Yadav to forget the ideas and lessons of Jai Prakash Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia as he was not making any positive move to full fill all the promises made to the people of Bihar at the Gnadhi Maidan after becoming the Chief Minister in 1990. This study seeks to examine the model of governance proposed and implemented by Nitish Kumar after becoming the Chief Minister of Bihar in 2005 which differs from the Lalu-Rabri rule in the state. Lalu Prasad Yadav was often criticised to promote his own caste in the party structure. This study also review the role of caste as a social base for JD (U)-BJP led government in the state. Nitish Kumar after his first term of Chief Minister was given the name of 'Susasan Kumar'. This study examines the model of development adopted by Nitish Kumar as Chief Minister from JD (U) to tackle the issue of corruption, law & order, education, employment etc. in the state from 2005 to 2015.

In modern democracy elections decides the nature of rule in the state. . Hence this study also examines the electoral performance of JD (U) from 2005 to 2015 and seeks to find out the various factors responsible for the electoral victory of JD (U)-BJP alliance in the state. Through electoral performance of the different political parties in the state, the study try to define the role of caste and development through the prism of party performance in the various elections. In the end this study explore the role of Nitish Kumar as a Chief Minister of state and as a member of JD (U).

## **Objectives of the Study:**

1. To trace the origin, development and nature of political rule in Bihar from 1990-2015.
2. To examine the emergence, growth, ideological stands, and patterns of leadership in JD (U) in Bihar.
3. To identify the mobilization strategies and electoral performance of JD (U) from 2005 to 2015 in the state assembly elections.

## **Research Questions:**

1. How Samta Party/JD (U) as a party emerged in the political scenario of Bihar after splitting with Janta Dal?
2. What are the important factors that lead to the victory of JD (U) from 2005-2015 state assembly election?
3. What is the role and contribution of Nitish Kumar in JD (U) as a party member and as a chief minister?
4. What are the major policies of JD (U) that changed socio-economic condition of Bihar from (2005-2015).

## **Research Methods:**

The method adopted in the study are descriptive and analytical. “A study classified as descriptive research attempts to describe systematically a situation, problem, phenomenon, service or program or provides information about, say, the living conditions of community, or to describes attitudes towards an issue”<sup>25</sup>. The basic purpose of such studies is to describe what is prevalent with respect to the problems/issues under study. The data of the study is based on secondary sources. Comparative analysis have been provided wherever necessary. The debates of the Bihar legislative assembly, letters written by political leaders of respective parties which have been published in the form of book and other literary work published on other political parties have been utilised to get important ideas and resources for the study. Contemporary newspaper & Magazine published related to the subject matter, have been also used to collect required information and data. Electoral outcomes have been also analysed including both national and state election of Bihar with the help of data obtained from the Election commission official website itself, as per the requirement of the study. Besides, some other relevant books and journals which deals with the state politics, Coalition politics and role of regional party in India, have been used for the study. Interview of the party representative was an option for the study to collect some primary information depending upon availability of time and resources, which I couldn't manage to do due to limited resources and time.

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<sup>25</sup> Kumar, R (2018), '*Research Methodology: A step by step Guide for Beginners*', Noida: Pearson India Education Services Pvt Ltd.

## Review of Literature:

The successful working of democracy in general and representative democracy in particular broadly depends on political parties. “One cannot assume democracy without political parties”<sup>26</sup>. Though, many political and social thinkers have talked and favoured party less democracy in the world but hardly got any acceptance in the contemporary political rule around the world. “The organized study of the sub fields of politics, for example parties and the party systems in the Indian states began in the mid-1960s, with two collective volumes by Myron Weiner and Iqbal Narain, which provided for the first time, a comprehensive history of the function of many states, their party system, economic condition, politico-administrative structure and pattern of leadership etc”<sup>27</sup>.

A number of studies by individual scholars were conducted on the politics of particular states. “While Zoya Hasan and Paul Brass conducted their studies on Uttar Pradesh, James Manor focused on the politics of Karnataka. Similarly while Jayanath Lele and Thomas Blom Hasnsen studied the politics of Maharashtra, Ghana Shyam Shah and Baldev Raj Nayyar etc., focused on Gujarat”<sup>28</sup>. “The collective volumes on state politics in the early 1980s by John R. Woods<sup>29</sup> clearly portrays the shift in focus from the National to state level politics, conceding to the latter an independent political space within the Indian Political System. This shift is visible in many significant studies conducted on Indian politics during 1980s and 1990s”.

“Atul Kohli studies on the effectiveness of different party regimes in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and in West Bengal in relation to poverty reduction”<sup>30</sup>. Atul Kohli in his comparative study concludes that “differences between the political regimes of different states do make a significant difference, especially to the adoption of pro-poor policies in the Indian context”. “The work of Rajni Kothari on Indian politics and the developing political pattern in the states provided a comprehensive analysis of political

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<sup>26</sup> Ramalingappa, K (2011), *Regional Political Parties in India: A Study on Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh*, Ph.D Thesis, Anantapur: SrikrishnaDevaraya University

<sup>27</sup> See Myron Weiner, ed. (1967), *Politics in the Indian States* Princeton: Princeton University Press.  
Iqbal Narain, ed. (1967), *State Politics in India* Meerut: Meenakshi Publications.

<sup>28</sup> Harriss, J. "Comparing Political Regimes Across Indian States: A Preliminary Essay", *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 27, 1999, pp. 3367-76.

<sup>29</sup> Wood, J.R. (1984) *State Politics in Contemporary India Crisis or continuity?* London: Westview Press.

<sup>30</sup> See Kohli, A (1987) *The Poverty and Politics of reform*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press,

process in India”<sup>31</sup>. “His framework of ‘one party dominance’ however, did not suit all the states and, moreover, the form and substances of one party dominance in the states were not studies on a comparative basis”<sup>32</sup>.

The emergence of regional parties after 1967 and the formation of coalition government at both national and state level became yet another important development which attracted the attention of many scholars. The development of regional parties as a coalition partner in some states and sharing power increased the legitimacy of the regional parties as well as the importance of their study. “The coalition governments in the states were studied from the perspective of the issue involved in their nature of functioning”<sup>33</sup>. “But these studies did not make any in-depth study of the regional parties from the perspective of their intra-regional imbalance and contextual dimension”<sup>34</sup>. “E. Sridharan has studied the relevance of Multi-party minority governments in India and has defined the nature of Coalition politics since independence”<sup>35</sup>. E. Sridharan has defined all the coalition in India since 1996 as inter-state territorial coalition that is between parties based in different states. In his view the period since 1991 has also seen intra-state alliance based on ideology (BHP-Shiv Sena) and based on territorial compatibility of three kinds.

- “Of the three, the first are Intra-state alliances in which regional party allies with national party with the former getting most of both Lok Sabha and state assembly seats”<sup>36</sup>.
- “The Second is the reverse of the first pattern, viz., an alliance between a minor state party and a national party in which the latter gets the most of both Lok

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<sup>31</sup> Rajni Kothari has written several excellent articles and books important among them are: "Form and substance in Indian Politics", *Economic Weekly* (Bombay), 29 April to 10 June 1961; "The Congress System in India", *Asian Survey*, (Berkeley), IV (12), Dec 1964; "Developing Political Pattern" *Seminar*, (New Delhi) Feb 1962 and June 1962; *Politics in India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi 1970.

<sup>32</sup> Kumar, S (1981) "State Politics: A trend Report, Political Process", *Survey of Research in Political Science*, ICSSR, New Delhi, Allied. p. 100.

<sup>33</sup> Shetty, B.N (2009), *Parties and Politics in Orissa: A Study of Biju Janta Dal*, Ph.D Thesis, New Delhi: Jawahar Lal Nehru University.

<sup>34</sup> See Iqbal Narain, ed. (1967), *'State Politics in India'* Meerut: Meenakshi Publications. P. 20.

<sup>35</sup> See Sridharan, E (2014), *'Coalition Politics in India: Selected Issues at the Centre and States'*, Academic Foundation.

<sup>36</sup> To define the first kind of coalition E. Sridharan gives the examples of BJP-AIADMK- smaller parties in 1998 and 2004, the BJP-DMK- smaller parties in 1999, Congress-DMK- smaller parties in 2004, the BJP-TDP in 1999 and 2004, the BJP-Trinamul Congress in 1999 and 2004, BJP-BJD in Odisha 1998, 1999 and 2004, RJD-Congress in 2004 and JD (U)-BJP in 2004.

Sabha and state assembly seats, the key being territorial compatibility in which the national party does not contest in its ally's inter-state strongholds"<sup>37</sup>.

- The third type is the intra-state alliance in which the regional party contests fewer Lok Sabha seats and more state assembly seats and its national party ally vice versa (BJP-Shiv Sena).

“The clear emphasis of coalitions has been on territorial compatibility even at the expense of ideological compatibility, particularly the BJP's alliance of 1998, 1999, and 2004 and the Congress alliances of 2004 and 2009 but even the United Front (UF) coalition of 1996”<sup>38</sup>.

Similarly Sanjay Kumar has defined the coalition politics in Bihar from ‘One-Party Dominance to Bipolarity to Uncertainty’<sup>39</sup>. He proposed two factors responsible for the emergence of coalition politics in India. First, the emergence of state parties popularly referred to as regional parties and second the decline of the Congress party which with few exceptions remained a dominant political force till the early 1990s. He defines coalition politics as inevitable in the Indian political situation in an era of multi-party contest. ‘The beginning of coalition politics in Bihar can be seen in the year of 1967, which Sanjay Kumar has defined as the second phase of Bihar politics’<sup>40</sup>, first being from 1952-1967, which nearly saw hegemonic single-party majority rule of the Congress. The second phase in his view was marked by extreme political instability, with the formation of as many as nine governments of different political parties in a period of about six years<sup>41</sup>. Sanjay Kumar consider the early 1990s phase as a phase of consolidation of anti-Congress forces under the JD, the phase of late 1990s, he saw as a new phase in the politics of the state marked by the splitting of the anti-Congress forces. Lalu Prasad Yadav and his party, the JD and later RJD from 1997 onwards, have lead the coalition governments from

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<sup>37</sup> The second type of coalition examples are the BJP-Lok Shakti in Karnataka in 1998 and 1999, the BJP-Samata in Bihar over 1996-1999, the BJP-HVC in HP, and the Congress-JMM smaller parties in 2004.

<sup>38</sup> Sridharan, E (2014), ‘*Coalition Politics in India: Selected Issues at the Centre and States*’, Academic Foundation.

<sup>39</sup> See chapter 5 of E. Sridharan (2014), ‘*Coalition Politics in India: Selected Issues at the Centre and States*’, Academic Foundation.

<sup>40</sup> Sanjay Kumar has divided the political history of Bihar broadly into four phases. First between 1952 to 1967; second between 1967 to 1972 and third between 1972 to 1990 and finally from 1990 till today.

<sup>41</sup> See chapter 5 of E. Sridharan (2014), ‘*Coalition Politics in India: Selected Issues at the Centre and States*’, Academic Foundation. P. 176.

1990 to 2005 in Bihar assembly. The emergence of Nitish Kumar as the Chief Minister of Bihar was a result of coalition of JD (U)-BJP in the state since 1996 parliamentary election<sup>42</sup>. JD (U)-BJP coalition in Bihar defeated the fifteen year rule of Lalu Prasad Yadav in 2005 and since then have remained in power except from 2013 to 2017<sup>43</sup>.

“The politics of Bihar defies any simplistic prediction as it is one of the state that is down in the development index but very high in political consciousness”<sup>44</sup>. In the decades following India’s independence, the Indian National Congress, mostly led by upper castes, ruled Bihar. The anti-Emergency movement led by Jai Prakash Narayan proved to be a turning point of caste alliance in Bihar. The victory of Janata Dal in 1990 state assembly election gave path to the rise of OBC politics in Bihar under the leadership of Lalu Prasad Yadav and Nitish Kumar, both representing two different communities in Bihar- the Yadavs and Kurmis respectively. Manindra Thakur in his paper titled ‘Complexity of Bihar Politics’ published in EPW, states that ‘the two faction of the OBC remained united in politics until the upper caste remained an important player in the state but once the upper caste were out from the fray, the rivalry between them began and both the disciples of Lohia and Jai Prakash Narayan formed separate blocs of caste groups’. He emphasises on the caste alliances of different political parties in Bihar. In his opinion the Congress party which ruled the state for long time has lost its social base. Especially the support of upper caste shifted to BJP as parties based on OBC identity built their rhetoric on upper caste bashing and the Congress had no capacity to save them from this onslaught. The slogans like “Bhura bal saaf karo” by Lalau Prasad Yadav meaning Eliminate Bhumihar, Rajput, Brahmin and Lala from politics and later on “Bhumihar ko saaf karo, Brahmin ko half karo and Lala ko maaf karo” meaning (Finish Bhumihar, accommodate Brahmins partially and forgive Lala) challenged the domination of upper caste in Bihar.

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<sup>42</sup> In 1996 Samata-BJP alliance had fought parliamentary election together. In 2003 Samata-JD (U) merged and formed a single party JD (U). Since Nitish Kumar is the current national president of JD (U), I have included the coalition of Samata-BJP under the category of JD (U)-BJP alliance.

<sup>43</sup> In 2013 Nitish Kumar broke alliance with BJP and fought assembly election of 2015 as the coalition partner of RJD & Congress but in 2017 both the parties again came in power as a coalition partner.

<sup>44</sup> Thakur, M (2019) ‘The Complexity of Bihar Politics’, *Economic & Political Weekly*, (54) 19:14.



After the collapse of Congress, RJD emerged as the major party in Bihar under the leadership of Lalu Prasad Yadav. In a bid to consolidate his position in the state unit of Janata Dal, he nominated 100 Yadavs as a candidate in the 1990 state assembly election out of 270 seats and he was very open and vocal about perpetuating Yadavization. Sanjay Kumar defines the period post 1990s as the period of emergence of OBC politics in the state under the leadership of Lalu Prasad Yadav and Nitish Kumar. Lalu Prasad Yadav in his autobiography<sup>45</sup> condemns the allegations of perpetuating the Yadavization in party structure and state politics and states that “I gave voice to the poor people, they call it Gunda raj” (garibon ko di awaz to usko kaha Gunda raj).

According to Sankarshan Thakur, Nitish Kumar on the other hand was very reluctant to expose himself to any caste group<sup>46</sup>. He was very reluctant to go to the Kurmi Chetna Maha Rally<sup>47</sup> due to his aversion to caste politics but he feared that Kurmi will declare him as an outcaste if he does not stand with the people of his own caste at this time when Lalu Prasad Yadav was promoting the Yadavs in the JD. The coalition of JD (U)-BJP became a symbol of anti-Lalu mobilization in Bihar and both the parties were successful to consolidate the vote of Koeri-Kurmi in favour of Nitish Kumar and Upper caste support for BJP. Sanjay Kumar has highlighted the shift in the voting pattern of different caste in Bihar post 1990s elections<sup>48</sup>.

Though the phenomenon of casteism has been much more pronounced in Bihar than in any other state of India as stated by Sumitra Kumar Jian, the electoral result of 2010 assembly election changed the view point of many political commentators. Sanjay Kumar states that “Many political commentators who summarized the electoral politics in Bihar in the past, simply in terms of caste-based voting, now concluded that the 2010 assembly election were only about development and nothing else”<sup>49</sup>. Nitish Kumar received praise for his development from all over the

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<sup>45</sup> Lalu Prasad Yadav has written his autobiography ‘Gopalganj to Raisina: My political Journey as a co-author with Nalin Verma.

<sup>46</sup> See Thakur, S (2014), ‘Single Man: The Life & Times of Nitish Kumar of Bihar’, Noida: Harper Collins. P. 144

<sup>47</sup> A huge Kurmi Chetna Maha Rally was organised on February 12, 1994 in the Gandhi Maidan as the symbol of political protest and to show political might and strength.

<sup>48</sup> See Kumar, S (2018), ‘*Post Mandal Politics in Bihar: Changing Electoral Patterns*’, New Delhi: Sage Publication India Pvt Ltd. p. 180.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p. 210.

country even many neighbour countries were very much influenced by his development model. Anil Singh has published the comment of Pakistan's High Commissioner Salman Bashir who praised Bihar development model as very impressive and he also called that there is great interest in Pakistan about the work done in Bihar on the social and economic front<sup>50</sup>. Though the debate between Caste vs Development has not ended yet due to different pattern of voting behaviour of individual in Bihar. The 2015 assembly election result consolidated the caste and development factor together and neglected the role of BJP in the state against the JD (U)-RJD-Congress alliance. A year before the Lok Sabha election had shown a different result in which BJP alone secured 22 seats and JD (U) on the other hand could win only 2. The 2019 Lok Sabha election saw the coalition of JD (U)-BJP, which resulted into massive victory in the state as the alliance secured 39 seats out of 40.

The systematic explanation of any event, phenomenon or development requires a vast majority of literature. While many books, articles, columns and paper have been published on Nitish Kumar's political journey and his model of political rule in Bihar, the origin and development of Janata Dal (United) have not been given much emphasis in academic world in my limited knowledge of literature. Hence much literature talk about the Nitish Kumar's journey from an Engineer in Patna Science College to Chief Minister of Bihar. The first major work found in this category was "Nitish Kumar and the rise of Bihar" written by Arun Sinha in 2011. Arun Sinha basically talk about Nitish Kumar's political journey from Bakhtiyarpur to ther Chief Minister of Bihar<sup>51</sup>. On the similar pattern Sankarshan Thakur has tried to explain Nitish Kumar 'different phase of life and also explained the changes that he could witness after Nitish Kumar became the Chief Minister of Bihar. Sankarshan Thakur in his book 'Single Man: The Life and Times of Nitish Kumar of Bihar' presents Nitish Kumar's personal life and his personality before becoming the Chief Minister of Bihar and later how his personal belief and ideology had made an impact on his political carrier. Santosh Singh's book 'Bihar: Ruled or Misruled' also focuses on the two veteran leader of Bihar, Lalu Prasad Yadav and Nitish

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<sup>50</sup> See Singh, A (2013), 'See Anil Singh (2013), 'Bihar: Chaos to Chaos', New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications Pvt Ltd.

<sup>51</sup> See Sinha, A. (2011), 'Nitish Kumar and Rise of Bihar', New Delhi: Penguin Books India Pvt Ltd.

Kumar and through their political journey also try to answer the question of 'Ruled' or 'Misruled'.

Lalu Prasad Yadav in his autobiography "Gopalganj to Raisina: My Political Journey" dedicated one chapter to Nitish Kumar in which he has called him 'Younger Brother Nitish'. In this chapter Lalu Prasad Yadav criticises Nitish Kumar and call him opportunist, who compromised with ideology after joining hands with BJP in the state for the sake of power.

To understand the politics of Bihar post 1990s, the book written by Sanjay Kumar "Post-Mandal Politics in Bihar: Changing Electoral Patterns" is very helpful. In this book Sanjay Kumar explain the origin and development of OBC politics in Bihar first under the leadership of Lalu Prasad Yadav and later under Nitish Kumar. He has systematically explained the various elections and pattern of voting in the state and also explained the leadership structure within different parties in the state. The role of caste, development and charismatic personality of Lalu Prasad Yadav and Nitsish Kumar have been very well explained to understand the political, economic and social nature of Bihar.

The studies discussed above have no doubt, contributed in our understanding of political rule in Bihar especially after 1990 but the systematic explanation of origin, social base, leadership structure, ideology, programme and polices of JD (U) was missing. In earlier writings much emphasises was given to Congress rule and later RJD rule in Bihar and few attempts was made to analyse the role of JD (U) in Bihar. Though many writings are found on Nitish Kumar but not much can be said about JD (U). The present work is a humble attempt to provide a systematic comprehensive picture of all important aspects of JD (U) in Bihar.