

Chapter-5

Conclusions

The politics of Bihar has been divided mainly into three phases which describes and defines a different phenomenon of politics in the state. The first phase ranging from 1951 to 1999, of the four decades belonged to Indian National Congress. The second phase (1990-1997 & 1997-2005) of 15 years, belonged to Janata Dal and Rashtriya Janata Dal respectively, of which Lalu Prasad Yadav was the main political actor. The third and the current phase of Bihar politics which continues till date starts with the victory of JD (U)-BJP alliance in October, 2005 assembly election. The three phase of Bihar politics reflects three different paradigms of government and governance in the state. The first phase of politics in the state was highly dominated by upper caste in Congress's 40 year rule in Bihar (See table 2.1 for list of Chief Minister from Congress Party in the state). This phase also reflects the conflict within party structure of Congress, which resulted into frequent change of Chief Ministers in the state from Congress party till 1990 (Table 2.1 also reflects the duration of government in the state during Congress rule). After Sri Krishna Sinha, no Chief Minister in the state under Congress rule could serve his full terms of office (See table 2.1, after Sri Krishna Sinha, it was Lalu Prasad Yadav who served his full term as Chief Minister of Bihar from Janata Dal).

The Second phase of Bihar politics brings Other Backward Class into main stream of state politics with the rise of Janata Dal at both national and state level. This phase saw the rise of Lalu Prasad Yadav as the charismatic leader of Bihar, who became the Chief Minister of state for two terms representing Janata Dal. The influence of OBC in Bihar politics could be seen in the party structure of Janata Dal and Rashtriya Janata Dal respectively during this phase. The allegation of 'Fodder Scam' against Lalu Prasad Yadav led to his resignation from Janata Dal in Bihar and became one of the influential reason for the emergence of RJD in Bihar. Rabri Devi became the first women Chief Minister of Bihar from Rashtriya Janata Dal and continued till 2005. An uneducated Chief Minister representing least educated state in the country was one of the significant aspect of this phase. Bihar was recognised as the '*BIMARU*' state in the country due to

lack of attention and effort from government to improve the socio-economic condition in the state.

The third phase of state politics starts with the victory of JD (U)-BJP alliance in October, 2005 assembly elections. Nitish Kumar emerged as the face of NDA in the state and was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Bihar in 2005. In the beginning of this phase Nitish Kumar had focused on improving the law & order which later shifted on bringing economic prosperity to the state. Due to his effort to bring socio-economic prosperity in the state, he was referred as '*Sushasan Kumar*'. Many political commentators refereed assembly election of 2010 as the 'election fought on development than caste', which was very significant for political culture of the state which is referred to be highly politicised by caste. The rise of JD (U)-BJP alliance and decline of RJD, Congress and LJNSP were significant measures of this phase. A twist and turn that was referred by many as 'paradigm Shift' in state politics of Bihar, was the alliance between JD (U)-RJD and Congress, popularly referred as *Mahagathbandhan* (Grand Allinace) before 2015 assembly elections. The Grand Alliance defeated BJP led NDA alliance in the assembly election of 2015 and formed the government in the state but after two years of governance, Nitish Kumar decided to go back to his old allies partner BJP in 2017.

The study of Janata Dal (United) has been based on three objectives, based on which conclusion of this study have been drawn. Primarily this study focuses on the emergence of JD (U) in Bihar with explanation of different events and measures taken during that time which shaped the party structure, ideology and leadership. The study also focuses on the role of Nitish Kumar in formation of JD (U) and how his decisions and personal experiences of political and social events has helped him to shape the party structure and goals since 1994. Nitish Kumar has been seen by someone as the face of development in Bihar while others call him 'a leader of opportunity'. Electoral performance of any party shape the future of its existence in political arena of a country or state. This study examines the electoral performance of JD (U) from 2005 to 2015 to understand the role of party in bringing change or keeping status quo in the state. Based on above mentioned points, I have tried to bring conclusion of this study which shouldn't be taken as either as definite or even as authoritative because I dealt with an entity, which is nascent and still growing. Some broad conclusions drawn from this analysis are given followings:

- a. Janata Dal (United) emerged as a product of political developments at both the national and state level. The ideological orientation and emergence of JD (U) have been largely influenced by anti-Emergency movement and formation of Janata Party at the centre in 1977. This phase gave new direction to many regional parties to come forward to challenge Congress both at centre and in the state. Emergence of Janata Dal in Bihar was one such example. At state level, first emergence of Janata Dal in 1990 and later disagreement with Lalu Prasad Yadav and split from JD in 1994 gave rise to Samata/JD (U) in Bihar. The coalition with BJP before 1996 Lok Sabha election led to the foundation of JD (U)-BJP coalition government in the state. The split of Janata Dal in 1999 led to the formation of JD (S) led by H.D Dev Gowda and JD (U) led by Sharad Yadav. The merger of Samata-JD (U) accepted the leadership of Nitish Kumar and fought 2005 assembly election with coalition partner BJP and emerged as victorious in October, 2005 & 2010 assembly election. Janata Dal (United) contested 2015 assembly election as the coalition partner of Congress and RJD after breaking 17 years of alliance with BJP in 2013. However both the party (JD (U)-BJP) allied again in 2017 to form NDA government in the state. Though Nitish Kumar's politics have been influenced by ideological stand of JP and Lohia but he looks more pragmatic to understand the role of caste in Bihar Politics to remain in power.
- b. As far as the question of social base of JD (U) is concerned, it suffers from a dualistic approach. Nitish Kumar separated himself from Janata Dal in 1994 by blaming Lalu Prasad Yadav to favour one particular caste in the party structure and neglecting the voices of masses and principles of JP, Lohia and Karpoori Thakur. But he started his rivalry against Lalu Prasad Yadav in a rally organised by people of his caste i.e. *Kurmi Chetna Rally* in Gandhi Maidan. Later he joined hands with BJP which was emerging as the party of upper caste in the state. The alliance of JD (U)-BJP has been successful in mobilising anti-Lalu sentiments in Bihar with the support of upper caste to BJP and Koeri-Kurmi support to Nitish Kumar. The assembly election of 2010 however can be called an election which was more fought on the issue of development than caste. People of Bihar favoured Nitish Kumar model of development and rejected the coalition of RJD-LJNSP in that election. However in the assembly election of 2015, Nitish Kumar couldn't fight election alone seeing the 2014 Lok Sabha

results. He aligned with his long rival RJD and Congress to throw BJP out of picture in the state. What Nitish saw in RJD and Congress was an equation of caste and nothing else.

- c. The important factors for the growth of JD (U) can be analysed under followings points. First, the anti-incumbency against Lalu-Rabri's 15 year of rule in Bihar. Second, the alliance of JD (U)-BJP in the state received support from the upper caste and other marginalised sections of the society except Yadavs, which remained loyal to RJD in Bihar. Third, the clean image of Nitish Kumar as the face of JD (U)-BJP alliance also helped in the growth of the party. The above mentioned factors were responsible for the first victory of JD (U)-BJP alliance in the October assembly election of 2005. After five year of rule in the state, JD (U) under Nitish Kumar received praises from all over the world for liberating state from 'Jungel-Raj' by improving law & order in the state and also for focusing on improving the economic growth of the state. The model of development launched by Nitish Kumar improved the economic condition of Bihar which helped him to construct highways and bridges in the state. Many political commentators were with the opinion that assembly election of 2010 were won by model of development rather than equation of caste. Currently Nitish Kumar government in the state is focusing to improve the condition of education, health, water supply, open defecation with various programmes and policies. The seven determination taken by current government to fulfil the resolution of 'Development with Justice' are: 1. *Aarthik Hal, Yuwaon ko Bal* 2. *Aarakshit Rojgar, Mahilaon Ka Adhikar* (there will be arrangements for 35 percent horizontal reservation for women for all governments' services-direct positions on all levels of cadre and all types of posts. Bihar is the first state to do it) 3. *Har Ghar, Bijli Lagatar* (24 hours electricity to every household) 4. *Har Ghar, Nal ka Jal* 5. *Har Ghar Pakki Gali Naliyan* 6. *Sochalay Nirman, Ghar ka Samman* (free of open defecation) 7. *Awasar Badhe, Aage Padhe* (Set up new medical colleges, nursing colleges, ANM schools etc.).
- d. Leadership signifies the role of providing direction, guidance and coordination to a group, organization or a country. Thus those leaders are defined as influential who exercise great casual impact on social events. Leadership in Janata Dal (United) have been centred around Nitish Kumar since the merger of Samata-JD (U) in 2003. Sharad Yadav remained national president of the party

before handing over the responsibility to Nitish Kumar in 2016. George Fernandes was another important leader of Samata party and Nitish Kumar had rebelled against Lalu Prasad Yadav in 1994 by taking Fernandes in his side. Political leaders like Ram Vilas Paswan, Upendra Kushwaha, and Jitan Ram Manjhi were once part of JD (U) but later formed their own party in Bihar. Since Nitish Kumar was chosen as the face of JD (U) in Bihar, there are differences of opinion on his role and contribution in Bihar politics. While some call him Sushasan Kumar, other levelled him as the leader of opportunity who pursue his self-serving agenda. From his student life unlike Lalu, Nitish Kumar was very systematic in his speech and approach to certain things. He was a true follower of Lohia's ideology and was equally influenced by Jai Prakash Narayan and Karpoori Thakur. He didn't get much fame and success like Lalu Prasad Yadav during his student life and later in political career. But he stayed with his originality of understanding politics, not from the prism of caste but from idea of equality and justice. He was not very open towards his caste association but attended *Kurmi Chetna Rally* to revel against Lalu Prasad Yadav in Bihar. He never looked for his personal achievement but always saw his progress with development of Bihar. During an award show in 2009, he said to all the businessmen present there "If you can't make investment in Bihar, I don't see any benefit in coming here again". While at one side he has been labelled as '*Vikas Purush*', '*Sushasan Kumar*' by many political leaders and political commentators, on the other hand he has been blamed to betray all his colleagues who once started their political career with him. Lalu Prasad Yadav is first among them who in his autobiography called him as 'A clever operator in power politics, Nitish always looked for the right opportunity to get into positions of power to pursue his self-serving agenda, he was and is, committed to opportunism, never to socialism or secularism'. Similarly Ram Vilas Paswan also blamed Nitish Kumar for leaving NDA in 20002. The exit of Sharad Yadav from JD (U) in 2017 must have been a setback for Nitish Kumar. Sharad Yadav who served three time as the national president of JD (U) also blamed Nitish Kumar for his exit from the party. Political opponents from time to time also called Nitish 'an opportunist' who always want to be with power.

- e. An analysis of electoral performance of JD (U) in Bihar from 2005 to 2015 shows that, the alliance of JD (U)-BJP were successful in mobilising the anti-

Lalu-Rabri sentiments in Bihar with the model of development of Nitis Kumar. Many factors worked in favour of JD (U)-BJP which have been already explained above.

- f. The current scenario of Bihar politics favours the JD (U)-BJP alliance after 2019 Lok Sabha results and the alliance is expected to form government in the state again in the upcoming assembly election of 2020. RJD and Congress is lacking leadership in Bihar and may face setback again. The other political parties like RLSP and HAM may play an important role if no party or coalition get majority in the state.

In the end I would like to discuss few points which are important for further studies and which remained unanswered in this work. First, why JD (U) like BJD or TDP could not win election in Bihar without making any coalition with other major party of the state? The compulsion for JD (U) to make an alliance in the state to get majority in my opinion challenges the significance and role of JD (U) and its leadership in Bihar politics. A comparative analysis of these three parties (JD (U), BJD & TDP) with references to political cultures of the respective states will be helpful to understand this question.

The second point which remained unanswered, is the leadership in JD (U) after Nitish Kumar. The study of formal and informal method, process & structure working within the party to decide leadership may give the answer to the above proposed question.

Third and last question is, to understand the impact of Policies and Programmes on voter's turnout in favour of JD (U) from 2005 to 2015 and further, depends on the period of study. Caste has remained an influential factor in all elections of Bihar but recent electoral performance of BJP in Lok Sabha shows a different results which denies so much talk of caste influence in the state. However electoral results of Lok Sabha and state assembly vary but a study may find out the impact on voters to favour any party based on policies and programs.