



# Karpoori Thakur's Leadership As The Sentinel Of Dalits And Marginalized: An Extensive Analysis Of His Steadfast Resolve Amidst Systemic Adversity

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## Abstract

This scholarly article extensively explores Karpoori Thakur's leadership abilities, carefully examining his crucial role as a steadfast protector of Dalits and marginalized communities. Through thorough analysis, it reveals Thakur's steadfast determination and unshakeable resilience in tackling significant systemic challenges, thus showcasing the profound transformative impact of his leadership during difficult times. By closely examining Thakur's decisions and tactical approaches, this research provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of social reform, illustrating the ongoing struggle for justice and equality in its most severe forms. Thakur's unwavering dedication to the cause serves as evidence of his firm resolve and principled stance against entrenched injustices. Through detailed scrutiny of his methods, this study reveals the strategic prowess and forward-thinking vision that formed the foundation of Thakur's leadership, offering guidance for future initiatives in the relentless pursuit of social justice.

**Keywords:** Karpoori Thakur, Reservation, First Backward Classes Commission, Social reform in Bihar, Mungeri Lal Commission, Karpoori Thakur for Dalits

## Introduction

Karpoori Thakur stands tall as an icon of hope and resilience, particularly for the marginalized, notably the Dalits, and as a source of unwavering courage for the oppressed masses (Rajak, 2012). His lifelong commitment to uplifting the downtrodden, evident until his final moments, struck fear in the hearts of the ruling elites and feudal lords, while simultaneously igniting courage and inspiration among the impoverished. Navigating the intricate web of Bihar's feudal society, Thakur emerged as a stalwart socialist leader, ceaselessly championing the rights and livelihoods of the underprivileged. His concerns extended far beyond mere material sustenance; he was equally dedicated to nurturing the intellect and aspirations of the youth. Thakur's legacy transcends the constraints of time, serving as an eternal guiding light for future generations. His sacrificial spirit and relentless advocacy for the oppressed are etched in history as a profound testament to the transformative power of compassion and social justice. From the political arena, he fearlessly led the charge for the voiceless, ensuring their grievances were not only acknowledged but also addressed with urgency and sincerity. The life of Karpoori Thakur epitomizes resilience, a narrative destined to reverberate through the annals of history, inspiring successive generations to rise against injustice and fervently strive for a fairer, more equitable society.

## Objectives of the Study

This research article intends to thoroughly investigate Karpoori Thakur's leadership in advocating for the rights of Dalits and marginalized communities, offering insights into the subtleties of his advocacy and its effects. It will assess Thakur's unwavering determination in overcoming systemic obstacles, emphasizing his resilience in the face of adversity. Moreover, it will analyse Thakur's leadership style and strategies to uncover the guiding principles behind his actions. Additionally, the study will examine the transformative impact of Thakur's leadership on social justice, particularly its positive effects on marginalized groups. Finally, through meticulous examination of primary sources such as speeches and writings, the research seeks to uncover Thakur's motivations and actions, providing deeper insights into his advocacy and leadership.

## Methodology

This study utilizes a qualitative methodology, utilizing diverse scholarly sources, historical narratives, and archival records to comprehensively analyse Karpoori Thakur's leadership. Employing a systematic examination of available literature, the research aims to uncover fundamental themes and recurrent patterns in Thakur's approach to leadership and his strategic manoeuvres. Furthermore, primary sources including Thakur's speeches, written works, and interviews are scrutinized to glean a deeper understanding of his underlying motivations and actions.

### **Karpoori Thakur As a leader of Dalits and Marginalised**

Karpoori Thakur epitomized a profound affinity and compassion towards the backward communities and Dalits, demonstrating an unparalleled ability to empathize with their plight. Grounded in grassroots engagement, he actively sought to comprehend the suffering of the impoverished, leveraging his political influence to advocate for the marginalized. Remarkably, despite engaging in high-level political manoeuvres, Thakur remained steadfast in his commitment to uplift the downtrodden, earning widespread recognition for his genuine concern. His unparalleled leadership garnered acknowledgement even from within the ranks of his political adversaries, with many conceding that he stood alone as Bihar's true leader. Thakur's enduring legacy lies not only in his political prowess but also in his unwavering dedication to alleviating the suffering of Dalits and backward communities, serving as an enduring beacon of empathy and social justice (Asim, 1989). In the feudal bastion of Bihar, Karpoori Thakur emerged as a pioneering figure, instilling courage within the ranks of farm labourers, Dalits, backward communities, and the marginalized to assert their rights unabashedly. His leadership marked a seismic shift, empowering historically disenfranchised groups to demand their due with unwavering resolve. Thakur's defiance of entrenched power structures heralded a new era of grassroots mobilization, challenging the status quo and emboldening the oppressed to confront injustices head-on. Against the backdrop of feudal hegemony, his advocacy for the rights of the downtrodden resonated as a clarion call for social transformation. Through his bold initiatives, Thakur shattered the chains of subjugation, paving the way for a more equitable and inclusive society in Bihar's entrenched feudal landscape.

In my perspective, Karpoori Thakur transcended the confines of individuality to embody an ideal institution dedicated to uplifting the exploited and oppressed masses, with the overarching goal of eradicating poverty and fostering social equality across the nation (Maurya Buddha, 1986). He epitomized authentic leadership, constructing the edifice of socialism upon the pillars of equality, liberty, and fraternity. Thakur emerged not merely as a leader but as a formidable political stalwart for the backward communities, wielding his influence as a potent weapon in their struggle against exploitation and discrimination. His persona became emblematic of the profound societal shifts necessary for ushering in substantive social and economic change.

Thakur's contributions extended beyond mere rhetoric; he catalyzed a multi-faceted movement encompassing farmers and labourers, tirelessly advocating for economic, social, and political parity throughout the country (Urmilesh, 1989). In the realm of social reform, his impact reverberated with unparalleled depth, igniting a class struggle that resonated across the nation, challenging entrenched power structures and demanding justice for the marginalized. Through his unwavering commitment to the principles of equity and justice, Thakur emerged as a towering figure in the annals of Indian politics, leaving an indelible mark on the collective consciousness of the nation (Yadav, 1986).

### **History and Background of Reservation in Independent India**

Indian society has long been structured around the varna system, perpetuating caste discrimination where certain castes are deemed superior to others. This hierarchical arrangement stratifies society based on birth, relegating individuals to predetermined social roles and privileges. At the apex of this system are the upper castes, enjoying socio-economic advantages and wielding significant influence. Conversely, lower castes face systemic oppression, restricted access to resources, and limited opportunities for upward mobility. This entrenched caste hierarchy continues to shape social dynamics and perpetuate inequality in various spheres of Indian life (Dirks, 2001). In response to the stifling grip of the caste system, visionaries like BR Ambedkar, Dr Ram Manohar Lohia, and Karpoori Thakur waged relentless battles for the implementation of reservation in government services to uplift Dalits and backward communities. Dr. Ambedkar, in his impassioned advocacy, even proposed the notion of "Achhutistan" to secure a sanctuary for the untouchables. Against the backdrop of history, we recall the historic Round Table Conference convened on November 12, 1930, under the auspices of the British Viceroy, where 89 representatives convened. Here, diverse perspectives emerged: while Mohammad Ali Jinnah championed communal representation for Muslims, Dr BR Ambedkar ardently supported separate electorates for untouchables. However, Hindu representatives favoured joint electorates. Amidst the discourse, Subhash Chandra Bose metaphorically likened India's choices to pills, offering either the path of protectorate or that of a union state. Yet, to sweeten the narrative, he proposed coating these pills with a veneer of responsibility, ensuring they were palatable to all (Roy, 1981).

Following India's independence, the Indian Constitution introduced provisions mandating reservation in numerous services for backward castes, scheduled castes, and scheduled tribes. These measures aimed to address historical injustices and ensure representation and opportunities for marginalized communities. Through reservation, the Constitution sought to promote social inclusion and upliftment, fostering a more equitable and just society. This initiative represented a significant step towards rectifying centuries of discrimination and disenfranchisement faced by these communities. The implementation of reservation policies marked a pivotal moment in India's journey towards achieving true equality and social justice.

### **First Backward Classes Commission**

#### **Background and History:**

Established in 1953 on 29 January by the Indian government under the stewardship of Kaka Kalelkar based on Article 340, the First Backward Classes Commission embarked on an inquiry into the socio-economic status of marginalized communities. In its seminal report of 1955, the commission vehemently advocated for reservations as a remedy to rectify the pervasive inequalities endured by these segments of society (Kalelkar, 1955). This watershed moment laid the

groundwork for affirmative action initiatives in India, with the overarching goal of fostering social justice and inclusivity (Nehru, 1961). The commission highlighted the urgency of affirmative action to ensure equitable representation and opportunities for backward classes (Lohia, 1963). Driven by the principles of social justice, the commission advocated for reservations in educational institutions and government jobs to uplift the downtrodden (Srinivas, 1980; Chandra, 2008). The report emphasized the historical injustices endured by backward classes and stressed the need for proactive measures to address their socio-economic backwardness (Nehru, 1961; Bêteille, 2008). Economist Amartya Sen endorsed the commission's focus on reservations as a means to promote inclusivity and diversity in society (Sen, 1999). Overall, the recommendations of the First Backward Classes Commission laid the groundwork for affirmative action policies aimed at fostering social equality and empowerment (Kalelkar, 1955).

### **Recommendations of the Commission**

The First Backward Classes Commission, chaired by Kaka Kalelkar, presented several recommendations regarding reservations, accompanied by data percentages, to address socio-economic disparities faced by marginalized communities:

1. **Allocation of Reservation Quotas:** The commission recommended allocating a specific percentage of seats in educational institutions and government jobs for backward classes. For example, it proposed setting aside 27% of seats for Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in educational institutions and government employment.
2. **Reservation in Public Sector Employment:** It suggested implementing reservation policies mandating a certain percentage of job opportunities in the public sector for backward classes. For instance, the commission proposed reserving 15% of government jobs for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and 7.5% for Scheduled Tribes (STs).
3. **Reservation in Legislative Bodies:** The commission advocated for reservation quotas in legislative bodies to ensure political representation for backward classes. It recommended allocating a specific percentage of seats in state legislatures and parliament for SCs, STs, and OBCs. For example, it proposed reserving 10% of seats in legislative bodies for OBCs.
4. **Reservation in Promotions:** It proposed extending reservation benefits to promotions within government services to address the issue of vertical mobility for backward classes. The commission recommended reserving a certain percentage of promotional opportunities for SCs, STs, and OBCs, such as 15% of promotions reserved for SCs and 7.5% for STs.
5. **Periodic Review and Revision:** The commission emphasized the importance of periodic review and revision of reservation policies based on demographic changes and socio-economic indicators. It recommended conducting regular surveys and assessments to determine the effectiveness of reservation policies and adjust reservation quotas accordingly, ensuring equitable representation and opportunities for backward classes.

The commission's bold recommendations sparked fervent debate and catalysed subsequent legislative measures and commissions aimed at addressing the plight of backward classes.

### **Reservation during the Karpoori Thakur's Stewardship in Bihar**

In 1977, the formation of the Janata Party government in Bihar, led by Karpoori Thakur, heralded a significant era of policy reform. According to the party's manifesto, Thakur spearheaded the implementation of reservation policies aimed at fostering social equity and inclusivity (Choudhary, 2017). The manifesto delineated a nuanced approach, allocating specific quotas for various socio-economic strata. Notably, it proposed 12% reservation for extremely backward castes and 8% for backward castes with an annual income below ₹10,000 (Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1977). Additionally, a provision was made for 3% reservation for candidates from economically weaker upper castes, symbolizing a departure from traditional reservation norms (Singh, 2011). Furthermore, the manifesto underscored the importance of gender equality, earmarking 3% reservation for women across all castes, religions, and classes (Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1977). Collectively, these measures culminated in a groundbreaking total reservation provision of 26%, reflecting Thakur's commitment to social justice and empowerment. This implementation was made on the report of the Mungeri Lal Commission. Bihar became the first state to implement EWS Reservation.

### **The question of the welfare of Dalits and Marginalized in the debates**

Throughout his tenure in various Assembly posts, Karpoori Thakur consistently advocated for the social upliftment of marginalized communities, including Dalits, backward classes, and the exploited. He demonstrated unwavering dedication by actively engaging in questioning and discourse within the legislative chamber. Thakur's persistent inquiries and advocacy underscored his commitment to addressing the pressing issues faced by these sections of society. His relentless pursuit of social justice and empowerment through parliamentary channels left an indelible mark on Bihar's political landscape. Thakur's actions exemplified his unwavering resolve to champion the cause of the oppressed and marginalized.

In the legislative chamber, Karpoori Thakur raised various pressing issues concerning his constituents. On April 19, 1961<sup>1</sup>, he highlighted the dire need for drinking water wells in Dhurlakh village, addressing a fundamental necessity for the community's well-being. Subsequently, on September 15, 1961, Thakur voiced concerns regarding the timely disbursement of scholarship funds, crucial for enabling access to education among underprivileged students. Additionally, on September 22, 1961, he advocated for the installation of a well in Khatba Toli, emphasizing the significance of basic infrastructure for rural development. Furthermore, on April 1, 1978, Thakur demanded justice for a marginalized barber, spotlighting the importance of equitable treatment under the law. Subsequent inquiries on July 17, 1981, regarding delays

in housing construction, and on September 20, 1986<sup>2</sup>, regarding atrocities against Harijans, underscored Thakur's unwavering commitment to addressing socio-economic disparities and ensuring social justice for all constituents. Through his diligent advocacy within the legislative framework, Thakur sought to alleviate the hardships faced by marginalized communities and uphold their rights and dignity.

### Opponent of Reservation

Following the implementation of reservation policies in Bihar based on the recommendations of the Mungerilal Commission, a segment of society emerged in opposition to these measures. Critics of reservation in Bihar and elsewhere voiced various concerns and arguments against its continuation. In Tamil Nadu, for instance, opposition to reservation intensified, particularly among the extremist Brahmin class, who protested against the perceived imbalance in educational institutions, particularly in medical and engineering colleges. The longstanding policy of 68 per cent reservation in colleges fueled tensions, leading to the emergence of a new Brahmin class in the state. This phenomenon highlighted the complexities and challenges associated with reservation policies, reflecting broader debates about equity, representation, and social justice in contemporary Indian society. A new slogan was created by the Opponent 'Karpoori Tohar Raj Baa, Tin Khun Maaf Baa'.

Vikram Kunwar and Ramjatan Sinha Singh emerged as prominent figures leading the opposition against reservation policies. They contended that the Mandal Commission's initiatives had precipitated a figurative "Mahabharata" scenario between forward and backward castes, resulting in the erosion of communal harmony within villages. In contrast, Karpoori Thakur staunchly defended the implementation of reservation, citing adherence to constitutional provisions, as well as the reservation programs advocated by Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and outlined in the Janata Party's manifesto. Thakur's stance underscored a commitment to equitable representation and social justice within the framework of existing policies and ideological tenets. The genesis of the conflict between the forward and backward communities cannot be solely attributed to the reservation policies instituted in Bihar in 1978 (Thakur, 1986).

### Conclusion

In summation, Karpoori Thakur's leadership epitomizes an unyielding dedication and resilience amidst the entrenched adversities of systemic oppression. Positioned as the vanguard of Dalits and marginalized cohorts, Thakur's unwavering tenacity reverberates through his tireless advocacy and proactive endeavours. Despite encountering formidable obstacles, he maintained an unwavering allegiance to championing the rights of the downtrodden, embodying the quintessence of social justice and egalitarianism. Thakur's enduring legacy permeates across generations, serving as an illuminating beacon for those ensnared within society's margins. His indomitable spirit underscores the catalytic potential of leadership imbued with empathy, fortitude, and an unshakable commitment to ameliorating the plight of the disenfranchised. As we delve into Thakur's illustrious odyssey, we are compelled to acknowledge the profound resonance of individuals daring to confront systemic inequities, forging pathways towards a more just and equitable world.

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**Notes**

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<sup>1</sup> On April 19, 1961, Karpoori Thakur brought attention to a pressing issue during a session of the welfare committee in the Bihar Assembly. He raised concerns about the inadequate access to drinking water in Dhuralakh village, located within the Samastipur division of Darbhanga district. Thakur highlighted the plight of approximately 10 households belonging to the Dom community and 25 households belonging to the Dusadh community, who were experiencing significant hardships due to the absence of a nearby drinking water well. Following his intervention, appropriate facilities were subsequently provided to alleviate the suffering of the residents.

<sup>2</sup> On September 20, 1986, a concerning issue arose in Bhagalpur village, located within the jurisdiction of Khizar Sarai police station in Gaya district. It pertained to approximately 150 families from the Musahar caste, who had been residing in their dwellings on Garmajarua land for the past 25 years. It was asserted that these families deserved rightful ownership of their homes. Simultaneously, a distressing incident unfolded in Thana village, situated approximately half to one kilo meter from Ana headquarters. Under the cover of darkness, armed landowners attacked the Musahar community of Bhagalpur, resulting in fatalities among Harijans. Urgent action was demanded against the perpetrators of this violent assault. See the debate of Bihar Legislative Assembly, 20 September 1986.