CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION
J.P. the undisputed Leader of the Country.
Lok Nayak J.P. represented all that was best in Gandhian thought and tradition. Next only to Gandhi and Nehru, he was the most idealized leader of both the classes and the masses of India. He was admired for his dedicated service for the cause of his country's liberties from foreign rule and emancipation of the poor masses. He was also a profound thinker and scholar whose study of socialism and sarvodaya was praiseworthy in the modern world. He inherited all the ancient wisdom of India and attempted to adapt them to the modern condition. He avoided power and influences. He chose to tread the Gandhian path of self-abnegation and pursued the path of egalitarian beliefs. He is the Siddhartha in Indian politics. He declined Nehru's offer to join his cabinet. His mass appeal was next only to that of Gandhi.

From his student days, he thought that political freedom was a basis of social justice in India. It was during his study in U.S.A. that he took to Spinning Yarn and wearing Khadi. He could not reconcile the call for the boycott of English and going for higher studies to England. During his study in U.S.A., he studied European literature and was drawn towards Marxism. With Gandhi, he attended the congress session held at Lahore under the Presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru. Jayaprakash and Pandit Nehru developed mutual liking and admiration for each other. He admired socialist, idealist ideas of Nehru although there were differences between them on various aspects of Government policy.
He participated in the Gandhian movement in India’s struggle. He played a key role in the quite-Indian movement and was arrested by the British. He escaped and led the underground struggle. He had become a folk-hero in the eyes of those who were impatient into Gandhi’s passive resistance.

In his estimate Gandhi was too much of a conservative type. In America he accepted Marxism as a revelation from above. Along with a number of like-minded young men to brought into existence the congress socialist party in 1934. Even at this time also he believed that the two-fold goals could be attained only by transforming the congress into a body of Marxian socialist. He however, came down to Gandhian socialism after sensing the anti-national activities of Indian communists both before and during the second world war. The Violence of states and trial of political opponents strengthened his belief in Mahatma’s method of social change. His aim was to create a society of free and equal people and he thought that a single-minded pursuit of Gandhian philosophy would give the desired goal. He never accepted the post of a cabinet minister in Nehru’s cabinet. He was convinced that Nehru’s economic policy would not lead to genuine socialism of India. He doubted about the country’s future after Gandhiji’s death. “The presence of Gandhiji was a powerful guarantee of civil liberties and people’s freedom”. In his estimate Gandhi is a great social revolutionary. Potentialities of Gandhian social Democracy drew J.P. towards the sarvodaya movement, Sarvodaya with its emphasis on the decentralization of the administration and on the respect for ethical principles as a higher form of socialism. In 1950-70 he participated in Vinoba’s Bhoodan and Gramdan movement and played an important part in making it a mass movement. He had ceased to be an active politician. However, he played a leading part in the Naga
cease fire agreement between the Nagas and the Govt. of India. At the existence of Smt. Indira Gandhi, he travelled around for India’s stared on Bangladesh. He was heard with respect in the world capitals as he was the Govt. spokesman.

The growing degradation of national politics and alarming emanculation of the country’s free institutions forced him to organize student power in Bihar to bring about a total revolution although he was not keen on confrontation with Smt. Indira Gandhi. He agreed to lead the students on the condition that it would be a peaceful one with the broader objective of total revolution. The imposition of emergency in 1975 and his imprisonment along with others distress him. The imposition of emergency is characteristic of authoritarian rule in the country. When the lights of democracy were restored in 1977, he played a crucial role in creating as Janata Party which, after a great electoral victory formed a non-congress government at the centre in March of that year. The party fell apart under the weight of political immaturity and disunity. Gandhi won freedom for India and yet the followers did not listen to him. Like wise J.P. won freedom for the Indian people and again the leaders failed the goal of total revolution which he set before himself appears to be not only distant but utopian. The full implication of this concept is discussed in the body of this thesis.

Once the Janata Party had achieved power his advice was not followed on questions of release of all political prisoners. J.P. advocated all forms of preventive detention. According to him the right to recall an elected representative of government is a fundamental right. These views are not acceptable to the Janata government3.
Jayaprakash was perhaps the only person who stuck to Gandhism. He made no fetish of it but up to its spirit. In his simplicity and honesty, he symbolized Gandhism at its best. He is one of the few Indians who achieved international eminence by his theory of total revolution, a kind of human revolution, a supporter of human rights, and winning of much covetable “MAGASAY” award in 1962 and Bharat Ratna (posthumously in 1998) from the government of India.

Jayaprakash Narayan began his most eventful life in a small village on the border of U.P. and Bihar. Due to his birth in a middle class “Kaysatha” family, traditionally “Kayasthas” of U.P. and Bihar were known for their loyalty to the Government and were a very service minded community. Because of this circumstances his father could not think of any other career for his sons than the government service. With that idea, J.P. was sent to Patna for matriculation and next further study. From his childhood he was an extraordinary child due to his quite thought and reserved nature. While he was studying at Patna proved to be decisive for him and cause in to contact with national activities through his association with Sarswati Bhawan, the centre of national leaders. For J.P. his most interested theme was in the Philosophy of Karma Yaga or Philosophy of action but he had no means to attraction for the terrorist Philosophy.

Jayaprakash Narayan was a man of great personal charm and moral integrity who had been a very prominent figure in Indian public life. He has taken a very active part and revolutionary role during the struggle movements for India’s freedom. He mainly emphasized that struggle that political power was only the first most important condition for a larger and a longer struggle for
creating a more just peaceful, egalitarian society J.P. had no craze for political power and did not belong to any other political party but this does not mean that he was not concerned with the problems of the society and downtrodden people of India. He has been a combination of two connotation of a political thinker and a political activist. But his writings and activities exhibited his deep concern not only for the freedom of Indian people, but also freedom of man everywhere and from every sort of trammel. He tried to transformation of society and has talked of replacing political power by people's power (Jana Shakti in Place of Rajshakti) and sarvodaya.

His Views on state, socialism and stateless society are part of an interconnected framework of idea. He was a great champion of the individual freedom. There had always been an inner urge for freedom in Jayaprakash throughout his life. The freedom of man signified to him freedom of the human personality, freedom of the mind and freedom of the spirit. During the colonial period he was a prophet of socialism and Marxism and he moved from Marxism to democratic society. His concepts of socialism underwent a further change, as he moved towards “Sarvodaya”. Later he talked of people’s socialism and under his last plea, i.e. for “Total Revolution” he talked mainly of establishing people’s power.

In 1972 a large numbers of Dacoits of Chambal Valley were laid down their arms just before the J.P. Narayan and Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh at Gwalior unconditionally to solve the problems once for all. This also the achievement of the J.P. Narayan for his long service of the people’s welfare. J.P.
forced all opposition parties to join one party on the basis of common programme and with the idea of the social reconstruction. He had developed friendship with many other intellectuals of Marxist minded when he was studying in Ohio University. For his received of better understanding from Marxist Minded, he was advanced by the Marxist of America to visit Russia. J.P. was arrested due to leading against the second world war and for making the unlawful speech against the British imperialism. In November 1942 he and his five comrades leaders escaped from the Hazaribagh jail on the Diwali night by sealing. He got the glorious title of “Hero” during the period of revolutionary movement. On the 17th May, 1934 he had taken the responsibilities of the foundation of Indian socialist party and then offered as a “Jivan Dani” to Sarvodaya movement in the year of April 1954.

As a man of peace maker, he solved the problems of the Naga independence and Dacoits of the Chambal Valley miracle in Madhya Pradesh. J.P. also championed the cause of the Naga people and played a big role in organising a peace mission. He was aware that Nagaland was a Christian majority area and the tribal people were fiercely independent. He wanted the people of Nagaland to enjoy their freedom as part of the Indian Union. He was very much concerned with two problems: growing drift towards authoritarianism in the country and the failure of the sarvodaya method to solve the agrarian problems or loving about a revolutionary change in the social structure of the country. J.P. consistently defined that freedom in the traditional, Indian sense as swaraj, and claims that it was his own quest for freedom in this sense that drove him away from Marxism. Moreover, J.P.’s. writings are alive with warnings against the totalitarian government, and in his last eloquent yet tragic
of social solidarity. It was during his days in America that he was drawn to Marxian and M.N. Roy's works. Later he represented all that was best in Gandhism in the political and social sides. He believed in a Supreme Reality on account of his studies. He supported the Marxian slogan of dignity and freedom of man. The aim of a socialized society was the emancipation of man. It also means self-realization or God realization. Man is by nature good and the evil propensities is man can be controlled by good nature. It is a case of rebirth for him. This is aptly shown by the surrender of hundreds of Chambal Valley dacoits to him and the task of rehabilitation of these dacoits was taken up by the sarvodaya workers.

J.P. was a crusader all through his public life, which saw the metamorphosis from Marxism to a sarvodaya and finally to a determined exponent of total revolution. He had a keen passion for justice and morality without any dogmatism. He was a complex personality composed of seemingly controversial traits. This was mainly because of his philosophy was a curious amalgam of all that he considered good is any ideology. He may treated as an idealist, a visionary while the less charitable considered him confused and impractical.

He set aside power and help of office and toured the countryside in pursuit of Bhooman ideal. He renounced politics only to return at the fagend of his life where he brought about the downfall of Indira Gandhi after 30 years of rule. J.P's philosophy of partless democracy stuns from M.N. Roy's doctrine of Partless Democracy both M.N. Roy and J.P. are however anticipated by Gandhian attitude to the party system. J.P. achieved what may be considered on
impossible task of unifying diverse political parties in to an alternative to the congress. He deferred from both Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave, although he was a staunch disciple. He condoned violent reprisals against oppression during the freedom struggle. His Westernized idiom and distinct leaping towards classical anarchism were far removed from Vinoba’s traditional Hindu idiom and what many consider to be antiquated ideas.

His dedication for the People’s Welfare, he was recognised as the “Heart of India”, the “king of the hearts of the Indian youth” after his released from Agra Jail on the 11th April, 1946.

Like Marx he believed that the state would ultimately wither away. He spoke of replacing power politics by peoples wish and awareness of democratic spirit. At the end of his life he saw the anti emergency struggle and final agony of the post emergency years. He was again moving once more towards the position of class struggle, position held by him in his youth. Variations at the ideological level and inconsistences are noticed one cannot doubt some things about J.P. his kindness, courage, and incorruptibility were unchallenged. His justice human right and social equality will be remembered as the father figure of democracy. In the following chapters, an attempt is made at presenting his ideas and teachings and offer my observation on them from the philosophical point of views.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A term coined by me by studying Buddhist influence on his life.
2. The points are elaborated in chapter II.
3. Vide chapter III and VI.
4. Indian Express dated (Bharat Ratna Award).
7. Ibid P.P. - 238-239.
8. Ibid P.P. - 12.
12. Vide chapter III and IV.
15. The point is based mainly on materials collected from J.P’s life and thought and supplemented by Sarvodaya Workers coming to Manipur from time to time in connection with the functions of Manipur Sarvodaya Mandal, Peace Centre, Imphal.
J.P. felt that the whole world was being shaken by the mighty forces of change and all over the world thoughtful minds were anxious to create a new world based on the co-operative good will of nations and men. This was the time, he said for stating definitely the ideals of freedom for which India stands and for which it invites the Indian people to undergo the utmost suffering. The resolution drafted by J.P. at the meeting of the working committee of the Indian National Congress, on 15th March 1940, he wrote thus “The free Indian Nation shall work for peace between nations and total rejection of armaments and for the method of the peaceful settlement of National disputes through some International authority freely established. It will endeavour particularly to live on the friendliest terms with its neighbours, whether they be great power or small nations, and shall covet/cover no foreign territory.

The law of the land will be based on the will of the people freely expressed by them. The ultimate basis of maintenance of order shall be the solution and concurrence of people. The state shall not discriminate in any manner between citizens of the Nation. Every Citizen shall be guaranteed equal rights. All distinctions of birth and privilege shall be abolished. There shall be no titles emanating either from inherited social status or the state. The political and economic organization of the state shall be based on principles of social justice and economic freedom. While this organization shall condense to the satisfaction of the National requirements of every member of society, material
satisfaction shall not be its sole objective. It shall aim at healthy living and the moral and intellectual development of the individual. To this end to severe social justice, the state shall endeavour to promote. Small scale production carried on by individual or co-operation effect for the equal benefit of all concerned.

All large scale collective production shall be eventually brought under collective ownership and control and in this behalf the state shall laejin by naturalising heavy transports. Shipping mining and the heavy industries. The textile industry shall be progressively decentralized. The life of village the villages shall be recognized and village shall be made self-governing units self-sufficient in a large a measure as possible. The land laws of the country, shall be drastically reformed on the principle that land shall belong to the actual cultivator alone and that no cultivator shall have more land than is necessary to support his family on a five standard of living. This will end the various systems of land lordism on the one hand and farm bondage on the other. The state shall protect the interests of the classes but when these impinge open the interests of those who have been poor and down trodden, it shall defend latter and thus restore the balance of social justice. J.P. as a man of devoted to the service of people, there are two facts in his character are clearly discernible that his total revolution to the service of man without personal reservation and pragmatic pursuit of his idealism. The form and forum in and through with his services found expression did change from time to time depending on the prevailing situation but the dedication and the fundamental objective remained the same. J.P. had devoted himself to the cause of non-violent social revolution through Bhooman and Gramdan, social-economic revolution and decentralisation of power and to the cause of partyless and participatory democracy
As explorer and seeker of truth even, he never liked courage to move from one position to another position, to himself from one postulate to another, but these were not denunciation or repudiation but scientific development so to say. In a letter written in thirtees to late Shri Murli Manohar Prasad the then editor of Searchlight had written “I am a socialist because I believe that socialism can solve the problems of my country and that it gives a better technique of mass revolution including as natural revolution².

J.P. Narayan based his thinking on two important ideas of freedom and equality and to implement these he bought to bring about a revolution. He visualised a revolution which would usher in socio-political order enshrining these ideals. J.P. Narayans experience of life may be described as a quest for a political system, a quest for a better society for all round development. All his writings exhibited his deep concern not only for the freedom of Indian people, but also for the freedom of man everywhere. His passion for freedom of the mind, freedom of spirit, and freedom of human personality, as well as a deep concern for the problems of the downtrodden people of India made him no slave of any particular political system or ideology. He always kept his mind open and remind surciptible of any political ideology or system whatever it might be, provided they could perceive in it a greater possibility of the attainment of important human values of equality, freedom, brotherhood and peace. Like Gandhi J.P. also emphasised importance of morality for all persons, including the politician, so that there may be interconnection between thought and deed as well as a strong sense of public accountability³.
So, Jayaprakash Narayan was very much concerned from freedom and morality. He deeply opposed “Totalitarianism” in all its forms. But he believed in the Gandhian ideal of a political system in which state intervention was minimum and community initiative was maximum. This lead him to formulate a system of “Panchayati Raj” functioning within the frame work of “Partyless Democracy”. To usher in such a “Communitarian Society” which would completely change the present structure and system of Indian Polity and he called for “Total Revolution”. He was above selfishness or egoism and was completely devoted to the welfare of humanity at large.

As a man of service for the people, he solved the problems of the Naga’s and to settled the Dacoits of Chambal in peace. During the Gramdan and Bhoodan movements and in the midst of the movement in Bihar, J.P’s work lies in the rural areas. On his way from one village to another, he is often mobbed by huge crowds of people, eagerly pressing forward their sorrows and problems for his attention. To a poor farmer, he is the collector, come to restore his land to him. Hence, he is a magical figure, a Baba, who will bless the village and cause an aeroplane to land in the village square.
WINNER OF INTERNATIONAL AWARD AND BHARAT RATNA

MAGSAYSAY AWARD:

Jayaprakash Narayan has remained engaged in the work of Sarvodaya and other noble ideas since 1960 to 1974. His main notable works were founding of Gandhi Vidya Samaj then at Varanasi and Tarun Shanti Sena, Shanti Sena Vidyalaya etc. His whole life was dedicated to the work of communal harmony and boldly condemned wrong things. His crusade for peace, communal harmony and brotherhood was recognised by all sections of Indian society. So, Ramon Magsaysay Award to him in 1965 was a token of recognition of his services to people. Shanti Sena Vidyalaya (Peace Force School) also started for training the volunteers for the World Peace Movement. And in September 1961, the Tarun Shanti Sena (Young Peace Force) was organised by J.P. Narayan for propagating and advancing the cause of Sarvodaya. Therefore, he went to London to attend the Disarmament Conference, convened by the International Pacifists, for giving a moral support to the World Peace Movement.

His contribution towards the setting up of World Peace Corps was immense a great degree. In the World Peace Conference which held at Beirut, he himself participated at the same Peace Conference. Many eminent Peace Leader and Pacifists of Europe, Africa and America like Bertrand Russell, Michael Scott, Kennette Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, Martin Luther King were presented at the Peace Conference. In the conference, J.P. also remained a figure of the three Presidents of this same conference. Towards the end of 1963, he decided that instead of touring the entire country, he would choose one particular region and try to raise there Peace Corps in order to set an example of gramdan. For his intensive goodness of services to the people he won awarded the prize of International Award the Ramon “Magsaysay” of Philippines in 1965.
After his death of 19th years back, as on 23rd December 1998, he was awarded the title of “Bharat Ratna” Posthumously for his contribution to the freedom struggle and up liftment of the poor people. He is the 35th person to be conferred the country’s highest civilian award. He was honoured at a function in Rashtrapati Bhavan by President K.R. Narayan. Regarding the conferment, Rajya Sabha members, including Vice-Chairman Najma Heptullah, were taken aback when an M.P. thanked the government for giving the above highest civilian award “Bharat ratna”. L.K. Advani, Union Home Minister expressed his embarrassment over his being in the dark about the formal decision being made. Landing his role in ushering in “Total Revolution” L.K. Advani, Union Home Minister is of the opinion that J.P. was not thinking of a mere restoration of democracy nor was he interested in a man charge of Government. The force of his teaching was realised by N.D.A. Government when the Center aims at full commitment to accelerate and expand the process of reforms in all spheres with the co-operation of the people in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Indian Republic.
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