CHAPTER VII
CONCLUDING REFLECTION
Concluding reflection:

Jayaprakash Narayan occupied a position next after Gandhi and Nehru as the idolized leader of all classes and the masses of India. He was looked with respect and admiration for his total commitment to the cause of India’s liberation from foreign rule and emancipation of disinterested and the dispossessed of the earth. We have discussed in proper places regarding his profound thinking and scholarly study of socialism. His study of socialism and contribution to contemporary Indian thinking of political theory has no parallel.

Having discussed how J.P’s. teachings and thought has shaped the 20th century is the above chapters I conclude with a look at 3 aspects: (1) J.P. as a socialist (2) J.P. as a sarvodaya thinker and (3) J.P. as a Total Revolutionary and finally any own assessment of his belief and teaching.

As a socialist:—The economic foundation of politics is thoroughly grasped by J.P. In the estimate of Mahatma Gandhi he is the greatest Indian authority on Indian socialism. Different types of socialism viz Marxism American, British socialism too influenced him. He had some admiration of M.N. Roy’s ideas but he was critical of Gandhism and Dr. Bhagawan Das’s Ancient socialism. Gandhism is dead to pressing economic issues and mass problems. Dr. Bhagawan Das’s interpretation based on four fold Varnas and Ashrams is but a Propaganda Work of the “Missionaries” of Brahman which has little to do with the complex problems of modern society. His socialism aims at the harmonious and balanced growth of the society and realization of ideals of justice, liberty and socialism is used on two fronts:—struggle for India’s freedom and native feudal threaldom. In his early life he founded the congress socialist party and forms
himself in the company of socialist leaders Achyuth Patwardhan, Minoo Masani at Nasic Jail and out of jail he joined Acharya Narendra Deva. He wrote his manifesto “Why socialism” in 1936. He gave due attention to socio-economic reformer. He supported land reforms, nationalization of natural resources, heavy and basic industries under state controls.

From the time of his return to India he drifted intellectually from Marxism. He was a Marxist while his wife was a devoted follower of Gandhi. He brought many problems of labour before the Government. He undertook fast, when government failed to keep promise. The fast had helped him to believe in God and to abandon materialism. The Gita and others treatise helped him to believe in God. Though he was a follower of Gandhi he differed from Gandhi in so far as he condoned violent reprisals against oppression during freedom struggle. He paid proper thought to non-violent means after Gandhiji’s death.

Indian communist party and the socialist party do not support his interpretation of Marx. By, 1953 he was of the opinion that communism leads to state capitalism; socialism leads to parliamentary politics based on communism and deals with gigantic bureaucracies.

In his opinion socialism does not produce the goods. If it is conducive to the ending of hunger, poverty, it minimizes the importance of individual. Individual is but a cog in a vast inhuman machine for purposes of votes in state and national politics. The state when considered from the stand point of the
result of ordinary political processes, popular initiative and activity will be killed. Being a socialist J.P. referred to the total failure of religious leadership in India to prevent eruptions of violence at various levels in India very now and then. He also referred to the sociological reasons for the aggressive Hindu nationalism after independence. This is not conceive to the unity of the state. It has to be checked by religious consciousness. Every religion has its sanction for peace but the problem is have to apply it in practical life in order to get rid of violence and war. The purpose of religion is to unite Humanity but today it has become one of the strongest divisive forces of humanity. The dangers gets multiplied when religion is linked up with the nation and state. He appealed to all religions and religious organizations to decide how they will play their role in fighting the separatist tendencies for building up peace.

As a Sarvodaya thinker :- In 1947 J.P. left the congress party and joined the Bhooman and sarvodaya movement. He did not fully bear politics as the founder of P.S.P. although he was associated with Bhooman and trusteeship theory movement under the influence of sarvodaya and he wandered through India’s country side from village to village asking for land in the form of gifts. He was one of the ardent followers and leader of modern India, he raised his voice that the reward of independence has not reached out to the masses. If he had come into parliament and functioned as a constructive opposition the course of India’s parliamentary history might be different. J.P. would be Prime Minister after Neharu if he had accepted Neharu, offer in the Cabinet and made his contribution.
But J.P. was a visinery who envisioned happiness for the masses. "Swaraj and a socialist" India means justice and opportunity for the poor and downtrodden to contribute their share in the uplift of the country. There must be direct contact between the Government and the common people. He has produced a comprehensive programme of Panchayat Raj where he dismisses power, prestige as the service to the society. Sarvodaya is the fulfillment and destiny of socialism. He was instrumental as a sarvodaya worker in bringing about radical changes in the life and outlook of the dacoits of the Chambal Valley in Madhya Pradesh. He has given a role of caution in so far human instruments are liable to error in working out the sarvodaya the ultimate truth is attainable through the gradual elimination of untruth. Discipline both outward and inward is necessary for this task. He admitted the omniscience, commissiary and flows in Sarvodaya thought and practice. By removing them the human mind will keep up its ascent to the truth. The difficulties of the uphill climb belong to the mountainous. Similarly the musician experiences the agony and work croak of the strings before it is finally set to produce celestial music. Very few realize that the twisting of its keys made the Gitar weep. The scoff and rebuff of sarvodaya principles have to be taken as the essential preliminary one. Sarvodaya workers have taken up the challenge to go higher since the goal is distant yet noble. If the goal is accomplished, the future age will be known as the age of sarvodaya and not the nuclear age as it is being understood in political and scientific circles.

Any age devices its name from people's longing and aspirations. All aspire for peace and prosperity, hence we have to cling to sarvodaya principles in spite of their difficulties in practical application. Sarvodaya is a historical necessity for man's survival.
As a Total Revolutionary, J.P. was never a close mind. He was evolving new theories - socialism, sarvodaya and inconsistent. "Consistency is the virtue of the closed mind. To attend to the viewpoint of others is the hallmark of a cultured mind. His “Guru” Mahatma Gandhi evolved himself spiritually and to the state of becoming a “Sthitaprajna”. However he is a consistent seeker/votary of truth. His mental changes and change in the heart had only been changes with regard to how test ideas of justice, liberty and equality might be realized in India. There are many similarities between Gandhi and J.P. He was the moral tribune of post Gandhian India. In 1917, Gandhi went from Gujarat to Bihar and led the Champaran movement which was the beginning of his epic struggle to improve the condition of the people finally led to Independence in 1947. In 1947 J.P. went from Bihar to Gujarat and fought along Gandhian lies for arousing the consciousness against the despotism and once again achieved independence of the people in 1977.

He kept himself aloof from all power and position. He was the moral tribune of the people. He wielded no secular power or authority but hundreds of thousands followed him. He gave up everything and guenid everything. He symbolized the upanishadic digtatmena tyaktena bhujeathach. He was a Monarch in the minds of millions in India and outside. J.P. demonstrated the validity of Gandhian technique and showed by deed that he was of complete accord between thought, word and deed like Mahatma Gandhi. He sponsored a non-party institution called citizens for Democracy for propagating democratic value and ideals. The imposition of Emergency in 1975 and MISA Act had the negative impacts in the history of the press, judiciary and history. It ordered the large-scale arrest of opposition and critics of the Government. Justice M.C.
Chagla endorsed J.P.'s statement that soldiers and policemen should not obey illegal orders. He observed "what J.P. said therefore is legally sound. But he never called upon the army or police to revolt or to take up arms against the state. He was merely enunciating a legal proposition and he was moved to do so, because he found in Bihar policemen and soldiers shooting down innocent people and students. Therefore, what he said was a result of his own observation". The emergency excess moved voters to rally to the Janata coalition. The Janata manifesto in February of 1977 reflects the personal commitments of J.P.

His association with the Janata coalition of the its victory provided two important factors for the opposition. Firstly he gave it a comprehensive ideology to combine the constitutional goals of justice, liberty and fraternity with moral, spiritual ideals upheld by middle class, educated Hindus. Secondly, he was closely associated with minds of the rural people with the Gandhian principles of sarvodaya - "the uplift of all". The mangling of these factors in the person of J.P. along with the moral significance of his imprisonment during the emergency best support from the urban and rural sectors.

The result of 1977 election according to J.P. did signal a change in methods for achieving the goals. The uncertain future for his ideology has become a reality after the elections and the ideology of the newly installed government. In 1978 the party refused to have even a dialogic of the issue of creating smaller states. The Janata party leaders were against the people’s right to call off their elected representatives and the political prisoner’s issue for participation in J.P. movement. He was suffering from sadness when there is a split in the Janata party on account of differences between the Moraji Desai and Raj Narayan. The party leaders did not require him anymore except for some tributes paid to him. He died a sadness, his revolution lying in ruins.
His life was a long unending quest in the course of which he prayed at more than one altar as discussed earlier. He raised the banner of one revolution after another for the revolution that he saw or in the making of which he had a hard, he did not live up to his expectation. He was a visionary and a perfectionist. He did not have time to raise a corpse of cadre for his pure revolution. To him the Janata victory of 1977 was the beginning to the leaders of the Janata it was the end. Nonetheless, he was an anomy of peace, compassion, love, progress, social justice, harmony, human dignity and freedom. He is a blazing star of the 20th century, which illuminates the path of wisdom and courage to the nation, temporarily astrophied by the dark cloud of tyranny, injustice, fear and frustration.

When the Janata party fell under the weight of internal disunity between Moraji Desai and Raj Narayan. J.P. shed tears and observed; “the garden has withered away”. The election of 1977 posed no new goals for Indian’s life. He hopes that they did a signal change of method in realizing the goals. But the power politics based on unlikely coalition suggests an uncertain future for Narayan’s ideology. The few regime of Janata Ministry proves conclusively that politicians besides being power loving, were insufferably arrogant. One may call attention to Dr. Bimol Prasad’s observation “the verdict of history on J.P’s. quest is likely to be the same as his own during his last days. If he never sought power for himself, he also knew that an objective like total revolution could not be achieved in the course of a few years”. In the present degraded condition of the country, one has to say with a heavy heart that the goal of J.P. handset before himself appears to be not only distant but utopian. He died a sad man, his total revolution lying in ruins. He has been called the Hamlet of Indian politics who never stopped asking questions of himself and who could not adequately or consistently answer all the questions offers asking him.
To some he was an opportunist who was neither a politician nor a political theorist. Chinese model of rural development as more genuine than that of his ideas. His main error was to conceive of creating an alternative to the ruling class repression by looking for allies from amongst the ruling class itself instead of relying on a genies peasant and worker led movement. But in right Indian style people failed him as the master of the people (Loknayak). But Acharya Vinoba Bhave in the prayer meeting in his death observed "....... he always regarded himself as a "Lok Sevak" (Servant of the people). He will live in history as "a patriot with a brilliant record of great deeds and great sacrifices" a pioneer of socialist movement in India and leader of underground forces during the famous "quite India" struggle of 1942, as the fighter of authoritarian trends in India.

He was aiming at a systematic change that would transform administration, judiciary education, economic, electoral system and even in political culture. Politics after the independence period has become an instrument of power and not a mission.

Leading 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 main change of government. The force of his teaching was realized by N.D.A. Government when the centre 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. This success up J.P's. work and teaching. Suming up, J.P's life
was devoted to search for ushering just a social order where there is Peace and Prosperity. He made experiments with Marxist ideology, Democratic socialism, sarvodaya, reformation of dead dacoits and hostile Nagas and also with Janata Government. He could not find the befitting reply. In appearance he seems to be inconsistent, enigmatic and visionary removed from the realities of Practical life. He worked on a higher plane which is beyond and above the comprehension of the common people. But in reality the common people did not understand him. He was a Perfect Soul beyond the knowledge of ordinary mortal.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. J.P's. why socialism may be consulted.
2. Vide his speech to the National Integration Camp held in Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1980.
4. My observation ;
6. Vide the Amrita Bazar Patrika, October 9, 1979 in connection with the Death of J.P.