INTRODUCTION:

It is rightly said that "a great mind is one that moulds the minds of others'. This was the marvelous characteristic of the coruscating personality of Mahatma Gandhi. Our freedom struggle threw upon the national scene many men and women, rich and poor, strong and weak, eminent and significant from different parts of the country and all of them, speaking in one voice and working for one goal, functioned as a disciplined army under dynamic and awe-inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Babu Jagjivan Ram is one of those veteran soldiers who fought many of a battle and won the war of freedom. He was the person who in due course became one of the few who could reach the top as a leader of the nation.

Impact of Freedom Movement On Young Jagjivan:

It is said that Babu Jagjivan Ram in his early days had resolved to become a brave soldier of the country at the call of the nation to free the "Bharat Mata" from the shackles of the aliens.

Jagjivan Ram was living in a village and had keen interest in the village songs. "These songs were actually the true representation of the brave sons of the Motherland and mobilising enthusiasm to cast aside the English rule. The tales of bravery and heroism of brave Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh the noted freedom fighters were getting ventilated through the Bhojapuri folk songs of the district in almost all the houses of Shahabad through the lips of the children, young ones, old men, ladies and gents alike. How could Jagjivan Ram himself escape from the prevalent automatic influence. He too was very much interestingly singing
and hearing and telling the most tasteful encouraging and fighting events."

Apart from it, he had been listening very curiously to the tales of other brave freedom fighters of Shahabad who participated in Revolt of 1857. It is here that young Jagjivan got stimulation to fight for freedom of the country. The praise for the patriots and national revolutionaries contributed in his courage to fight for the freedom of motherland. Thus Jagjivan in his very young age only became a soldier of the freedom movement.

In 1920, during school days of Jagjivan Ram Ghandhiji had entered Indian politics. This time the Jalianwala Bagh massacre echoed and re-echoed throughout the country. The Khilaft movement began which witnessed peak days of Hindu-Muslim unity. When both the powerful communities seething with discontent Ghandhiji found a way out. He indicated a new path and gave a new slogan which was to dominate Indian politics for decades, The new path was non-cooperation.

Jagjivan read about these things in the newspapers but he inadequately understood their significance. His mind, moreover was not yet receptive to politics. Yet, in its own way the politics of the age did influence him.

Sometime later Jagjivan Ram himself began to subscribe the "Young India" edited by Gandhiji. "Bharata Mitra" and "Venkateshwar Samachar" etc. One can easily understand from his thirst for newspaper, the extent to which his curiosity arose for knowing the political events of the country. This was the time of cruelties, unjustness, and forcible repression of British imperialism in India. Jagjivan Ram in his school life came to know about these affairs through newspapers that he was subscribing and in his own way was understanding the implications and
importance of these events. Thus the politics of the events started influencing on his young mind and heart.

He began to wear the "Gandhi cap" with the proposition that the importance of the cap was concealed in the fact that the country has got to be made independent from the clutches of the British imperialism in all regards. But, during his school days when non-cooperation movement and khalifat movement were at political scene, Gandhi caps were intolerable and wearers were beaten mercilessly. "One day when Jagjivan Ram was passing through Babu Bazar Street to his school, a class friend came and told him that men wearing Gandhi caps were being beaten up. But the young Jagjivan who was wearing the Gandhi cap was not afraid. He neither removed his cap nor changed his route. Nothing untoward however happened. "This illuminated his firm determination, courage, love and respect for motherland.

The Bihar Students Association was a militant organization of students of Bihar. It was imbued with nationalistic ideas. Its 18th session was held at Varanasi (Banaras) in the Hindu University premises in the year 1925. Though only a high school student then Jagjivan had been elected a delegate and represented his town in public elocution. He won prize for his speech. This was Jagjivan’s first participation in public affairs.

Influence of National Leaders:

During early days many prominent leaders of the nation left great impact young mind of Babu Jagjivan Ram, Among them Mahatma Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Rajendra Prasad rank first.

When Mahatma Gandhiji entered in the political arena in 20s very soon his greatness spread all over India. His personality, his leadership qualities, his way of thinking, his principles and his oratory made young Jagjivan a great fan of him. His dream to see Gandhiji came true later
when he visited Calcutta Congress Session in December 1928. He imbibed Gandhian ideology as soon as he came in contact with Gandhiji and laid his tour on the same path of Mahatma.

The Bihar Students Association, which was held at Varnasi in 1925, was also addressed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. Malviya's very appearance was inspiring to young Jagjivan. Malviya spoke at the session saying that India was at the crossroads of history facing great problems, on the solution of which depends her future. "Whether we are big men or small we have to undertake the work of big men because only big people big in vision, big in determination, big in action and big in sympathies can face and solve heavy and big problems." Jagjivan thought that the words of Malviyaji were sprinkling like the water of Ganges. It gave lot of impetus to young Jagjivan. Again in 1926 Jagjivan Ram met Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Molimmed Ali Jinn ah in a public meeting at Arraha. Ja&jivan Ram was very much inspired by Malviya's personality oratory, Saintliness and leadership qualities. All these seemed to have a cleansing effect on Jagjivan Ram.

Many other leaders like Babu Rajendra Prasad, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Abdul Kalam Azad, Saradar Bhagat Singh, Bankim Chandra, Sarat Chandra, Dwijendralal Roy, Rabindranath Tagore etc left immense impact on Babu Jagjivan Ram's career which moved him greatly to fight for the nation.

Role in freedom Movement as college student:

The real edifice of Babu Jagjivan Ram's participation in freedom movement was laid during his college days. Jagjivan Ram joined Banara Hindu University for BSc degree in July 1926 on the request made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. It is here that teenaged Jagjivan Ram started emerging as youth leader. Desiny was pushing him on to
leadership on a national platform. But there was nothing arrogant or brash about him; those who knew him at the period bear witness to the fact that he was one of the gentlest and kindest of human beings they had ever met.

"Tej Bahadur Sapru, the liberal leader had returned from England in summer of 1927 with the information that there were to be no Indian members in the commission set up to inquire into the working of Montague Chelmsford Reforms, The reactions in India was explosive. A big meeting was held in University campus and some students and leaders from outside addressed it Jagjivan Ram made a moving speech and gave a call to young men and women not to sit idle when great changes were impending. The coming struggle would be a vital one and youths should add their efforts to national effort he said."

In the central assembly Government introduced the Rupee stabilisation Bill. It was the brainchild of the then Finance member, Sir, Banl Blackett. It sought to stabilize the Rupee gold value at one shilling four pence. Very few persons in India realised at the stage that the Bill would bring a great slump in its wake and it would adversely affect the rural economy of the country. People in the rural areas were already suffering a lot of hardship. There was a meeting in Banaras to protest against Rupee stabilisation Bill. In a forceful speech young Jagjivan told his audience that the Bill would "stabilise" only their miseries.

His words and the tenor of his speech reached the ears of the national leaders who saw in him an upcoming young man of the right caliber. Malaviya felt very proud of this young man.

The then Secretary of State for India in British Cabinet was of the opinion that some Indian members should be there in the commission appointed to enquire into the working of Montague Chelmsford Reforms.
But the Viceroy Irwin was of the view that an Indian member in the commission would open the way for further troubles. The British were prepared to meet any criticisms with coolness and composer Viceroy Irwin openly demonstrated that he would rule if necessary iron hand. He met Mahatma Gandhiji many a time- but he stubbornly refused a reprive for Sardar Bhagat Singh inspite of Mahatma's request. Jagjivan Ram did not expect much from Irwin and warned the people against the traps of the British in his immediate student circles.

Mahatma Gandhi's "benign attitude towards Britishers subjected to strong criticisms in the loyalist camps, which thought that it was wrong of the Mahatma to beg before Britishers to pack off. But these with imagination and some foresight could see that if the movement for freedom got impetus India would be free in a short while. In fact some persons thought that if the entire India could be mobilised behind Mahatma Gandhi the British would quit in a year or two.

Jagjivan Ram was more hard-headed He had no such illusions. He could foresee a heard struggle ahead and he told his friends as such. Mahatma Gandhi's ideas and appeals reached the educated middle class and some of the enlightened persons m the higher income group also. But the landlord lobby in the country side and the gentry in the cities were hardly with him. Students in the various university were moved by the Mahatma's appeals, The Banaras Hindu University was one of the for most in this respect. It produced many illustrious young men who contributed their own weight to the national cause, among them Babu Jagjivan Ram ranked in front.

"In this period he read many translations of the Bengali classics and other writings of patriotic leaders, such as Bankim Chandra, Saratchandra, Dwijendralal Roy and Rabindranath, etc". Which were the mirrors of 19th
century socio-cultural awakenings and which pushed him further towards Struggle?

In Calcutta when he joined Vidaysagar college for B.Sc degree he began to wear 'Khadi'; but he was not regular user till 1932. "While in Calcutta he took to the 'Charkha' but because of his various activities both as a student and as a leader he could not spin much. But in five or six months he had enough yarn to make a 41/2 yard dhoti." He found time for political and social activities, for organising Ravidas Sabhas and reading literature.

He organized a conference in Wellington Park which made him a known man in nationalistic circle. The conference was a great success, nearly 15,000 persons attending it. Some senior members of Dalit Sudra Sabha, which was started by the Congress attended the Wellington Park Conference. They began to take an interest in him. Foremost among them were J.M. Sengupta, Subhas Chandra Rose, B.C.Roy and P.C.Ghosh who took notice of him and encouraged him in his activities.

Jagjivan Ram discovered that Subhash Chandra Bose was pro-labour and pro-Harijan. "It was Bose who convinced him that the depressed classes could be in the vanguard of political and economic revolution in the country. Bose had realised that without the support of Dalits freedom was impossible. He promised all kinds of help to Jagjivan Ram if he needs it.

Later Babu Jagjivan Ram and many other dalits of contemporary period joined 'Sevadal' of Subhash Chandra Bose and Started national activities."

"Mani Mukharjee was one of the pioneers of communist thought in Calcutta. He was a school teacher and lived in a house at the corner of
Babu Bazaar on College Street. He used to distribute cyclostyled communist literature to young men of Calcutta. Jagjivan met him and had many discussions with him. Mani gave him Communist manifesto drafted by Marx and Engels which Jagjivan read with curiosity and took interest in labour movement in the country for the first time. It was here that love towards labours was stimulated and after Independence he got an opportunity to serve for the cause of the labours. He was of the opinion that 'labourers are the backbone of our country'.

In the meanwhile the commission headed by Sir John Simon arrived in Bombay on February 5, 1928, "Simon go back" Shouts rent the air in various cities of India. Jagjivan orgnised big demonstration in Calcutta. He called youths of university to oppose the Simon commission. In Punjab Lala Lajapat Rai was injured in Lathi charges and later on he died which worsened the situation, A police officer called Sarenders was shot dead by Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev.

Those were the years, particularly 1924 to 1928, when Mahatma Gandhi confined his attention to khadi and communal peace; the ghastly communal riots of the Era would have brought less ardent spirit- Mahatma Gandhi wrote lengthy articles on communal peace in the pages of his paper 'Young India'. He had fasted in the house of Muslims in the symbolic promote harmony between the iwo communities, he wanted them to come together for fighting the common enemy, the British. All this had a great impact on young mind of Jagjivan Ram. He was curious to see and meet Mahatmaji. His curiosity of meet Gandhiji came true some tune later.

'Meeting the Mahatma:
The dream of Babu Jagjivan to see Mahatma Gandhi came true when "he saw him at Calcutta Congress in December 1928 for the first time. But he saw him then only from a great distance and there was no possibility of talks."
Gandhi laid stress on spinning and he was listened to by a great number of persons all over the country. His sphere of influence was widening and growing fast, Mahatma Gandhi's ears were tuned to the beating of the hearts of the countrymen. His appeals always struck a note of harmony in the ears and hearts of comment men, His greatest concern, he said at Calcutta, was the hardness of the hearts of the educated in particular. He called "spinnings are the gateways of our salvation." The inspiring example of Mahatma made young Jagjivan vow to devote himself to the masses.

At the same time as the Congress meeting was being held there was an All Party Conference at Calcutta. Jinnah attended it and spoke demanding one third of seats for the Muslims in central legislature, reservations for the Muslims in Punjab and Bengal, vesting of residuary powers in the provinces in Federal Constitution and the unconditional separation of Sindh. This attitude of Jinnah was also later emphasised at a meeting in early 1929, presided over by Aga Khan, At this meeting some demands were made of more flexible nature which, opened the path for later partition of India.

"Jagjivan was one of those who saw clearly the character of the Muslim League from the earliest and he exposed it fearlessly in many meetings he organised in Calcutta in 1929."9

Mahatma Gandhi gave a call to the nation for boycott of foreign cloths and liquor. The Viceroy Lord Irwin saw the trouble ahead. He was afraid of many of staunch leaders like Nehru, Subhash Bose and some other young leaders of communists. The intelligent dispatch from Calcutta about Jagjivan described him as young man who had strong leftist leanings. By this time Irwin could now very well anticipate the dimensions of the struggle ahead in India.
In March 1929, a number of Trade union leaders, some of them communists were brought to trial in Meerut conspiracy case. Many meeting and demonstrations were held in different, parts of the country. Babu Jagjivan Ram organised a meeting in Calcutta consisting mostly of students and roundly condemned the trial of the trade union leaders.

The government introduced a public safety bill in the central assembly. One day Bhagat Singh threw a bomb from public gallery. But nothing untoward happened, Britishers had miraculous escape. Soon after this incident there were large number of arrest in Delhi, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Bengal. Jagjivan Ram accommodated in his house some young revolutionaries of Bengal and later made arrangements for their stay in Bihar.

The Viceroy Irwin went on his mid-term leave to England in January 1929. During his stay in England the idea of Round Table Conference was mooted and thrashed out and Irwin made the final announcement on the R.T.C on his return to Delhi. But it was the times of agitation - a large number of young men in the country were quite anxious for an agitation and some direct action against British. The nationalist leaders preparing themselves for Civil Disobedience movement scheduled for 1930. Though some of the leaders sought an interview with Viceroy for further explanations about his statement about R.T.C.

During these days young Jagjivan wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi urging him to see the Viceroy at an early date. This was his first indirect contact with father of the nation. It was decided that Mahatma Gandhi was to meet the Viceroy on 23rd December 1929 on his way to the Congress session.

On the same day of 23rd December 1929 Viceroy Irwin was returning from Hyderabad to take up his residence in the newly build
Viceroy's house. But as his train neared 'puranqilla' a place, near Delhi there was sudden explosion of bomb in middle of the train, but Viceroy had escaped from this catastrophe. Babu Jagjivan who was on his way to attend the Lahore Congress was anticipating that something important was about to happen in Delhi, But he had no prior knowledge of puranqilla incident.

The Viceroy newly installed in the Viceroyal Lodge met Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, Tej bhadur Sapru, and M.A.Jinnah. The Mahatma told the Viceroy that India's future constitution should have been framed by elected representatives of India and not by British Parliament. He further said unless Dominion status conferred there was no question of participating in Round Table Conference. They could not reach any common ground. It was evident that conflict was developing, many young workers all over the country were awaiting Mahatma's green signal. Jagjivan kept on organizing the people in his immediate circle anticipating the call to action.

**Role in Civil-Disobedience Movement:**

The Congress met at Lahore, Jawaharlal Nehru presiding over it at midnight of Dec 31, 1929. The Indian National Congress unfurled the flag of the Indian Independence on the bank of river Ravi. The Congress called upon all its members in the central and the provincial legislature to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement.

During this time Jagjivan Ram was being recognized as efficient and dedicated freedom fighters of Bihar hence, even though he was not a delegate, Jagjivan was invited to attend the AICC session.

Mahatma Gandhi suggested that resolution condemning the attack on Irwin's life be passed at the Congress. It was passed by narrow margin of 38 votes, 1832 delegates voting. Many of Congress leaders rejected to
condemn the act because many of the Congressmen assembled knew that some of the leaders of the revolutionary movement were their friends and aided them secretly. Chandrashekhar Azad was friend of many of the Congressmen. "Jagjivan had met some of the terrorists at Calcutta and had helped them to secret hideouts with friends when they had to lie low. Azad had often sought out Jagjivan in Calcutta and spent quite a lot of time with him."

It was the time of beginning of Civil Disobedience Movement and there were lot of preparations for the large scale movement. On 12th March 1930 at 6-30 A.M. Mahatma Gandhi left Ashram and began his 240 miles march to Dandi and reached sea coast of Dandi. There he picked up some salt and broke salt law of British government which formally began a mass movement called Civil Disobedience Movement.10

There were picketing and hartals through the country. Processions were taken out in large numbers. The atmosphere became tense, as large number of bonfires, boycott of courts, legislatures, elections, governmental functions, governmental schools and colleges, boycott of foreign goods, burning of foreign cloths, peaceful picketing of liquor shops, demonstrations and resigning of governmental Jobs etc. took place.

The movement spread all over the country and people were persuaded for the above programmes with great enthusiasm, During these days Jagjivan Ram was in Arrah in the summer of 1930. He organized many secret meeting in the town. He inspired many youths to come out of their homes and participate in mass movement. The friends he met agreed that organizational work for a big demonstration at Patna should be entrusted to him. His efficiency at organizing was generally admired. After organizing impressive demonstration in Patna he returned to Calcutta.
The second volume of Simon Commission report, which contained its recommendation for the future of India was published on 24th June 1930. The recommendations did not even contain the word dominion status. The report had been over taken by events. The Civil Disobedience Movement had produced a great commotion in the country and had reckonable impact. In Calcutta there was huge procession to protest against the beating of satyagrahis. "Jagjivan Ram was one of the young men who organized and led this procession. In Calcutta there were many atrocities; peaceful satyagrahis were beaten up. Some revolutionary suggested that Jagjivan should not court arrest as he might be able to do good work by remaining outside of this time of stress. Jagjivan Ram avoided being arrested. But when he was leading the procession he received some blows from the police lathis.

The First Round Table Conference opened by king on 12th Nov. 1930. Mahatma Gandhi was in Yerawada jail and no Congress leader took part in it. In June Motilal Nehru had told the government of India that negotiations were possible only if the government would support the demand for full responsible government in the country subject to the terms of the agreement as to transfer of power necessitated by India's special needs and positions and which could be discussed in the R.T.C. But, government was reluctant to it and it went on arresting important leaders.

Many demonstrations, strikes and meeting were held to oppose the arrest. A big youth rally was organized at Patna, Jagjivan Ram was the chief speaker. Nearly seventy thousand persons attended the rally. Jagjivan Ram spoke for an hour demanding the immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi. He observed in the course of speech that the spirit of India could not be crushed by bayonets and bullets.
The R.T.C failed to reach any conclusions. It was attended by the Maharaja of Bikner, M.A. Jinnah, and Srinivas Shastri. After sometime Indian delegation returned home.

Mahatma Gandhi was unconditionally released on the 25th of January 1931 and in February talks between Viceroy and Mahatma took place. Both signed an agreement known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5th of March. The Congress expressed its agreement to attend a Second Round Table Conference in London. All those arrested were released.

During the year 1930 Jagjivan Ram had plunged into national activities. His health was impaired he and had to bear the brunt of many lathi charges and he was ailing for many weeks and found that he could not sit for the examination. In March and April 1931 there was comparatively less political activity and Jagjivan thought he would sit for that year and set about preparing hard for the final degree examination. He passed it by securing high marks.

After completion of his B.Sc. degree he wanted to devote himself exclusively for the freedom struggle of the nation, for the cause of the downtrodden and for the social reforms of the country. "But his brother, his mother and other members of family insisted on his taking up a job. He applied for the post of Excise Inspector. His name was sent from his district and he was called for final interview when he fell seriously ill. The illness lasted for some time mean while the final interview was over and the appointment had taken place.

The accident of his illness saved him from the Excise Inspectorships. He explained to his mother, his elder brother and others that he was not cut out for jobs and that the Lord willed it otherwise. He found his family members concurred with the decision, not to apply for any jobs in future, but to make himself a patriotic soldier and social
reformer of the nation.” From there onwards Jagjivan Ram started emerging as a genuine leader among the most prominent leaders of the nation.

**Emergence as a Leader:**

Soon after the completion of his B.Sc. degree Babu Jagjivan Ram dedicated his whole life for the cause of the nation. During 1931 he had acquired a significant position among national leaders of northeastern states. His emergence as a national freedom fighter was a sort of inspiration to important leaders of the Congress and it enthused the National Congress with new spirit.

During mid 1931 there was a countrywide talk of separate electorates for Harijans. Jagjivan Ram was opposed to the idea of separate electorate. B.R. Ambedkar however made an issue of it. Under the proposed arrangement only an untouchable would be eligible to vote for an untouchable candidate. The Mahatma thought that this would isolate the Harijans; by these arrangements the Harijans would be dividing themselves as well as Hindu Society.

Jagjivan organized many meetings in Bihar at which he spoke that the separate electorate idea was generally harmful to Harijans. Ambedkar then demanded reservations for the Harijans. Mahatma did not agree immediately as he was however willing to keep open mind on it.

Mahatma Gandhi attended second Round Table Conference held at London in 1932. M.C.Rajah is the first Hanjan to become a member of Central Assembly. But no conclusion could be reached in the Round Table Conference regarding communal representation.

Then then Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald announced his award on Aug. 15, 1932, according to which special constituencies were carved
out for the depressed classes and they could exercise their votes in reserved as well as in general constituencies. On August 18th Gandhiji who was in jail wrote to Ramsay Macdonald saying that if the separate electorate provided in the communal award was not withdrawn forthwith, he would begin a fast unto death. The British did not concede Gandhi's point and he commenced his fast on Sep.20th.

Gandhi's fast caused great alarmed anxiety all over the country and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya summoned a conference of various castes and political parties including Ambedkaiy Sapru appealed British to release Mahatma Gandhi unconditionally. Many leaders such as Rajendra Prasad, Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.RJayakar, C.B.Mehata, C.Rajagopalchari, Ambedkar etc conferred in Calcutta. Mahatma Gandhi now made it clear that he was not against the reservation of the seats for Dalits but was only against separate electorate as it was detrimental to the cause of solidarity of Indian people.

"The Conference finally arrived at an agreement at Poona on September 24th 1932 and on the sixth day of Gandhiji's fast. A common electorate of all the Hindus was agreed upon. Reservation of seats was accepted in regard to the central and state legislatures." Substantial portion of the expenditure on education would be utilized Rajendra Babu wrote to him asking him to come and meet him at Patna. Jagajivan immediately went back to Patna and met Rajendra Babu. Rajendra Babu invited Jagjivan Ram to spend some time in organizational work in Patna also. Rajendra Babu evidently wrote to Mahatma Gandhi who in reply called Jagjivan as 'Anmol R-atnaa' priceless jewel.

During this time Lord Wellington took over from Irwin as the new Viceroy and he invited a campaign of ruthless repression.
In the meanwhile Jagjivan had occasion to meet the Mahatma once again on his return from the Round Table Conference. Mahatma Gandhi was given a rousing public reception in Bombay. Jagjivan was invited to this reception and Jagjivan utilised the occasion for paying his respect to the Mahatma Gandhi and he asked him to give him guidelines regarding organizational work.

Prior to this there had been a big conference at 'Chapra' in Saran District of North Bihar. Jagjivan had been the life and soul of the Conference. Amrit lal Thakkar secretary of Harijan Sewak Sangh wanted Jagjivan to devote himself entirely to Harijan upliftaient work and to the affairs of the Sangh. He tried to take Jagjivan away from the political movement. But Jagjivan Ram was of the view that "both activities were only two sides of same coin" and he dedicated his whole life for the cause of both the activities simultaneously.

"A word about Dr. Ambedkar and what Jagjivan Ram thought of him at this time may not be out of place here. Dr. Ambedkar was no doubt a learned person but his attitude towards the freedom struggle was not healthy. He had leadership thrust on him by the British authorities as a foil to healthy trends of a nationalist kind that were shaping up in India."15

Once Mahatma Gandhi in a piece of his writings referred to the Harijans saying that they were like 'cows'. Jagjivan wrote a letter to Gandhi claiming that the word and the comparison were unfair. The Mahatma wrote to him explaining the comparison and saying that the comparison was only in one aspect and that he had the greatest respect, regard and affection for cause of Harijans. Jagjivan understood that the Mahatma never saw the problem of Harijans in isolation. It was a problem in the larger context of the countries freedom and he had realized that until India was free nothing much could be done for the Dalits.
Jagjivan took over as the secretary of Bihar branch of the Harijan Sewak Sangh. This was the first ever public office he held. Needless to say he discharged his duties to the satisfaction of everyone concerned. He was out of college but he was not yet thirty. He was already recognized as a leader at the provincial level; this was high achievement indeed.

Mahatma Gandhi in 1933, when he was in jail started another fast for 21 days with an intention of self purification. By that time the British had decided to release the Mahatma from Jail. In July mass Civil Disobedience ended. The government showed itself very indifferent and unconcerned which asked for an interview with the Viceroy Lord Willington and was refused. In the beginning of August fully recovered from his long fast Gandhi offered individual satyagraha. He was arrested after three days and ordered not to leave Poona. He refused to accept the order and he was arrested again and sentenced to a year imprisonment.

In the first week of 1934 Jawaharlal Nehru issued a brief appeal for properly celebrating the 26th of January as Independence day. Jagjivan Ram went to every village in Bihar spreading Nehru’s message. A little earlier there had been a units Conference at Allahabad at the residence of Kailash Nath Katju. Malviyaji and 6 other leaders who were not in the jail attended the Conference. Babu Jagjivan went along with Rajendra Babu to attend the Conference and listened to the speech made by different political leaders.

This time British government came out with a statement announcing that it was agreeable to 33.3% representation for Muslims in the central assembly. The very demand which had occasioned so much debate and for finalizing which the leaders were preparing for full scale Conference in Calcutta was conceded by the British just before the Conference was scheduled to start. The government did not want the
Macdonald Award to be replaced by an agreed solution and therefore they announced communal award and Calcutta talks ended even before they began.

During this time support for the Congress was growing. The government had forbidden the rich to support the Congress with their money but many of the rich came to help the Congress in its needy hours. One such rich man approached Rajendra Babu shortly before unity Conference at Allahabad and gave him a big amount, which Rajendra Babu in turn entrusted to Jagjivan Ram. This happened when two of them were in Banaras.

All most all the leaders including Rajendra Prasad were arrested except those who had been asked to stay underground and carry on the works. Jagjivan Ram and Swarm Sahjanand were working to activise the kisan sabha. They put the sabhas in Bihar on an efficient working basis. Their work kept the message of the Congress alive in the minds of the masses. Rajendra Babu was ill. So, he was admitted to hospital but he was suspected of directing the satyagraha movement from the hospital. Jagjivan Ram met him a number of times when he was in hospital. But his condition was such that the authorities thought that it was better to release him. All this time Jagjivan Ram was consolidated his position as a leader and was generally recognized as being closer and dearer to many prominent leaders of the Congress.

There was tremendous earthquake in Bihar with devastating results. The damage was heavy in North Bihar, particularly in Monghyr. Whole towns were ruined and hundreds of villagers were destroyed. The casualties were estimated at over thirty thousand dead. Nearly half a million homes were damaged or destroyed beyond recognition.
Jagjivan Ram rushed back to Patna and had preliminary discussions with Rajendra Babu about relief work. Nehani too visited and made his suggestions and offered Jagjivan Ram to take part personally in relief work.

"Both Jagjivan Ram and Rajendra Babu attended to the relief work in Bihar ministering to those affected by the earthquake. They arranged funds and blankets and sent them to various parts of affected area. As the means of communication were completely cut. Jagjivan Ram and his follow relief workers travelled long distance in the country boats.

"As Rajendra Babu was ill the bulk of the heavy work fell on the shoulders of Jagjivan Ram. Later Mathura Prasad and Prakash Narayan Sinha, J.C.Kumarappa, Java Prakash Narayan joined and took over some of the burden which Jagjivan was shouldering. Later Mahatma Gandhiji also visited the devastated area and gave various valuable suggestions about organising relief work efficiently. Jagjivan was benefited by their guidelines and Jagjivan Ram accompanied Gandhi throughout his visit." Jagjivan Ram suggested to Mahatma Gandhi that some experts in accounts should be sent to Patna for maintaining accounts of the central relief committee properly. Accordingly Gandhiji sent some experts from among national leaders to the Patna.

Sometime later central committee was made and members of committee were named by Rajendra Babu taking Jagjivan Ram into confidence. Branches of Relief committee were setup in all the districts and the work was coordinated by Jagjivan. Jagjivan Ram in the midst of all this work literally wiping off the tears of weeping humanity. He undertook every reconstruction with the cooperation of villagers.

It was a period when some groups were emerging even within the Indian National Congress, based on minor ideological differences, A
number of members inclined towards the left and decided to form socialist party and it was founded in 1934. Acharya Narendra Deva and Jaya Prakash Narayan were two of the prime leaders of the socialist party. The "Congress Socialist Party" was formed to give an alternate leadership to the country and to give Congress policies a more revolutionary bias.

Some of the industrialists and capitalists who were sympathetic to the Congress cause and occasionally helped with money were alarmed at the emergence of Congress socialist party. Apprehending lack of funds for running the Congress establishment. Indian national Congress came out with an attack on socialism. Though Jagjivan was not a member of Congress Socialist Party he made a bold and antagonistic reference to their resolution of Indian National Congress. In one of his speeches in Bihar he said that ultimately the Congress should look to the masses for funds and not richer classes. It was a sort of advice of Jagjivan to the Indian National Congress.

In later months elections for the central legislative assembly were held. Congress triumphed in the elections by winning 44 seats. The contests in some If constituencies had been particularly keen. In Bihar Ramkrishna Dalmiya tried to dictate that the candidature of Augraha Narayan Sinha be withdrawn, but Congress had decided to setup candidates in every constituency. Dalmiya flouted Congress disciplines on the contrary Jagjivan Ram spent lot of time and energy in working for the Congress candidate against RamKrishna Dalmiya.

The Congress party decided to have special session of the Congress in October in Bombay. Many leaders were still in jail. In October, Rajendra Prasad accompanied by Jagjivan Ram preceded to Bombay for special session of the Congress. A procession was arranged at Bombay to give a reception to the leaders. Rajendra Babu, Sarojam Naidu and K.F.Nariman
sat hi the carriage. Jagjivan Ram was in the carriage that followed. The city Bombay was tastefully decorated and presented a festive appearance. Bright flowers were thrown on the leaders. The session was attended by a record number of leaders. The chief stress of the speeches was on constructive works, popularisation of Khadi and prohibition and removal of unsociability.

Jagjivan Ram's first wife had died much early therefore he married daughter of Dr. Birabal, name Indrani Devi on 2nd June 1935 at Kanpur. Indrani Devi was educated and accomplished and she had proved great support to Jagjivan Ram,

In 1934 the All India Ravidas Sammelan was to meet in Calcutta. Jagjivan interested himself in the organisation of the meet and helped to make it success. It was at this Conference that Babu Jagjivan met for the first time social workers like Dharam Prakash, Ram Prasad Jaiswak and others. Jagjivan suggested that all dalits leaders of whatever shade of opinion should meet on one platform. An appeal for this organisation was drafted and sent to various persons at various places and the foundation was laid for depressed Class League.

"The Depressed Classes leader’s unity Conference met at Kanpur in May, 1935. Quite a large number of representative Dalit leaders participated. Ambedkar, Raja and Srinivasan did not attained. Jagjivan Ram emphasised that the various communities constituting the depressed Classes had their separate caste organisations and they therefore failed to impress Indian Nationalism. More social reforms moreover would not do. Political status was essential. The depressed classes, so long as they remained split up in numberless tiny sectional organisations and devoted exclusively to social reform work could never hope to attain a higher political status for themselves. They would be entirely at the mercy of
caste Hindus. A well-knit, united All India Political Movement of the depressed classes conducted from a common platform was a historic necessity. At the same time it was essential not to keep out themselves adrift from the main national current. The idea found the greater response.17

Thus Babu Jagjivan Ram tried to consolidate and strengthen the youths to particularly Dalits of the country for redressing our nation from the shackles of foreign rule. In the same Conference of Kanpur in 1935 "All India Depressed Class League" was formed. Rasiklal Biswas was elected as the president P.N. Rajbhoj and Babu Jagjivan Ram as secretaries of the new organization. Through establishment of this League the freedom movement got impetus. By the end of 1935 Jagjivan Ram had organized the Bihar branch and was elected as its president.

As stated Jagjivan Ram's approach to the depressed class problem was basically different from the orthodox nationalist approach. He believed that an economic and socio-psychological revolution was a precondition for the coming up of depressed classes into their own. But he also believed in fact that national independence as first step towards that goal. He had seen the working of Harijan Sevak Sangh from inside and did not feel very enthusiastic about it. Another difference now arose. Thakkar Bappa, Secretary of "All India Harijan Sevak Sangh", did not like that Jagjivan Ram, a secretary of Sangh should be active in the political movement even if it be of "Harijans." After an exchange of correspondence Jagjivan Ram resigned from Sangh. He was free to devote himself entirely to the activities of freedom movement through Depressed Classes League.

Unfortunately, after the Poona Pact relations between caste Hindus and Harijans went on deteriorating. In October 1935 there was a conference of Harijans at Bombay. Ambedkar urged that it was better for
Harijans to give up the Hindu religion. There was some correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar on this point but Ambedkar was not to be easily satisfied.

Many important Muslim leaders met Dr. Ambedkar and urged that Harijans should convert to Muslim Community saying that it was only under the banner of Islam that Harijans would get equal treatment. Some Harijans met at Nasik and burned copies of Manusmriti. By now it was clear that only a small sections of the Mahars in which community Ambedkar himself was born was sympathetic to this opinion. M.C. Raja carne out with the statement opposing Ambedkar's stand and said that Doctor's stand would be destructive of Harijan interests.

Babu Jagjivan Ram and other dalit leaders like R. Srinivasan Solanki, Kajrolkar and Jaiswal declared their opposition to Ambedkar. The Depressed Class League met under the presidency of M.N. Mondal and took serious and adverse note of Dr. Ambedkar's call to the Harijans to leave the Hindu fold. Undeterred by all this opposing clamours Dr. Ambedkar announced in December 1935 that he had decided that he and his followers would not remain any longer in Hindu fold.

"The All India Hindu Mahasabha met at Poona under the presidency of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on 29th December 1935. Malviyaji as a president appealed to the Harijans to protect the Hindu religion, "Let the Harijans not forsake it and we apply the dust under their feet to out foreheads." They were, he assured going to remove the thrones that had been spread in the Harijans way. They were going to remove all their disabilities except interdining and inter marriage which applied to the rest of the Hindu also."

Babu Jagjivan Ram was one among prominent leaders who attended it. In this Maha Sabha a resolution, which was supported by
Babu Jagjivan Ram, was passed. The Maha Sabha reaffirmed its previous resolution for giving equal access to all Hindus irrespective of their caste and creed, to all public amenities and institutions such as schools, wells, ghats, places of water supply, hotels, roads, parks, dharmashalas, temples and public places of worship, burial grounds etc. It recommended the abolition of all distinctions in the Hindu Society, based on birth or caste, in the spheres of public social and political life.

"When Jagjivan Ram pressed his resolution there was a clash between him and the Shankaracharya of Puri there were over fifteen thousand people in the open session. Jagjivan Ram threatened that he would leave the conference if his resoultion was not passed. Malviyaji supported the resolution and the "Shankaracharya was defeated. Not only his group but even many of Ambedkar's supporters congratulated Jagjivan on his bold stand and henceforward he became known as a reckonable leader among leaders in the country."

Right from 1933 onwards there had been some difference of opinion among the two groups in the Congress. Some Congressmen recently released from jail, convened a mini A.I.C.C. at Poona in the middle of 1933. The two groups clamored for vastly differing courses of action - one group wanted resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement and other was in favor of calling off the Movement. Mahatma Gandhi on the other hand felt that the mass movement should be called off and individual Satyagraha should be continued. Because, he knew the pulse of his people. Hence he decided to keep the flame of sacrifice burning. Jagjivan was wholly convinced about the need and feasibility of individual Satyagraha and wrote to Mahatma Gandhi that he and his followers were ready for action and only awaited the green signal from Gandhi. But, he was put into jail. But while in the jail Gandhi had issued a statement that activities of the Congress were attended by too much secrecy, especially in
the management of Civil Disobedience campaign and that this secrecy according to him was the cause of weakness of the movement.

There was difference of opinion within the Congress some were resisting the ideological overtones of Nehru. The socialist group wanted the movement carried on but not necessarily in non-violent manner. There were those who advocated a cool consideration of communal Award of Macdonald. Subash Bose was very much against it. (The award had allotted eighty seats for the Hindus in Bengal out of a total 250). It was obvious that British government was out to encourage communal trouble in eastern part of India. Subhas Bose summoned some leaders to Bengal to discuss the maintenance of peace in the area and Jagjivan Ram was one of those summoned. Various steps for preserving communal peace were discussed at the meeting.

In January 1933 the judgment was finally delivered on long drawn out Meerut conspiracy case, and out of 31 accused 27 were sentenced to various terms of punishment. Surya Sen the leader of the Chittagong revolutionaries was arrested and was hanged to death. Jagjivan Ram was struck with gloom as he had personality known Surya Sen.

Mahatma Gandhi’s policy was one of unification. He brought people together he wanted to unite the Hindu with the Muslim, the Brahmins with the Harijans, the capitalists with the working class, the land lords with the peasants. By his all-inclusive outlook and freedom from hatred of any kind he was able to rouse sympathies even among those who were inimical.

Jawaharlal Nehru’s ideas had begun to lean to the left unlike earlier. In a press statement he had said "I do believe that fundamentally the voice before the world today is one between some form of communism and some form of facism and I am all for the former i.e. communism. I dislike facism intensely and I do not think it is anything
more than a crude and brutal aspect of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost.

Nehru's radical view of opposition to capitalism alarmed some rich men who used to finance the freedom movement. They naturally approached some Congress leaders to take an open stand against the express views of Nehru. Congress Working Committee thought it wise to pass a resolution voicing a doubt about socialism but Nehru's voice was heard by younger and newer groups throughout the country. Babu Jagjivan Ram respected Nehru's ideology and he addressed quite a number of meetings in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar telling his listeners that Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were the towering leaders of the country and its freedom struggle and the country must have a fresh look at all socio-Economic problems.

The British Parliament passed the 1935 Act of India but it did not mention Dominion status. The plea of a Mahatma Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference held in London 1931 that some sort of responsible Government be immediately set up in India, had fallen on deaf ears. The British were willing to consider only some sort of representative government. As per the Act of 1935 there was no responsible government and even if it was claimed to be responsible the question as to whom it was responsible was not clear. The British politicians strove to make it responsible to British Parliament. Indians under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi wanted it to be responsible to the people of India.

The Faizapur session of Congress began on December 27, 1936. in his presidential address Jawaharlal Nehru said, "The Government of India Act of 1935, the new constitution, has been imposed upon us in spite of our rejection of it and we are preparing to fight elections under it. We go legislature not to co-operate with the apparatus of British imperialism in its
attempt to strengthen its hold in India and its exploitation of Indian people. That is the basic policy of Congress and no Congressmen should forget it. Whatever we do must be within the four corners of this policy.

In January and February of 1937 Jagjivan addressed many meetings in his own district of Shahabad and other district in Bihar. Addressing a mammoth in Arrah he said "we have to fight the Government of India Act of 1935, and consequently we must lay stress on positive demand for a constituent Assembly and it is important that the constituent Assembly be elected under adult franchise. This is the very cornerstone of Congress policy as envisaged by our president, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Jagjivan took Nehru’s message from village to village and from town to town in Bihar. At a meeting in Monghyr he said "We are more opposed to the federal structure of the Act i.e. arrangement proposed by British Government regarding the running of the central government. The provincial part of the new Act may be accepted by our leaders for trail and it does not carry us far. In our fight for ultimate freedom of our country, we shall not hesitate to tear it up. We shall fight not only in the legislature but if need be, in streets and in towns in a way that may be approved by our leaders. The period of sacrifice was not yet over and we should all prepare for the final struggle whenever it should come.

Later within a short span the Congress decided to reject the Government of India Act of 1935 because it did not reflect the will of Indian people, because it meant ultimately to exploit the Indian people, because it was imposed on the foreign country by a foreign authority. There was wide spread suppression of civil liberties throughout the length and breadth of the land. Naturally the leaders of public opinion demanded a constituent assembly elected directly by people.
Those were the years when Fascist parties were growing up everywhere. In Great Britain, Netherland and Scandinvia conservatives were trying to acquire new image for itself. In India also fascist thoughts took roots. In numerous speeches Jagjivan cautioned young men all over the country against Fascism, he said, is negation of progressive ways of life and it stood for the old social order, whereas the Indian need was for social reconstruction of a basic kind.

Both the Congress and Muslims agreed in their rejection of Federal scheme. But Congress was willing to try the provincial part in order to carry on fight for freedom from within the legislature. Nehru made it clear and Jagjivan Ram interpreting Nehru's words in the entire Hindi belt made it abundantly clear.

Nehru and other leaders made a wide tour of many constituencies canvassing for Congress candidates. Jagjivan Ram himself was a candidate this time for election. Apart from canvassing in his constituency, he toured various areas making speeches in support of other Congress candidates. He covered several districts in U.P. He was sent to Dhampur near Haridwar where the contest was keen and one of prestige for the Congress. He visited Tarai area and then proceeded to the then Central Provinces, where he visited Kami, Bilaspur and other towns all the time working for Congress candidates. The Congress won in almost all these places. The election results showed that the Congress had own with a comfortable majority in five provinces Bihar, Orissa, C.P, U.P and Madras.

"Out of 16 seats reserved for dalits in Bihar, the Congress won 15. The Congress captured all the seats reserved for labour. Jagjivan Ram was elected to the assembly with a huge margin over his rival and his prestige in political circles rose to an all time high. He was known beyond the boundaries of Bihar as an indefatigable worker in the vineyards of freedom
and as a man of principle. On a rough estimate he received three hundred thousand congratulatory letters on being elected to the Bihar Assembly.”

The Congress took stock of the situation and directed the provincial units to take an assurance from the Governor that they would not use the special powers vested in them under the 1931 Act. Most of the Governors refused to give any such assurance. In Madras C. Gopalachari declined an invitation from the Governor to form a ministry. The same thing repeated in U.P. too.

In Bihar there were four candidates for the leadership of Congress party in the Assembly. Sri Krishna Sinha, Anugraha Narayan Sinha, Sayed Mahmood and Ram Dayalu Sinha were the aspirants. Rajendra Prasad was keen that the leader should be elected unanimously. He called provincial Congress committee meeting and elected Sn Krishna Sinha unanimously as he had done the utmost to defeat the Congress opponents in Bihar. A couple of days after meeting, Jagjivan was attached to Dr. Sayed Mahmood as a Parliamentary secretary. Dr. Sayed Mahmood was minister of education and also the Industries minister. S Lal was Secretary mcharge of the two Departments. The I.C.S. officer S. Lall, was very much impressed with the work and capacity of Jagjivan Ram. Lall later recalled his association with Jagjivan Ram with pride and pleasure.

According to S. Lall "Jagjivan never pretended to scholarship or sainthood. He did not claim to be a super intellectual. He said that this was rare among politicians. He had another remarkable asset, a gift of God, known as common sense. He understood the motives of men more sharply than many of his colleagues. His reactions are spontaneous and he never fails to uphold a good cause or support a good and able person once he was convinced that such support was necessary. Almost everyone who came in contact with him felt that here was very decent man indeed.
He is a good listener and hears every one big or small, high or low. He was a large hearted person, not annoyed with trifles.

Jagjivan Ram addressed two big rallies in Patna in February 1938 in which he told the people that soon they were going to ask for the release of those in jail. He declared that if they failed in this attempt to release the political prisoners, they would not hesitate to resign form office. He was instrumental in bringing pressure on S.K.Sinha to take up the matter with the Governor, shortly after words most of political prisons in Bihar were set free. There was some difficulty about the release of some 20 prisoners who were serving terms for various convictions. Jagjivan worked for their release also.

In 1937 Jinnah took sharp and communal turn, He accused the Congress of having adopted "a most brutal, oppressive and inimical attitude towards the All India Muslim League." The Muslim League wanted that in some particular provinces like U.P. the Muslim League should be represented in the cabinet. They had secured only few seats in U.P. Assembly and the claim was not based on any strength of achievement. Jumah began to speak as if he were the lone leader of Muslims all over the country. Congress Muslims and other independent Muslims raised their voice against Jinnah's claims. Jinnah raised slogan "Islam is in danger". He observed in a speech that Muslims would adopt all possible means sanctioned in their religion in order to defend their rights and interests and would not hesitate to make any sacrifice to achieve that end.

A few days after Jinnah's speech at Patna Jagjivan had occasion to address half a dozen meetings in various towns. In Bhagalpur he declared Mr.Jinnah should know that more Bihari Muslims have voted for the Congress than for the Muslim League. In towns and villages the Muslim brothers in Bihar have lived side by side with the Hindus. They have lived
peacefully for the last so many generations Jinnah's utterances at Patna not only amount to a disservice to the country but would ultimately sell, ruin to the poor people living in the country side. Never has any Muslim been prevented from saying his Namaz and Jinnah's bogey of 'Islam in danger' is in fact the real threat to the poor Muslims in carrying on their normal work in peaceful manner. We in Bihar will fight the evil tendencies through all peaceful means.

In 1938 Babu Jagjivan Ram's popularity rose to new heights. In public esteem he stood next only to Rajendra Prasad. The year saw the birth of his only son. Despite heavy work at office he found time to tour remote villages and rub shoulders with the people of countryside. He met then individually and also in manageable groups, listened to their problems and worries and carried their grievances to their departments concerned for quick action.

Jagjivan Ram had been elected a delegate to the Haripura Congress and he was also elected a member of the All India Congress Committee. He spoke on almost all the resolutions that came up in the Congress. The president Subhas Chandra Bose already knew him and he was further impressed favorably by Jagjivan's performance,

All the Congress leaders decided that they would work for political awakening among the people in the princely states. The time was ripe for a political movement in the states. The All India States people's Conference met at Ludhiana on February 16th 1939. The Conference passed a resolution appreciating the political awakening in the various states all over India. Nehru was president of this Conference.

In Rajkot people demanded responsible government. The Thakar Saheb refused to accept their demand and there was a hartal followed by prolonged satyagraha. Mahatma Gandhi went to Rajkot on February 27.
When the Thakar refused to accept Gandhi's suggestions the Mahatma started an indefinite fast on March 3. Jagjivan went to Rajkot and stayed with the Mahatma for a week. A commission had been appointed and it had already named three persons who would administer the state affairs from day to day. The Thakar refused to honour his commitment and Gandhi had to intervene again. The Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow referred the matter to the chief justice Sir Mourice Gwyer. The Mahatma ended his fast on 7th of March. Jagjivan Ram was with him that week.

The next plenary session of the Congress was held in Tripuri, near Jabulpur. It opened on 12th 1939. There was resolution on people's movement in the princely states. The Congress desire to reiterate that its objective of complete Independence was for the whole of India including the states, which are an integral part of India. Among the persons who spoke on the resolution were Babu Jagjivan Ram, Hira Lal Shastri, Jai Narayan Vyas, and other important leaders. Jagjivan Ram strongly expressed his stand on the resolution and said "all the state including princely states are integral parts of India.

**The Changing Scenario:**

In Europe tensions were mounting Hitler was preparing to strike. The pressure on Britain was mounting but, they would need some more of it before they would quit India. Voicing the demand of the Indian people. Jaya Prakash Narayan moved a resolution at Tripura Congress which said that India's freedom was not far away.

This time acute differences had erupted between Subhash Chandra Bose on one hand and Gandhi and his followers on the other. In fact two had different philosophies. In the beginning Nehru could not make up his mind but in the later stage he sided with Mahatma. A few months later Subash Chandra Bose formed "Forward Block."
The conflict in 1939 which was to have far-reaching consequences seemed predestined and there seemed no way of escaping it. Some persons commented harshly on the role of Nehru in this conflict. It is true that temperamentally he was nearer to Subhas than to the Mahatma. But Nehru's considered opinion was that the Mahatma's method would be better in the long run.

There was nothing personal in the conflict. It was a conflict of finding proper ways and means. Jagjivan and his friends decided to stick to the Mahatma.

In the early hours of September 1, 1939 Hitler marched his troops into Poland. In the Gazette of India dated September 3. Lord linlithgow proclaimed that "war has broken out between the Majesty and Germany" and that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened by war," Viceroy declared India a belligerent country. Here in India the Lord Linlithgow declared India to be at war with Germany without consulting any of Indian leaders. Many leaders spoke in various parts of the country condemning the Viceroy's declaration. Jagjivan Ram spoke at several meetings in his area.

The British parliament amended the Government of India Act and suspended the provincial autonomy clause. On September 3rd the Viceroy promulgated the defense of India ordinance. Meetings and processions were banned and the power of arrest without warrant was conferred on the Executive. The Zafrullah Khan was then the law member of Viceroy's Executive Council favoured the move. But the Congressmen were against it. Jagjivan Ram spoke at Buxar and termed Zafrullah's stand as utterly shameful.

The Congress Working Committee was summoned to meet at Wardha, and Rajendra Prasad presided over it. It announced the
formation of sub-committee with Nehru, Patel and Azad as its members. They were requested to discuss further relevant matters regarding the war and report to the Working Committee from time to time. At the same time the committee declared that India's position should be decided by the Indian masses themselves.

In New Delhi the Viceroy addressed a joint session of the two houses of central legislature on September 11 and announced that introduction of federation scheme would remain in suspense for the period of war. Speaking at Patna on 18 September, 1939 Jagjivan Ram said "If war is to define the status quo of imperialist possession of colonies and interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it ....... If Britain fought for the maintenance of democracy then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions and shall have to establish full democracy in India and the Indian people must have the right of self determination to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly without external and internal interference, and must guide their own policy."

He further said that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian People any imposed decision or attempt to use India's resources for purposes not approved by them will necessarily have to be opposed by them.

On 29 September 1939 Nehru spoke out Ins mind and declared at Allahabad that "We are not out to bargain or to take advantage of England's difficulties. But it was essential on our opinion both from the point of view of India and the world, that these very aims should be clarified and people made to believe in their reality and their bonafides" Jagjivan Ram said only a free and equal India can operate in the task of war. Till that vital change is made no leader in India has the power to
make the people of this country enthusiastic for a war which is not ours —
the first step must, there fore be the declaration of India's freedom.

Viceroy Lord Linlithgow made a public statement on October 17, in
which he tried to satisfy in his own way, the public opinion in India. He
said "We are seeking no material change and advantage for ourselves. We
are not only aiming at victory, but looking beyond it to laying the
foundation of a better international system, which will mean war is not to
be the inevitable lot for our succeeding generation." He further said that "I
am authorised now by His majesty's Government to say that at the end of
war, they will be willing to enter into consultation with representatives of
the several communities, parties and interests in India.

On the next day only Gandhi responded to it saying that it simply
shows old policy of 'Divide and Rule' is to continue and he clearly rejected
India's help and cooperation to Britain in her war with Hitler.

Babu Jagjivan Ram termed the Viceroy's statement as disappointing
to the extreme but not at all surprising. He further said that there was
apparently no common ground between India and Britain and their paths
diverged completely.

The Congress Working Committee met again at Wardha on October
22 and 23 resolved that "In the circumstances the committee cannot
possibly give any support to great Britain, it would amount to an
endorsement of the Imperialist policy which the Congress has always
sought to end."

On 26th October, the house of commons debated the situation
prevailing in India. On behalf of labour Party Wedgwood Benn attacked
the Viceroy's statement. He said "It is a clumsy document, a deadlock in
the self government in India. I hope the government is fully conscious that
it is necessary to make an effort to end that deadlock." Sir Stafford Cripps till then not a member of British cabinet said, "I believe we have to make up our minds whether we are genuinely determined, not in words but in action, to give self government to the people of India, Winston Churchill included him in the cabinet to that he may try out his hand in India.

Addressing a big meeting at Banaras, Jagjivan Ram commented on the discussion in the House of Commons. He said "Let the British Government realize that India is not to be satisfied by a promise of gradual advance by stages; she wants full freedom and the right to make her own constitution.

Babuji toured various parts of Bihar and addressed big rallies wherever he went, He asked the people to prepare for another struggle as the call might come at any time. He told the people that it was not possible for Congressmen to remain in office anymore. On his return to Patna he tendered his resignation along with others.

The AICC debated the war situation and decided that no assistance of any sort could be rendered to the Britain regime, Some persons advocated that Britain ought to be supported in the war crises. M,N. Roy was one of them. Disciplinary proceedings were launched against him and he was expelled from the Congress. Later again Congress met at Ramghar in second half of March 1940, Abul Kalam Azad presiding over it. It endorsed the resolution passed by Congress committee at Patna. According to resolution "The Congress cannot in any way directly or indirectly be party to war," It also said in clear terms that nothing short of complete independence was acceptable.

Babu Jagjivan Ram speaking about resolution said that "...... No permanent solution is possible except through a constituent assembly (elected on the basis of adult franchise), where the right of all recognised
minorities will be fully protected by an agreement as far as possible between the elected representatives of the various majority and minority groups or by arbitration of agreement is not reached on any point." Amidst these hottest situations Jagjivan Ram was elected as Bihar provincial Congress committee president. He remained as such till 2nd September 1946 and after that he became cabinet member when Indian government was formed.

**Individual Satyagraha and First Experience In Jail:**

At this time nation was getting restless. The Mahatma’s hand was on the pulse of the nation as usual. Some action was called for. Vinobha Bhave began the individual Satyagraha. While delivering an anti-war speech near wardha he was arrested and sentenced to three months imprisonment. On Oct. 31, Nehru was arrested and was sentenced to four years imprisonment on various counts.

Only a selected few were allowed to offer individual satyagraha. "On December 10, 1940 Jagjivan Ram offered individual satyagraha in Shahabad district. He took indirect route as he could possibly take in reaching the announced place, after holding and addressing numerous meetings. He was arrested at Piru brought to Arrah where he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and transferred to Hazaribag Jail. This was his first experience. His old mother and his elder brother Sant Lal were always a source of strength to him. When he sought Sant Lal’s permission to offer Satyagraha there was not a moments hesitation. "What is there to ask about? He said laughingly. He brought his bedding to Arrah Jail after Jagjivan Ram was arrested." 21

The whole village had performed Jagjivan’s 'Arti' before he started on what Gandhi has said pilgrimage to jail. When Babuji shifted to Hajaribagh Jail, the biggest jail for political prisoners in Bihar, people at
Arrah came to know that and thousands of them gathered at the railway station. The prisoners had to change trains at Patna and then at Gaya. The reputation and the honesty of these arrested men were such that at Patna where they wanted to go out for meals the police men allowed them to go but unaccompanied. They had that much of confidence that they would return themselves.

"Some people saw these prisoners at restaurant near the Patna railway station and the news spread like wild fire. The platform at patna station was thronged by the people. Many people squatted on the rails and did not allow the train to move. People brought eatables, fruits and sweets, in huge quantities. Knowing that Jagjivan Ram was fond of cigarettes people brought hundreds of packets of his favourite brand. Before getting in the train he distributed among children the entire quantity of eatables and gave away all the cigarette packets to the railway coolies."²²

At Hazaribagh he had the company of Jayaprakash Narayan, S.K.Sinha, A.N.Sinha, S.N.Smha, K.B.Sahay, and B.N.Jha. Babu Jagjivan Ram was a keen student of science and had read Dharma Shastras and books on religion. He had studied Bengali and Hindi literature as well. But, his knowledge of politics, economics, and history was rudimentary and derived from occasional readings, The halfway method never satisfied his craze for mastery of details, theories as well as facts. But his ceaseless and hectic activity hardly left him time for a planned and systematic study. The enforced confinement in the jail gave him this much wanted opportunity. He studied many books and discussed many filings with political prisoners. He spent some time in taking his 'pranayam' and 'Asana.' He also used to perform prayers everyday.
He had, however, one worry. His only son and surviving child Suresh who was born in 1938, was very delicate and suffered from frequent attacks of illness. Suddenly he became seriously ill and Indrani Devi had to take him to her father's place at Kanpur. Even after the best treatment there he could not be cured. Indrani Devi returned to Patna for further treatment. Jagjivan Ram was filled with sorrow and intense sadness. He had however full faith in Indrani Devi's capacity. He believed she would take the best possible care and do all that was possible to save the boy. She was such a devoted and charming house wife that he had often told her that she was to him what Urmila was to Laxaman.

When Jagjivan Ram was released on 10th September 1941, the first problem before him was the treatment of his son. By mid-November Suresh was healthy again. Mahatma Gandhi was at Wardha. Jagjivan Rani received a message from Gandhiji asking him to visit Wardha. He first went to Banaras to see Pandit Malaviya who was ailing. After spending a couple of days at Banaras he reached Wardha. The Mahatma kept Jagjivan Ram with him for about two weeks. He daily accompanied the Mahatma in his morning walks. The Mahatma walked briskly and during the walk he discussed many things with Jagjivan Ram.

In January 1941 one important event happened. Subhas Bose had disappeared from his Calcutta residence and he had left to Berlin. He tried to consolidate force to fight against British. He said "It was necessary for me to leave India this time in order to establish a direct personal contact with the enemies of British imperialism and thereby line up India's fight for freedom with the struggle of the tripartite powers against our own enemy Britain.

The war tension was affecting the minds of the ruling class in Britain, and Linlithgow was also in depressed spirits. He ordered the
release of Congress President, Maulana Azad, and Jawaharlal, British might was getting knock after knock at the hands of Japanese. Singapore on February 15th and Rangoon on March 7th 1942 fell to the Japanese forces.

On March 11, 1942 Churchill announced in the House of Commons that he was sending a senior minister, Sir Stafford Cripps, to India. Cripps brought with him a draft declaration from the British cabinet which was nothing more than the promise of Dominion states after the war. In India Cripps met leaders of all shades of opinion. But both the Congress and Muslim League found Cripps proposal unacceptable. The Congress Working Committee which met on April 11, 1942 while rejecting the Cripps proposals said that it would not be satisfied with mere promises for the future but with only realization of freedom. Mahatma Gandhi rightly described it as "an invitation to the Muslim League to create Pakistan" and he called it "a post-dated cheque on a failing bank."

Jagjivan Ram addressed meetings in Arrah, Patna, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Darbhanga asking people to prepare for another struggle as the Cripps proposals were bound to be rejected by top leaders. He termed them derogatory, but positively aimed at creating further deadlocks; tensions and bitterness among the political parties. Jagjivan Ram expressed the opinion that Britain was fighting the war for preserving the power and keeping India in bandage as long as she could. He toured the countryside in U.P. and Bihar and addressed millions of people and urged them to keep themselves ready for the coming struggle.

**Quit India Movement and the Last Days of Independence:**

The failure of Cripps mission and the growing threat of Japanese aggression brought a radical change in Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards the British Government. The people's discontent with rising prices and war...
time shortage was reaching an explosive stage. After surrender of Rangoon by British in early March 1942, Japanese were at India's eastern frontier, and brought India within the range of actual hostilities. Mahatma Gandhi came to believe that the presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India and therefore he asked the British "to leave India in God's hands or in modern parlance to anarchy". And he decided to give call for "Quit India Movement".

In Aug. 1942 the situation was getting tense The All India Congress Committee met on August 7th 1942 for its historic session in Bombay. The "Quit India" resolution was before the AICC. It said 'The Committee appeals to people of India to face the danger and hardship that will fall on their lot with courage and endurance and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide along the hard roads, where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the deliverance of India.

The AICC passed "Quit India Resolution" on the night of August 8, 1942. During that very night the police arrested Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel and all other eminent Congress leaders.

Jagjivan Ram and some other delegates who had been to attend Bombay AICC Session were staying at Windsor hotel in Bombay. Among them were Professor Abdul Bari and Kalicharan Khanna of Delhi. The latter had taken with him secret list he had obtained from someone in the Home Department. It contained the names of those who were to be arrested as soon as there was a green signal from the Viceroy. Jagjivan Ram's name was high enough in the list which contained nearly thousand names. His number in the list was 41. The hotel manager woke them up quite early in
the morning and informed them that the Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders had been arrested in the early hours. Jagjivan Ram was under strict instruction from senior leaders that he was to avoid arrest as far as possible. He knew that it was not possible for him to avoid arrest for long. Moreover he did not want to remain outside when most of his comrades were in jail. Anyway, he and Abdul Ban decided that they should avoid being arrested at Bombay. Meantime they had received an information that Gandhiji had expressed his desire to see both Jagjivan Ram and Abdul Bari on 9th morning and they hoped to receive first hand guidance and instructions, but, they could not meet Gandhi as there was complete 'Hartal' in the city. Anyway they managed to leave the hotel. After leaving the hotel they moved towards Kalba Devi area. The roads were silent and deserted. They moved on till they reached a friend's house where two others were expected to come.

In the afternoon of August 9, 1942 they boarded the Calcutta mail for their journey onwards. Somewhere in central India the police entered the compartment but they were in search of some other man who was not there. So they left. Kamalapati Tripathi a friend of Jagjivan was also traveling with them in the same compartment. Tripathi was arrested while leaving station of Allahabad. Jagjivan Ram too got down at Allahabad and decided to catch the next train after a few hours he sent a volunteer to Patna to announce that Jagjivan Ram would be getting down at Sadisopur, a station about 20.Km west of Patna. It is about six hours run from Allahabad.

At Mugahalasarei a large number of people, mostly students arrived at station and hoisted the Tricolour on the train. At Dumraon Jagjivan Ram learnt that the military had opened fire in Patna and many people had been killed including two neighbours of Jagjivan Ram were killed. He arrived Sodisopur at 6.30pm on coming out of train he found Vasudev
Prasad Singh waiting for him with the car. They visited some friends in Sodisopur and neighbouring villages and then arrived in Patna on 11th of August 1942.

A few days before Jagjivan Rain's arrival in Patna the British troops had fired upon a procession in Patna. Many people had been killed and several injured on that day. Curfew was imposed on the town. Rajendra Babu, S.K.Sinha, A.N.Sinha and other leaders were already under arrest. Jagat Narain Lal had gone towards the rural areas and Singheshwar Prasad who was guiding the movement at Patna was arrested. The responsibility of conducting the movement in Bihar devolved on Jagjivan Ram as he was the only leader who could not be traced by authorities for a few days. British and American troops surrounded the city.

Jagjivan Ram felt that organizational work had become more important than the agitation. If the Congress was to lead a resistance movement it must develop a resistance organization.

It is said that Gandhiji's message "Let each men be his own leader" had spread throughout the country like wildfire and people everywhere behaved as they liked. "Some Congress men in Patna wanted to disrupt the water supply in the city but Jagjivan Ram at mat time happened to be the president of joint electric workers and water workers union. He asked them not to do so. Instead he advised them to disrupt all telecommunication. The Kadam Kuan post office near Jagjivan Ram's residence was set on fire by the students."24

He was thus endeavoring to give the movement a new look of moral responsibility. He was trying to include discipline and a sense of high purpose. He was worried as how to stabilise the movement and not to permit it to turn violent. He felt very glad when he found that people responding to the call for moral responsibility. When the post office
situated near his house in Kadam Kuan was burnt not a peny was
touched. The illiterate masses who burnt the post office were
revolutionaries not hooligans.

Babu Jagjivan Ram met Anand Prasad Choudhary, a former Bengal
revolutionary in a house, which was situated at Gardhanibagh area where
he was staying. Chakradhar Saran had also accompanied Jagjivan. There
were some questions, which were disturbing everybody such as, For how
many days this August Kranti movement will continue? What is the
direction of it? These three leaders had prolonged discussions. Jagjivan
stood for complete dislocation of means of communication. He said that
that would completely paralyse the administration and keep the movement
gain time to spread in far off areas. Anand Choudry agreed with him, but
prominent socialist leader quoted a statement from chapter of the Russian
Revolution to prove his contention that disruption of means of
communication should be the last stage of revolution. As no decision could
be reached it was agreed to consult Ram Dayalu Sinha the veteran
Congress leader who was ailing at Sir, Ganesh Dutt Sinha's place.

Movement from one part of the city to another was becoming
increasingly difficult. As stated barricades had been erected at all
important points and none could cross them without pass. The first
question that Ram Dayalu Sinha put to Jagjivan was "Have you obtained
pass for moving in the city?", on being informed that it had not been
done. He advised him that obtaining of pass is a must and he also advised
not to wear Kahdi for time being. But, Jagjivan Ram did not think it proper
to give up the Kahdi even temporarily.

Jagjivan Ram was secretary of Bihar Congress and he was of the
view that the leader of Bihar people who had risen in a magnificent way
and had pyaralised British Administration should not seek passes for
moving about in his own town from the representatives of aliens.
He was right he had been to Parna city for one day in his usual khadi cloths and Gandhi cap. The people rallied around him, it raised them spiritually. On another occasion an American soldier challenged him promptly Jagjivan drew out an old invitation card and flashed it in his face. The American was impressed and let him go.

"Once Jagjivan Ram had dialogue with an American soldier who was manning the barricades and was misinformed, The young American who was an engineering student told him that they had supposed that they would have to guard the city against murderers, dacoits, and such other criminal elements. There were similar usual remarks by a few others. Jagjivan Ram wrote out a comprehensive pamphlet detailing incidents of American war of independence waged by Congress, The pamphlets were published and put in bundles at shops frequented by American soldiers. It did go a long way in making Americans to understand the implications of 1942 movement and there was a noticeable change in their attitude. Jamil Mazahan the famous urdu nationalist poet and an intimate friend of Jagjivan Ram rendered valuable help in this connection.

Some time later Jagjivan Ram had arranged to obtain a couple of dynamite sticks to blow of a bridge at Patna over which military trains used to carry arms, ammunition and other supplies to the eastern front. The dynamite sticks were kept in some bushes not far from the mhabitated area of the town. The British authorities had got a clue about it and they also came to know that Jagjivan Ram was in Patna. His presence in Patna was now noticed. In the afternoon of August 20^ 1942, Khan Bhadur Umar the additional district magistrate at Patna and the senior superintendent of police came with two truck loads of police men to hide outs of Jagjivan.
The A.D.M. told Jagjivan Ram that he could have some time to prepare himself. Jagjivan Ram went to another room and handed over cash and some documents to Jamil Mazahari, Urdu nationalist poet and trusted Congress man, who disappeared through another gate and avoided arrest. Then Jagjivan Ram came and informed A.D.M. that he was ready to accompany him.

Jagjivan Ram was then first taken to the Bankipur jail near Patna where many other prominent leaders were imprisoned. After a couple of days Dev Sharan Singh was also brought to Bankipur jail. He informed the leaders that the public was being terribly harassed. The resistance was growing stronger day by day. Jagjivan Ram passed word outside and informed some friends regarding the hidden bombs and dynamite sticks.

Subhas Chandra Bose who was in Berlin Spoke on Radio on August 31st 1942 and said that, 'The British empire will soon collapse and break as up as a result of shattering defeat in all the theatres of war and when the final dismemberment of the Empire taken place power will automatically come in to the hands of Indian people. In that very broadcast from Berlin Subhas Bose gave out such as boycott of British goods and services boycott of pro British Indians, holding public meetings and demonstrations, demanding the departure of British officials from India, arranging to punish police officers, interrupting postal, telegraph and communication services, interrupting railway and bus services, destroying police stations, Railway stations, jails, etc.

The upsurge of 1942 Quit India Movement was really very strong in all parts of India. In the month of August itself more than one lakh people had been arrested, thousands killed and tens of thousands injured. At some places the people were silenced temporarily but the movement went on unabated. Railway stations, post offices, telegraph and telephone lines were the main targets.
The movement had gone underground and a good number of persons evaded arrest successfully. They staked their lives to carry on the movement. Many of them died in encounters with police. The soul of the nation was now fully stirred. The student community was by and large electrified. Though many of them were not in a position to do much, still hundreds of students went underground and effectively earned on the freedom struggle. Some girl students also actively carried out these activities. They carried secret message from one place to another.

The Muslim League Working Committee met in Bombay from August to 20th at M.A. Jinnah's residence. It called upon all the Muslims to obtain from any participation in the movement initiated by Congress and to continue to pursue their normal peaceful life. It showed that how unjustified stand they had.

The movement was having its reverberations outside India as well. On August 31, 1942 Subhas Bose said over radio broadcast that "the more we suffer and the more we sacrifice in the pursuit of our national freedom, the more will India's prestige go up in the eyes of the world.

Subhas Bose had many friends in Bihar, eminent among them were Swami Sahajanand, Jagjivan Ram, etc,. Jagjivan Ram had very intimate relations with Subhas Chandra Bose. Though Jagjivan Ram and other leaders of Bihar were in jail. The message about Bose in speech and of other national activities were reaching them.

In the later days "the August Movement was slowly ebbing away. There remained however pockets of resistance which continued to defy the might of British and held the banner of freedom flying. But such pockets of revolt and resistance were many and even in these regions there was lack of proper leadership. Jagjivan Ram dream of the 1942 movement had visualised thousands of such pockets in each province. Resisting with
all available means the position of British rule springing into action simultaneously and making it impossible for the depleted army units to keep with the situation. The dream had not materialized. The country had suffered untold hardships. Many Congressmen were broken and demoralized.”

Later Jagjivan Ram and other leaders were transferred from Bankipur jail to Hazanbagh jail. Here at Hazaribagh jail a significant event occurred. A day before 'Diwalr the festival of light, in 1943, Jayaprakash Narayan the socialist leader who was about 40 years of age at that time jumped the wall of Hazaribagh jail and escaped. For many weeks Jayaprakash remained outside Bihar. After this escape prisoners in Hazaribagh jail were in fact tortured very much day and night. This caused severe strain on health of many of the prisoners. Jagjivan Ram fell ill and could not even sit up for many days. When his condition grew worse the government decided to release him.

On June 18th 1943 the British government announced the appointment of field Marshal Archibald Wavell as the Governor General and Viceroy of India.

By December 1943, the Muslim League was harping on its demand for partition of India, But there were some Muslim leaders and organisations who were strongly opposed to the pardon of mother land, But the gloomy picture that Jinnah was painting about hostilities between Hindu and Muslims caught the imagination of most of the Muslim actuals and it had its natural effect on the Muslim masses in general.

The Hindu Mahasabha met at Aranitsar from December 26th to 28th under the presidentship of Dr.S.P.Mukharji, the Mahasabha demanded the immediate formation of National Government, removal of Amery from British cabinet and the release of all the political prisoners in India.
There were some people in India who wanted that the August revolutions be withdrawn by the Congress. There were some citizens in Britain who met and passed a resolution that "in view of the grave crisis in India, we demand all possible measures for relief. The removal of Amery from office of Secretary of state for India, the release of Indian leaders and right of the Indian people to choose their own government." A member of Central Assembly, Lal Chand Navalrai, brought forward a resolution on February 8, 1944 in which he recommended the release of all political prisoners.

Abdul Quyyam a Congress member of central assembly, said on the floor of the house that "there can be no question of withdrawal of the resolution of August, 1942. If there is going to be any withdrawal, it will have to done by the government. There can be no retreat you can keep these gentlemen in jail as long as you like." After a couple of years this very person announced his resignation from the Congress and joined Muslim League.

In the middle of March, 1944 the All India Kisan Sabha met in its open session at Bezweda, Swami Sahajanand presided over it. It passed a resolution demanding "The immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other member of Working Committee. The resolution further said that "the sabha is convinced that the release of leaders would create on atmosphere favourable to achievement of national unity and or setting up of National Composite Government enjoying the confidence of the people.

At this time Jagjivan Ram had recovered from his sickness and he undertook a tour of Bihar meeting each and every Congress men who had evaded arrest. He gave fresh directions to Congressman to carry on the activities. He also devoted his energies to the affairs of Depressed Class
League which was in fairly bad shape. He told people that he was not a mild socialist of the Fabian hue and India needed a thorough overhaul of its social structure. He told the masses that though independent might soon come, socialism could come only if there was a real transformation. Jagjivan Ram had always stood for a new social order, a new equation between men and men. Mahatma Gandhi fully appreciated the feelings of Babu Jagjivan Ram.

The year 1944 was one of the personal tragedy for Mahatma. His private secretary, Mahadeo Desai died in a prison under his very eyes and Kasturbha Gandhi, the Mahatma's wife died in British custody in Poona at the age of 74. In a touching broadcast from Singapore Subhas Chandra Bose said "I had the privilege of coining in to frequent personal contact with Srimati Kastuba and I would sum up my tribute to her in a few words. She was the ideal of Indian womanhood, strong, patient, silent self sufficient. Kasturba was source of inspiration of the millions of India's daughters among whom she moved and whom she met in the struggle for freedom for her mother land. Her many imprisonments seriously impaired her health, but jails had no terror for her even in her 74 year. Any time Mahatma Gandhi launched a civil disobedience movement Kasturba was at his side in the forefront of struggle - an outstanding example to India's daughters and a challenge to the sons of India not to lag behind their sisters in the fight for India's freedom.

The death of Kasturba was really a sacrifice for the nation. She had been suffering form heart disease for over four months, but the plead to the Indian government to release her on medical grounds fell on deaf ears. The British probably hoped that by subjecting Mahatma Gandhi to such mental anguish that they could crush his body and soul and could make him to surrender. But they had not understood the steel soul of Mahatma which was committed to free the nation from the merciless British rule.
In Bihar, Jagjivan Ram organized nearly twenty big meetings in which he roundly condemned British imperialism for the unfortunate death of Kasturba Gandhi and Mahadev Desai. He reminded the British that the spirit of India would not be crushed and that the youths of India would carry the struggle forwards till the union Jack was replaced by the Indian Tricolor. Jagjivan Ram went to Bombay also and met some of the leading film artists and organized a meeting which demanded immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders.

Mahatma Gandhi was released in 1944. A gloom of the tragedy and partition was hung over India. Rajagopalchari had evolved a formula for Congress League understanding in June 1944. In September 1944, Gandhiji and Jinnah met several times but the talks ultimately broke down on the two nation theory.

In September, 1944 Jagjivan Ram undertook an extensive tour of central province and Bombay both for Congress and League work. At Nagpur, the working Committee of the All India Depressed Class League met under his presidency and prepared the memorandum which was presented on behalf of the All India Depressed Class League to Sapru committee. Later finding that effective and useful political work of Congress could not be carried on Jagjivan Ram organized a constructive workers organization of Patna with the assistance of Prof: Abdul Bari which continued to do useful work till the end of 1945.

The year 1944 was noted for armed fight between the Indian National Army and British it was certainly a year of victory for IN A. In the Andaman and Nicobar island the Union Jack was replaced by the Tricolour. The INA marched ja. to Iridl^ but had to withdraw owing to Japanese inadequacy of supply and treachery within its own rank. The Head quarter of the I.N.A. which had shifted to Rangoon in 1944 had to withdraw to Singapore in 1945.
The Viceroy Wavell returned from a trip to England and announced over the radio his plan which was popularly known as "Wavell plan" and he also announced the release of members of the Congress Working Committee.

"The essence of "Wavell plan" was the formation of new Executive Council at the centre in which all but the Viceroy and commander-in-chief would be Indians. All portfolios except defence would also be held by Indian members. The Executive Council was a interim arrangement which was to govern the country until such a time that a new permanent constitution could be agreed upon and come to force. To consider all these proposals a conference of 21 Indian political leaders was invited to the summer capital of Simla in June 1945.

Soon after his release Jawaharlal Nehru proceeded to Delhi on June 20 and the very next day he addressed a rally at the central park in 'Connaught place'. He said that he was ready to take responsibility for the events of 1942 on his own shoulders. He also criticised some groups which were pleading that the Congress should not attend the Conference at Simla called by Lord Wavell.

In Patna Jagjivan Ram addressed a meeting where he said that the leaders had accepted Simla invitation did not mean that out fight with British was over. But, our fight against imperialist rule of British will continue. He asked the people to remain vigilant. He expected another call to fight and sacrifice to the outmost for freedom. He added that the path to freedom was a thorny one and some more blood might have to be spilled before India achieved freedom.

As planned the Conference assembled at 11am on June 25th at Simla. It was at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi that Wavell had to invite Maulana Azad in his capacity as President. Gandhiji had declared that he
could attend the Conference only in his personal capacity. The Conference adjourned a couple of times on various days to give some times to leaders to discuss, private consultations among members. Govind Ballabha Pant had some meetings with M.A.Jinnah at which Liaquat All Khan was also present. Jagjivan Ram could present his humble suggestions to leaders regarding the plan.

There was private dissuasions between Wavell and Jinnah. Jinnah was insisting on the point that he would nominate all the Muslim members who were to be appointed to the Viceroy’s Executive Council. He objected to inclusion of any non League Muslim in Executive Council. He claimed that the Muslim League was the sole representative of Indian Muslims. The Congress therefore had no right to nominate Muslim members to Executive Council. The Congress leaders did not accept this claim of Jinnah to present and they were insisting that at least one Muslim member would be their choice. This was the gap which could not be covered ultimately and the Simla Conference ended in failure.

In the month of July 1945, general elections were held in Britain. The conservative party of Winston Churchill was defeated and labour party headed by Clement Attlee came to power with a resounding victory and he was elected as Prime Minister of Britain on 27th July 1945.

Soon after his coming to power Attlee sent a parliamentary delegation to India. The delegation met people of all shades of opinion in India and studied the situation in full. After many weeks of tour the delegation returned to Britain and reported their impression to British Prime Minister. In the first quarter of 1946 Clement Attlee announced that a cabinet team headed by Lord Pethik Lawrence- would be visiting India. Before cabinet team left England the House of Commons had a debate on India on Marh 15th 1946. Speaking on the floor of house Clement Attlee

88
declared, twice in 25 years India has played a great part in the defeat of tyranny, it any wonder that today she claims as a nation of 400 million people that has twice sent her sons to die for freedom, that she should herself have freedom to decide her destiny?"

It was clear from the speech of Attlee that labour Government had decided to wind up the British Raj in India. It was now a question to whom to hand over power and in what way. To settle these problems British government sent a mission to India called as "Cabinet Mission". It comprised three British Ministers Sir Pethic Lawrence, Stafford Crips and Alexander. These three arrived at Karachi on the evening of March 25. It had prolonged discussions with leaders of various political parties, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the rulers of princely states etc. After repeated discussions the three British ministers prepared a document known as the "Cabinet Mission Plan.

According to this plan there were to be three groups of provinces. The Eastern group was to comprise Bengal and Assam. Similarly there was to be group in the north-west India consisting of Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan. These two groups were to have Muslim majority administration at provincial as well as group level. The third group was to be of the remaining provinces. The centre envisaged under Cabinet Mission Plan that it would only the limited subjects of Defense, communication and foreign affairs,

The Congress considered that scheme would not be accepted by majority of the Congress. The Muslim League also rejected it by its resolution of July 1940. Besides his long term plan Wavell put forward certain suggestions regarding the formation of Interim Government.
1. The Interim Government will consist of 14 members.

2. Six members (to include one schedule caste representative) will be nominated by Congress.

Five members will be nominated by Muslim League, the representatives of minorities will be nominated by the Viceroy, one of these places will be kept for sikh. It will not be open to either the Congress or Muslim League to object to the names submitted by the other party provided they are accepted by the Viceroy,

3. Distribution of portfolios will be decided after the parties have agreed to enter the government and have submitted their names. The Congress and Muslim League will each have an equitable share in the most important portfolios.

Mahatma Gandhi was completely opposed to the plan proposed by Wavell. He was of the view that the Wavell plan introduced an element of communalism by equating Congress with caste Hindus which struck a blow to the national character. "The vehemence of the protest made by Gandhi against Wavell equating Congress with Hindu organisation provoked Jagjivan Ram into issuing statement criticizing the Mahatma's stand. In this statement published in many Indian papers on June 18, 1945, Jagjivan Ram said that he found Gandhiji's attitude self contradictory and surprising, Congress nationalism he often felt, had to broaden itself by shift in emphasis not only on Economic programme but on social issue as well. While he did not agree with the parity formula in Wavell plan as a matter of fact he and under his inspiration the Depressed Class League opposed it vehemently."27

In later statement which was published on June 23rd Jagjivan Ram explained that at least 3 seats in the Viceroy’s Executive Council should go to the Dalits. He agreed if the Muslims who form 26.8% of the population
get 40% of weightage which vanes inversely to population. The schedule caste whose population is about half of that of the Muslims should get the double weightage of what Muslims get i.e. they should get about 100% and hence atleast 3 seats in Executive Council.

As a Youngest Cabinet Member:

On June 16th 1946 Mavell addressed a letter to Jagjivan Ram and others enclosing the text of his statement issued on the same day inviting him to become a member of the Interim Government.

The text of statement issued by Wavell include the following names who were to be included in the Interim Government.

- Mr. Jagjivan Ram
- Sir.N.P.Engineer
- Sardar Baldev Singh
- Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
- Mr. M.A.Jinnah
- Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
- Mr.H.K.Mahatab
- Dr. John Mathai
- Nawab Mohommed Ismail
- Kwaza Sir Nazimuddin
- Saradar Abdul Rab Nishtar
- Mr. C.Rajagopalachari
- Dr.Rajendra Prasad
- Saradar Vallabh Bhai Patel.

As Maulana Azad, whom the Congress rightly wanted to be in the interim government, if only to emphasize its secular and national character. As Muslim League hinted had been deliberately left out in order to placate the Muslim League circle hinted.

On June 20th Babu Jagjivan Ram sent the following telegram to Wavell expressing his anguish over inadequate representation of schedule caste and not including Maulana Abul Kalam Azad hi the list of members who were to be appointed as minister in the Interim Government.

"Lord Wavell, New Delhi.
As a Congressman and as a representative of Schedule Caste I feel non-inclusion of nationalist Muslim unreasonable throwing minorities’ representative at Mr. Jinnah’s mercy undemocratic and scheduled caste representation inadequate stop, hence respectfully decline becoming member in the Interim Government under existing condition.

Jagjivan Ram

Similar telegrams were sent by the other Congress invitees to the Interim Government. Later, whether the cabinet delegation and Wavell accepted Maulana Azad, then all the Congress invitees agreed to join the Government.

The Muslim League stood completely against it. M.A Jinnah wrote a letter to Wavell on July 31st saying that "your present proposal clearly destroys the principle of parity as well as representation according to communities and gives a clear majority of Congress as against the Muslim League to start with." Finally he said, "I can only say that in my opinion, there is no chance of my Working Committee accepting this proposal." Thus when Muslim League rejected the offer, Wavell wrote back to Jinnah saying that "in view of the League resolution of July 29 (or rejection of the Cabinet Mission proposal and initiation of Direct Action). I have now decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government.

On August 13 Jawaharlal Nehru wrote a letter to M.A. Jinnah. He said "I have accepted this (Viceroy's) invitation. I feel that my first step should be to approach you and seek your co-operation in the formation of coalition provisional Government. It is naturally our desire to have a representative government as soon as possible." Soon after that he brought forward a list of names who were to be appointed as a ministers in the Interim Government. The list included Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Vallabh Bhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Asaf Ali, C. Rajagopalachari, Sarat Chandra Bose, John Mathai, Baladev Singh, S.A. Khan. Babu Jagjivan Ram, S.A.Zaheer, C.H. Bhaba and Maulana Azad. There was no any Muslim League member in the list because Muslim League had decided not to join the Interim Government

Muslim League decided to carry out Direct Action Day on 16th August 1946. On that day communal riots broke out in Calcutta and other parts of the country under the very nose of Muslim League leaders. Many cities in the country turned in to battlefield. In Bihar there were large scale rioting. Prisons were running high and people were not prepared to listen to the voice of sanity. Madness was in its full-fury. It had affected large number of people belonging to Hindu as well as Muslim community,

"Jagjivan Ram rushed to the not affected cities, towns and even remote villages of Bihar and consoled the affected to the maximum of his capacity. He guided relief operations and gave beneficial guidelines to the local authorities for organizing relief work. He requested the Congressmen of Bihar to come forward and stoke their lives to prevent the butchery of innocent persons. He went from place to place emphasizing the point that poor innocent Muslims could not be made to suffer for the heinous acts of the Muslim league and its leaders. He spent most of his time during the riots in Bihar itself and grappled with the situation more successfully than any other individual."30 Later situations in Bihar and other parts gradually began to be normal within a few days.

On September 2nd 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues formed the Interim Government consisting of six Congressmen of whom five were high caste Hindus and one Dalit, one Christian, one SIM, one Parsi. And two non-League Muslims. Jagjivan Ram was the only dalit who entered the Executive Council as an Urn Labour Minister. He was men 38
years of age being the youngest of the listers. A noted journalist wrote about Jagjivan in the 'National Herald'; "By far the youngest member of the first National Government of Independent India will be Mr. Jagjivan Ram, President of All India Depressed Class League. His nomination has given universal satisfaction, has been hailed as heralding a new era of hope for the Harijan masses of India.

"As soon as Jagjivan Ram took over as labor Minister, he called senior officer to his room in the secretariat. He told them that he would speak the word "Inquilab" and they all must say "zindabad" but "zindabad" came from the officers in a very feeble tone. Some of them probably thought that the British Raj had not yet ended there. They might have thought that the Congress leaders might again resign just as Congressmen gave up in 1939. Jagjivan Ram again emphasized that they ought to speak the word "zindabad" quite loudly. The second time officials mustered little loudly. Later on it was found that their slogan of "inqualab zindabad," could be heard even in the Viceroy Lodge which was short distance away."31 This incident brought a big transformation in the attitude of officials that were present there. They in fact felt that they were now important cogs in the machinery which was to move in the direction of real public welfare under the banging guidance of Nehru, Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Babu Jagjivan Ram.

The Interim Government was functioning well with Jawaharlal Nehru as its president. In October the Muslim League had also joined the Interim Government. The Congress leaders Saradar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jagjivan Ram and Gobind Ballabh Pant were very unhappy about secret meetings which were being carried on behind Jawaharlal Nehru by M.A.Jinnah and Wavell.
At London during Round Table Conference in 1931, Dr.C.L.Katial was very close to Mahatma Gandhi. Katial had many friends among British politicians. He visited India in 1946 and called on Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Jagjivan Ram. After a few weeks of formation of interim Government, the National Congress held its plenary session at Meerut Katial also attended it and he happened to be the first speaker at the open session. He had brought a message of good will from the Indian League in London. V.K.Krishna Menon and C.L.Katial were the two persons who were working for the Indian League at London. After the session was over leaders came back to Delhi.

While Katial was going back to London Jagjivan Ram requested him to use his influence on the Labour government to improve the unsatisfactory states of affairs in Delhi. Later Jagjivan Ram himself raised the voice against Wavell due to his discriminatory attitude towards Congress and Muslim League. Jagjivan was first to voice in India saying that Wavell must be recalled.

When Katial arrived at London according to request made by Jagjivan Ram and other Congress leaders he met William Whiteley who was the chief whip of the labour government and good friend of Katial. Katial informed him about Viceroy's discriminatory activities and told him that the first thing the labour government should do was to recall Wavell. Whiteley met Clement Attlee and an immediate decision was taken to recall, Archibald Wavell.

By all these rising differences between Congress and League, Clement Attlee ultimately made his announcement in the House of Commons on February 20, 1947 that his Majesty Government desire to hand over the powers in to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948. At the same time be also announced the appointment of
Admiral Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India in succession to Archibald Wavell.

Jawaharlal Nehru openly described the British government's decision as a "Wise and courageous one." In the same statement he appealed to the Muslim League to join the constituent Assembly so that process of transfer of power might go through smooth and rapidly.

The Muslim league member in the interim government were not only creating deadlocks in every discussions that took place at table but were also delivering inflammatory speeches in public. This was obviously with full support of Mr.M.A.Jinnah who was demanding partition of India as only possible acceptable solution. The atmosphere was surcharged with hatred and violence broke out in the country on large scale.

Thus at this time country was passing through an unprecedented turmoil's. It was most in Eastern Punjab and Delhi. Jinnah went on repeating his demand for Pakistan day in and day out. Amidst these circumstances Mountbatten started thinking in terms of partition. He went to have full - scale discussion with Labor government in London. The final decision for an immediate partition of India into two political units and handing over powers to the Congress and Muslim League respectively was taken in London in the last week of May 1947. According to Mountbatten Prime Minister Attlee set the partition plan on June 3\textsuperscript{rd} 1947 which was popularly known as June 3\textsuperscript{rd} Plan.

It is a fact of history that Nehru and Patel accepted the plan. But it was the A.I.C.C. which had to take the final decision. Both the leaders went to Mahatma Gandhi with a request that he should not oppose the plan at the A.I.C.C. meeting.
The national Executive of Socialist in India met in New Delhi on June 10th 1947 and said that 'It expresses its disapproval and grief at the proposed division of the country.

Babu Jagjivan Ram, had adopted the side of Mahatma Gandhiji. He had reluctant mind over partition as he believed in prosperity in unity. But, circumstances were such that it made them agree to the partition plan.

An emergency meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held in New Delhi. A resolution of extreme importance was before it. It accepted the proposals embodied in the announcement of June 3rd plan which had laid down the procedure for ascertaining the will of the people concern. The resolution was passed but not unanimously, 157 members voted for it and 29 against. Thus on June 15th 1947 the Congress placed its seal on Mountbatten plan for the creation of two independent states of India and Pakistan.

The entire northern India was having a blood bath even when the plan was being discussed by various political parties. Some thought that this mad fury would be over as the birth of two new states took place. Some people were really worried about the partition of India and voiced their feelings that the plan ought to be rejected irrespective of consequences. But this was not to be. Freedom was to come not to a united India but to the partitioned in two parts which were to remain hostile for decades to come.

On the evening of August 14 lakhs of people assembled at India Gate, New Delhi where Nehru and Mountbatten spoke from the same platform. The Constituent Assembly was to function as provisional parliament of India. It was to have midnight session on the night of August 14-15 and was presided over by Dr. Rajendra Prasad who had been functioning as the chairman of Constituent assembly. More than laks
of people had assembled outside the parliament house. They raised the slogan of "Inquilab Zindabad", "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru delivered his exciting historic speech. He started with the words "At the stroke of midnight hours when the world sleeps India shall awake to light and freedom .........." His speech reminded the people's glorious struggle hard fought and hard won. It gave a mixed feeling that happiness had a tinge of sorrow to it. The cream of freedom fighters had assembled in the central hall to declare India a free nation. It was for this day that countless men and women had sacrificed their lives for many centuries in India.

Soon after the speech by Nehru all the leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Jagjivan Ram and others proceeded to Governor General's residence to take oath as a Ministers of free India. The top civil servants, some senior army officers and some other special invites were present at the Durbar Hall when the ministers of the first cabinet in free India took oath of office. As in the Interim Government Babu Jagjivan Ram took charge of Labor portfolio.

This brave soldier of mother land was one of the brightest luminaries of the nation. His contribution to the motherland will remain as a matter of great importance. A boy born in a remote village in a backward community made himself a significant position among nationalistic circle who had devoted their whole and sole for the cause of the nation. His contribution in awakening the spirit of nationalism among Indian masses will remain memorable one. A staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhiji. He adopted his ideas in very young age. Like Gandhiji Jagjivan attached greater importance to truth and non-violence. At the very young age he determined to free the nation from the shackles of British rule. This charismatic leader being a 'God' or 'Masiha' to the Dalits, his contribution
in persuading dalits of India to fight for motherland is immense one. Ultimately the dream of this brave son of motherland came true on midnight of August 15, 1947. Really we should be proud of 'Bharat Mata' for giving birth to such a courageous and devoted personality.

**Founding Father:**

Jagjivan Ram as a true nationalist leader had demanded to the Scheduled Castes freedom first, then proper representation in the Cabinte and uplift of the Untouchables besides a Constituent Assembly. The talents of Shri Ram touched the high watermark when he was elected member of the Constituent Assembly of India in 1946. In consideration of his selfless service to the making of the Constitution he will go down in history as one of the founding fathers of the Constitution and builder of the new society which looks forward to a future, where all are happy and feel a sense of security. Some of the members of the Conssembly were high-flown idealists who hovered, as it were, in a balloon completely divorced from actualities, but others were hard-boiled realists. It was Shri Jagijvan Ram who took immense pains to bridge the gap between realism and idealism. The ripe fruit of his earnest labour is the Constitution. There has been a happy marriage in the body of the Constitution between sober realism and soaring idealism. As the German Philosopher Fichte was between Kant and Hegel, so is Ram the link between the idealism enshrined in the preamble and Ram played a big role in drafting many of the fundamental elements of the Constitution like the Directive Principles and the Fundamental Rights. The Principles set forth the humanitarian socialist precepts that were the aims of the Indian social revolution. Amid the general acclaim for the Principles, almost the only critical voices were those of the members who believed, I think rightly, that the Principles should be justifiable if they were to be adequate to their tasks. Of them Shri Ram tops the list. He did not regard the Principles as 'mere pious wishes, or a dust of sentiments as to permit any individual to ride his hobby horse into it’. He though that if
the principles were devoid of legal force, the private rights might override the public weal. He would have made the Principles or even more rigorous social programme, justifiable. He disliked mere precepts and in the end supported them. He strongly argued in favour of inclusion of the right to work and social right. He noted with grave concern that India had specialist thinkers and feudalism of some areas. In consideration of the special social condition Shri Ram defended the cause of the minorities. As one of the leading members of the minorities sub-committee of the Consembly, he was keen on including into the Fundamental Rights the Freedom of Religion and those special provisions relating to the protection of script and culture, the rights of minorities to maintain their own institutions. Minority group of all kinds including the Scheduled Castes led by Shri Ram himself, urged upon the Consembly that special considerations would be given to their long-neglected problems and their interests protected. He did much to provide for adequate minority representation in legislatures and civil services and others forms special considerations.

Parliament Debates, High level discussions, official notes, public speeches, writings and minutes of meetings are enough to support his socialistic ideology.

**SIGNIFICANT ROLE:**

No doubt, as a parliamentarian Shri Ram is second to none He has played a significant role during the last four decades or so in shaping the policy of the Government and in its implementation. He was largely responsible for the nationalization of air transport in India and for the great expansion of postal, telegraphic and telecommunication facilities. He served the people in general as Minister of many departments of the Government of India. He took active interest in the movement for social reforms and for bettering the conditions of the poor and the depressed.
Ministries of Labour, Communications, Transport and Railways, Employment and Rehabilitation, Food and Agriculture, Community Development, Defence and Agriculture and the Irrigation Departments bear mark of his mature statesmanship and rare wisdom. As the Minister of Employment and Rehabilitation, he led Indian delegation to the Asian Labour Ministers Conference in Rome in 1967. His role as the Minister of Defence in 1971 is remarkable in the contemporary history of India. When the people of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) rose in revolt against the unprecedented tyranny and oppression of Pakistani military junta and the war broke out between India and Pakistan, Shri Ram steered the Ship of the Defence Department very admirably. He showed unequal courage and rare far-sight and led the war to a successful conclusion in 1971. He was praised as a very lucky and fortunate minister. He was appreciated as a successful minister through his parliamentary career.

He was the luckiest and ablest Minister of Agriculture, Government of India. During most troubled decades he was successful in establishing himself as on of the successful and the most experienced statesmen of India. Many new and novel plans for depressed classes, working class and agricultural development of the country were fathered by him. He rightly felt that India is largely an agricultural country and her development heavily depends on agriculture. The country under his able leadership benefitted a lot to become self sufficient in the production of foodgrains.

He was thus called fortunate minister. Rain poured at right time after drought. The farmers praised him anything.
FRIEND IN NEED:

He occupied very important position in the Congress. Throughout his long career as a successful politician he has sided with those millions of men to whom privileges and prosperity were foreign for hundreds of years or so the workers and the peasants and the untouchables always feel the warmth of his affection. He is the friend of those who have given dignity and luster to all his action and achievements, desire and deeds.

He has spent the major part of his life for the mass of men, is one of the great politicians and humanitarians of human race in all ages, one whose name will endure so long as our posterity trouble their minds about matters political.

He was always a tower of strength to the Congress President and the Prime Minister during the troubled decade after Nehru’s death. He saved the Congress during 1969 spilt alongwith F. A. Ahmed. He served the countrymen as Congress President during 1969-1971 and made a history.

He very much remained on the national political scence for forty years during 1946-1986.
Notes and References:


3. Devindra Prasad Sharma, Jagjivan Ram The man and the times, Indian Book Company Publisher, New Delhi-1994, Page-16


5. S.R. Bakshi, Jagjivan Ram The Harijan Leader, Anmol Publication, New Delhi-1992, Page-

6. C.M Channabasappa Hasiru Krantiya Harikar. Dr. Jagjivan Ram Kannada Kalmani Brother Publication Page-6

7. Devindra Prasad Sharma, Jagjivan Ram The man and the times, Indian Book Company Publisher, New Delhi-1994, Page-19


15. C.M Channabasappa Hasiru Krantiya Harikar. Dr. Jagjivan Ram Kannada Kalmani Brother Publication Page-9

16. C.M Channabasappa Hasiru Krantiya Harikar. Dr. Jagjivan Ram Kannada Kalmani Brother Publication Page-9


20. Devindra Prasad Sharma, Jagjivan Ram The man and the times, Indian Book Company Publisher, New Delhi-1974, Page-45


22. Devindra Prasad Sharma, Jagjivan Ram The man and the times, Indian Book Company Publisher, New Delhi-1974, Page-54.