INTRODUCTION

The men who guided the course of history, those who changed the thought and those who worked for the welfare of mankind or otherwise served the country are generally fit subjects of research. The subject need not sit pretty atop life’s Mt. Everest. It is enough if one reaches a hill-top by his own efforts.

To attempt to do research on the life of a well-known figure in public life, particularly of one whose political and social career had spanned nearly five eventful decades, is indeed a difficult task.
A remarkable feature of India's social and freedom movement is the valuable service rendered at different stages by a long line of distinguished persons at the national and local levels who felt a deep and genuine affection for the motherland. These men gave a healthy tone to our public life through records of personal purity and uncompromising adherence to convictions, which have become all too rare in the years of our Independence and after.

Most social and political activities are activated by a variety of motives: people may wish to earn money, advance their careers, defeat personal enemies, achieve public or private ends, and so on. There is another category of leaders who came with firm principles and strong convictions and dedicated their lives to achieve the goals for which those persons and principles stood. To this last category belonged Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan, a political philosopher and tireless fighter for change of Indian society. He was one of the most notable philosophers of India. His philosophy inspired people.

J.P. played a very active and revolutionary role during the struggle for India's freedom. He repeatedly emphasized during that struggle that political power was only the first most important condition for a larger and a longer struggle for creating a more just, peaceful, egalitarian society. Much of the admiration of his people he won was because of his self denial and selfless dedicated service. He refused to hold any public office. People of India have a great regard for those public men who lead a simple life, do not seek material
gains and do not pursue politics of power. J.P. had a certain saintliness about him.

J.P. was a combination of political thinker and political activist. His writings and activities exhibited his deep concern not only for the freedom of Indian people, but also freedom of man everywhere and from every sort of trammel. He was a great champion of individual freedom. In the Post-Independence era he was the only 'crusader', to launch a total revolution in the country without any clamour for power.

A number of studies are by now available on the life and activities of J.P. There are, however, a number of aspects which have either remained singularly untouched or need a more pointed enquiry and analysis. One of these relates to his concept of State and a vision of a stateless society. Though he discussed the coercive nature of the state and its inability to bring about a transformation of society and has talked of replacing political power by people's power (Jana Shakti in place of Raj Shakti) and Sarvodaya, a serious effort has hardly been made to make a systematic study of his interconnected ideas which are often seemingly incoherent. His views on State, socialism, and stateless society are parts of an interconnected framework of ideas. The writer's endeavour is to make a study in a little more depth. Though his ideas went on changing. One does see that they fall in a certain system. It would certainly be useful to discuss his concepts and ideas in a historical perspective.
J.P. was one of the foremost thinkers on Indian Socialism, if one may grant that despite its being taken as a universal doctrine, it becomes meaningful only in the context of socio-cultural peculiarities of a particular society. The more he tried to understand and grapple with the complex realities of the Indian situation the more did he discard some of the earlier thinking and adopt fresh ideas.

During the colonial period he was a prophet of Marxian socialism. Though his tone was that of a Marx, he believed in the techniques of Gandhi. Truly speaking, he was a Gandhian-marxist. Later he moved from Marxism to democratic socialism. His concept of socialism underwent a further change, as he moved towards Sarvodaya. Later he talked of people's socialism and under his last plea, i.e., 'Total Revolution' he talked mainly of establishing people's power. He had himself tried to explain the reason for these changes but adequate attempt has yet to be made at an analysis of these ideas. Similarly it is deemed useful to discuss his concepts of State and his views on stateless society both separately and in the context of his total revolution. There is also need to explain and examine his concepts of Bhoodan, Sarvodaya and partyless democracy wherein he had emphasized the need to minimize the role of the State. He had searched for an ideology which would solve the problems of society in a moral and peaceful way. His views on socialism, sarvodaya and total revolution bear testimony to his humanitarian goals. His Total Revolution is another concept which is as popular and gripping as it is elusive. It is of considerable importance to examine what exactly he meant by it; how far it
was consistent with his other passionately held ideas and discuss the mechanics of political action through which he wanted to bring about the revolution. There are a variety of contradictions in his ideas. These need to be examined.

J.P.'s ideas, thoughts and activities have been a subject of scholarly attention. A number of writings became available during this period. This literature has, however, largely focused on his phenomenal contribution to the popular upsurge against corruption and authoritarian tendencies. A major part of the existing literature is mainly descriptive and biographical. There is need to relate his ideas and attempt to view them in a certain perspective. One attempt has been made to focus mainly on his political ideas about state, socialism, partyless democracy and total revolution. To some extent the ideas of M.N. Roy about State, Socialism and Organized Democracy have also been touched to clarify the ideas of J.P.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A review of the available literature may be in order. This literature may for that purpose be classified into four categories:

1. Jayaprakash Narayan's own writings,
2. Biographies, most of them written by his admirers at different times,
3. M.N. Roy's writings, and
4. Literature pertaining to Socialist Movement in India.
Writings of Jayaprakash Narayan

These provide the most valuable material on which the writer has mainly relied. It may be worthwhile for that purpose to have brief survey of his writings. J.P. was a prolific writer and published more than forty books and monographs.

The first work of J.P., *Why Socialism?* appeared in 1936. It was an exposition on Marxism or "Scientific Socialism". It was a powerful exhortation for accepting socialism as the goal by the Indian National Congress and also by the people in general. This has been acclaimed as a masterpiece and is certainly one of the finest books written on Indian affairs. In this book he discusses the nature and ideology of Congress Socialist Party relating to issues of Nationalism and Socialism in India.

In 1946 Yusuf Meharally edited a collection of his speeches and writings under the title *Towards Struggle* with a short biographical sketch of J.P. It also included chapters on "Why Socialism" and "Socialism of India" which help to a great extent in a further exposition of J.P.'s concept of State and Socialism. A chapter on "The Problems of Socialist Unity" puts the problem in the specific historical context. The book also contains his letters to the "Freedom Fighters" written during the course of 1942 Revolution and 1946, which are quite useful as a source material on his role in the national freedom struggle.

His Dairy notes of 1944, the year of his confinement in the Lahore Fort appeared in 1959 under the title *Inside Lahore Fort*. This is a highly
informative booklet and it also provides an insight into the gradual transformation of his ideas on Gandhian lines.

In 1956, a collection of his speeches and articles appeared under the title *Socialism to Sarvodaya*. In December 1957, an ideological evolution of his thought appeared in the form of a long letter under the title *From Socialism to Sarvodaya*. The same letter also appeared under the title *The Evolution Towards Sarvodaya*. The letter which he issued to his P.S.P. comrades elaborately explains the ideological evolution of his thought from non-co-operation to communism to democratic Socialism to Sarvodaya. This letter also throws significant light upon his political ideas on State, socialism and stateless society. He also discussed therein his view on Bhoodan, Sarvodaya and politics of Sarvodaya which includes his concepts of *Lok Niti* and *Raj Niti*. This book has been a very good source for understanding the rationale of his ideas.

Another collection of his letters, speeches and writings entitled *Towards A New Society* appeared in April 1958. In February 1959, another small pamphlet appeared under the title *The Dual Revolution*. This contains his expositions on Gandhian approach to social revolution which he believed must be preceded by human revolution.

One of his most thought provoking work appeared under the title *A Plea for Reconstruction of Indian Polity* (1959). In this are discussed his essential ideas concerning the inadequacies of parliamentary democracy and it contains an elaborate plea for the establishment of a decentralized socio-political order in India.
Another important collection of his articles and writings appeared as *A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order*, in February 1961. This is useful for the elucidation of his ideas on Bhoodan, Sarvodaya and Jeevandan. One chapter entitled “Political Theory of Bhoodan” focuses mainly on argument for reducing the role of the State in the new order. His concept of State under Sarvodaya has also been more adequately discussed here including his exposition on Sarvodaya order and State and Sarvodaya ideal.

In the same year and the same month, another important work advocating Panchayat Raj for India appeared under the title *Swaraj for the People*. This pamphlet was about his ideas for the adoption of decentralized socio-political order in India. He pleaded therein for a society in which “Panchayat Raj” or “Swaraj from Below” was to form the basis of society. In addition to these he wrote a few pamphlets like *Political Trends* (1951) and *The Challenges after Nehru* (1944).

In 1964, Bimla Prasad, an eminent scholar of J.P.’s ideology produced a chronologically listed representative collection of his articles, speeches and writings under the title *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy*. It also contains by far the most evaluative introduction to J.P’s ideology. J.P’s ideas on Socialism, what type of socialist society he wanted to be established, his emphasis on means and ends and to some extent his views on the State discussed therein have been quite useful for the present work.

*Revolutionary Sarvodaya* by Acharya Vinoba Bhave compiled and translated by Vasant Nargolkar which appeared in 1967 is another useful
publication which helps in further elucidation of J.P.'s ideas on Sarvodaya and his later thinking on Total Revolution.

Another booklet *Gramdan for Gram Swaraj*, written by Vinoba and Jayaprakash Narayan in 1967, discusses the same ideas, though there is nothing much new by way of exposition in it.

In 1970 Brahanamand edited a collection of J.P.'s speeches and writings under the title *Communitarian Society and Panchayat Raj*. This included chapters on “participatory democracy”, “Role of Political Parties”, the concept of “Communitarian Society” focusing on Panchayat Raj and the scheme by which to minimize the interference of the state in the functions of the panchayat. His concept of “partyless democracy” is another well discussed feature of this publication.

*J.P's Jail Life* (1977) which contained a number of letters written to his friends provides information on his jail during the emergency period and his fresh thinking on the existing state of affairs and the means to confront the reality. It includes letters to Mrs. Gandhi which deal mainly with excesses committed during emergency and their far reaching consequences.

*Prison Diary* is another publication which relates his experience in prison from July 21 to November 4, 1975. A significant aspect of the diary is his ideas pertaining to total revolution and his changing views on political parties.

In 1978, Brahanamand who was a friend and J.P.'s Secretary for many years edited a 4 volume anthology of J.P.'s writings scattered in the pages of newspaper, weeklies, pamphlets, booklets, etc., in the form of book, *Towards*
Total Revolution. This anthology is a most comprehensive source book on J.P.’s ideas in the context of the changing political situation as also of his role as a freedom fighter.

Each of these volumes which together run into 1200 pages is self contained and bears a different sub-title. The first volume is entitled “Search for an Ideology”, the second “Politics in India”, the third, “India and Her Problems”, and the fourth “Total Revolution.” They, however, have been presented together as a survey of J.P.’s continued search for a new order which ultimately culminated in his final exposition of an alternative social and political order, i.e., “Total Revolution”.

In the first volume he tries to discover a suitable ideology for bringing about socialist transformation in the society. After rejecting the Marxian technique as inadequate for establishing real and effective people’s power, he showed his inclination towards Gandhian methodology.

In the second volume, he holds “power politics” as an inadequate technique for solving the basic problems in India. The fault of these power stricken leaders was that they left behind many bitter scars, such as poverty and backwardness, eclipse of moral base in politics and complete absence of ethos of economic development. He cautiones these leaders against the inevitable rise of authoritarianism if the system was not replaced by a new one responsive to the needs of the people.

In the third volume the author tries to find a solution to India’s basic problems. Among the solutions for Indian problems are his concept of an agro-
industrial community, rural industrialization, popular initiative, voluntary efforts, decentralization of economic and political power, self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

In the fourth volume he ultimately comes to the conclusion that for a crisis-ridden society like India. "Total Revolution" is the only answer. It, therefore, covers his concept of total revolution, techniques of a nonviolent revolution and his own experience of the movement. This was viewed as a scientific philosophy of non-violent and democratic struggle for social change.

All these volumes indicate that with the editor’s own Gandhian thinking being more in conformity with J.P’s ideas, the whole thing is discussed in the language of morality rather than of critical socio-economic perspective. His anthology obviously lacks a sufficiently critical and evaluative aspect of J.P’s political ideas.

Biographies

Ajit Bhattacharjea’s *Jayaprakash Narayan: A Political Biography* (1975) is a more useful biography for he also gives some idea of J.P’s vision of an ideal society during his Bhoodan years, the relatively non-political period of his active life. J.P’s ideas on State, Socialism and Sarvodaya are discussed to some extent.

In 1975, T.K. Mahadevan edited a collection of various articles by different authors pertaining to J.P’s concept of Total Revolution and Sarvodaya under the title *Jayaprakash Narayan and the Future of Indian Democracy*. Two
of the useful articles are “J.P. and His Revolution” by J.D. Sethi and “J.P’s Revolutionary Par Excellence” by Vasant Nargolkar. These again turn out to be appreciative description of events and a moralistic appreciation of J.P’s role.

Onkar Sharad, in his book J.P. (Jayaprakash Narayan) (1977) discusses various significant political ideas of J.P. like Sarvodaya, Bhoodan, Jeevandan and J.P’s role in Indian National Movement and also throws light upon J.P’s role in underground activities. He described the role of the youth in ‘Total Revolution’.

S. Das Gupta in 1978 compiled and edited various articles from Radical Humanist in the form of a book entitled Total Revolution. Which is useful for J.P’s rationale of “Total Revolution”.

Very different from the above mentioned are political biographies of J.P. by Allan and Wendy Scarfe and Fell Man.

Allan and Wendy Scarfe in their book J.P.: His Biography describe J.P’s political activities and his ideas. They have discussed his ideas into two parts. The first part contains ideas pertaining to struggle for liberty, national unity and bread. The second part entitled “The Reconstruction of Indian Polity” presents a very good analysis of J.P’s ideas on partyless democracy. J.P’s framework of ideas and his views on State, Socialism, Sarvodaya and Total Revolution, however, remained practically untouched. Nor was it considered necessary to explain why and under what circumstances his ideas had undergone so frequent
changes. This is, however, certainly one of the good biographies of J.P. by two of his ardent foreign admirers.

Fell Man (Gorden Allan) in his Ph.D. thesis “Indian Socialists and Jayaprakash Narayan: A Study in Political Sociology and Biography” discussed J.P. the man and evolution of his political thinking in broader perspective of changing socio-economic situation particularly the political struggles in which J.P. Played an active role.

M.N. Roy’s Writings

The writer has taken into consideration writings of M.N. Roy to some extent to throw light upon the ideas of J.P. M.N. Roy’s writings provide valuable material to clarify J.P.’s Political Ideas and his role in politics. Therefore, it will be useful to have a brief survey of his writings. No doubt, M.N. Roy had written profusely and published a number of books and journals. The books and articles which help to clarify the ideas of J.P. have been consulted.

In his twenties when he was in Russia he wrote some important works, he wrote a booklet, *What do We Want?* in which he outlined the principles and programmes of the Indian Independence Movement. In the same year, he wrote, *The Problems of India*. The most authoritative book of Roy, *India in Transition* was published from Genève in 1922. In this book he analysed critically the Indian society and the perspective of the development of the
Indian National Movement from Marxism point of view. In the same year, *One Year of Non-Cooperation*, with the collaboration of Evelyn Roy, *The Aftermath of Non-Cooperation and Masses*, were also written by him. In his youth J.P. himself admitted that he had studied all the above mentioned writings of M.N. Roy and was greatly influenced by him. In 1931 when he was sentenced for six years in connection with Kanpur Conspiracy Case, as a result of his study in Jail, he wrote an outstanding book, namely *Reason Romanticism and Revolution* in 1952. This book was written in two volumes, published in 1952 and in 1955 respectively. In this book he described the essence of New Humanism and gave philosophical foundations of his concept of New Humanism or Radical Humanism. From jail he also wrote several letters to the leaders of the Indian National Congress. The most important among those were the letters, which were written on the emergence of C.S.P. in 1934 and which have also been utilized in the present work. These letters later were published as *Letters by M.N. Roy to The Congress Socialist Party* 1937. Another smuggled article was published as *Whither Congress* where Roy advocated transformation of the Congress into Organ of mighty mass movement against foreign imperialism.

After becoming disillusioned with capitalism, communism and party-politics as such and after dissolving his Radical Democratic Party in 1948, he wrote many important books and articles like *Constitution of Free India-A Draft* (1944), *New Humanism-A Manifesto* (1947). For the present work these
two books are very useful as they deal with Roy's concept of organized democracy which help the writer to clarify the ideas of J.P. about partyless democracy. Roy's Draft Constitution consists of 137 articles, gives a clear picture of General Social and Political theory, which claims to diagnose and provide remedy for all ills like poverty, ignorance and inequality. The draft constitution is based on two fundamental principles of Radical Democracy—Twenty-two theses adopted by R.D.P. in its Third Conference held in Bombay in 1946. In 1947 and 1948, Roy elaborated and expounded his philosophy of Radical Humanism. His speeches of this period were edited by Ellen Roy, entitled, *Politics, Power and Parties* in 1960. During this period he also wrote an important book entitled *New Orientation* in which he had expressed his views about dirty politics and felt the need of discarding it. In 1946, twenty-two theses had been adopted by the Third All India Conference of Radical Democratic Party in the form of a book by M.N. Roy and Philip Spratt entitled *Beyond Communism*. In this book Roy built up his ideas about individual as an end and political and social institutions are a means to that end. After dissolving his Radical Democratic Party and saying goodbye to dirty politics, he devoted himself to the thinking and writing of the philosophy of Radical Humanism. During this period he completed the *Memories*. He also drew pen-portraits of some of the important people whom he met in the course of his tours around the world. They were published later in book form, namely, *Men I Met*. This is the brief survey of the writings of M.N Roy which have been utilized in the present work.
Major reliance for the study has been obviously on the writings and speeches of J.P. himself. These include his published works, interviews which a number of journalists had with him and the views of a number his political and non-political friends and admirers. Writings of M.N Roy who greatly influenced J.P. in his youth as a Marxist have also been utilized. Writings of Gandhiji and Vinoba Bhave which seem to have influenced his thinking are the other sources. Use has also been made of the biographies to throw light upon the traits of his personality. Adequate use of the writings of J.P.'s many admirers as well as his critics have been made to clarify his ideas. Valuable unpublished documents available in the files of the papers of J.P. and M.N. Roy, preserved at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, have been utilized. Besides the extensive published material such as books, pamphlets, articles and reports written by J.P. and to some extent by M.N. Roy, Vinoba Bhave and Gandhiji, Various journals like Sarvodaya, Janata, Everyman, The Radical Humanist, Sunday, Economic and Political Weekly, Bhoodan, Harijan and some other journals and newspapers have been consulted. Various newspapers and journals have been consulted in the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, Sapru House, New Delhi.

This study seeks to present an exposition of philosophy of Jayaprakash Narayan on the basis of published as well as unpublished source and reference material. The writers have mainly relied upon conventional methods of library research of analyzing and comparing the source material of J.P., Gandhiji and
Vinoba Bhave to clarify J.P's concepts. As J.P. was greatly influenced by M.N. Roy in his youth, the later's writings have also been used to some extent with a fair degree of fidelity to throw light upon the political ideas of J.P.

**Literature Pertaining to Socialist Movement in India**

The literature that falls in the forth category dealt mainly with the socialist movement in India and evolution of J.P's socialist ideas. These can be seen both in the historical context and in comparison with those of his comrades. No doubt, this is only an indirect source of his ideas but it helps a lot when it comes to the examination of J.P's theoretical wanderings.

Among these are Yusuf Meherally's *Socialism and the National Revolution* (1946, a collection of speeches and writings of Acharya Narendra Deva. This brings to us one of the masterpieces written by Narendra Deva. Both J.P. and Deva were Marxists during the colonial period. This book deals with concepts of socialism and the role of socialists in national freedom struggle and helps in understanding the evolution of socialist thinking in India.

Hari Kishore Singh's small book, *A History of the Praja Socialist Party* throws light upon J.P's political ideas particularly pertaining to class-war and socialism apart from providing a concise description of P.S.P. its activities.

Ashok Mehta's *Democratic Socialism* (1959) which contained only 8 or 9 lectures of Ashok Mehta dealt with questions like state and socialism under democratic phase. His was a plea and programme for socialism with a
democratic face. This is useful for purposes for understanding and assessing J.P’s position in the scale of socialist thinking of his comrades.

An unpublished dissertation “Role of the Congress Socialist Party in the Indian National Congress”, 1931-42, by Thomas A. Rusch is another good study of the role of C.S.P. in the achievement of national independence and socialistic objectives. It also discusses J.P’s ideas on class-war, dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary techniques of C.S.P. during the colonial period when J.P. was considered a prophet of Marxian socialism.

In 1971, Dikshit Chandrodaya compiled and edited the writings of Acharya Narendra Deva in the form of a book entitled Democratic Socialism in India. It contains the Acharya’s ideas on the role of the peasants in India’s revolution, the problems of Socialist Unity, the Indian Struggle and the Imperialist War.

In G.N. Dikshit’s book Gandhi’s Challenge to Communism, one chapter entitled “Stateless Society” throws light upon Marxian and Gandhian concept of stateless society.

R.A. Prasad in his book Socialist Thought in Modern India (1974) discussed the views of contemporary socialists on the problems of India, as also the political ideas of J.P. to same extent. The most significant part of this book is the Appendices which include The Meerut Thesis and The Faizpur Thesis, a very good source material on J.P’s ideas.
Very different in tenor, however, was a book *An Unacknowledged Aeronaut (An Analysis of J.P's Agitation)* (1976) by Achyutanand Prasad in which he has severely criticized J.P. The book, however, was more a polemical essay than a sound scientific analysis.

**OBJECTIVES OF THESIS**

- To make a systematic study of J.P's concept of State and Stateless Society and importance of state.
- To analyse Socialism in view of J.P.
- To discuss partyless democracy and importance of political parties.
- To elucidate and assess J.P's philosophy of Total Revolution.

**Method of Study**

The present study on philosophy of Jayaprakash Narayan is based on historical method. Primary and secondary and published and unpublished sources are utilized. Works of Jayaprakash Narayan have been thoroughly consulted. Biographies of freedom fighters, biographies on Jayaprakash Narayan written by different authors and contemporary books available in different libraries are consulted. Works of M.N. Roy are mostly utilized. Articles and speeches of Jayaprakash Narayan and his letters are consulted. Daily newspapers, reports, periodicals and journals are used. Recent books regarding Jayaprakash Narayan have been utilized.
DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This thesis divided into eight chapters including introduction and conclusion.

In the introduction chapter purpose of study, objectives and review of literature have been explained.

In the first chapter deals with his family background, early life, education, education in U.S.A. and marriage. Role of education in shaping his personality has been discussed.

In the second chapter Role of Jayaprakash Narayan in National Movement has been discussed. One attempt has been made to discuss the variety of challenges, political and trends of his time in the freedom movement. His reactions have been elaborated.

In the third chapter “Jayaprakash Narayan - State and Stateless Society” the writer has mainly focused on his Sarvodaya phase where he stood for minimizing the role of the State and ultimately gave his concept of Stateless society. During this phase his plea of (Jana-Shakti) rather than the power of (Danda-Shakti) have been duly dealt with to clarify how he ultimately was for the withering away of the State. In this chapter to some extent ideas of M.N. Roy about State also been touched to clarify the ideas of J.P. about State. Like J.P., M.N. Roy also rejected every political system which ignored individual freedom. Throughout his life, M.N. Roy remained an ardent believer in
individual liberty. No doubt, J.P. also remained a champion of Individual
liberty but in his youth when he was a Marxist he gave more importance to
social environment and at that time he did not make individual as an end. Thus
an attempt has been made in this chapter to make a systematic study of his
concept of State and Stateless Society.

In the fourth chapter, namely “Jayaprakash Narayan and Socialism” an
endeavour has been made to discuss J.P. concept of Socialism under different
phases. His ideas about socialism could not remain consistent, as he went on
evolving his ideas from one phase to another. Similarly, he also went on
transforming his ideas about socialism. During their youth both J.P. and M.N.
Roy were protagonist of Marxian Socialism and believed that socialism could
be brought about only through revolutionary methods. At that time they were
critique of Gandhian philosophy of Nonviolence and his concept of
Trusteeship. But after becoming disillusioned with Marxism as practiced in
Soviet Russia. Both came under the influence of Gandhism. Subsequently J.P.
joined Sarvodaya Movement and M.N. Roy propounded the philosophy of New
Humanism.

The Fifth chapter reflects the ideas of “Partyless Democracy” as
envisaged respectively by J.P. and M.N. Roy. Both rejected the model of
parliamentary democracy and in its place J.P. gave his conception of
participatory democracy which is based on the idea of communitarian society,
where there would be full political and economic decentralization. To escape
from the defects and fallacies of formal democracy, Roy suggested the formation of Radical democracy or organized democracy which is based on decentralization and elimination of political parties. In fact, like an anarchist both had developed an abhorrence for the State authority.

In the sixth chapter, i.e., “Jayaprakash Narayan and his Total Revolution”, an attempt has been made to clarify this concept almost on the basis of J.P’s own writings and speeches made by him at various intervals. Further seven types of revolutions (Social, Economic, Political, Cultural, Ideological or Intellectual, Educational and Spiritual) have been discussed to elucidate his philosophy of Total Revolution. His scattered, sometimes even contradictory ideas have been presented to make vivid. To bring total revolution various agencies and techniques have been properly identified.

The conclusion sums up this exploratory study. It is a modest attempt aimed at a more or less precise understanding of J.P’s ideas and his role as a political activist. An analytical and comparative study of J.P. and his role in politics reveals that he frequently changed his ideas and was always groping for ways and means for a more viable strategy to tackle the problems of society. No doubt, J.P. had changed his ideas frequently but he remained consistent so far as the goal of equality, freedom and peace was concerned. He had changed only with to the method to achieve that goal.