



The Contribution of Jayaprakash Narayan in Indian Independence Movement

¹Name Author, Subrata Mandal

Ph.D Research Scholar

Department of History

Raiganj University, Raiganj, India

Abstract:

At the time of Jayaprakash Narayan student life at Collegiate High School, Patna, Bihar, Jayaprakash Narayan was deeply influenced by the Gandhian thought and participated non-cooperation movement (1920-22). Thereafter, he went to abroad for higher studies and after coming back in India he again actively involved into Indian freedom movement under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi as well as Indian National Congress in 1929. During the Civil Disobedience Movement many prominent congress leaders were arrested after the failure of the Second Round Table Conference (1931). Under the situation, JP took the responsibility of leading the movement and thereby he was arrested and imprisoned in Nasik Jail. After his release from prison in 1933, JP along with other prominent national leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia and Acharya Narendra Deva formed Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in 1934 for adding more strength to independence movement of India. During the Quit India Movement, JP was again imprisoned in the Hazaribagh Jail for his secrets meetings and establishing secret societies for anti-British activities. However, taking high life risk he escaped from Hazaribagh jail and thereafter he made contact with many prominent revolutionaries to undertake revolutionary activities to paralyse the tyrannical government. Although, lastly he was traced by the British police and arrested on train near Lahore. After spending long 16 months in the Lahore Jail, he was transferred to Agra jail. After facing ruthless brutalities in jail, finally he was released on 11th April, 1946 by the British government. As a mark of recognition for his sacrifice to free India from the British rule he was given huge ovation by the people of the country.

Keywords:

Revolutionary, Independence, Movement, Party, Politics, Congress, socialist, Leader, Imprisonment, Boycott, Struggle.

Introduction:

Jayaprakash Narayan generally known as JP. He was born on October 11, 1902 at Sitab Diyara, Bihar, India. Jayaprakash Narayan began his early education at home village and later took education at Patna Collegiate School and graduated from Patna College. He got married to Prabhavati Devi at the age of eighteen in 1920. After his graduation he left further studies to participate in non-cooperation movement, in 1921. But later he went to California and Ohio University in USA for higher studies; took Master's degree in Sociology from Ohio University where he became a Marxist. Upon his return to India in 1929, JP joined the Indian National Congress and attended Lahore Congress (AICC Session). In 1930, he participated in Salt Satyagrah, led by Gandhiji and had been given responsibility of Labour Research Department of AICC in Allahabad. In 1931, he worked as private secretary to Ghanshyam Das Birla briefly and later he was appointed as an Acting General Secretary of the Congress Party In 1932. In 1932 he was arrested first time and sentenced to a year's imprisonment for his

participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement against British rule in India. Upon his release Jayaprakash Narayan took a leading part in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party, a left-wing group within the Congress Party, in 1934, and became its first General Secretary. He was a member of Congress Working Committee in 1936 and 1946. JP was imprisoned by the British again in 1939 for his opposition to Indian participation in World War II on the side of Britain. In 1940 he was arrested at Jamshedpur. Upon his release again arrested and imprisoned at Deoli Camp Jail. In 1942 JP made a dramatic escape from Hazaribagh Jail (Bihar) and for a short time tried to organize violent resistance to the government before his recapture in 1943. From 1934 to 1950, he was General Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party and Socialist Party respectively. In 1948 he together with most of the Congress Socialists, left the Congress Party and formed the Socialist Party and later Praja Socialist Party in 1953 and worked for the society at his best through his newly formed political party.

His early education began at home. There were telling signs of a precocious intellect by the time Jayaprakash entered the primary school at Sitabdiara. One of the young teachers of his school, who was also a bodybuilder, became his role model and encouraged him to crawl out of his shell. He told him stories of young revolutionaries like Khudiram Bose, who was hanged at the age of eighteen. His stories seeped into Jayaprakash's consciousness. In 1912, when he was still a socially awkward boy of ten, he was sent to study at the Patna Collegiate School. To begin with, Jayaprakash stayed with a close relative, Shambhu Sharan, in Saraswati Bhawan, a hostel that was also an incubator of nationalist dreams. Many of the hostellers went on to become prominent public figures in Bihar. Forbidden, subversive, political literature, smuggled in by visiting student leaders, shaped the political culture of the place. As he listened to political debates and occasional verbal fisticuffs, he let go of some of his reticence and reserve, and his oratorical skills began to develop. Historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who at that point was teaching at Patna College, lived close by. His house, the hub of young Bengali revolutionaries, was often raided by the police. The political churn in Saraswati Bhawan and Jadunath Sarkar's house foreshadowed Jayaprakash's own deeply nationalistic fervour.¹

Jayaprakash completed his matriculation in 1919 with distinction, doing well enough to get a government scholarship of Rs 15 a month. Despite his keen interest in literature and politics, he opted to study science at Patna College, with his classic good looks, brooding eyes, a romantic-revolutionary persona and several scholarly attributes, he soon achieved an important place in the intellectual life of his college.²

It was a time when spirit of nationalists was growing inside the heart of the entire country. Naturally, the youthful heart of Jayaprakash could not remain unaffected; he came under the influence of an extremist ideology. This period witnessed the emergence of a group of militant nationalist who were not satisfied with the working of the congress party. They were deeply disturbed by some of the unpopular decisions of Lord Curzon, especially the division of Bengal in 1905, and they wanted to counter it violently. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipan Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai were the ideal of these youths. The Ghadar Party in the Panjab and the Anushilan Samiti in Bengal were quite active.³

At the height of the agitation following the partition of Bengal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, in a Congress annual conference, made a declaration of historic importance. 'Swaraj', he said, 'is my birth right and I will have it.'⁴ Jayaprakash Narayan, at that time had fascination for revolutionaries of Bengal.⁵ A classmate of his, Chhotan Singh, introduced him to the extremists but the relationship could not last long as Chhotan Singh was incarcerated and Jayaprakash could not maintain his contacts with such leaders.⁶ The timid, over-protected boy had found adventure at last in his imagination. He became, Swadeshi in his attitudes, using crude hand-made village shoes instead of British manufactured ones, and cleaning them with Indian mustard oil instead of British shoe polish. He dressed in a kurta of hand-spun and hand-woven material and mill products. He took cold baths even in winter to toughen himself against all forms of sensual self-indulgence.⁷

Though Gopal Krishna Gokhle was the first influence on Jayaprakash, but the simplicity of Gandhiji and his identification with common man had a profound impact on him. He was so much moved by the non-violent movement of Gandhiji that he made up his mind to lead point a simple life and work for national interest.⁸ Gandhiji's Champaran Movement also stirred him a lot. He formed a committee with some of his friends. The committee held its regular meetings in which issues like politics, social reformed, independence were discussed.

His friends started calling him “our Rajendra Prasad”.⁹ It may be towards Bal Gangadhar Tilak whose voice echoed the atmosphere, who asked the Indian to act fearlessly following the ideals of the Gita.

The second important event was marriage of Jayaprakash in 1920 with Prabhawati Devi when he was hardly eighteen years old. His father-in-law Sri Braj Kishore Prasad was a well known nationalist leader of Bihar.¹⁰ It was the second year of the marriage of Jayaprakash and his intermediate examination was only a few days away when Mahatma Gandhi launched the non-co-operation movement in 1920.¹¹ This call for non-co-operation conveyed to the students at Patna through the eloquence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to boycott all educational institutions maintained or aided by the British rule proved quite irresistible for Jayaprakash and he walked out of his college with a select band of students. This was the third important event in his life as a student in Patna. In a way it was the beginning of his long political journey.¹²

In this way Jayaprakash narayan's debut into public life began in 1921, as a fighter for Indian freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Narrating the role the Movement of Non-co-operation played in his life, he wrote, “It would be right to say that an incident which proved to be a deciding factor in my life was none other than the non-cooperation”. It was then that freedom became one of the beacon lights of his life and it remained so long he was alive. However, he could not become a wholehearted non-co-operator because of Gandhiji's stress on the moral and spiritual side of his movement. He, with his scientific and rational approach to the movement failed to understand fully the language of Gandhiji. He was motivated primarily by patriotism, and the determination and enthusiasm to fight against the British rule. To win political freedom for the country was the sole objective in his decision to join the Non-co-operation Movement and he became a non-co-operator. Thus, his future political career as a Gandhian non-co-operator.¹³

After seven years of stay in the U.S.A. when he returned to motherland, he was not interested in leading a comfortable life. He was determined to devote the whole of life for the good of the people. India was again in ferment, reminiscent of the days of 1919-1922. With all his Marxism, Jayaprakash was first and foremost a votary of Indian nationalism and found himself inevitably drawn into the straggle then unfolding. The bond with Gandhi had also now become much stronger than before.¹⁴ By the time Jayaprakash landed in his home his wife Prabhavati had entered into 23 years and was a young and charming lady. He was nourished by Gandhi and Kasturba in the Ashram as their foster daughter.¹⁵

During this time the nationalist movements had reached its peak of frenzy. Gandhi was preparing for the next phase of struggle for freedom. Jayaprakash had gone to Wardha to meet Gandhi. He also met Nehru there and the two were instantly drawn towards each other. JP with Gandhi, Nehru and Prabhavati travelled together to attend the Lahore session of Indian National Congress, held in the last week of December, 1929.¹⁶ The whole atmosphere at Lahore was surcharged with the slogan of ‘Inquilab Zindabad’ (Long Live Revolution).¹⁷

Jayaprakash Narayan's passion for independence for India and liberation of Indians from the shackles of foreign rule made him sacrifice his academics for ever. With Pandit Nehru's encouragement Jayaprakash Narayan gave up the idea of joining Banaras Hindu University with a view to start the teaching of sociology and he began to work as a Secretary of the recently created Labour Department in the office of the All India Congress Committee. He started his work at Allahabad in Swaraj Bhavan, where the All India Congress Committee office was located. Pandit Nehru was so much impressed with Jayaprakash Narayan's acute intelligence that he later appointed him as a Permanent Secretary of the Congress. This cemented bond between Jayaprakash Narayan and Pandit Nehru and the former always respected to latter as an elder brother. A parallel relationship of friendship and affection developed between their wives, Prabhadevi and Kamaladevi.

On March 12, 1930, Gandhiji embarked on his epochal "Dandi March" from Sabarmati. The whole nation was awakened and the masses came forward to offer Satyagraha. Because of the passing away of his mother and the ill health and financial difficulties of his father, Jayaprakash Narayan could not play an active role in the first Civil Disobedience Campaign (1930-31), he more than compensated for it by his role in the second phase (1932-33), which soon followed. He was appointed Acting General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee functioning underground in 1932. In that capacity he organized an underground office of the Congress and directed the Civil Disobedience Movement in different parts of the country. Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and many others were put behind the bars. The Congress was outlawed. In order to keep the Movement going in full-swing, Jayaprakash Narayan went underground. He was however arrested in Madras and lodged in the Central Jail at

Nasik to undergo one year's rigorous imprisonment. When he was arrested in September 1932, the Free Press Journal of Bombay flashed the news with a headline: "Congress Brain Arrested". He remained in prison till 1933.

By 1932, the Gandhian and Moderate leadership had practically failed in achieving the goal of independence, and there was the absence of sufficiently radical and militant methods to be used for advancing the national struggle.¹⁸ Jayaprakash Narayan found that Congress in course of time had turned to constitutionalism and parliamentary path. He and his colleagues had reservations about the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi.¹⁹ Jayaprakash Narayan had not forgotten Gandhiji, but as a Marxist he did not accept everything of Gandhiji's politics and his strategy for action. He did not notice the communists anywhere in the nationalist struggle at that time (1930-33). Many of them were in prison, facing trial at Meerut and those who were out of prison had, under the instructions of the Comintern kept out of that struggle. Thus, the only course open to him was to be in the Congress Party and work for socialist ideas. Therefore, Jayaprakash Narayan and the Congressmen of socialist persuasion began some heart-searching. They felt that it was necessary to organize the workers and peasants on class lines and bring them into the freedom movement.²⁰ In an interview to the Press on the topic of Congress and Mass Contact', he clearly stated that, "The Congress must move closer to the struggle of the millions of peasants and workers of the country."²¹

In Nasik Central Jail, Jayaprakash met some young Congress leaders of socialist bent. Along with these likeminded co-prisoners he chalked out a plan of organising a socialist party which, unlike the Communist Party, would function within the main stream of Indian national movement and work within the Congress Party. The immediate aim of this organisation was to give a socialist orientation to the policy and programme of the Congress along with the freedom struggle. And out of that plan was born the Congress Socialist Party (hereinafter to be referred as C.S.P.). JP made contacts with different Socialist groups in the country through personal meetings, letters and circulars. Nehru was also approached. In the meantime, the All India Congress Committee was summoned to meet at Patna on 18 May 1934. This was a proper time for organising an All India Congress Socialist Conference. JP took the initiative and became the Chief Organiser of the Conference on behalf of the Bihar Socialist Party. These efforts took a concrete shape on the eve of the Bombay session of the Congress in October 1934, when the C.S.P was formed.²²

This conference declared that, "The congress goal of complete independence must mean the establishment of an Independent State in which power is transferred to the producing masses and that such an objective involves refusal to compromise at any stage with British Imperialism".²³ Thus, the immediate aim of this organization was to give a socialist orientation to the policy and programme of the Congress along with the freedom struggle.²⁴ At this stage Jayaprakash Narayan played a prominent role in propagating the Socialist programmes and in founding and organising the C.S.P at all India level.²⁵ This party played a notable part in giving shape to the socio-economic content of Congress policy and provided a great impetus to the struggle for freedom.²⁶ The Congress Socialist Party was formally set up the same year on 21-22 October at a big convention at Bombay presided over by Sampurnand.²⁷

The CSP drew public attention towards some of the burning problems of the country which forced the congress to deliberate on those issues seriously. These included subjects like major reforms in the agriculture sector, problems of the industrial labour, future of princely States and non-Gandhian methods of struggle and mobilising people.²⁸

During the 19th century's 40th decade Jayaprakash Narayan emerged as an opponent of the federal scheme under the government of India Act, 1935. His belief was that a mass struggle had to be organised to fight that reactionary scheme and to attain complete independence. Because Jayaprakash Narayan had excellent relations both with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose, he played the role of a mediator and tried to bring about unity not only between Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose but also between the conservative wing of the Congress and the radical wing of which Subhash Chandra Bose and Jayaprakash Narayan himself were acknowledged leaders. However, Jayaprakash Narayan did not succeed and Subhash Chandra Bose and Indian National Congress drifted apart.²⁹

In 1939, Jayaprakash Narayan initiated the publication of an English Weekly, under the title "Congress Socialist". He organized Kishan (farmer) and Mojdoor (worker) bodies to propagate the ideology of socialism. He organized

a 'Youth Society' a 'Woman's Society' and a 'Self-help Society'. He also organized socialist book clubs in the cities.³⁰

As soon as the Second World War broke out in September 1939, he saw in it a great opportunity for hastening India's march to freedom.³¹ In the meantime, the Indian nationalists found themselves in an ambiguous position. A conflict developed among the pro War party, the ant-war party, the pro-Japanese party, and those in favour of conditional support to the Allies. JP was on the ant-war side.³² He went to Pune. He continued to press Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders not to co-operate with the British Government and launch a mass struggle against the Government. He went round the country making anti-war speeches and rousing the people against the Government. It was for such a speech, given at Jamshedpur, that he was arrested on 7th March, 1940, and sentenced to imprisonment for nine months. His speech at Jamshedpur was against the British Regime. Gandhiji was very unhappy over Jayaprakash Narayan's arrest. But in the jail, Jayaprakash Narayan's political work continued uninterrupted. To those who were willing to listen, he talked endlessly about politics and political economy. Gradually, he established contact with associates whose activities had been curtailed by imprisonment. In jail, he kept on writings articles and somehow managed to smuggle them out which appeared in various sessions of the Indian National Congress. Soon, by smuggling out dispatches, he somehow managed to write articles in the 'Searchlight', 'National Herald' and 'Bombay Chronicle'.³³

JP was released towards the end of December 1940 and Jayaprakash undertook a tour of India in hope of a socialist revolt. He set up secret organisations in Bihar, United Provinces and Gujarat as well as in Calcutta and Bombay.³⁴ They are particularly effective during the August movement. He was re-arrested on 1st January 1941 under the Defense of India Act.³⁵ and kept without trial in a special camp jail at Deoli, in Rajputana. He was detained along with several other socialist and communist detenues. This marked him out as one of the leaders who were special targets of Government's policy of repression. Two events which occurred in Deoli increased his prominence. The first was a sequel to his efforts to provide guidance to his colleagues and followers from prison and secondly, he revolted against the jail authorities for the inhuman conditions prevalent in the jail, demanding better facilities, better food and that the prisoners be transferred to the district jails of their respective places to which they belonged. He was caught by the jail staff while trying to smuggle out letters to his comrades through his wife, Prabhadevi, who had been allowed to see him. The purpose of these letters was to prepare for an armed struggle against the British. They were given wide publicity by the Government with a view to alienate him from the Congress and Gandhiji, because the avowed policy of Congress and Gandhiji was non-violence. But it boomeranged as Gandhiji held the British Government responsible for encouraging violent and revolutionary feelings in the country. Shortly after this Jayaprakash Narayan undertook a fast in support of certain demands of prisoners at Deoli. The fast continued for thirty-one days and was broken only after the main demands were met.³⁶ Even Gandhi's repeated appeals to end the fast had proved of no avail. Rightly did Gandhi exclaim: 'Shri Jayaprakash is one of the most determined of workers'.³⁷ It was widely felt that the Deoli Camp was disbanded largely through his single-minded efforts even at the risk to his life.³⁸

Repatriated to Bihar J.P kept track of the onward march of the Indian struggle for freedom from his cell in the Hazaribagh Central prison. While the news of the famous 'Quit India' Resolution adopted by the All India Congress Committee on 8th August 1942.³⁹ At this call, the senior Congress men were arrested. Jayaprakash was worried by reports of widespread depression and emoralisation in the nationalist ranks. He, along with six fellow-prisoners, managed to scale the walls of prison and escaped.⁴⁰ Jayaprakash Narayan become a legend during the Quite India Movement. The socialists chose a radical path of struggle under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan. He threw himself into it with all his energy and reckless dedication, even risking his life to make it a success.⁴¹ Jayaprakash slipped away to Nepal for safe shelter. He was giving training in warfare to freedom fighters who deserted British Army for the cause of Indian freedom.⁴² He launched an underground movement and trained a guerrilla brigade. He wrote three letters to the Freedom Fighter's, in January 1943, September 1943 and in August 1946, respectively, through his 1st letter he advised all revolutionaries with full justification to fight Britain with arms, although that did not accord with the principles of Gandhi. A fourth letters was addressed to the Americans. Throughout the colonial period, he advocated for the use of arms in the struggle for freedom. In 1944, he himself acknowledged that he did not believe in non-violence. After few months, he managed to leave for Nepal, where he organised and trained 'Freedom Brigade' (Azad Dasta) with a mission to paralyse the British administration and "rejuvenate the faltering movement". But JP finally could not escape the police and was arrested in September 1943. He was detained in the Lahore Fort, where he was subjected to horrible torture.⁴³

After spending 16 months in the dark cell of Lahore Jail, he was brought to Agra Jail.⁴⁴ He however, withstood the ordeal and stubbornly refused to disclose the plans of his under ground colleagues. His jail diary was later published in 1959 under the title, "Inside Lahore Fort". At the time of his release in 1946, he had become a mass leader with a popularity comparable to Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose.⁴⁵

When Jayaprakash Narayan was released from Agra Central Jail on 11th April 1946, his popularity was second only to Jawaharlal Nehru's and even higher among the students. He had become the monarch of young India's heart. His release from the Agra Jail and resumption of activities among his beloved fellow Indians, sent a current of new life, especially in the youth of the country. He was spontaneously regarded as the trust friend of the people. Youths started calling him –"Hero of 42". He was feted all the way home to Patna, with large crowds turning out wherever he appeared.

There appeared a basic change in the thinking of Jayaprakash Narayan during 1943-46. In fact, the failure of Quit India Movement made Jayaprakash Narayan a deeply confused man. He was very unhappy when Mahatma Gandhi disowned the movement in 1944 and called those Congressmen who advocated armed revolt as "the enemies of India's freedom". Jayaprakash Narayan opposed the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, because in 1946, he and the Congress Socialist Party thought in terms of a mass revolution. He wanted to prepare the country for another struggle for Independence. But his plea for mass revolutionary struggle instead of compromises with the British went unheeded. On 14th and 15th August, 1947, the British Raj was converted into two dominions - Pakistan and India. Gandhiji and Socialists did not join the celebrations. In fact, while welcoming the advent of independence Jayaprakash Narayan was extremely sad because of partition and the spate of communal riots which followed it. However, leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel who dominated the Congress Working Committee accorded their approval to partition of the country and decided to cash on its goodwill to acquire and retain power.⁴⁶

Conclusion:

In Indian history, Jay Prakash Narayan is popularly known for his revolutionary zeal and establishment of the Congress social party. But our national historians did not mention the great contribution of Jay Prakash Narayan to the Indian independence movement. Jayaprakash Narayan dreamed of an independent India from his early school days. When Jayaprakash Narayan was a student of Patna collegiate school then he was influenced by the revolutionaries ideas of Bengal and Punjab for the first time. But later he was influenced by the Abdul Kalam and Gandhi's thought. He participated in the non co-operation movement and he abandoned Bilati clothes and wore Swadeshi clothes. During the Non-Cooperation Movement he left the British school and joined swadeshi Bihar Vidyapeeth School. There he influenced many students of his school and requested them to participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement by leaving the British school and foreign materials. He hated the Britishers so much that instead of going to Britain for higher education, he went to America to study. After completing his higher education at abroad, he came to India, became a member of the Indian National Congress and devoted his life to the Indian freedom movement. During the civil disobedience movement, he secretly led the civil disobedience movement when the top leaders of the National Congress were arrested after the first round table conference. But there he was arrested and imprisoned in 1933. The main aim of the Congress Socialist Party was to further strengthen the Indian freedom movement by mobilizing the peasants and the working class. Besides, Jayaprakash Narayan travelled across country to unite labour and peasant classes to empower the anti-British movement. He was imprisoned for his anti-British speech at the Jamshedpur Labour Conference. Jay Prakash Narayan was imprisoned in Hazaribagh Jail in 1942 when Gandhiji started the Quit India Movement. During this time, he escaped from jail and held secret meetings in different parts of India. Jayaprakash Narayan realized that it was not possible to carry out anti-British activities from India, so he moved to Nepal and secretly formed an army organization called Azad Dasta against the British rule. But his efforts failed. Jayaprakash Narayan then started traveling to Afghanistan by train to paralyze the rule of the British government in India but unfortunately, he was caught by the police and arrested and imprisoned again. After facing ruthless brutalities in jail, finally he was released on 11th April, 1946. Finally it can be said that Jayaprakash Narayan's contribution and self-sacrifice for India's freedom movement is undeniable. It is pathetic to say that our national historians never mentioned Jayaprakash Narayan's great contribution to India's freedom struggle in the pages of Indian history. After the above discussion we can make a statement that JP was a leading character in Congress Party and later his own party also and contributed through his efforts for the Independence of India.

Reference:

1. Prasad, Bimal and Prasad, Sujata, *The Dream of Revolution: A Biography of Jayaprakash Narayan*, (Haryana: Penguin Random House India, 2021), 2-3
2. Prasad, Bimal and Prasad, Sujata, *The Dream of Revolution: A Biography of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 4
3. Ranjan, Sudhanshu, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Prophet of People's Power*, (New Delhi: National Books Trust, 2018), 6
4. Scarfe, Allan and Wendy, J. P.: *His Biography*, (New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1998), 19
5. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, (New Delhi: Radha publications, 2002), 15
6. Ranjan, Sudhanshu, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Prophet of People's Power*, 8
7. Scarfe, Allan and Wendy, J. P.: *His Biography*, 20
8. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 16
9. Ranjan, Sudhanshu, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Prophet of People's Power*, 8-9
10. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 16
11. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, (Nagpur: Dattsons, 2013), 26
12. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 16
13. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 27
14. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 19
15. Das, Ratan, *Jayaprakash Narayan: His Life and Mission*, (New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, , 2007), 30
16. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 19-20
17. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 32
18. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 32-33
19. Mahajan, V.D, *History of Modern India (1919-1982)*, (New Delhi: S. Chand Publication, 1983), 432
20. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 33-34
21. Prasad, Bimal (ed), *Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Work, Vol.11*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2009), 118
22. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 21-22
23. Prasad, Bimal (ed), *Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Work, Vol.11*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2000), 272.
24. Mehrally, Yusuf (ed), *Jayaprakash Narayan : Towards Straggle: Selected Manifestoes, Speeches & Writings* (Bombay, Padma Publications, 1946), 7
25. Ranjan, Sudhanshu, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Prophet of People's Power*, 56
26. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 35
27. Ranjan, Sudhanshu, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Prophet of People's Power*, 52
28. Ranjan, Sudhanshu, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Prophet of People's Power*, 55
29. Mahajan, V.D, *History of Modern India (1919-1982)*, 433.
30. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 23
31. Prasad, Bimal, *Gandhi Nehru And J.P: Studies in Leadership and Legacy*, (New Delhi: Promila & CO. Publishers, 2013), 240
32. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 23
33. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 38
34. Scarfe, Allan and Wendy, J. P.: *His Biography*, 69-70
35. Das, Sandip, *Loknayak Jayaprakash: shatabdir anweshan 1902-2002*, (Kolkata: Dey's Publishing, 2005), 198
36. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 39
37. Prasad, Bimal, *Gandhi Nehru And J.P: Studies in Leadership and Legacy*, 243
38. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 39
39. Prasad, Bimal, *Gandhi Nehru And J.P: Studies in Leadership and Legacy*, 243
40. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 24-25
41. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 41
42. Das, Ratan, *Jayaprakash Narayan: His Life and Mission*, 49
43. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 24-25

44. Das, Ratan, *Jayaprakash Narayan: His Life and Mission*, 50

45. Verma, Virendra Kumar, *Life and Legacy of Jayaprakash Narayan*, 24-25

46. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, *Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice*, 43-44

