

Jayaprakash Narayan



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An Illustrious Life

Early Life

Jayaprakash Narayan was born in Sitabadiara village in Chhapra District of Bihar, When he was a child, he had many pets. One day, his pigeon died and he did not eat food till two days. His father Harsu Dayal was a junior official in the canal department of the State government and was often touring the region. Jayaprakash, called Baul affectionately, was left with his grandmother to study in Sitabdiara. There was no high school in the village, so Jayaprakash was sent to Patna to study in the Collegiate School. He excelled in school. His essay, "The present state of Hindi in Bihar", won a best essay award. He entered the Patna College on a Government scholarship.

Childhood

When Jayaprakash Narayan, the great revolutionary and the legendary political philosopher was born in village Sitabdaria, which was only 50 miles away from Patna, the capital of Bihar. The city of Pataliputra of King Ashoka fame was later known as Patna. The city was famous in ancient Indian history and was rich in cultural heritage. Patna is situated in the bank of river Ganges, the sacred perennial river of Hindus, that flows down from the

great Himalayas. During King Ashoka's regime, Pataliputra or Patna was the capital of India and both politically and culturally ruled over India. But the present day Patna is famous for its involvement in the life and struggle of Jayaprakash. It was the soil of Patna that shaped Jayaprakash into a great revolutionary and legendary figure in the modern history of India. He was a man of sacrifice, dedication, honesty and simplicity. He was a valiant fighter against all injustice and he played a principal role in liberating India from the British subjugation. King Ashoka fought the battle of Kalinga with sword. But after witnessing the blood bath of the war, he lamented and repented and became the follower of great Buddha embracing non-violence for the rest of his life. Jayaprakash too was a great votary of Buddha, as he always acted on non-violence and fought the battle of emergency through the path of non-violence. Thus he followed the heritage of King Ashoka in word and spirit.

The village Sitabdia stands in the valley between the river Saraju and river Ganges. It was a calm and serene village at the time when Jayaprakash was born. At present it has become a small town standing in the border of the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. You have to cross the river in both sides to reach Sitabdia as there is no bridge nearby on the river of Ganges. It was a village of Bihar with traditional poverty where people live only on agriculture. Wheat and Bajra are the major produce of the village. Most of the villagers lived under thatched roofs. Since long, Bihar was dominated by feudal lords who controlled its economy.

The maximum land of Sitabdia belonged to the rich zamindars. The villagers were only tenants who used to pay the zamindars usual rent to cultivate their lands. At present the condition of the villagers are a bit better than it was at the time when Jayaprakash was born. The rich feudal class maintained a life of wealth and luxury at the cost of the poor. The British government leased out the entire village to the feudal agents on certain fixed amount of cess which the zamindar collected from the tenants and paid to the British government. They paid less to the government and enjoyed the rest money for themselves. It was typical parasitic class that became very powerful during the British regime. They behaved with the poor as their rulers and dictators.

They became the head of the society and dictated all social customs and practices to the common people and forced them to obey their verdicts. With the backing of the British government this parasitic class lived on the sweat and toil of the poor. Jayaprakash had the experience of the functioning of feudal system from his childhood as his village Sitabdarria was no exception to that He had seen the plight of the poor and the manner in which they were drastically exploited by their feudal lords Therefore fathers of Jayaprakash were also tenants of the Zamindars who did not cultivate the lands in their own hands. They leased out the lands for cultivation to landless people who gave a share of the produce to them. Those cultivators were known as share croppers. That was the system prevailed during the those days and the society accepted exploitation of the poor as the birth right of the rich.

The father of Jayaprakash, Shri Harsu Dayal was though not rich, belonged to a well-to-do family. He was educated and was an expert in Parsi language. While he was about to complete his graduation, he got a government job and preferred to give up his studies for the sake of his livelihood and was engaged in the PWD department. He took active part in the construction of the great bridge on Son river, the longest river bridge of our country in those days. Being associated with the construction of the Sone Bridge, Harsu Prashad brought glory to his village.

Harsu Babu commanded respect in the area as a dedicated man of service. Phul Rani, his wife gave birth to Jayaprakash on October 11, 1902. Jayaprakash was the fourth child of his parents. The eldest was Hari Prashad followed by two elder sisters Chandrabhanu and Chandramukhi. Harsu Babu and Phul Rani took great care of their children, so that they grew well to become good citizens in future. All the children were intelligent and disciplined. The parents were optimistic that all of them would bring name to the society. The eldest son Hari Prashad joined in high school and was faring well with his lessons. But often Providence did not allow the wishes of the man to be fulfilled. The same happened with the family of Harsu Babu. His family along with other villagers were attacked with epidemic of Cholera and Plague, and the epidemic was the most sorrowful eve of their life. The eldest son Hari Prashad died of Cholera at the age of

thirteen along with some other children of the village. In those days of the British regime, medical relief was scanty and poor. It did not reach the suffering people of the remote villages at proper time. So many people had to succumb to these epidemics. The entire family was shocked over this premature demise of Hari Prashad. The grief that was brought to the family was beyond consolation. This made them more conscious towards taking care of the surviving children and they took great care to keep them away from the diseases. They prayed again and again to God to save their children from all epidemic.

Immediately after the cholera casualties, the epidemic of Plague engulfed the village. The shadow of death was hanging over the horizon of the village. There was no treatment available for Plague during that time. People got frightened and being scared, left their homes for distant places and started living in isolated places building small hutments. The family of Harsu Babu was included in this exodus. He migrated to a distant village with his wife and children and other members of his family to save them from the epidemic. But, the epidemic of Plague chased the family mercilessly and grabbed the life of his daughter Chandrabhanu who died at the age of eleven. The shock was unbearable for the parents of Jayaprakash. The children who survived the epidemic were to be taken greater care.

The death of the two children perplexed their parents and they vowed to give full attention to the health and safety of their surviving children. Jayaprakash was brought up in this alarming condition. Another son Rajesh was born during this turmoil to Harsu Babu and Phul Rani. The mother took extreme care of the children including Jayaprakash who was then a small boy. After the sad death of the eldest son, he became the apple of the eyes of the parents. The parents were very careful about the nourishment of Jayaprakash. His mother restricted the movement of Jayaprakash and did not allow him to play with the village children lest he will suffer from the contamination of the disease through the village children. The mother always kept strict watch over Jayaprakash. So Jayaprakash had few play mates in his childhood. The Harsu family had many pet creatures in their house and the child Jayaprakash confined himself in playing with them and

gradually developed affection towards the pet creatures. They became the only play mates of his childhood. This helped the boy to learn that all living creatures are same. They are guided by same feelings as human beings. He got this lesson from his childhood days and he upheld this till his last. It so happened that his most loved pet dove died all of a sudden. It was unbelievable for Jayaprakash that his pet dove would part company with him. At the death of the dove he observed mourning and gave up food in grief. It was difficult for the parents to convince him that the death of the dove was a minor event. His affectionate father consoled him by saying *life is transitory and the wise do not repent for death and stick to one's duty*. This was perhaps the first lesson of philosophy which Jayaprakash learnt from his father.

Being encouraged by the affectionate behaviour of the pet creatures he enlarged his family of pets in his house. He built up his world of pet creatures comprising horses, rabbits, swans and dogs. He learnt to communicate with them in their language and treated them as their own friends. The friendship was very intense. He was able to exchange feelings with his pets. He learnt to understand the language of their heart. From these pets he learnt to respect and know the sentiments of others and the art of communicating with the people through the language of heart.

In his later life he became the master of studying the emotions of the people and responding them with affection. His deep affection towards his pet at times turned into suffering. Once his pet horse gave birth to a pony. Jayaprakash was excited at this scene and ran up to the mother horse who was his pet. But the horse behaved astonishingly and gave a hard kick to Jayaprakash. He was seriously wounded and was hospitalised for few months to recover. He learnt to resist the physical suffering with calm and patience. Later on he underwent and resisted severe physical tortures with unusual calmness while participating in Indian Liberation movement. He developed a spirit of rebellion in himself and trained himself to cope with all physical tortures which were imposed on him during the British regime. He also resisted several physical tortures during the period of Emergency in his own country. To tolerate and resist all physical tortures in complete calmness is the ethics of Gandhi's concept of satyagraha.

Harsu Babu's family moved from place to place as his job was transferable. It was difficult for the family to carry all the children with them to all places. So, Jayaprakash was kept in the custody of his grandmother in the village. Jayaprakash grew with the affectionate care of his grandmother. Both of his elder sister were staying with the parents. Therefore, he did not get any opportunity to live and enjoy the company of his sisters and brother. Nor did he develop any intimacy with them in his childhood. He became intimately attached to his school, his home, the trees and orchards, the vast paddy fields and beasts and birds. They became their childhood friends.

Jayaprakash enjoyed their company to full extent. He enjoyed the sight of looking to herds of dears grazing in the fields, small brooks originated from heavy showers, the ripples of flowing Ganges, the charming scenery of river Saraju and other bounties of nature available in the vicinity of the village. With this Jayaparakah developed his poetic genius from his childhood. He also developed friendship with the pet elephants of the Zamindars who were staying in the village. The home of the family was situated in the flood affected area. Each year the flood washes away the house and each time the house is rebuilt by Harsu Babu. It was a mud-packed house where the family used to live. Jayaprakash had the exciting experience of flood every year. He enjoyed the scene of vast stretch of water of Ganges and Saraju. The waters were dear to him for he loved to swim and row over them on boats.

The boatmen were his friends. They gladly pick up the charming boy on their during the flood and used to take him on a long trip. His boatmen friends took great care of him and taught him the lesson of rowing over water. Often they were inviting Jayaprakash when they used to take their boat to cross Ganges. This cultivated intrepidity in Jayaprakash to cross over the vast stretch of water which helped him to be a fearless man in future. He was never afraid of the unfathomable depth of the water and always enjoyed the boat ride with his sailor-friends. Fearlessness, courage and valour were the ornaments of his life which he did put on throughout his life. These ornaments adorned him from his child hood and were preserved by him throughout his life

time. He was never afraid of anything, not even death. He knew that "Death will come when it comes". It cannot touch him even a second earlier or later than its scheduled moment. So, he displayed to the world the strength of his courage in his revolutionary life. In the suffering moments of his life he did not care for death, though he knew that death is the mile stone of all lives.

Alike all children, Jayaprakash grew with his environments. He became a courageous philosopher with a wide vision which the vastness of water had taught him. It helped him broaden his own heart and lift it above the self. He knew that life should be viewed beyond one's ownself. The aspiration of self should merge with the aspirations of others. Once this concept of living is established in heart, man would obtain the vision of life alone with the purpose of living. The vastness of vision would help the man to rise above the shallowness of mind. Jayaprakash was extremely fortunate to get this vision in his childhood which helped him to build himself as a selfless man caring for the self of his fellowmen. He got the vision before he entered the school. The boy Jayaprakash was wise before he was literate. His literacy followed his wisdom.

Beginning of the Career

Jayaprakash Narayan joined Bihar Vidyapeeth founded by Dr. Rajendra Prasad for motivating young meritorious youths and was among the first students of eminent Gandhian Dr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha, a close colleague of M. K. Gandhi who later became first Deputy Chief Minister cum Finance Minister of Bihar. In October, 1920 Jayaprakash married Prabhavati Devi, a independence activist in her own right and a staunch disciple of Kasturba Gandhi. Prabhavati was the daughter of lawyer and nationalist Brij Kishore Prasad, one of the first Gandhians in Bihar and one who played a major role in Gandhi's campaign in Champaran. She often held opinions which were not in agreement with J. P.'s views, but Narayan respected her independence. On Gandhiji's invitation, she stayed at his Sabarmati Ashram while Jayaprakash continued his studies.

In 1922, Narayan went to the United States, where he worked to support his studies in political science, sociology and economics at

the University of California, Berkeley, University of Iowa, University of Wisconsin–Madison and Ohio State University. He adopted Marxism while studying at the University of Wisconsin–Madison under sociologist Edward A. Ross; he was also deeply influenced by the writings of M. N. Roy. Financial constraints and his mother's health forced him to abandon his wish of earning a PhD. He became acquainted with Rajani Palme Dutt and other revolutionaries in London on his way back to India.

After returning to India, Narayan joined the Indian National Congress on the invitation of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1929; M. K. Gandhi became his mentor in the Congress. He shared the same house at kadam kuan in Patna with his close friend and nationalist Ganga Sharan Singh (Sinha) with whom he shared the most cordial and lasting friendship. During the Indian independence movement he was arrested, jailed, and tortured several times by the British. He won particular fame during the Quit India movement.

After being jailed in 1932 for civil disobedience against British rule, Narayan was imprisoned in Nasik Jail, where he met Ram Manohar Lohia, Minoo Masani, Achyut Patwardhan, Ashok Mehta, Yusuf Desai and other national leaders. After his release, the Congress Socialist Party, or (CSP), a left-wing group within the Congress, was formed with Acharya Narendra Deva as President and Narayan as General secretary.

During the Quit India Movement of 1942, when senior Congress leaders were arrested in the early stages, J. P., Lohia and Basawon Singh (Sinha) were at the forefront of the agitations. Leaders such as Jayaprakash Narayan and Aruna Asaf Ali were described as "the political children of Gandhi but recent students of Karl Marx." He was also a great advocate of correlation "SAHJEEVAN"

Initially a defender of physical force, Narayan was won over to Gandhi's position on nonviolence and advocated the use of satyagrahas to achieve the ideals of democratic socialism. Furthermore, he became deeply disillusioned with the practical experience of socialism in Nehru's India.

After independence and the death of Mahatma Gandhi, Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Basawon Singh (Sinha) led

the CSP out of Congress to become the opposition Socialist Party, which later took the name Praja Socialist Party. Basawon Singh (Sinha) became the first leader of the opposition in the state and assembly of Bihar and Acharya Narendra Deva became the first leader of opposition in the state and assembly of U.P. His party is the first national party who distributed tickets on caste line.

Marriage with Prabhavati

Jayaprakash came in contact with the leaders of Champaran Satyagraha. Shri Braja Kishore Prashad was one of them. It was on his invitation Mahatma Gandhi went to Bihar to lead the Champaran movement. Braja Kishore was a distinguished pleader and was a widely respected person of Bihar. He was a powerful Congress leader of the time. He was related to Dr. Rajendra Prashad, the first President of India. Originally he was a resident of village Sri Nagar in Sarang district. But later he moved to Darbhanga town and established there.

Braja Kishore was a very rich person with lucrative legal practice. He maintained luxuriant living style. But after coming into contact with Mahatma Gandhi he changed his course of life. He gave up legal practice and accepted simple living style. His esteemed wife Phuljharia Devi followed her husband with simplicity and dedication. She was religious and extremely devoted to God... Prabhavati was the eldest child of Braja Kishore and Phuljharia. Mahatma Gandhi infused a spirit of renunciation in thousands of families in India. Braja Kishore and Phuljharia were no exception. Their eldest daughter Prabhavati followed that ideal of her parent from the childhood. She was also leading an austere life. From the mother she learnt to be truthful, compassionate and religious. The parents loved their eldest daughter very much and did not object to her practising austerity and simplicity in her life. She was never allowed to do any household work by her parent. Specially her father Braja Kishore was very fond of his daughter and never wanted his daughter to do any physical work of the household as there were lots of servants in his house. But Prabhavati rebelled against the practice of extracting services of the servants for those house which those she could do by herself.

It was natural for Prabhavati to be attracted towards Mahatma Gandhi from her childhood as her father had intimate relation

with Gandhi. Prabhavati was very influenced by the personality of Gandhi. Gandhi was also moved at the simplicity and affected dealings of child Prabhavati whenever he happened to see her. Mahatma Gandhi was so much impressed with the behaviour of the little girl that he expressed his desire before Braja Kishore to take Prabhavati to his ashram as he had no daughter of his own. The parents did not take it seriously, rather they treated this as an affectionate gesture of Mahatma Gandhi. But Gandhi was serious. He was influenced by the dedication and perseverance of the small girl. He could visualise the talents lying hidden in the character of the small girl Prabhavati. The father Braja Kishore took it to be a great fortune that his daughter would go to the Ashram and would stay at the affectionate care of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi must have discovered some talents in her. The father was overwhelmed with joy. But Prabhavati's mother Phulijharia did not want to part with the tender girl. It would be difficult for her to live without her in the family. And the deal of Mahatma Gandhi was dropped. Later on the family completely forgot it. But Gandhi has always been a serious person. Even in his jokes, there were lessons for others to learn. It was difficult for all to make a difference between the joke and seriousness of Mahatma Gandhi. But he was serious of taking away Prabhavati from the parents. When he used to get the opportunity, he used to remind Braja Kishore about his intention about Prabhavati.

During those days, the age of fourteen was taken as the marriageable age for the girls. Accordingly, when Prabhavati reached the age of fourteen, Braja Kishore started searching a bridegroom for his daughter. Though he was a wealthy person, he did not want to conduct the marriage in pomp and luxury as he was devoted to Mahatma Gandhi. The family was already leading a austere life. He was also searching for a bridegroom for his daughter who would not demand any dowry. Dowry system is still a most uncultured system of the present society. We are still experiencing many deaths of the innocent brides whose parents fail to comply with the conditions of the dowry. The dowry system was rampant in Bihar society during those times. And Braja Kishore wanted a groom who would not love his wealth but love his daughter. It was difficult in those days to get a groom of that character, as dowry was then a common practice in the society.

Braja Kishore had also in mind that if a suitable groom was not found for Prabhavati, then he would send her to the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi. At this moment, a friend of Braja Kishore came forward with the proposal of college student Jayaprakash for Prabhavati. The friend strongly recommended that he would be a suitable partner for his daughter. The boy bore a charming personality with good character and good academic record in the college. Braja Kishore was moved by the appearance, dealings, conversation and manners of young Jayaprakash. He agreed to the proposal of the marriage of his daughter with this boy. The knot was tied between Jayaprakash and Prabhavati in the October, 1920. At the time of marriage Jayaprakash was 18 and Prabhavati was 14 year old.

After marriage Prabhavati came to stay at her in-law's house. She stayed in Sitabdarria with Braja Kishore and Phuljharia who showered there love on her. The mother-in-law was dealing with her daughter-in-law with utmost affection. Both of them remained as mother and daughter...Though Prabhavati came from a very wealthy family, she did her best to accept the living style of Sitabdarria to the full satisfaction of their in-laws. After staying for a month in her in-laws house, she returned to her father's house. It was not possible on part of Prabhavati to stay with her husband as Jayaprakash was reading in the college at Patna. It was also not possible for her to stay in Sitabdarria permanently as the family of Harsu Babu moved from place to place as his job was transferable. Prabhavati's parents were disturbed at this situation. The antique custom does not allow the married daughter to stay with her parents for along time. The proposal of Mahatma Gandhi to take Prabhavati to his Ashram was still open. This pending proposal of Mahatma Gandhi struck to the mind of Braja Kishore. He consulted his wife and she gave a nod. Braja Kishore wrote to Mahatma Gandhi reminding of his earlier proposal to take Prabhavati to the Ashram and Gandhi promptly gave a green signal and Prabhavati was taken by his father to the Ashram of Gandhi. She became an inmate of the Ashram.

The Gathering Storm

That was the time when the whole nation was charged with the emotion of liberating India. The British government was taking

all cruel and inhuman steps to check this movement. Oppressive methods like torturing and shooting the Satyagrahis was a common method adopted by the government. The fire of patriotism was burning in the heart of every Indian. The climax of British cruelty was exhibited in Jalianawala Bagh near Amritsar in Punjab. The British soldiers shot at a crowd of innocent and unarmed men, women and children killing about 300 people at an instance. This happened in the month of April in 1919.

This inhuman and cruel act was condemned by the whole world. The key player of this inhuman act was General Dyer who was spat upon even by the British civilians. The blood bath of Jalianawala Bagh added fire to the revolution. Young anarchists were ready for retaliation. The British officers in India did not move out without police protection. Thousands of legal practitioners in India gave up their legal practice stating that they would not bow down their heads before the British magistrates nor did they seek justice from the White judges. Thousands of students gave up their studies in schools and colleges and jumped into the fray. These events shook the heart of young Jayaprakash who though married was continuing his education. He was eager to take active part in the freedom movement. He was looking forward to grab an opportunity for that.

At that time Mahatma Gandhi visited Patna, he appealed to the people of Bihar to non-cooperate with the British government at all levels. Those included discarding the use of foreign goods, discarding the British educational system by boycotting the schools and colleges., giving up legal practice, resigning from all government posts, throwing away of mill-made clothes. Jayaprakash was very much moved by the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi. He was reading in second year Science in Patna college..In response to the appeal of non-cooperation by Mahatma Gandhi, Jayaprakash threw away his books to the pond and vowed not to read in any college managed by British educational system and gave up studies in 1920. The parents were unhappy at the decision of Jayaprakash. All these days they wished Jayaprakash to be a great scholar and a wise and great man. The decision of Jayaprakash shattered the dreams of the parents. He was advised to join in the Banaras Hindu University founded by Pandit Madan Mohan

Malviya. But Jayaprakash rejected the proposal for Banaras Hindu University which was getting huge money from the government. At last he joined in Bihar Vidyapith founded by Bihar Congress. The parents of Jayaprakash heaved a sigh of relief that their son did not give up college education.

Mahatma Gandhi gave a clarion call to the people of India that if the people became true Satyagrahis in body and spirit and vigorously implement his non-violent and non-cooperation programme with full dedication and determination, then India would be independent within one year. But his promise was not fulfilled. Instead of giving independence to India, the British brought forth some administrative reforms. These reforms did not satisfy the people of India for they needed complete independence. They could know that they were cheated by the government. At this Mahatma Gandhi decided to start Satyagraha again.

The British government decided to suppress the movement with double repression. But Mahatma Gandhi was not a man to be cowed down by the government. Young Jayaprakash was moving inside the college as a chained tiger. He wanted to come out of the college and join the movement. Mahatma Gandhi had infused the flame of patriotism in the hearts of every Indian. And Jayaprakash was one among them. After Jalianawala Bagh, another violent incident of Chauri Choura in Gorakhpur rocked the country. Police fired at the unarmed mob of Chauri Choura in which few people were killed.

The procession which was peaceful suddenly lost temper when they found some of the innocent people died of police bullets. The mob grew violent forgetting the tenets of non-violence given to them by Mahatma Gandhi. The mob surrounded Chauri Choura police station and set fire to it. Some police men who were firing at the mob ran into the police station for protection. When the entire police station was ignited the police came out of it praying for help. But the mob was furious at the sight of their murdered companions. They caught hold of them and threw them into the burning fire where they were charred to death. The revengeful ghastly act of violence displayed by the mob of Chauri Choura pained Mahatma Gandhi very much. He took all the blame on himself. He repented by saying he could not properly

teach the people for offering a non-violent fight. It was owing to his own failings that violence erupted at Chauri Chaura. Amidst great repentance Mahatma Gandhi declared that the Indian mass was not yet prepared for non-violent battle. He withdrew the movement immediately. He rejected the persuasions of leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru that for the violent behaviour of few people the entire Indian Masses could not be blamed or disqualified. But the Mahatma was not prepared to accept any plea overcoming the human values. He withdrew the movement from all over the country. On the other hand the government had put all the blame on Gandhi alleging that he incited the people of Chauri Chaura for violence and he should be punished. He was tried for this offence by the government and was declared guilty and was imprisoned. Gandhi accepted the punishment with calm and marched into the prison. He was a brave man and had never cared for the consequences for defending truth and justice.

The withdrawal of the movement pained many leaders, but they had no courage to defy Gandhi and walk on their own. The Mahatma could not tolerate any violence and cruelty of the Indian masses. The Indian masses must behave as non-violent soldiers without any malice and attitude of revenge towards the opponents. He contended that the Indian masses could not win the freedom struggle unless they were completely serminised by non-violence. The entire nation was in a grip of sorrow at the withdrawal of the freedom movement. But Mahatma Gandhi was of the opinion that the battle would be war if the Indian masses will reorganise themselves with full vigour of non-violent action.

Alike all revolutionaries who participated in the freedom movement, young Jayaprakash too aggrieved at the withdrawal of the movement. He could not do anything as he could not come out of college. His parents wanted him to continue his studies and he could not defy them. But at the same time he was not satisfied with the education of Bihar Vidyapith as it did not offer any scope for higher education. He had two missions in his life. One was to be academically proficient with higher education, and the other was to participate in the freedom movement of India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He felt that both of these could not be done at a time. So he decided to go for higher education.

First he thought to go to Oxford University. But he dissuaded himself from it thinking that it is a university managed by the British people who were oppressing the Indians. One of his friend who was in America was insisting Jayaprakash to come over there for higher education. He also wrote to him that he could earn and read and thereby meet the expenses of his study. The family of Jayaprakash was incapable of providing his expenses in America. So, he had to find out means to support his study expenses at America. Jayaprakash approved the idea of his friend to go to America for higher studies. He collected his passport and made all the preparations for it.

Jayaprakash wanted his young wife Prabhavati to accompany him to America. Accordingly he wrote to Prabhavati who was then staying in the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi. But Prabhavati did not agree with the proposal. She had already involved her in the activities of the Ashram and Kasturba Gandhi who was treating her as her own daughter did not want to part with her. Her training as a social worker was going on there with full swing. She was doing all household work of the Ashram, beside she was looking after Kasturba Gandhi and was also learning Gujarati. She gave up all these responsibilities once at a time and joined her husband in his trip to America. There was also resentment in the mind of his mother who was not keeping in good health. She wanted her son to be near her all the time. But other family members of Jayaprakash convinced his mother that Jayaprakash should go to America and complete higher studies and return back as a respected man of the society. That would enhance the prestige of the family. He at last gave his consent.

On to America

Jayaprakash was so eager to go to America that he left Patna on May 16, 1922 and reached Calcutta. He boarded a ship to America forthwith and after a long voyage reached San Fransisco on October 22, 1922. Though he was desirous of taking admission into California University of Barkley, but by the time he reached America the admission period was over. He had to wait for the starting of next academic session. Some Indian students who were reading in the same University advised Jayaprakash to earn in the

period of waiting and so he would meet the expenses of his studies easily. He also found that many Indian students were working in Morrisville. He decided to take a chance there. With great hope, he went to Morrisville and roamed hither and thither for a job, but did not get any. He was disheartened and tired. The next day was Sunday. He was standing by the side of the road. At that moment a Pathan gentleman of North-West frontier of India greeted him and enquired about him. Being pleased with his personality and manners he promised Jayaprakash to find out a job for him and asked him to accompany him. Jayaprakash followed him.

His passion for going for higher studies imposed numerous physical labour on him. From the childhood he had no experience of doing any physical labour. He was the most beloved of the entire family. And the family members did not allow their affectionate child to do anything except laying and reading. But in this foreign land, he resolved to do any job to support his expenses in America. He made no differentiation between a so called white collared job and job of the menial. Both were equal and dignified for him.

The Pathan gentleman took him to a fruit orchard owned by a gentleman and found out a menial job for him. His work was to pluck the grapes and dry them in the sun. His wage was \$ 21 in a week. He gladly did his job with great sincerity. He discovered the ethics of dignity of labour and practised it in his daily life. By that time Mahatma Gandhi had already translated John Ruskin's book "Unto this last" into "Sarvodaya". The book expounded the theory of both equality and dignity of labour. But by physical labour to earn his bread Jayaprakash experienced the plight of millions of labourers who are toiling hard for their daily bread. He was drawn to assess the conditions of the labourers Perhaps his direct involvement with physical labour had made him drawn towards Marxism.

He continued to struggle hard to earn through any kind of job that came to him. After working for one month in fruit orchard, he moved on the Berkley and stayed in a small hotel. The problem of getting job there was also difficult. There was no question of finding a suitable job for him. In those days America was not so

prosperous as it is today. There was poverty, unemployment and hunger for the common man. The rich were prospering at the cost of poor and the poor were struggling under the clutches of poverty and hunger. Conventional capitalist attitude played a great role in America to foster inequality among its people. So Jayaprakash did not get any suitable job for him. He got a job in a restaurant for cleaning the dining table and cleaning the dishes.

These jobs in the modern society were considered indignified. But to Jayaprakash, it was his training to divest himself to join the working class. He became a labourer and a worker in the strict sense of the term. He did this so called indignified job with great pleasure. He loved to earn in this way to fulfil his passion for higher education. The experience as a labourer had made him one of the most dignified and seasoned Socialist in the world. He had never thought of earning his bread through 'white-collar' profession. He had shown to the world that mere education would not be accepted as a base of dignity and prestige. He had established that human dignity is never degraded by doing physical labour for one's living.

That was his greatest achievement in America. He not only gained experience in the field of various types of labour oriented jobs, but by that he had upheld the dignity of labour before the world as he was never hesitant in doing that. He gave a fitting reply to the members of the sophisticated society who despise those who survive by doing labour. There has been a false notion among the intellectuals that doing hard labour affects the intelligence which is bogus concept. Gandhi, Vinoba who were masters in doing hard physical labour could not be said to have less intellectual capability. Vinoba who qualified himself by doing hard labour for eight hours a day, lived upon the wages that a common labour labourer earns. He survived with his intellectual brilliance. Jayaprakash had at last collected the funds required for his admission into the University.

He preferred to take admission into California University though it was an expensive affair. The academic standard of the California University was better in comparison to other American University. But a friend of his Bhola Panth, who was reading in Iowa University, was requesting him to come over to Iowa

University where expense were bit less. At last Jayaprakash shifted to Iowa University at the request of his friend and took admission in science faculty. At Iowa he prepared a routine of his life. In his leisure, he continued to earn for his living and for his reading. In holidays he was doing various kinds of jobs. For his living he worked in motor garages, factories and hotels. In a long vacation he worked in a meat factory at Chicago where beef was processed in shape of fast food.

The cruelty towards animal displayed by the industrial civilization created a hatred towards industrial civilization in the minds of Jayaprakash. The senseless butchering of cattle in large scale and the processing of the meat and packing them for human consumption all brought pain and grief to Jayaprakash. He could not tolerate the magnitude of cruelty practised in these factories whose products were used by the civilized people. "Were these people really civilized who live upon the butchering of innocent animals?" Jayaprakash asked to himself. Why did not we call them civilized cannibals? His mind went back to the ancient age where naked men and women were living upon human flesh. He could see this primitive cruelty and brutality in the modern industrial civilization. In a society where cruelty towards animals has been a vital part of civilization, there we could not expect human values to be flourished. However Jayaprakash had to swallow all the evils of industrial civilization as he was forced under circumstances to work in the meat-processing factory for his living.

No doubt America was a rich and prosperous country in comparison to the other countries of the world, yet Jayaprakash could find himself amidst the poverty stricken people of America. He had completed one year of staying in America and he had already realised that inside the so called prosperous America, there existed acute poverty where basic human wants were not provided to huge section of the people. He also felt that the hatred of White People towards the Black Negroes was very severe. He had come across many organisations of America whose objective was to eliminate Negroes from American soil. Those organisations were very active during the time of his stay in America. He himself faced humiliations from white people and their

organisations as he was of Indian origin. Young white fellow students of Jayaprakash would often say to him that

“You Indians are cowards as a herd of sheep, therefore a small country like England is ruling over your vast country having such a vast population. You don’t have any sense of dignity.”

Young Jayaprakash would hang his head in shame. He was helpless at that moment. He was shocked to know about the invisible disease of hatred towards human beings in America society, he was seriously thinking to find a way out of this disease economic inequality and human hatred. Accordingly he was drawn to Karl Marx whose revolutionary literature in support of the weak and oppressed people of the world shook the heads and hearts of many intellectuals who were eager to establish economic equality among the people. Through his concept he established that ‘poverty’ is man-made and can be eliminated by man. The changes in economic structures can eradicate the difference between rich and the poor, high and low. No man would be allowed to exploit another man for the betterment of his own self. In the 1848, both Karl Marx and his colleague Federic Engels jointly prepared a manifesto hereafter known as “Communist Manifesto.” Marx developed his own theory of Socialism appealing to all workers of the world. It said:

“Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains, and have a world to win”.

The crisis of European capitalism gave birth to communism. Marx appealed to the workers of Europe to take full advantage of the economic crisis. He narrated in his socialistic theory that the capitalistic system is bound to face crisis of its own and it would surrender before the proletariat. Though his dreams about the European revolution did not materialise; yet his Workers’ Theory gained momentum all over the world. In 1867, Marx greatest Book “Das Capital” was published in German. In that Book he has condemned the existing economic theories and explained his own socialist theories. He dealt with the conflict of classes in human society. He said class conflict is unavoidable. Marx died in 1883. By that time his ideas and theories had already

been implanted in the minds of many young intellectuals of the world who needed to put an end to the exploitation of the poor by the rich. There was an awakening of the working class in England even after the death of Marx. The great exponent of Marxism was Lenin who led the proletariat revolution of Russia and established a Socialist government in Russia. The Czar, the ruler of Russia was thrown away. The ideology of communism was fresh and the working people worked upon it with great enthusiasm. The history of the oppressive world took a turn. The poor were the masters of their own fate.

The mind of young Jayaprakash was deeply engrossed in Marx. He read all the books of Marx and was encouraged by the glorious achievement of Russian Revolution. He was convinced that 'each should get according to his needs' and then only the class would vanish. He was also eager to dream about a classless society where all people would enjoy equal economic and social status. He also read the literatures of M. N. Roy, a friend of Lenin and a good interpreter of Russian communism. He was impartial in dealing with the theories of Marx and suggested some modifications. Jayaprakash also appreciated M. N. Roy's comments. Jayaprakash was so much influenced by theories of Marx that he treated him as the greater philosopher and the greatest liberator of the world. He was still a student pursuing his studies but he was totally inclined to Communism. He was regularly participating in the communist study circles whenever he found time. There he enjoyed the thread bare discussion on communism.. But he did not join the Communist Party. He was hypnotised by the slogan of the Communist the "Poor should be governed by the Poor". He was giving this slogan even after he returned to India.

On seeing his craving for communism, one of his friends suggested him to go to Moscow and join Oriental University established in Moscow. He was also inclined to go to Soviet Union. He wanted to have a clear picture of the functioning of the proletariat government of Russia. He was informed by his friends that if he could only arrange passage money for Moscow, then his expenses of study and maintenance would be borne by the Soviet government. But there was no money with him. He also

wrote to his father to send him passage money for Russia which his father could not afford at that time. Accordingly his proposal to go to Moscow was dropped. The parents were distressed to learn that Jayaprakash was going to be a Communist. They were afraid for the government puts the communists in jail. The government of India put communists and Anarchists behind the bar. They did not want him to face the same treatment when he returns to India. They were perturbed and went to Dr. Rajendra Prasad requesting him to dissuade Jayaprakash from communism. Dr. Rajendra Prasad complied with the request of the parents and wrote a long letter to Jayaprakash to get involved in the freedom struggle of India going on under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi which according to him was a more radical revolution based on mass non-violent action. It was, too a revolutionary movement for a befitting cause. Rajendra Babu suggested that he need not go to Russia to gain revolutionary experience. The dreams which he was looking forward to visit a country where the State was run by the working class for their own upliftment, could not be materialised.

The only source of income for Jayaprakash was to do a job and arrange money for his maintenance. There was no other source of income for him to meet the expenses of his studies. But, it so happened that he did not get any job for a long time. This made him to face severe hardship. He suffered from tonsillitis in the winter of 1926 at the time when he was almost penniless. However he was admitted in the hospital and got his tonsillitis operated. Unfortunately the operation was not successful and he had to lie in the hospital for three months.

The little money that he had was exhausted. A Hospital bill of \$900 was due on him. He was at a fix. He wrote to his father to send money for clearing the Hospital Bill. Harsu Babu sold some of his lands and sent money to Jayaprakash and he temporarily rescued from his pecuniary situations. His father wanted him to be an engineer by reading Science. But this did not happen as Jayaprakash, at the advice of his friend changed over to the curriculum of Arts. He got his Bachelor's degree in Arts in 1928 and in the year following he passed his M. A. with distinction. The Paper he submitted during his M. A. examination was of high

order and was adjudged the best in the whole University. He emphasised in his Paper that social change could be brought about only changing the system of producing wealth. His views expressed in his Paper was influenced by the philosophy expounded by Marx. His result in M. A. encouraged him to go for Ph. D. and he was mentally preparing for the same. But his desire remained unfulfilled. News came that his mother was not keeping in good health and she wanted him to be at her bed side. His devotion and affection for his mother was so high that he decided to return to his home. The ailment of his mother shocked him. He wanted to rush to her immediately. He felt like all devoted sons that his career was not more valuable than the life of his mother. So he returned to his home after spending seven years in America.

Returning Home

By the time Jayaprakash landed in his home his wife Prabhavati had entered into 23rd years and was a young and charming lady. He was nourished by Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturbaji in the Ashram as their foster daughter. She was taught and trained in many things in the Ashram so that she could accommodate without her husband in his life. The Gandhi's taught her not only household matter, but certain manners and customs that would fit in to the conjugal life. Gandhi too taught her some English so that she could be able to help in some ways his America-returned husband. The Mahatma had already known about the devotion and deep faith of Jayaprakash in Socialism. He thought the wife should be fully acquainted with the attitude of the husband and should be fit to subscribe to the ideas which the husband cherish. Accordingly Mahatma Gandhi gave some basic lessons of Socialism to Prabhavati and gave her to read some books on socialism. There lied the greatness of Mahatma. He had never approved the concept of Marxian socialism, but he helped Prabhavati to be acquainted about the thoughts on socialism. It would help Prabhavati to communicate and discuss about socialism with her husband. There was basic difference between the outlook of Mahatma Gandhi and Jayaprakash so far as Socialism is concerned. He wanted Prabhavati to develop her own ideas without any imposition. Let she follow her husband with her independent views. She could

build up her own ideas and could be competent to carry on dialogue with her husband. Gandhiji wanted Prabhavati to put forward her own views of social life without any reluctance. Jayaprakash should convince her to participate in their ideological path. Prabahabati was equally grown and matured in social action and thoughts. She was no longer a small uneducated village girl. In the mean time she had learned many things about India's freedom movement and the course of action prepared by Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. Through Mahatma Gandhi, she had been already known to all great leaders of India's national movement. Jayaprakash built up his wisdom in America where as Prabhavati built up her wisdom in Gandhi's Ashram. She had grown equally wise and accomplished so that she could be engaged as a volunteer in the freedom movement. She had completed all the preparation needed for that.

When Jayaprakash arrived at Patna, his young wife along with some members of the family rendered him a hearty welcome. Seven years of separation between a young husband and a wife was not a minor affair. Both of them were astute followers of their ideologies and both of them bravely faced this long separation without an iota of regret in their minds. Their devotion towards each other helped them to gladly accept this long separation. For both knew that the relation between a husband and wife was emotional and devotional than physical. So the meeting was full of joy for both. In the village Sitabdaria also a great ovation was given to Jayaprakash by the villagers. His mother could not check her emotions embracing her son after seven years of separation. The meeting scene of the mother and son was a picture of affection, love and emotion.

During that time the Bihar Congress session was going on in Mungyr. Many national leaders including Sardar Patel were attending the session. Dr. Rajendra Prashad and the father-in-law of Jayaprakash Sri Braja Kishore attended the session. The Gandhi of Bordoli, Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel was the chief guest of the session. He led the peasant movement of Bordoli in 1928 and achieved unique success. The British imposed an illegal tax on the peasants to enhance its own exchequer. The peasants of Bordoli protested against this injustice and decided not to pay the portion

of the enhanced tax. The peasants of Bardoli rallied around Mahatma Gandhi, who was the main architect of Bardoli Satyagraha. The peasants and the volunteers displayed unique courage of non-violence and patience. And Sardar Patel led the peasants to victory. The British government withdrew the imposed tax and accepted the subsidiary demands of the peasants. Jayaprakash who attended the Congress session was greatly influenced by the deliberations of the meeting and he was ready to jump into the freedom movement. Being encouraged by the attitude of her husband Prabhavati wanted to take Jayaprakash to Mahatma Gandhi to solemnise him to work as a freedom fighter. But Jayaprakash had yet to take decision about joining Gandhi. He had earlier decided to work as a lecturer in Banaras Hindu University. But Mahatma Gandhi's appeal created conflict in his mind. Besides, he had already been influenced by the Marxian interpretation of M. N. Roy. So he could choose his path immediately.

Prabhavati was very optimistic about Jayaprakash joining the freedom movement under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. So, she took Jayaprakash to Gandhi's Ashram at Wardha. But by the time they reached, Mahatma Gandhi was completely preoccupied with the meeting of the Working Committee. He had no time to talk to both of them. After the meeting Jawaharlal Nehru who came out of the meeting met Jayaprakash and talked with him about his future plan. Jayaprakash said he had not decided yet. Pundit Nehru invited him to come to Allahabad and said he had work for Jayaprakash. Jayaprakash agreed to go to Allahabad. Nehru was also impressed with Jayaprakash at the first sight. His personality was charming that rested on his simplicity of heart. He never spoke with words those could not come out of his heart.

At last Prabhavati and Jayaprakash met Mahatma Gandhi. They talked with open heart. Both of them exchanged their view points. Jayaprakash did not agree with all the view points of Gandhi, but he was amazed to see his personality and simplicity and the powerful conviction on his ideas. He talked to him as his own friend and showed deep affection towards Jayaprakash. Gandhiji treated him as his son-in-law and proclaimed before him that Prabhavati was a daughter to him. There ended the conversation. They again met during the historical congress session

of Lahore held on 31 December, 1928. Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the session., It went on for two days. The session demanded for "Complete Independence". By that time the whole Nehru family was involved in the freedom movement The Congress office was opened in the old house of Nehru. Jayaprakash could not keep out of the freedom movement. He did not want to waste more time and joined the movement He was appointed a Secretary of the Labour Cell of the Congress. He and Prabahabati lived in the same room where Motilal Nehru was staying. Intimacy grew between Jawaharlal and Jayaprakash and they became close friends.

In the same year the health condition of Phul Rani deteriorated and Jayaprakash and Prabhavati rushed to the village Sitabdaria. Prabhavati stayed at Sitabdaria and nourished her mother-in-law with great care. But she became serious and was brought to Patna for better treatment, but she breathed her last. There was sorrow all over the family. Some time after, the grandmother of Jayaprakash also died. The child Jayaprakash got all care, love and affection from his mother and grandmother in a short time. He reminded the advice of his father when he left food at the death of his pet swan. His father had said not to grieve for those who are gone but look to the future to perform one's duty. So Jayaprakash tried to digest the grief and concentrated on the problems of the labourers and pursued them to participate in the freedom movement.

In 1930 Mahatma Gandhi started the Salt Satyagraha. He appealed to the people to break the Salt Law and violate the Salt Tax imposed upon the people by the British government. Mahatma Gandhi himself led the people to Dandi, a place at seashore of Gujarat where he violated the Salt Act along with thousands of Satyagra—his by preparing salt of their own. He declared that to consume salt is the birth right of every individual. It is a product of Nature and no one could claim ownership on it. No government would intervene with this fundamental right of the people to prepare their own salt and market it according to their will. The preparation of salt and violation of Salt Act was carried on in many parts of the country with thousands of people participating in it Mahatma Gandhi's call to boycott foreign goods and schools and colleges was another landmark of the freedom movement.

Bonfire was carried on at different places by burning foreign clothes. This non-cooperation of the British goods and the British system of education charged the nation with the passion to liberate India from the fetters of British. Though the government took many repressive measures to suppress the movement and imprisoned thousands of people without any warrant or trial, yet Gandhi succeeded in keeping the national spirit intact.

The government was mad at this own failure and banned Indian National Congress and confiscated properties of the organisation. It was impossible for Jayaprakash to confine himself in the Allahabad office. He jumped into fray and took leadership in organising the people to paralyse the British government. When warrant was issued in his name he did not surrender but went "under ground" to keep the torch of movement burning. He published clandestine papers and appealed the people to keep the movement live without caring a fig for the repression of British government. He advised people to display commitment to non-violent action of Mahatma Gandhi.

After staying away from Allahabad, he returned there to take part in the movement still by staying in "under ground". His wife Prabhavati was imprisoned from a protest rally of women along with Kamala Nehru. Both of them were good friends. They participated in the freedom movement together at Allahabad. The oppression of the British government on unarmed men and women of India was condemned by the whole world. Those were the days when Lord Irwin was the Viceroy of India. He too felt that one sort of reconciliation must be made between the Congress and the government. He communicated his intention to the British government at London.

Accordingly the British government at London invited representatives from India for negotiating with them. The Congress formally did not participate in it. But nothing substantial was attained. The impact on the government of the people of India through non-violent non-cooperation was so effective that the government was forced to release Mahatma Gandhi and withdrew all the repressive measures. The government also released about one lakh prisoners from different jails of India. Prabhavati was one of the prisoners who was released in this occasion. In this

way, Prabhavati became acquainted with jail life. He never hesitated to face arrest whenever the same was needed by the circumstances.

The young leaders of Congress like Jawaharlal and Jayaprakash and many other did not approve withdrawing of the movement by Mahatma Gandhi. They were not happy about it. Jawaharlal wrote a long letter to Gandhiji expressing his discontent that such huge mass movement in which millions of people were involved so intensely should not have been withdrawn simply because insignificant few violated the ethics of non-violence while conducting Satyagraha. Jawaharlal, the most popular of the young Congress leaders, was satisfied with the performances of the majority of masses. They were fully non-violently charged to face the oppressions of the British government as and when required. But Gandhi wished to see the masses hundred per cent committed to non-violent non-cooperation without any motive of vengeance for the adversary.

Gandhi was a hard task master and he warned those leaders who objected to his withdrawal that in no way violence would be allowed to creep in any form while offering non-violent resistance. Gandhi would not tolerate a Satyagrahi to think ill about the oppressor. The spirit of the Satyagrahi should be completely non-violent. Subhash Chandra Bose, who later on hailed by the nation as Netaji, was one of the close associate of Mahatma Gandhi was so much dissatisfied with the withdrawal of the movement by Gandhiji that he left the people of India in the middle of the ocean from which they could not swim ashore. But in spite of all differences between Gandhiji and the young leaders, the Congress supported Mahatma Gandhi's strategy of non-violence in the freedom struggle.

Instead of this, the turmoil continued in the minds of young and dedicated people of India. Jayaprakash never surrendered to the police, but preferred to stay behind the scene and actively helped those who were participating in the movement. He carried all the information and instructions of the Congress to the people who were engaged in the struggle. He was publishing leaflets and magazines explaining the various strategies of the freedom movement and the messages of the imprisoned leaders who could

not come out of the prison. Young patriots like Sahid Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru revolted against the British oppression and shot dead the British Officer Sanders. He beat Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab in a process. Lalaji was severely wounded and hospitalised and ultimately died. Bhagat Singh and his two companions threw bombs and pamphlets into the Central Hall of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. They were arrested, tried and ultimately hanged, because the British government wanted to get rid of the revolutionaries. But Gandhiji did not approve this act of violence and continued to train his volunteers in non-violence and peaceful resistance. He was even ready to negotiate with the British government demanding Independence for India. And in this connection, he agreed to lead a delegation of the Congress to the Second Round Table Conference at London.

Gandhiji attended the Second Round Table Conference at London, but nothing came out of it. Britain was not convinced by the logic of giving freedom to India. Mahatma Gandhi returned empty handed. Both the leaders and the Indian masses were disheartened. It was felt that as if the battle so sacredly conducted under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi was going to be lost. Alike many others, Jayaprakash was extremely frustrated.

Every one was thinking that Gandhiji drove the nation on a wrong path. It seemed as if strategy of non-violence and peaceful persuasion of the freedom movement did not influence the leaders of the British. Some young leaders along with Jayaprakash were exploring new avenues to conduct the freedom struggle. But Gandhiji was not a man to accept defeat of his ethics. He continued to keep the momentum of the movement by his great personality and gigantic political farsight. He again gave the call to the people to recharge themselves. The British started the oppression again. Gandhiji was arrested on 4th January, 1932. Many leaders were also arrested.

As usual Jayaprakash did not want to surrender to police. He felt that he could be able to do more work by remaining outside the prison. He went 'under ground' and went to Bombay. He started a secret Congress office there and became its secretary. He convened a secret meeting of Congress Working Committee at Bombay and apprised them of the political situation of the country.

During this time, a British Parliamentary delegation visited India to study the political and economic situation. Jayaprakash welcomed them and placed the political problems of India before them. He insisted that British should give up their domination over India and accept terms and conditions expounded by Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Jayaprakash accompanied the British Parliamentary delegation to Madras. While returning to Bombay and after bidding farewell to the Delegation, he was arrested by the police on the way and was sent to Nasik Jail. He was delighted to see Morarji Desai and socialist leaders like Ashok Mehta, Minoo Masani and Ram Manohar Lohia in the Nasik Jail. He enjoyed their company. All of them discussed about the future of the country and about the independence movement. They were not very much satisfied with the strategy of Gandhiji. They did not approve his soft approach towards the capitalists and his sticking to non-violence in the freedom struggle. They did not agree to the Trusteeship theory of Gandhiji as they had no faith on the characters of the capitalists that they would behave as trustees of the society. They held that capitalist's greed for wealth could not be eliminated by Gandhiji's approach of peaceful persuasion.

They were, in a way, revolting against Gandhiji's approach of social change. Though Jayaprakash was not advocating the Russian pattern of Communism, yet he believed in the theory of Communism. He was a communist in the strict sense of Marxism. He did not approve the role of the Indian communists who went against the Freedom struggle of India and described it as a movement to establish Capitalism.

So Jayaprakash was not ready to believe that the independence movement headed by Mahatma Gandhi was aimed for protecting capitalists of India. In spite of his reservations, he was confident that the independent movement led by Gandhi was a mass movement. It was the only movement in India working for attaining independence. He advised his young friends to take part in the movement of Gandhiji irrespective of their strategic differences. He thought it better to stay within the Congress and shape the organisation in a socialist pattern so that more people could be involved in the Socialist movement. The socialists inside the

Congress were very active in this matter. But it was extremely difficult for them to supersede the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who had indomitable support of Indian masses. It was also difficult for those young socialists to ignore Gandhiji.

So after the release of Jayaprakash from jail, he came over to Patna and formed Bihar Socialist Party in 1934. Other Socialist friends of Jayaprakash like Minoo Masani of Bombay and Shrimati Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay of Maharashtra joined with him and were engaged in spreading the Socialist movement in India staying inside the Congress. His wife Prabhavati was staying in Gandhiji's ashram while Jayaprakash was in jail. She came over to Patna to join Jayaprakash but she did not show any interest in the socialist movement of Jayaprakash as she was fully dedicated to Gandhian ideology of non-violent resistance and non-violent non-cooperation. But, as a wife, she was fully dedicated to her husband and was looking towards his comforts so that Jayaprakash could smoothly grow with his own vision of life. The Socialists inside the Congress were incessantly working to shape the Congress as a socialist organisation. They were yet to agree with Gandhian pattern of Socialism. They had their own ideal of forming a Socialist State. They were growing impatient.

Jayaprakash suggested to his socialist friends to discuss among them regarding the prospect of working for Socialism inside the Congress. And accordingly he convened a meeting of the Congress socialists during the General Session of the Congress. The response was good. They formed Congress Socialist Party with separate identity. The Party took decision to fight against all types of exploitations, to fight against the profit extracting motive of the capitalists in the country, to enforce the distribution of national wealth equally among the people of India.

The Party resolved to work for the welfare of all people of the country irrespective of caste, creed, religion and gender. It would not allow communalism to pollute the minds of the masses. It declared its policy of "Lands to the tillers". All those who cultivate lands must have a ownership right over it. The "absentee land lord-system" should be abolished. Tillers should be the owners of the lands which they cultivate. The Socialist Party announced that it would thrive for the nationalisation of industries, large

scale Trading Corporations and Life Insurance Companies and Banks. It wanted a total change of the prevalent economic system. It resolved to abolish Zamindari system and the Kings and Nawabs without giving any compensations to them. The established government should take over their properties and distribute them among the poor. The Congress Socialist Party in its session decided to fight against the economic, political and social inequalities in all fronts.

In the mean time intimacy had grown between Nehru and Jayaprakash. Nehru had great inclination towards socialism. He subscribed to the socialist thoughts in many ways. The Congress Socialist Party wanted to bring Nehru to their fold. In 1936, Jawaharlal Nehru became the President of the Congress, and Jayaprakash was made Secretary of the Congress at the initiation of Nehru. It was the opportune moment for the Congress Socialist to push their agenda into the Congress. Taking this opportunity Jayaprakash requested Nehru to join Congress Socialist Party as he was of the same political ideal.

But he did not join Congress Socialist Party. In 1936, the Congress Working Committee decided to take part in the Provincial election conducted by British government. Candidates of the Congress were set up to contest Provincial election. The Congress Socialists did not appreciate the contesting of Congress candidates in the election. They thought this to be a plea of the British government to delay independence.

Congress won the election and Congress governments were formed in 18 Provinces in 1937. But they were functioning under the framework of the policies laid down by the British government. The Congress Socialists including Jayaprakash were not satisfied with the performances of these Provincial governments. Jayaprakash felt that these Provincial governments were safeguarding the interests of the capitalists and were working against the interests of poor peasants and workers. He wanted a complete change of the policies of the British government in respect of the democratic process. Jayaprakash was terribly dissatisfied with this decision of Congress and tendered his resignation from Congress Working committee. He thought it would be difficult for him to compromise with the ideology of the

Socialism. With him, many more young people who were dedicated towards the cause of Socialism left Congress Party. He also appealed to the Indian communists to join hands with the Socialists and carry on independent movement jointly. But he did not succeed. The Communists did not oblige him. Then he tirelessly worked to strengthen the socialist movement in India single handedly to lay the foundation of Socialism in India.

But it was not a easy venture to mould the Indian masses to socialism. But Jayaprakash toiled hard keeping hope against hope. In spite of his deep love of Gandhiji towards him, Gandhiji did not accept his suggestions in toto. Some Congress leaders like Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel were very critical about Jayaprakash. Sardar patel openly criticised him in the open session of the Congress in 1938. During this time Jayaprakash wrote letters to Mahatma Gandhi expressing his view points regarding the policies adopted by Congress Working Committee.

He expressed his dissent over them. Jayaprakash also discussed this matter with Gandhiji personally. Gandhiji wanted to pacify Jayaprakash and advised him to be calm. But Jayaprakash was the last man to digest the insults thrown out to him by Sardar Patel. He stuck to his resignation. Though Nehru and Jayaprakash subscribed to the same ideological bent of mind, Nehru remained silent in this turmoil. He did not intervene in the matter. Still then Jayaprakash had great regard and affection towards Nehru till the last.

Taste of Revolution

Jayaprakash turned out to be a revolutionary from the moment he resigned from the Congress humbly putting this vice of descent before Mahatma Gandhi. Even he did not know then that he was revolting against so many social deprivations. He thought, that he would rather walk alone, but he could not go against his conscience. When he found that friends who subscribed to his socialist ideology stayed behind, he decided to walk alone with his own ideal with some like-minded colleagues. Even during that time he harboured no animosity towards any Congress leaders. He was against the decision of the Congress, not against its leaders and workers. That was his greatness.

In 1939, Britain declared war against Germany and that war became the Second World War. Many European nations were involved in this war. Britain sought help from all her colonial countries to help her in the War. Germany massacred millions of Jews in Gas Chambers during this war. The Second World War continued for long eight years and ended in 1945. India as the colony of the British was drawn to the War.

The colonial government of India too declared war against the Axis Powers. But the Congress opposed the war because the decisions about war was taken by Britain without taking the referendum of the Indian people. Taking the advantage of War, the Congress suggested that the people of India would support the war if the British grants independence to India. But the British did not comply with the suggestion of the Congress. So Congress opposed the war and asked its Provincial governments to resign. The Congress asked the people to oppose war at all fronts and non-cooperate with the war-fund raising campaign carried on by the British government.

The anti-war campaign boosted the spirit of Jayaprakash and he took leadership in propagating anti-war campaign boosted the spirit of Jayaprakash and he took leadership in propagating anti-war ideas among the people in various ways. He told the people that the way in which Britain is opposed to Fascism of Hitler, in the same way we are opposed to British imperialism and colonialism in India. We could only help the British in their fight against Fascism on one condition, and that condition is India's complete Independence.

It was a bargain of give and take and there was nothing immoral about it. Jayaprakash turned out to be a revolutionary against all war efforts in India. Tirelessly he moved from place to place to propagate against helping war efforts of the government. He went to Jamshedpur and raised his voice against war. He organised rallies of Steel factory workers at Jamsedpur who revolted with him against the Second World War. He appealed to the workers that under no condition they would lend support to British government in conducting war. The workers of Jamshedpur responded him with great zeal. The British government could not tolerate the mass popularity of Jayaprakash

and he was at last arrested by the police accompanied by magistrate and journalists. He was produced before the court and was sentenced to nine years imprisonment. Jail to Jayaprakash was a place to practice devotions to strengthen the cause of fight. For him, it was a place of renewal of his zeal and to sharpen his commitment Jayaprakash was always optimistic and never had the sentiment of frustration to weaken his moral. In the month of December, 1940 Jayaprakash was released from Jail.

The army of Hitler was on their road to victory. Congress has already started movement against the war. Mahatma Gandhi thought it to be a fit occasion to give a call for "Individual Satyagraha". Individual Satyagraha meant that the Satyagrahi or the volunteer of the Freedom Movement should roam from place to place with message that no body would cooperate with the government in all war arrangements and would ask the masses to desist from paying any money to the 'War Fund' that the government was collecting from the people to meet the expenses of War. The volunteers would address the meetings individually declaring the protest against war and court arrest. In this way volunteers were arrested one after another by offering Satyagraha. Acharaya Vinoba Bhave was the first volunteer selected by Gandhiji as first Individual Satyagrahi. He was the first to give a speech opposing the War and courted arrest later on Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested for delivering speeches against Britain and was imprisoned for four years.

The anti-war opinion was created throughout the country and the atmosphere was charged against British imperialism. The Indian masses were ready to overthrow the government at any moment. There was contempt towards British administration from all quarters in India. Jayaprakash took this moment to be the appropriate moment to launch a Revolution against the British regime. His craving for a Socialist Revolution in India was taking shape in his mind. He could not suppress his passion for building up a Socialist India. With this objective in view he travelled all corners of the country appealing to the masses to keep themselves ready to participate in the Socialist Revolution which was getting nearer day by day. In some parts of the country people responded to the call of Socialist Revolution. He was arrested while propagating

for the Socialist Revolution in 1942 and was imprisoned without any trial. He was confined to jail as a under-trial prisoner. But he was not allowed to face trial of his crimes. He was first sent to Bombay jail and then was shifted to Delhi Camp Jail. The British government was treating Communists and Socialists of India as Violent revolutionaries.—And they were kept under the cordon of Armed Police. The government even did not offer any treatment to them when they became ill. The British government wanted them to suffer and die in the prison without any treatment. A companion of Jayaprakash who was kept as a detainee went mad with his illness but was refused treatment by the authority. The fellow prisoners raised a heavy protest against this attitude of the government, but the government was determined to kill him by negligence. It did not pay any attention to the protests. Jayaprakash and his fellow prisoners fasted indefinitely to press their demand for the treatment of their companion.

Ultimately, the British surrendered before their demands of the prisoners and sent the ailing companion for treatment. Inside the prison, Jayaprakash was eager to contact their under ground friends who were engaged in preparing the nation for a Socialist Revolution.

During the time an unfortunate incident happened. Learning about the precarious and unhealthy conditions of Delhi Jail, wife Prabhavati, who was outside the bars, came to visit him. She observed the conditions in which her husband and other prisoners were kept in custody and was very much pained. She came to visit him again. Jayaprakash was ready with a letter addressed to his socialist friends who were out side the prison.

Jayaprakash handed over the letter secretly to his wife Prabhavati to be delivered to his friends. But this act did not escape the attention of the police who were guarding around. Prabhavati was taken before the Jail authority and the letter was forcibly taken away from her as a seized document. The British government made public the contents of the letter which according to the government agency, was written against the non-violent strategy of the freedom movement pioneered by Gandhiji. He giped at the individual Satyagraha as false pretension and requested his socialist friends to carry on violent struggle to

overthrow the British government. But real truth about the contents of the letter created controversy throughout the country. Gandhiji was himself pained at this type of observations of Jayaprakash. But the real truth of the contents was yet to come to light as the letter was disclosed by the government who was bent upon to create difference between Jayaprakash and Gandhiji. On the basis of the letter the British government brought charges of conspiracy against Jayaprakash. But Mahatma Gandhi defended Jayaprakash by saying the "Clive and Warren Hastings were involved in conspiracy for their own country and killed many, but Britain worshipped them as dignified heroes. Then how could be the patriotic activities of a man like Jayaprakash who spent so many years in foreign land, interpreted as conspiracy? Gandhiji asked this question to the government.

In the Jail, Jayaprakash and his companions were not given the status of the political prisoners. And so they did not enjoy the facilities of political prisoners. They were treated as ordinary criminals in the Jail. When the government did not listen to their demand to be treated as them as political prisoners, Jayaprakash started hunger strike in protest. After some days of fasting his health deteriorated and caused concern for everybody. Mahatma Gandhi appealed to Jayaprakash to break the fast when his demands are met by the government. But Jayaprakash stuck to his fasting. Gandhiji along with many Indian leaders were worried about him. Gandhiji did not give up the hope. He sent his secretary Mahadev Desai to meet him in the Jail and requested on behalf of Gandhiji to break the fast. At last the government conceded to the demands and he broke the fast. Jayaprakash fasted for thirty one days in the jail.

Jayaprakash was shifted to Hazaribag jail which was situated inside a forest. By this time the World War had taken a new turn. Britain was getting frustrated. She realised that it was impossible for her to win the war without the support of the people of India. So he started to appease Congress. Britain declared to constitute a Constitution for India. Accordingly she sent a parliamentary delegation headed by Sir Strafford Cripps to India to review the situation and give a report to British government. The Congress and the people of India were well acquainted with this delaying

tactics of the Government. They had already lost all faith on the British diplomacy. The British bureaucrats were experts in cheating the people with their time to time false promises. The Congress felt this nerve of deceit of the British and demanded complete independence for India.

The Congress did not give any importance to the fake promises of the government and asked the British government to give India the freedom. In the All India Congress Committee session at Bombay on 8th August, 1942, the Congress demanded absolute and immediate independence of India. Mahatma Gandhi himself gave the clarion call of revolt against the British regime and paralysed the government. Gandhiji called the people to fight for freedom or die in the process.

It was a heroic day in the Indian History when the people of India asked the British imperialists to 'quit India'. With this announcement the British government arrested Gandhiji, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Jawaharlal Nehru and Harekrishna Mahatab. The British rounded up all Congress leaders from all parts of the country. The movement went on without any leadership. The people took up the movement into their hands and gave the freedom movement a violent shape. They were agitated against the British and they destroyed many government properties, set fire to government offices and police stations. There was nobody to control the violent mob. The movement went on in full swing. It was felt as if this fight was the last fight for the Indian freedom as they poured all their energies of sacrifice into the movement. It reminded the lines from English poet Browning:

I was never a fighter, So, one fight more The last and
the best.

The nation was fighting the last battle against the British with full vigour dedication and sacrifice. It was difficult for the British government to control the masses. The whole nation was charged with the spirit of sacrifice. Every Indian was ready to face severe oppressions and even death for the cause of freedom. Gandhiji's "do or die" declaration shook the sleeping hearts of thousands of Indians.

Jayaprakash was still rotting in the jail. He was no exception. He greeted the "do and die" call of Mahatma Gandhi with full

enthusiasm inside the jail. He was impatient to come out and take active part in the revolution going on outside the jail wall. He learnt in the jail that this was the final and last fight of non-violence against the British and the British imperialism had to be thrown out. He wanted to work with the enthusiasm of the people and offer them the leadership. Dr. Mukherjee of Calcutta was staying with Jayaprakash in the same cell. He was a good doctor of repute and great freedom loving man. In the day time, he treated the ailing patients as the jail doctor and in the night he was engaged in the revolutionary work inside the prison.

But the police was able to know this and Dr. Mukherjea was arrested and was kept in the same cell where Jayaprakash was imprisoned. They became good friends. He was the chief architect of the escaping mission of Jayaprakash and his friends. Dr. Mukherjea laid down the plan of 'escape' before the fellow prisoners. It was decided that at the first attempt Jayaprakash and his five co-prisoners would be sent outside as per the plan. The place and the date was selected. A small isolated place in the corner of the jail was selected to carry out the programme of escape. The place was dark in the night.

The wall of the jail was twenty feet high that had to be jumped over. The night guards used to march on by the side of the wall once in every eight operation. The day was 8th August, 1942 and night was pitch dark. The celebration of Diwali was going on with songs, dances and beating of drums in the jail. The guards as well as the prisoners were merrymaking. Most of the Hindu guards of the jails had gone on leave.

The atmosphere in the jail was noisy with music, songs shouting of chorus songs. There were only four guards nearby, who were allured by the prisoners with jokes and humours. At this moment six prisoners planned for escape. It was 10 pm at night. It was a no moon night with darkness outside. A table was placed at the corner of the scheduled place. The young prisoners rode on the shoulders of one another. The first one climbed on the wall and he used his Dhoti as rope and helped his companion to come up to the wall. In this way all the six prisoners jumped over the twenty feet wall and landed in the darkness they and breathed the air of freedom. But the shoes, warm clothes and their

wallets of those escaped could not be thrown beyond the wall owing to shortage of time. Only the friends were able to remove the table from the escaping spot. It was the time for the guards for their round. They continued to dance and sing after the 'escape operation' in order to avoid suspicion of the guards on duty. The celebration went on with full swing.

The jail authority could only know about it in the next morning Jayaprakash and his five friends ran all night in the jungle on thorns to save themselves from the police. They trotted throughout the night and covered as many distance as they could. They had not brought anything except their clothes that they put on. There were no money, except a hundred rupee note which a friend was carrying with him. It was difficult for them to buy anything in exchange of that in the village, as the villagers were poor. There was rare circulation of hundred rupee notes into the villages. The small shops of the village did not exchange it for any commodity.

Further, the villagers might suspect them with the hundred rupee note. So they preferred to move forward suppressing their hunger. One of the friend had four anna coin. They purchased some roasted rice and met their hunger. Jayaprakash was having severe pain in his legs and waist lie was not able to walk any more. He was carried on the shoulders of their friends. It was also difficult for them to walk with his load. They found a bullock cart on the way and requested the cart driver to carry Jayaprakash.

The cart driver demanded three rupees for the journey. But they had no money to pay the fare. Jayaprakash offered his watch to the cart driver in exchange of the fare, but he did not agree. So all of them walked for three days limping and by dragging their feet After three days they entered into Gaya District. They reached a village where the people were very kind and hospitable. They gave them food, shelter, clothes and money and bade them fare well. It was not always safe for them to move in a group. People might suspect them as thieves or robbers. They might inform the police regarding their movement. So, they decided to part company and moved away to different directions. After undergoing great difficulties and overcoming many hurdles, Jayaprakash reached Varanasi and stayed with a professor friend. From there, he moved on to Delhi. He reached Delhi and

established secret relationship with the office of the Socialist Party. His old socialist friends were keeping contact with them.

Jayaprakash sent messages to the freedom fighters that they should not be cowards. Bravery and violence is far superior to cowardice, so they must come forward to put on a brave fight to oust the British from the soil of India. He supported violent action against the British regime. He appealed that the British government was bent upon crushing the freedom movement of India and therefore it was continuing its oppressive measures against the people of India. He appealed them to disrupt all communications by cutting the telegraph and telephone wires.

According to him this could be taken as a violent action. He did not even hesitate to the policies and strategies of Gandhiji. He said the people of India had the right to choose their line of action to attain independence. In the meanwhile one year had passed Subhash Chandra Bose, one of the dynamic leaders of the Congress, left the Party and escaped somewhere outside India by befooling the police. He went to Japan and established contact with them and asked them to help him in his fight in India. He established Indian National Army by recruiting patriotic army personnel from Indian Army. He led the Indian National Army to Delhi to liberate India. Jayaprakash supported Subhash Chandra Bose in his violent fight against the British. But he did not believe that collaboration with Japan would be fruitful in respect of attaining Indian independence.

The underground hero became a terror to the British government. He was taking active part in the struggle in his state of hiding the government which exhausted all its energies to capture Jayaprakash. The devastating Bengal Famine occurred in 1943. About a million people in Bengal and North Orissa died of hunger. It was man made famine. People starved while the hoarders were hoarding million tones of food stuffs. The British government remained unconcerned about the poverty and hunger of the people. Jayaprakash could not tolerate the plight of the hungry masses. He issued instructions to Congress workers asking them to break open all food godowns and distribute food stuffs to the starving millions. To him, this was not at all an act of violence. The British government declared Jayaprakash as a terrorist and declared ten thousand rupees on his head.

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. He was secretly doing all these to boost the morale of freedom fighters. The British government when informed about this put pressure on the Nepal government to arrest Jayaprakash and hand over him to Indian police. The Nepal government succumbed to the pressure of the British government and arrested Jayaprakash and his colleagues. While they were led to India under police custody, the guerilla fighters came to know about it and fought with the police. There was fierce battle between the guerilla army and the Nepal police.

Taking advantage of the fight Jayaprakash and his friends escaped. They trekked several miles on foot for a safe shelter, but it was difficult for them to get one. At last they crossed Nepal border and reached India. But the hurdles were chasing him. While crossing a river on boat, the sailor saw the guns which they snatched them from the Nepal Police and suspected them as a gang of dacoits. He raised a cry and the villagers surrounded them. The guns were all empty.

Jayaprakash and three friends tried to convince the villagers that they were not dacoits but freedom fighters. But the people did not believe their words. They wanted to capture them and hand over them to the police. There was no other way to escape. So, they threatened the villagers with empty guns and came away. Then he hanged his name to Mehta and roamed throughout the country. Again he reached Delhi to contact his co-workers. He was fully engaged in his movement for freedom. He was still conducting his activities remaining underground. Once, while he was travelling by train from Delhi to Rawalpindi, one old police officer who knew and saw him earlier traced him. Jayaprakash repeatedly told the officer that he was not Jayaprakash, but Mehta. But the officer did not believe it. He was confident about his identity and arrested him. Jayaprakash was sent to Lahore Jail in 1944. He was put inside a dark cell with no light. He was tortured physically severely. He was not allowed to sleep at night. After spending 16 months in the dark cell of Lahore Jail, he was brought to Agra Jail. Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail on grounds of health in the month of May, 1944. The British started negotiating

with Indian leaders regarding independence. Gandhiji did not approve the violent method that Jayaprakash adopted in the freedom struggle. He did not take into account the magnitude of sacrifice Jayaprakash did for not the cause of freedom. Jayaprakash was pained at the attitude of Gandhiji towards him. Prior to that both Gandhiji and Kasturba Bai were imprisoned in Aga Khan Palace. Kasturba was severely ill in 1943 in the month of December. At that time Prabhavati was in Darbhanga jail. Gandhiji requested Viceroy to send Prabhavati to Aga Khan Place to attend to Kasturba Bai. Prabhavati was brought to nurse Kasturba from Darbhanga Jail. But the condition of Kasturba Bai deteriorated. She died on 22th February, 1944 and Prabhavati was again taken back to Darbhanaga jail to continue her prison term.

In the same years Jayaprakash was transferred from Agra Jail to Lal Qila at Delhi. The political situation of India was fluid. The government was tired of oppressing the people. So it desired to negotiate with the leaders about granting independence to India. To create an atmosphere of peace the government released Mahatma Gandhi in May, 1944. Both the government and the leaders were aspiring for coming to a settlement. At last a settlement was reached and it was decided that the power should be transferred to India. The negotiators demanded to release other Congress leaders including the socialist leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. As a result, most of the leaders were released on April 12, 1946. Prabhavati was also released during the same time. The same year her father died.

When it was decided that independence would be granted to India shortly, the Congress workers felt no further necessity for continuing the struggle. But Jayaprakash and other Socialists did not believe in it. They wanted to change Congress into a Socialist organisation. But there were some matured Congress leaders who wanted to prevent Socialists to dominate Congress organisation. That faction of the Congress was very powerful. The British prepared a programme of transfer of power. Accordingly, a Constituent Assembly was formed to prepare the Constitution of India. During that time, Nehru was the President of the Congress. He invited Jayaprakash to be a member of Congress Working Committee. But Jayaprakash refused it. He was still hopeful about

transforming the Congress into Socialist organisation. Congress was a powerful Party of its own with the full backing of Mahatma Gandhi. It won all seats in the Central and Assembly election of 1945. It was during that time Muslim League leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah raised the point of formation of Pakistan in areas of majority Muslim population. He and his followers did not agree to remain in the Indian Union. They wanted a separate Muslim nation. Jinnah's proposal was suicidal in character as India had to be divided into two nations. Mahatma Gandhi was shocked at this and tried to pacify Jinnah. But Jinnah insisted upon his deal. The British government wanted to divide India and supported the cause of Pakistan.

The Muslim Leaders advised Muslims to place their demands by raising revolt. As a result, Hindu-Muslim riots started and blood bath occurred in many parts of India. Thousands of Hindus became homeless and refugees in East Bengal and Punjab. People in thousands were killed in the riots. The Interim Government, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, failed to control the riots, communal crimes and robberies. The whole of India was in turmoil. At the request of Gandhiji and Nehru, Jayaprakash agreed to be a member of congress Working committee. But no change was brought about in the attitude of the Muslims. India was bathing with communal frenzy. The British openly supported the demand of a separate Muslim Country to teach fighting Indians a lesson. The British diplomats were active in spreading communal hatred among Hindus and Muslims. The situation forced the congress leaders to concede to the demand for a separate Muslim country. Accordingly, India was divided as two nations. Pakistan was formed on 14th August, 1947, a day before India became independent. India got independence on 15th August, 1947.

The crisis of Jayaprakash did not end there. Sardar Patel initiated an amendment to the Constitution of Congress that members of other political parties could not remain inside the congress organisation. It was difficult for the members of the Congress socialist party to digest the insult. Jayaprakash protested against this move of Sardar Patel but nothing happened. As a result the Socialists had to sever all relations with the Congress. A separate Socialist Party was born. The most painful incident of

Indian history took place on 30th January, 1948 Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of Nation was shot dead by a mad communalist Nathuram Godse by name. The whole nation was perturbed and shocked. Jayaprakash lost his mentor, the man who loved him the most. His grief was fathomless. He was furious against the functioning of the Indian Government and demanded resignation of Nehru and his government as he could not provide proper security and failed to protect the life of Gandhiji. From that time he severed all connection with Congress.

A Rebel Socialist

The Indian Constitution was carefully introduced. India was declared as a Sovereign Democratic Republic on 26th January, 1952 and the first General Election was conducted in 1952. The Socialists under the guidance of Jayaprakash participated in the General Election with the objective of establishing Socialism in India, but they could not get effective response. Jayaprakash who was the key policy-maker of the socialist movement in India did not contest election. He wanted to lay a strong foundation of Socialism in India by remaining outside the power. Congress won the election with majority and formed government both in Centre and in the Provinces.

The election result shattered the dreams of the Socialists who wanted to build up Socialist state. Jayaprakash too was very much disheartened But he was a staunch revolutionary. He did not know to bend his knees before adverse circumstances. He explored other avenues to infuse socialist ideology amongst the masses without going to the power. He was more concerned for the people's power than the power of the parties.

Thus he became the most famous socialist of our county. He continued to give the leadership to the socialist workers. Branches of Socialist were established almost in all provinces. As a true revolutionary, he believed in building up people's power, not Party-power. The political Parties will just play coordinating roles in delegating power to the people. Jayaprakash had his own concept of Socialism. Socialism means to uplift and uphold the dignity, security even to the lowliest man of the society. Jayaprakash accepted the socialist ideology only to derive benefit for the poor.

He was a man who cultivated a capacity to identify with the poor throughout his life. His concept of socialism aims at creating human equality and integrity. The poor and underprivileged must be brought to the forefront of the society where they could join their terms to the functioning of the society. There was a time when young Jayaprakash gave the slogan "Poor Should be Governed by the Poor". He conceived of a socialist society where rich and the privileged should not be allowed to rule over the poor. He wanted to change the whole social structure of the present society by overhauling the value system.

The so-called intellectuals, according to him, are parasites and thus, they grab the lion share of the national wealth. In a true socialist state, there should not be any difference between the wages of the 'intellectuals and labourers as the basic needs are same to both. There should not be any discrimination in their remunerations as remunerations are given to satisfy the essential requirements of the individuals. Jayaprakash wanted to induct these radical concepts into socialism so that socialist revolution can take place involving common people. A socialist must associate himself with the problems of the have-nots and must try to solve them by changing the fundamental social structure of the society. Jayaprakash established socialist units in various parts of the country and engaged in preparing and teaching the masses for a socialist revolution.

He had often said:

"Socialism is not a mere jargon. Socialism does not mean a political or economic structure. Socialism is related to Socialist culture and Socialist man. I am confident in my mind that we have to build up a Socialist culture. We have to build up a Socialist man. This cannot be done by promulgating laws. It cannot be done simply by taking power into the hands and through administrative methods. The Socialist society cannot be established through these measures. This had never happened in past nor it will happen in future. The history of the past and various evolutions of the present are proclaiming repeatedly that social change cannot be brought about through power."

Jayaprakash held that whether the government wants or does not want, revolution can be brought about in the society by pursuing the people to adopt socialism in their own life and then bring revolution to the society. Socialism was dear to his heart that he visualised in all revolutionary programmes of his life. Socialism cannot function without democracy. One cannot flourish without the other. The path of autocracy is antagonistic to Socialism. It cannot lead to socialism at any time. Autocracy kills the freedom of expression and freedom of action of the individual. His incentive is suppressed from all angles.

For any social change the voice of people is the primary instrument. That instrument can be available only through democratic behaviour and democratic conduct of the people. The people are accustomed to individual freedom and democratic behaviour. They never wilfully accept autocracy unless they are provoked by compulsion. Jayaprakash wanted to utilise this individual freedom to protect them from the oppression of autocracy. He held that when the people will learn to uphold their 'individual freedom, then only they can be able to utilise their power of 'collective freedom. It is the collective creed of thought, word and deed that will boost the spirit of Socialism among the masses. To him Socialism was not simply a philosophy, but a way of life. Each individual must build up the proper outlook within himself so that he could embark upon socialist revolution.

While he was a student in America, he was inclined towards Russian communism. He was a great votary Russian communism. He was very much impressed with the performance the Russian government in the initial stage. The government of proletariat that had been a dream to him in his student days had come true. And he had great illusion about the Russia. But after few years he was disillusioned. He had sad experience of the performance of the Russian government during the days of Stalin, where individual freedom and individual initiatives were suppressed by violence. State violence was rampant. Authoritarianism was not the only alternative to Capitalism. It was not possible to eradicate Capitalism simply by nationalising Banks and "industries, trade and marketing and agriculture'. Socialism would still be too far. Even it may not lead us to our goal. By robbing individual freedom

and by performing state violence, perfect socialist state cannot be established. Jayaprakash was exploring the avenues for an alternative to State dominated socialism. He was 'in search for a process through which the Socialism can be established ignoring State power. He was eagerly moving towards the process through which people with their voluntary efforts people would come forward to lead a Socialist life preserving the spirit of Socialism.

The ethics of the socialism is based on three cardinal concept of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. These three concepts are full of rich human values that have to be cultivated by us. These values are not only be appreciated as a theory, but should be adopted as a way of thinking and living. Throughout his life he as a rebel, he cherished these values as cynosure of Socialism. To quote Jayaprakash in this regard:

"I have been always in quest of the path of 'human welfare 'till now and reached this stage. The light of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity has been showing me path till now. The same light has dragged me to my goal of Sarvodaya. I always keep this Pole Star in front of me to decide my path. I regret very much that I could not reach this stage while Gandhiji was living among us."

He had digested Socialism in his life and became its pioneer, He was not only a critique of non-violence method of revolution adopted by Gandhiji, but when Gandhiji succeeded in attaining freedom through the process of non-violence, he was drawn to the process. And he was fully convinced with the ethics of the application non-violence in a mass scale, when Gandhiji was gone. He linked Socialism with democracy and non-violence. He was convinced with the 'change of heart' process of Gandhiji. He was amazed to see the performance of Gandhiji in using non-violence as an alternative of violence while fighting the battle of Freedom with the British. That made him to follow the path of non-violence in all types of mass struggle. He was fully confident that the role of non-violence in bringing about social changes cannot be ruled out. The technique of adopting non-violence in mass scale in solving the problems of the masses was Mahatma Gandhiji's was great revolutionary invention by which Jayaprakash was influenced intensely.

As a rebel, he revolted against all deprivations of the society. May it be political, economic or social. The deprivations in the functioning of democracy had pained him. He wanted to overhaul the democratic system so that people should play a participatory role in its functioning and move into its decision-making process. He thrived to work out ethics of democracy in his life. In democracy, people are the power house and it is they who have to generate power. The function of the political parties to catch hold of the power and utilise it to lift the conditions of the people. The more important thing for those who capture power is to exercise the power properly for human welfare. This is the paramount objective of the role of power in democracy. Jayaprakash was very keen to modify the functioning of democracy. He held that mere establishing the democratic structure of government would not produce any result. The mass must accept democracy as a way of life. Faith in human values, tolerance, respect for the sentiment of the adversary, surrendering one's self for the well-being of the community, are the basic values of democracy those have to practised 'in the society. Democratic values cannot be preserved simply by changing the structure of the government.

He held similar views about Socialism. It cannot be established by bringing outward changes in the society. It is a pattern of life to be practised by all members of the society. It can only be achieved by changing the existing values of life. But the Socialist movement has only worked to make progressive laws. It has not worked for changing the individual. The individual cannot be rebuilt nor changed by enacting laws. So, Socialism can be established outwardly by the government in power, but it cannot establish the socialist values in the society. The power-oriented government is capable to erect an outward economic and social pattern, but it cannot build up socialist culture. So, genuine socialism cannot be established by taking the lever power in hands, but through the process of training of the people. Once new values are digested, they are spontaneously active in our lives. The modern Socialist States are giving more importance for erecting the power structure than to changing the outlook of the people of society. That is the reason why the capitalist ideas are entering the structure through back door. Jayaprakash had drawn the inferences from the functioning of the present Socialist

governments of the world that the establishment of new values in the society cannot be done either through power or through methods of violence. Both have failed to carry the mission infusing new ideas into human mind. We are looking forward to a third power.

This third power is the power of love-non-violence-compassion; He observed that the functioning of this third power is not new to our country. Our saints and seers have pioneered the process of transformation of human hearts through this process. Christ, Buddha and Mahavir have also applied it in social sector. It is time to explore the process more deeply with scientific approach. To quote Jayaprakash:

“Christ has thought and accordingly advised to spread the power of love to the neighbour. The broad meaning of neighbour can be extended to whole human society. But there is hardly any attempt made by the followers of Christ to apply the Religion of Love in their social life. It cannot be expressed that the present Christian society is based on the commandments of love-non-violence-compassion. Mahavir and Buddha have established religion on the base of non-violence and compassion. But this religion was confined to their followers and some people. King Ashoka was the only Emperor, who after repenting for the blood bath of Kalinga war, adopted Buddhism and vowed not to indulge in any war in future. Still then, it was never felt that society under Ashoka’s regime the Indian society was a non-violent and compassionate society. It would be a great blunder to believe that absence of physical violence is non-violence. Exploitation, oppression, inequality along with various types social and economic injustices those Junction under the strength of State power; are definitely violence though sometime in a concealed manner. In this way Christ, Buddha and Mahavir had applied the Third Power in the social field but the followers of these three religions based on the foundation of love-non-

violence-compassion could not build up their society on the basis of this foundation. Today we want to make the experiment of this third power in the social sector."

Jayaprakash is optimistic about the success of the third power in delivering a non-violent, affectionate and compassionate human society. We must carry forward the experiments initiated by Christ, Buddha and Mahavir till the entire human society is not absorbed in the heart of the people. Mahatma Gandhi had to do up to half way as he was grabbed by death all of a sudden. That made his Mission unfulfilled. Jayaprakash inducted the "Third Power" endorsed by him from Mahatma Gandhi and inducted the same into his concept of Socialism. Gandhiji had paved the way for the application of this Third Power of love-non-violence-compassion through his successful application 'in both at South Africa and in India.' So, Jayaprakash had to accept the inferences of the experiments done by Gandhiji without any hesitation. Through Gandhiji's successful experiments, he wanted to change the entire concept of Socialism and carry it to the common man. That made him critical about the present functioning of the Socialist Parties.

Each leader of the Socialist claims to be perfect in working out the concept of Socialism. Capitalists like Birlas say that the Congress can establish Socialism if they want. The people of Jana Sangh speak about Indian Socialism. Therefore, everybody is claiming to be Socialist. We propose to nationalise the Banks, Key Industries and Mines. It has to be done. But does that mean that the Socialist venture is complete without paying attention to the problems of agriculture and that of small farmers and agricultural labours. Our country is the country of poor agriculturalists. They have to be benefited by Socialism. Socialism cannot come shouting slogans, nor it would come by imitating the Socialism of Europe. The European people have a different background than that of Asia. Most of the common people there are industrial workers where as in Asia most are agricultural workers. So the Asian Socialism cannot adopt the same model of European Socialism. We have to think in different way for establishing socialism in Asia. Here, we have to apply it in our own life. We have to conduct different experiments, different types of thinking, to implement Socialism in India.

Explaining about the pattern of Socialism required for the Asian countries, Jayaprakash said:

“The main problem is what is the meaning of Socialism in a Agricultural oriented country. The little knowledge that I have on Socialism, I can say this much on the basis of it that I have one answer to it. The answer is that it is not Socialism to abolish Zamindari, promulgation of land ceiling Act, or the policy of “Land to the tiller” or consolidation of holding or Agricultural insurance, or similar enactments of land reform. The only meaning for agriculture-based socialism, is to establish community ownership of land and its management. What happened to Zamindari abolition? That was not a programme of Socialism. In America there was no Zamindari, nor Royatiwa in the past, nor it is today. But through this one cannot say there is Socialism in America. Similarly we have promulgated Land Reforms Act by fixing land ceiling in our country. It had nothing to with socialism In Japan, General Mc. Arthur fixed land ceiling to three acres. We cannot dream of it here. Namboodripad in Kerala had fixed land ceiling up to Ac. 16. Does that mean Mc. Arthur was a greater revolutionary than Namboodripad? The Socialists place the demand to waive the revenue of the peasants. But is it really the revolution? I declare that the pattern of Socialism in India has taken shape through Gram Dan. I am confident that the new Socialist society about which we have been dreaming of can be achieved by laying the foundation of Gram Dan. A great revolutionary step has been taken by surrendering the individual ownership of land in Gram Dan.”

His strong conviction on Socialism has taken Jayaprakash to cultivate basic humanism through that. He was not a doctorian, instead he was a humanist incessantly searching for humanism inside Socialism. He was always on the lookout to find the application of his Socialist ideal. In that sphere, he made several

new discoveries in modifying the approach of his ideal. He has gone to the extent of modifying even the basic concept of socialism. In socialism, instruments of production should be owned by the society and all the wealth produced out should be spent for the welfare of the society. But he said, these cannot be done through state power, as has been expounded in the Socialist theory. Because we cannot change the attitude of the people by enactments. We cannot force the people to produce and spend for the welfare of the society. We can do this only through peaceful persuasion.

In most of the countries Socialism has been established generally through State power. If there is democracy in the country, Socialism is established through electoral process. Predominately, the help of Law is taken for that. Communism adopts the method of violence for establishing socialism. Jayaprakash suggests three interpretation of Socialism:

- Socialism that is established through the methods of violence is fake Socialism, it is Communism, functioning of the government some times and express discontent with the government far various situations, but still they believe that if at all any solution to any problems has to be done, they look forward to the government to solve them. This faith has already been founded in the minds of most of the people. Even some of the big persons believe that the government is the only instrument through which all problems can be solved This anti-democratic faith can only be wiped off when the people are infused with enlightenment. Democracy cannot function properly unless the leadership of the people grows out of themselves. We do not find a single example in the world where we can find the all-round upliftment of a country is done by the State government. A country can only lift herself through people's power. The people's power of country cannot be built up through coercive process of the government. Jayaprakash held that we are yet to understand the fundamental truth about democracy. That is why we mentally depend upon the government to solve our problems and that we have no responsibility of our own in dealing with our own problem.

We have not yet understood the true meaning of Democracy. The true meaning of Democracy is that the people should be capable of upholding their right to solve their problems of the society. But it seems everywhere that people are neither interested nor prepared to take on their democratic responsibility. As a result, the huge manpower is lying in slumber and is being treated as a burden instead of being treated as wealth of the nation. This irresponsible mentality of the masses is harmful and also suicidal to the people's power or to democracy.

This effortless attitude of the people is due to faulty policies of the government too. It squeezes the initiatives from the people and leaves them without aspiration and keeps them mentally idle. So, in a democracy, the government plays a great role in building the power of the people and enhances their capability of participation through their own initiatives. But today's democratic governments have failed to create the power of initiative in the people to work for the society. This needs special and sincere initiatives on the part of government to allow the people to taste the fruits of Democracy, also he did not subscribe to the methods of violence in bringing about social change.

The technique adopted by Gandhiji in his struggle against British power had influenced him a lot. It was not the stereotype technique of revolution adopted by the earlier revolutionists. It was a revolutionary departure from that old technique of revolution. Such a technique was never witnessed before in the history of revolution. J. P. was convinced that the revolutionaries should change their methods. They must use the weapons of love and suffering and instead of preaching violence and hatred that Gandhiji used and succeeded.

True revolutionary must be an expert in inviting self-suffering without any malice in his heart, so that he could be able to establish noble ideals of socialism that includes equality, freedom and fellowship, peace and international brotherhood. The ideals of the Socialists could not be fulfilled simply by socialist power. We have experienced that the ideal often gets a back scat when attempted to be used by power. In the hoard of material development they are often forgotten. So, the ideals must be attended to and from

the beginning by diverting all programmes accordingly. To quote from the report from the Book Twentieth Century socialism:

“The ultimate source of confusion and division which afflicts socialism today is that the true ends are being forgotten. The doctrinaires have defied the means that were once thought to bring certain salvations, into ends in themselves. For them socialism is measured in terms of more public enterprise, more planning, more money spent on social services—irrespective of the results. The empiricists, on the other hand, in becoming more realistic about the choice of means, have scaled down their ends to nothing more than the immediately acceptable. In neither viewpoint is there any room for the ideals which have been the one enduring foundation of the socialist faith?”

J. P. had enough experience of the functioning of the Communist countries who wanted to implement their ideals through their programmes. They used typical jargons to justify the working of their ideas. They claimed democracy functioning, under dictatorship, socialism under state capitalism and world revolution with colonialism and national expansion. Equality and freedom, two most cherished values of socialism could not be established even after 40 years of revolution. So J. P. held that we cannot establish socialism according to its ideal simply by destroying feudalism and nascent capitalism. Socialism cannot be equated with mere economic growth. There is wrong 'in calling economic growth as socialist achievement. But J. P. reminds us that even rapid economic growth have occurred under capitalism and fascism. So, more economic development cannot be treated as a measure of socialism. The socialists must be conscious about the fact that establishment of socialist values is more important than the economic growth. And in no way socialist values be sacrificed in the alter of economic development. A powerful State machinery can initiate rapid economy growth, but cannot establish values of socialism.

Most of us who are committed to socialism or communism must discover new roads to establish the ideals that they hold.

The progressive political workers and thinkers were caught in theories, institutions and organisations. The old framework of socialist thinking will no longer bring about any result. We should not push more power into the State and do everything through State power. Instead through revolution we should make people make more powerful than the State. We have to evolve a new process for that. And the process expounded by Gandhi and Vinoba can replace the old process. It is the process of self-transformation and self-suffering.

The noble values of equality, freedom, fellowship and international brotherhood could be established through the above process. Socialist society cannot be established if each individual of the society craves and hankers after acquire more and more for himself. All individuals of a socialist society must believe in the act of self-control and adopts a way of life to foster the spirit of voluntary surrendering for the welfare of the community. Such a life of self-control and self-renunciation would remove the strife between man and man, man and groups and classes and between nations. Though Science has created possibilities for universal happiness, yet owing to man's covetousness and greed, all prospects of universal happiness are transformed into universal miseries. So long man would be craving more for himself, ideal of socialism would remain as a far cry. Hence, desire for craving more have to be subdued.

The moral development of man must coincide with the technological development Revolution theories expounded by earlier revolutionaries based on conflict of interests, has become non-operative 'in the present age of reason'. We have no right to interfere in the interest of others. The values we want to create would work only under the new way of life. Instead of conflict, we have safeguarded the self-interest of others. The future revolution will be conducted in Gandhian technique where we would not hanker after power, instead but learn to live according the ideal we cherish. Any value that we want to establish must be practised in our own life. The noble Marxian ideal "From each according to his capacity and to each according to his needs". This ideal cannot be imposed by the State being initiated by the change of outlook, rather can be practised by each individual from the very day when accepts the ideal. To quote J. P. 'in this regard:

“Therefore, let those who believe in equality proceed to live accordingly. Equality does not consist in taking from the rich and distributing to the poor. If the poor tries to establish equality by merely distributing the wealth of the wealthy among themselves, without accepting the philosophy behind it, they would soon recreate different forms inequality amongst themselves. And if the poor accepted the new philosophy and practised it in their own lives, and if they did it in mass scale, the rich would not remain behind. Likewise with other ideals and values of Socialism.”

(Bhoodan, Nov. 14, 1956)

Mahatma Gandhi was successful in building up a mass movement by bringing about internal changes in man. It could be called as a moral mass revolution. The sane people are eagerly waiting to experiment this new technique of Mahatma Gandhi in every corner of the world. They expect India to give them a lead. But after Mahatma Gandhi, the people of India and their leaders too have disrobed themselves of the Gandhian techniques. The lust for power has entered into every fibre of the leaders. They have forgotten about the moral mass power and the people's power displayed by Mahatma Gandhi. To quote J. P. again:

“But I am sorry to say that while Gandhiji's name is on the lips of everyone here, our eyes are turned eagerly to others. The lure of power is too great, and everyone who wants to do anything for his country wants to get to the seats of power. The only exception, as you probably know, is Vinoba Bhave and the small group of workers around him. His Bhoodan movement, of which you might have heard something, is an experiment of the new social dynamics, of which I have been speaking. He is trying to develop a mass movement... and he has largely succeeded in it—for persuading people to live a life sharing and to denounce the notion of individual ownership of property. Wealth can be distributed by law, but shared

only voluntarily. Distribution of wealth may be an uncertain step towards Socialism, and sharing of wealth is real and full Socialism.

(Bhoodan, Nov. 14, 1956)

The ideal of Sarvodaya is a magnified ideal of Socialism. It depends solely upon human reconstruction. Political reconstruction may play a role in arranging the administrative network, but it can do little for human reconstruction. It is only through moral mass movement, that ideals are settled in the hearts of the masses. The movement of mass reconstruction cannot be a political movement in the sense, as its aim is not to capture power. The movement of remaking the man has nothing to do about the supremacy of the State. The Socialist movement should drive towards that.

Gandhi's Disciple

Like Gandhiji. Jayaprakash too wanted a Socialist revolution through peaceful persuasion. This is to be done by convincing each individual as well as the society at large, to accept and act upon Socialism in social life. Otherwise Socialism would be left out only as a word of jargon. From the beginning, Jayaprakash was against capturing of power for himself. He held that power should generate from the people and should be the nucleus of the power structure of any country.

True democracy or true socialism can operate through people's power, not from any outward sources. If violence is allowed to function as a lever of power, then the will and the initiative of the people should be crushed. They will only remain as an instrument of emasculation of the human society. Jayaprakash endorsed this consciousness from Gandhiji. He felt that even in a Socialist State, the state power may rest on dedicated people with the promulgation of progressive policies, but it has been observed from experiences that the people at below are not benefited out of it properly. The People will be only benefited when they would feel that it is they who depute power to various sectors.

A great many revolutions have been made in this world. Revolts were done for establishing new social values in the country

like. The French Revolution. The American War of Independence. The Russian Revolution, The Chinese Revolution. No doubt, those were all successful revolutions. But what happened after that? Irrespective of the revolutionary goal of the revolution, post revolution era of most countries were gloomy. We have seen in the post revolution periods that all the leaders who pioneered the revolutions were seated on the citadel of power of their countries and handled power in their own hands. No doubt there was logic in that. They had to take power 'in their hands for the sake of establishing new values in the society, to establish a new structure of the Society and to fulfil the objective of the revolution'. George Washington did it in America. France changed power from one hand to another. Lenin also took power into his own hands in Russia. The same happened in China, Turkey, Algeria, Cuba and in many other nations.

The post revolutionary history went on like that. But Gandhiji was an exception to that. He kept himself away from the citadel of power. Perhaps the only mass leader of the world who handled the masses with full political authority at the time of political struggle, but when the political goal was achieved he declined to handle power. Because he knew that no purpose of the welfare of the nation could be served by that. He wanted the people to be politically powerful, so that they could be able to handle power by delegating the same to their genuine representatives. Gandhiji was not a small or a mediocre political leader.

The world knows that he kept the entire nation at this command for 25 years. But yet he preferred to keep himself aloof of power. Jayaprakash observed and learnt from Gandhiji to keep himself away from power politics. He was a typical politician. In his socialist days he distributed tickets to his party candidates, he conducted elections and propagated for his party, he never stood as a candidate in any election. Because he did not want to handle power in his own hands. He closely watched the political performance of Gandhiji and observed that Gandhiji was involved in different kind of politics. It was not just power politics. It was politics of the people. His objective was to create political consciousness among the people by going to them not through legislatures or Parliament, but through voluntary efforts. The

Indian independence movement was not a political movement alone, it was mass movement aimed at changing the characters and attitudes of the masses. So, though Jayaprakash was directly involved in party politics, he did not contest election ever in his life. Alike Gandhiji he too believed that people's power could not be built up by passing progressive laws and promulgate progressive regulations in assemblies and Parliaments. We must work voluntarily with the people and make them conscious of their powers and their rights in a democratic country.

That was why Gandhiji wanted to dissolve Congress and shape into voluntary organisation Lok Sevak Sangh by name. He prepared an amendment for Congress Constitution just one day before his death. He wrote it in his own hands. But God willed otherwise. He wrote:

"The Congress has done a great deed by giving independence to the country. But now it has to do a more difficult work. The country has achieved political independence, but it is yet to achieve economic, social and moral independence specially in the villages. The more India moves forward in the direction of democracy, there is more possibility of a tussle between people's power and army power. Therefore, army power should be kept under the subjugation of Peoples power. We have to built up this type of social structure."

Jayaprakash got himself indoctrinated with this powerful attitude of Gandhiji, which he materialised later in his life. He learned the technique of dissuading himself from power politics while keeping himself engaged in all political activity. He built up a strange personality of revolting against political autocracy at all moments, but at the same time, keeping himself directly involved in party and power politics. He was also engaged in doing "People's Politics' named by his mentor Vinobaji as "Lok Neeti". Jayaprakash believed that People's power cannot emanate from any government authority including State power. According to him, there must be some other organisations other than political parties who will do the work. The volunteers of such organisation

would roam from village to village and not only arouse political consciousness, but arouse consciousness for a fundamental change in the social structure appealing them to change their social behaviour. He held, people must change their ideas of self-indulgence and greed and to build up the attitude of equality and brotherhood to accommodate themselves into the new structure of the society. To implement these ideas 'of social change, people have to take their own initiative for decentralisation of power. According to him all powers must rest with Gram Panchayats or in the long run with village councils. He wanted to revolutionise the Panchayat Raj system of India. Unless the system is changed, according to him, the Panchayats will continue to function as a unit of the government than as an unit of the people. So Jayaprakash wanted to revolutionise the Panchayati Raj system.

Jayaprakash did not jump into the ideas of Gandhiji all of a sudden. He had been watching his miraculous personality and his powerful performance while leading the independent movement of India. Even if he believed in Marxian concept of social change, yet he joined Gandhiji's movement of liberating India, which Gandhiji conducted through non-violent and peaceful means. He did not believe then in violent method, but he participated in the National Liberation movement. He participated and suffered in the independent movement but he maintained his inner attitude of rage and violence against the Britisher.

No doubt he was participating with the non-violent strategy of Gandhiji, but he did not accept non-violence as a way of life or a basic philosophy of life like Gandhiji. Even at the peak hour of the independence movement, Gandhiji had expressed many times that most of the Congress leaders accepted "nonviolence" simply as a strategy, not as an ethic. And hence, Gandhiji said "non-violence has been delayed. Had the Congress workers adopted 'Non-violence as a cardinal principle in their lives, the liberation of India would have been attained much earlier. Jayaprakash was one among them who could not rule out non-violence completely not could he accept it completely. He had still doubt regarding the non-violent application in bringing about social change. According to Socialist Jayaprakash the exploiters and the oppressors are so immune to torturing and exploiting the

poor and the underprivileged, that it is difficult for them to give up the practice through peaceful persuasion. So the oppressors have to be dealt with severely. The Socialist Party which was formed by Jayaprakash after he left Congress was resolved to give the strategy of physical violence. They were yet to be convinced about the impropriety of 'violence in spirit' or 'the violence of soul'. The Socialist Leader held for some time that 'destroying of material objects that has no life' does not amount to violence. Violence was confined to them of doing harm to any living being which was antagonistic to the interpretation of violence by Mahatma Gandhi. But the humanist Jayaprakash was pondering over this matter and very often disagreeing with his colleagues. He was gradually being occupied with the ideas of truth and non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi. He felt these two concepts were the basic human values and had to be preserved in all aspects of human life. To quote Jayaprakash in this regard:

During Gandhiji's life time, in spite of the fact that I was gradually drawing close to him, as I have recounted above I have read no doubt Gandhi's writings through change of heart. As I have indicated above, Gandhiji, soon after independence, was evolving in his mind a national programme of launching upon the second and greater phase of his unique career. His proposal to transform organisation which he has fashioned as a non-violent army of freedom into Lok Sevak Sangh.

But he was completely transformed after getting the shock of Mahatma's abrupt assassination. He suddenly felt that Gandhiji was completely right in his approach to life and to society at large. The long turmoil that was going on within him was subsided and he preferred to surrender to the concept of Mahatma Gandhi. Not only that, Jayaprakash discovered his spiritual power within the concept of Gandhi. Spiritualism does not only mean to lead a life of a mendicant, but to enrich one's life by accepting and applying human values as the mean of survival. This made him a great worshipper of human values. He tuned his life in such a way that the whole of Gandhi penetrated into his thoughts. He had many rebirths. While a student he became a Marxist, from Marxist he

became a revolutionary, from a revolutionary he became a freedom fighter, from a freedom fighter he became a Socialist, and from a socialist he became a political spiritualist. He expounded a different type of spiritualism in his political life. His main objective was to induce human values into the sphere of politics. A complete change in his political attitude was displayed in his life. The application of spiritual values into politics was not a new thing in our country. Shri Aurobindo and Balgangadhar Tilak and Gokhle were the devotees of building People's Power through Politics. It was they who first identified that independence of India could only be achieved through the untied power of the common masses. They felt that under the existing circumstances it was not possible to go for violent revolution. Therefore, they explored the alternative and decided to go for non-violent revolution for the liberation of their motherland.

Shri Aurobindo and Balgangadhar Tilak also discovered the method of violent revolution and experimented on it. All of them made commendable contributions to India's liberation movement. Shri Gokhle founded Servants of India Society during the period. He declared that the Society would thrive for applying spiritual values into the process of politics. With this objective The Servants of Society was founded. Mahatma Gandhi inherited this spirit from them, but he was not a disciple.

It was not necessary for an inheritor to blindly follow the process. Keeping the founding spirit intact, the inheritor modifies the instruments of application and widens the path of application. Mahatma Gandhi purified the path shown by these apostles and made it result-oriented. It was Gandhiji's invaluable genius by which he transformed non-violent resistance into Satyagraha, which was absolutely his own discovery. He applied Satyagraha as a weapon of doing good to all.

It was a typical instrument to fight out evil but at the same time doing no evil to the evil-doer. The astute revolutionary Jayaprakash withdrew himself from the cult of violence in the same way as being done by Aurobindo, Tilak and Gokhle and accepted into the Gandhian method of 'spiritual' politics. That was why he had not participated either in Power politics or in Party politics. He endorsed political jargon of Vinoba known as

“politics of the people” or “Lok Neeti”. He tried hard to bring people to the forefront of the political arena of the country. It is not the Parties, but the people who are to be oriented to control the Parties who claim themselves as Political Masters till now. He wanted that the Parties would follow the will of the people instead people following the Parties. He admitted that this change of the political concept was discovered by Gandhiji through his concept of Ram Rajya where people would be ruled by themselves and also look after for each other for their common welfare. That was his concept of Lok Neeti.

Accordingly he was gradually drawn towards humanism leaving behind popular political activities and attempted to dive into the hearts of the people of our country. He had become fully armed with the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and had already applied them for his personal purification and for the society. Though outwardly he did not seem like a man treading over the path of ‘salvation’ or any sort of personal spiritual achievement, yet inwardly, he cultivated habits of both purification of deeds and purification of soul. He learnt from Gandhiji that purity of personal conduct and transparency in political life is the foundation on which humanism revolves. He was a compassionate man with divine qualities of truthfulness and love, He believed in tolerance towards his adversaries.

He believed in universal brotherhood of mankind He was a celibate throughout his life. His wife was an ashramite in Gandhiji’s Ashram since her young days and was fully engrossed in practising celibacy and was successful in dedicating her body to the service of the country as being advised by Mahatma Gandhi. When Jayaprakash returned from America after seven years, she asked her husband to accept the ethics of separation of body for the rest of their lives and yet remain as devoted husband and wife. Jayaprakash had never been a coward. He complied with the request of his young wife and joined hands with his wife in the endeavour of purification of body. In spite of their bodily separation, Jayaprakash and Prabhavati remained as an ideal partner till their last breath. In this way Gandhiji’s influence was acting on him. Through that he enhanced his inner power and spiritual strength that helped to keep command over many people

of the country. He developed his will power to dedicate himself totally to the welfare of the society with full conviction. His integrity helped him to grow over other leaders of the country. It also helped him to acquire wisdom that always moved in a positive trend. The association of Gandhiji and his participation in the revolutionary process had made him fit to keep command over his body and soul. He was moving deep into his own soul and was visualising a new vision of total well being of all people with the magnetic power of attracting and convincing the people of our country. He started behaving not as a political leader but as a humanist having love and faith for every human being. To quote Jayaprakash from his Total Revolution:

Disciplining the body appetites is essential for a moral life and growth of human personality and blossoming of all human qualities and values. This is true particularly of socialist values. The socialist way of the is a way of sharing together the good things that common endeavour may make available. The more willingly this sharing is practised the less tension and coercion in society and the more socialism. I believe that unless members of society learn to keep their wants under control, willing sharing of things may be difficult, if not impossible, and society would be bound to split into two divisions.

He had never minimised the need for the material prosperity for the poor. But in itself this did not close the chapters of Total Human Welfare. He was against preserving material happiness and encourage an outlook on life that feeds an insatiable hunger for material goods. He proclaimed many times that there cannot be peace of minds and hearts of men nor peace amongst men, if this hunger chases them constantly. Preserving the basic values and adopting them in our social life amounts to spiritualism. Constantly striving for economic and social equality amounts to spiritualism. To be engaged in the competition of surpassing our neighbour in material prosperity to Jayaprakash, was against the ethics of humanism and hence against spiritualism. To go against the self-interest of our neighbour for our own prosperity had never been considered by him as a process of human development.

To him, it was an act of violence and immorality. In this way he had digested all material and spiritual values expounded by Mahatma Gandhi and acted upon them in his own life. In the later life he moved on the path of Gandhiji with close watch.

Dedicated to Vinoba Bhave

Jayaprakash was closely watching the Bhoodan movement of Vinoba since 1952. His emotions and aspirations were searching for an outlet. He wanted to move out of the purview of the Party politics. Even he was not able to convince his own comrades about a partyless revolution in which only the people would participate with their own identity. He was not at all satisfied with the performance of the Socialist movement in India. He was in constant quest of a programme that would fulfil the real Socialist ideal. He saw a beacon of light in Vinoba's Bhoodan-Gramdan movement. To quote his own words in this regard:

I am afraid this process of original enquiry has been halted for the past few years in the Indian socialist movement. It is time that the thread of enquiry has been picked up again. The process should be facilitated by two different trends of development: one unfolding the Gandhian technique of social Revolution and reconstruction as exemplified in Bhoodan and Gramdan and Gramswaraj movement.

He was astonished to observe the events great significance that happened in a remote village of Telengana on 18th April, 1951. The day the Bhoodan was born, his first reaction to this event was not very much encouraging. But it created a great impression on him, He pondered over the happenings of Bhoodan. The event provoked him to look back to Gandhiji through Vinoba. Jayaprakash was not at all unknown to Vinoba. He was well acquainted with the background of Vinoba. Speaking about Vinoba he said:

I had known Vinoba for years and often when I had the occasion to visit Wardha I went specially to see him. I always found him unusually stimulating, and original. Some of his writings I had read had an-

exhilarating freshness. I recalled how Gandhiji had selected him as the first Satyagrahi in 1941. I remembered again his clear-sighted lead at the conference of the political and constructive workers after Gandhiji's death.

So after Gandhiji, Jayaprakash looked to Vinoba as the first associate who could represent Gandhiji's thought and action. Vinoba to him was the only man who could fill up the vacuum of Gandhiji. So, when he saw a person, like him who started a non-violent campaign to solve the land problem of the country. He attributed towards it with full seriousness. He was watching that the movement was gaining momentum all over the country with powerful mass response. The method of non-violence and peaceful persuasion which was applied seeking lands for the landless by Vinoba impressed Jayaprakash. It was a type of Satyagraha based on compassion that revealed the Gandhian character of Vinoba. Though a lot of political leaders ruled out Bhoodan movement as 'impractical', but Jayaprakash could not ignore the movement, instead he discovered a political process of social transformation inside the Bhoodan movement. He predicted that the results of Vinoba movement would be far quicker and faster than movements launched by various political parties of India. About this time, the old Socialist Party had already adopted a course of action under the initiative of Jayaprakash to give full support to Bhoodan movement. He was convinced about the revolutionary outlook of the Bhoodan movement. To put in his own words:

I went to see Vinoba when he was in the Banda district of U.P. to discuss the question of land distribution. I saw he was serious about the problem and his economic outlook was revolutionary in a basic way. I decided to join Vinoba's Bhoodan movement.

He never had this type of thrilling experience of getting immediate result in the process of the movement. He did not believe on his own efforts when he received gifts of seven thousand acres of land within a week simply by appealing to the people. He was extremely excited to see that most of these donors were small holders. He thought he was gathering sanction of the people

for land redistribution. He was very much impressed by the process of Bhoodan movement. It touched the heart of the people and at the same time demonstrated the spirit of sacrifice of the small land holders for the landless of the village. Vinoba initiated a revolution of human heart including the heart of Jayaprakash. He plunged into the movement at Gaya of Bihar and dedicated himself to Vinoba. In a plenary session of All India Sarvodaya Conference at Bodh Gaya he declared that "I am dedicating my life to Vinoba's Bhoodan Gramdan movement." His declaration moved the entire audience of Sarvodaya Workers and Vinoba was so emotional that tears of pleasure rolled from his eyes. It was a great victory of his and for his movement to attract such a gigantic political personality like Jayaprakash. Since then he worked untiringly for the success of the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement.

Another historical event took Jayaprakash by storm. The Bhoodan movement of Vinoba disclosed a massive political ideal concealed in the Sarvodaya movement. The Bhoodan had evolved itself into Gramdan, which meant voluntary surrendering of individual ownership of land to the village. In 1952, the first Gramdan was declared by the people of Mangroth village of Hamirpur district of U.P. The people for the first time in India surrendered their individual ownership to the village community so that the land could be kept in a pool and redistributed among all the villagers in an equitable way. To put the definition of Gramdan in his own words:

Vinoba has a talent for coining words and investing old words with new meanings. Thus DAN in his vocabulary does not mean gift, but "sharing together". That is the rendering of Shankar's definition. Danam Sam Vibhagah. Gramdan was equitable sharing together of the lands of the village by the people of the village. Bhoodan signifies distribution of land to the landless, Gramdan on the other hand, meant communalisation of the land: institution of community in place of individual ownership of land.' It became evident that Bhoodan had within it the germ of agrarian revolution. And how beautiful a revolution, how different from all others.

The history of revolutions taken place in the world had been linked with physical violence, bitterness and hatred, misery and tyranny and concentration of power in few hands. Those who were opposed to revolutions or denied to participate in it, were physically expropriated. They were not granted any opportunity to defend their opinions on it. In past, the violent revolutions gave birth to dictatorship and a powerful bureaucracy.

Ownership were abolished through violence or through other kind of force. But, in the beautiful revolution of Gramdan of Vinoba, ownership was not abolished by force of any kind, but freely and voluntarily surrendered to the community. In this non-violent revolution of Vinoba, the outward social change was accompanied by the inward human change. This was otherwise termed as Sarvodaya revolution. In that unique type of revolution, social tensions, conflicts and tyrannies were replaced by individual freedom, mutual good will, and brotherhood.

Jayaprakash apprehended that the Bhoodan-Gramdan -Gram Swaraj movement was creating such a social consciousness and an enlightened soul, about which all governments, may it belong to any political party, would be afraid of. In Western democracy the administrators become afraid of the public opinion till the end of election. Once, the election is over, they ignore the voice of the people in all respects. The people were too accustomed of it. They did not hesitate to tolerate the misconducts of their elected representatives and the administrators. But in India, there was a different type of political system.

The warriors were controlled by Brahmins. It otherwise meant that neutral people had control over the administrators. Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba too wanted this type of political system, in which state power would be controlled by moral power or by power of service. He felt the intensity of this new political system evolving out of the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement which would ultimately reach a stage where people would hold the lever of power in their hands. The State authority would be bound to bow down before them. He joined Vinoba's movement to organise the people to exercise their power and to make the public opinion a most powerful instrument of politics. To quote Jayaprakash in this regard:

Though I have taken leave from Party politics, it did not at all mean that I would remain silent when injustices occur in the country. It is my birth right as a citizen to raise my voice against any injustice. I have some responsibility to perform being as a citizen. When I would feel that I have to speak as a citizen, I must speak definitely. On the basis of my recent speeches, some people think that Jayaprakash wants to return to politics again. But I can assure them that I have no desire to return again to Politics. Moreover Bhoodan itself is a deep rooted politics. How can the movement which is thriving at changing the whole society, be kept aloof from politic? But definitely, it is different than party politics and now, I have no faith on party politics.

The non-violent social revolution of Bhoodan-Gramdan-Sarvodaya was creating an atmosphere of genuine political change in the country and Jayaprakash was convinced that it was not just a movement to initiate land reform but a movement to change entire political structure of the country. The function of State would be modified through this movement through decentralisation of power. With the establishment of small village councils and village banks in Gramdan will shift the base of power from State to the people. It would amend the relations between the Sate and the human society by making the state powerless. The ideal of Stateless society conceived by the Socialists can be achieved through this movement of Vinoba. He advocated throughout his life that human society must play a key role in controlling State power, otherwise the objects of the democracy will be jeopardised. To quote Jayaprakash:

I continued to feel strongly that human freedom could be fully and wholly realised only in Stateless society. I was, and am, not sure if the State would ever wither completely. But I am sure that it is one of the noblest goals of social endeavour to ensure that the power and functions and spheres of the State are reduced as far as—possible. I became at this time, and still am, an ardent believer, like Gandhiji, in the maxim that

that government was the best that govern the least. The test of human evolution for me because man's ability, justice and cooperation with his fellowmen without outward restraint of any kind. That is why I have considered human and social problem to be at bottom of moral problem.

The Gramdan movement had brought about the possibility of forming small societies, which is very important for the evolution of human nature to be a perfect human being. Man cannot grow in a big society which is complex in character. We have had enough experience of the functioning of big society which is heaven for parasites, namely of bureaucrats, managers, technocrats. They contribute less but enjoy more and accelerate human suffering. Jayaprakash was convinced that unless the nature, conduct and outlook of the human beings are changed, social change cannot be brought about.

This change is needed for both Socialism and Sarvodaya. It is only 'in small communities man can establish healthy relation with his fellowmen and get scope to practice human values in the society. Self-government, self-management, mutual cooperation and sharing, equality, freedom and brotherhood—all could be practised and developed 'in far better way, if man lived in a small community. Man must grow in cultural and spiritual way. Genuine human development completely rests on these factors. Otherwise would behave in a society exactly like "social animal", not as a human being.

He was confident that Gramdan movement of Vinoba would create such a atmosphere in the country that a Revolution would take place as quickly as possible. J. P. contemplated that land revolution would place by 1957 and the individual ownership of land would go forever. Vinoba had assigned five years time for and revolution. More than 44 lakhs of Acres of land had been collected in five years in India and in Bihar 23 lakhs Acres of land was collected. One could not ignore the response of the people for this non-violent revolution. The foundation of land revolution had already been laid down by Bhoodan-Gramdan movement The foundation of land revolution had already been laid down

by Bhoodan-Gramdan movement. The Bhoodan-Gramdan movement was in its peak in 1956-57. J. P. was very optimistic about the success of the movement. To quote J. P. in this regard:

Before the end of 1957, all villages in India must have undergone a land revolution i.e., landlessness must be eradicated through land distribution. This our declared aim and our work derives its hope and enthusiasm from it. Five years of time allotted to this work have been past. And 44 lakhs of Acres of lands have been collected. Much thought and discussion is being given to the question of finishing the remainder of the work within the allotted time. A friend told us how many felt somewhat down hearted at the thought that the proposed task will not be accomplished; this is one way of evaluating the work which has been done so far My late friend Yusuf Mehrally often told us how a glass containing some water would be described as half full by an optimistic, to a pessimistic it would be half empty. It depends on how you look at the same thing. It is obvious that if we consider the total target in relation to land acquired in five years, the proportion of achievement does not seem meagre. If you review the growth of the movement you will see new developments at each stage; new aspects of movement were accepted and established.

J. P. was virtually moved by the Gramdans in Orissa. In 1956, there were 800 Gramdans in Orissa. He could see the prospect of land revolution in those Gramdan villages. It created a new political and economic situation that demanded analysis of all sensible citizens who wanted for total change of the existing social order. The Bhoodan movement had through this situation climbed a ladder living behind only land gifts and land distribution of plots of land. To J. P., it was the process of ending ownership of land. He thought if the villagers would boldly come forward with 'village gift' in Orissa, then why it could not be done in other parts of the country? He appealed to the Bhoodan workers to concentrate in obtaining Gramdan from all over the country, and spread these

new ideas, experiments and new vision regarding the dissolution of ownership of land and plant its roots everywhere. He also appealed to political leaders and other important people to take responsibility in bringing about this non-violent revolution. This revolution was as important as our national struggle in which Indian masses whole heartedly participated. He welcomed the efforts of changing the attitude of ownership in Gramdan villages all over the countries and went on spreading the message of land revolution through Vinoba's movement. He also asked the government and public administration and those are in public life to come forward to share their responsibility in changing the society.

During those days the Indian government and many state governments were supporting Bhoodan movement of Vinobaji. But it was just leap sympathy and nothing more than that. J. P. was critical about their role. The administration and the government were not lending legal support to put an end to the land ownership nor they could promulgate regulations to materialise the objective of "land to the tiller" policy.

This was because, the government personnels themselves belonged to the groups of vested interests who did not want any change 'in the economic structure. J. P. was critical about their role. They did not play any role to make the movement more successful by using their influence and skill. Simply land distribution was not enough to help Vinobaji's movement. They must come forward with the efforts to establish the idea of 'collective ownership' and Gram Swaraj. J. P. was confident that the devotion and dedication of Sarvodaya workers could make land revolution a success. He appealed to those who expressed sympathy with the movement to share some of his work and time, so that the movement will reach its goal. We all have to devote our full time to make the land revolution a success. To quote J. P. in this regard:

I do not think anyone except Vinobaji could honestly say that he has directed his entire energy into Bhoodan. I have withdrawn myself from other activities and concentrated in this work; but I cannot honestly say that my entire energy was devoted to Bhoodan. I feel

that I could have done twice the quantity of the work. This is an occasion for searching our hearts... our real strength is not in plans and programmes but in the inner purity of heart. When I take note of my own faults and shortcomings, I often feel that very little good could be brought about through me. But introspection is the only way we can purify and strengthen ourselves. It is only when we have full faith in this movement as a means for purifying our lives that we shall be able to devote our full energies into it. We have not done all that we could: until then we cannot ask for new methods of work.

J. P. was a rebellious politician. He revolted against the present politics of the parties, he had openly said many times that you cannot attract masses simply through your pedagogy. You need to purify your heart. Any non-violent evolution is a heart to heart dialogue. The heart gets purified through this dialogue. He insisted that any Bhoodan or Gramdan obtained from the landlord or from the peasant should be made out of pure love and sympathy. The speciality of the movement was that the landlord should be taught to love the landless and vice versa. It is quite natural for the landless to harbour hatred and anger towards the landlord because of the sustained poverty and exploitation imposed on him by the landlord since generations. This ill-feeling is a threat to non-violent revolution. The Bhoodan movement does not want to exert pressure on the landlord taking the advantage of the ill-feeling of the landless. It is purely a movement of change of attitude by peaceful persuasion. Any gesture of direct or indirect violence is strictly forbidden in non-violent revolution. J. P. was very particular about this aspect of the movement. He said:

Some people ask why we do not start an organisation of landless persons which could be used for exerting pressure. Popular strength does not come by mere aggregation of people. 'Jana Shakti' can only be regarded as the moral strength of the men in it. It is only when the dispossessed follow the path of truth and morality that they will generate real strength... Leftists often ask me whether I really believe that the

rich will give up their rights of ownership only if the ideas of Bhoodan are explained to them. Will the factory-owners declare that their capital belongs to society? Perhaps they give away their part of wealth to get some publicity. Even there is some change of heart, what are the prospects that ownership will itself go? My answer is when I go to a rich man I do not expect him to give up everything or even one-sixth. It is a wonder that people give everything at all, when we observe the values, behaviour and condition of our society. Even partial gifts seem to be coming only because of the cultural background of our country and the work of men like Buddha, Gandhi and Vinobaji.

The success of non-violent revolution depends on the joint surrendering of their respective wealth to the society. Both the rich and the poor would behave 'in the same manner and display their change' in the attitude of individual ownership. The poor grabs his earning of Rs. 25/- exactly as the rich grabs his wealth of 25 Crores. J.P. held that exploitation cannot be ended and equality cannot be established unless every one talks in the same language about ownership. Both of them have to practice what they preach to other.

When thousands and thousands of lives of the people are transformed, Sarvodaya society will be established. The Bhoodan movement teaches millions of the people to declare that what they get does not belong to them, but to the society. J. P. had already taken lesson from the outcome of Russian Revolution and those revolution occurred prior to that. According to him, they failed to achieve their goal. The changes that took place by those revolutions fell far short of their ideals, which our young men are dreaming to day. In China and Russia, the landlords and the capitalists were liquidated and their lands and properties were redistributed. Collective farming and centralised economy were introduced to keep control of the State over the distribution. All these were done to establish equality. But there were discrepancy in remunerations. An ordinary labourer of Russia got 400 Rubles where as a senior executive got 2,500 Rubles. The greatest Dictator

Stalin had to bend his knees before the acquisitive 'instinct' and the 'instinct of greed of man. He had receded a step backward from 'equality', this was because he did not pay any attention to pursue the individuals to change the 'established instinct of acquisitiveness'. J. P. held that one cannot establish equality simply by eliminating rent, interest and profit which were the three major causes of economic equality. That was done in Russia but total economic equality was not established. The executives, the engineers, the managers refused to work on the same income as the labourers. They did not accept Stalin's concept of equality in spite of severe persecution and massacre. They demanded extra pay for their talents and wisdom. Hence establishing equality among the people of different profession were hampered. So, our problems cannot be solved simply by distributing the wealth of the rich to the poor. The experience of the world showed that no revolution comes out of distribution of lands and property by force. It would be just change of hands with the attitude of ownership intact. It would be the initiative of the poor that can create the atmosphere of equality in the minds of the privileged. For that they have to eschew the greed from their own hearts. Bhoodan had been doing that through its process of persuasion.

It would be consistent here to quote Aldous Huxley from his book *Science, Liberty and Peace*:

"Now it seems pretty obvious that man psychological, to say nothing about his spiritual, cannot be fulfilled unless first, he has a fair measure of personal independence, and personal responsibility within and towards a self-government group, unless, secondly, his work possesses a certain aesthetic value and human significance, and unless, in the third place, he is related to his natural environment in some organic, rooted and symbiotic way."

Jayaprakash believed that Gramdan—Sarvodaya movement was the only path to establish small, enlightened efficient, accomplished human society with the object of human welfare. Even the material developments could be carried on smoothly by small societies. The benefit of technology will reach every individual discarding top-heavy developments in which the needy

man is being left out. Science can operate freely and efficiently in small units of production and other developments. The present trend of applying science to large scale production backed by centralised economy has led to immense miseries of the common man. So small decentralised units of productions are the only way out. Jayaprakash divided science into two categories—(1) pure science and 2) applied science. He termed applied science as technology. Application is an important function of science. It largely depends upon the character of the society. The money-makers, who are a powerful class of the society force the technology to follow their path. Sarvodaya stands for application of science in small societies and political power is naturally concentrated in their hands. Even in those countries who had progressive revolutionised did not escape concentration of power in their countries. Thus it is evident, large industrial establishment is followed by concentration of power. It would be in the fitness of things to quote here few lines from Aldous Huxley, the great philosopher of the modern times.

The Demise

He died in October 1979; but a few months before that, in March 1979, his death was erroneously announced by the Indian Prime Minister to the Parliament as he lay fighting for his life in Jaslok Hospital, causing a brief wave of national mourning, including the suspension of Parliament and regular radio broadcasting, and closure of schools and shops. When he was told about the gaffe a few weeks later, he smiled.