

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN'S PRE INDEPENDENCE AND POST-INDEPENDENCE CONTRIBUTION AND HIS IDEAS

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ABSTRACT-

Early Life: Jaya Prakash Narayan whose name means, "Victory to the light" was born in October 11, 1902 in the remote Bihar village of Sitabdiyara. He was the leader of "Total Revolution", great warrior of Indian Freedom Struggle; Marxist turned socialist Gandhinian, a life-long *Ahinshak* rebel Loknayak.

KEY WORDS-Independence, leader.

INTRODUCTION-

Pre-independence:

Narayan was educated at universities in the United States, where he became a Marxist. Upon his return to India in 1929, he joined the Indian National Congress (Congress Party). In 1932 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for his participation in the civil disobedience movement against British rule in India. Upon release he took a leading part in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party, a left-wing group within the Congress Party, the organization that led the campaign for Indian independence. He was imprisoned by the British again in 1939 for his opposition to Indian participation in World War II on the side of Britain, but he subsequently made a dramatic escape and for a short time tried to organize violent resistance to the government before his recapture in 1943. After his release in 1946 he tried to persuade the Congress leaders to adopt a more militant policy against British rule.

Post-Independence:

In 1948, he along with some progressive elements in the Congress, left the party and worked relentlessly towards the creation of an anti-Congress platform. In 1952, they formed the Praja Socialist Party. By forming the PSP, he gave voice to the marginalised and offered an alternative political platform. Two years later, he announced that he would devote his life to the Bhoodan Movement, founded by Acharya Vinobha Bhave, for the redistribution of land among the landless.

In 1959, he argued for the reconstruction of Indian polity by suggesting Chaukhamba Raj, consisting of village, district, state and the Centre. From 1959 to 1974, he was a dedicated soldier for social reconstruction and national resurgence as he mentored political activists from across the spectrum.

Similarities Between Gandhi And JP:

JP represents strands of both Gandhi and Lohia. The role played by Gandhi during the freedom struggle was similar to the role played by the Loknayak post-Independence. The hero of the freedom movement was Gandhi whereas JP was the hero and harbinger of anti-Congressism. Characteristics that

predominantly connect Gandhi and JP were morality, ethics and values. Concepts like "Total Revolution" and "Party-less Democracy" were idioms added to the political lexicon by the Loknayak. Without joining the electoral fray, JP and Gandhi played a phenomenal role in shaping the polity. JP steered the leadership of the anti-Emergency movement on the sole condition that it must remain non-violent. He was visibly irked with the vandalism unleashed by the young and aspiring political activists. The power of truth and morality in Gandhi is broadly reflected in the ethos of JP. The demise of the Congress as a political party was envisioned by Gandhi and the process was initiated by JP.

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In 1977 he was the unanimous choice for the office of prime minister. But he declined and chose to mentor the cabinet and political parties. Politicians across ideologies and affiliations respected him.

His ideas:

SOCIALISM—the only Panacea for Socio-economic Maladies

Jayaprakash Narayan viewed socialism in Indian perspective. He viewed "Socialism is a system of social reconstruction. Socialism is not a code of personal conduct; nor is it a hot house growth." It means to change in the socio-economic and political life of the country –where there will be no inequality in possession and no exploitation. It will be a society with balanced growth from all sides.

He said socialism is a system of social organisation which has few objectives that are -:

- Elimination of exploitation and poverty.
- Provision for equal opportunities to all for self-development.
- Full development of material and moral resources of the society.
- Equitable distribution of national wealth. Jayprakash's socialism in economic sphere includes
- Abolition of landlordism and capitalism.
- Socialization of means of production by abolishing private property rights.
- Cooperative farming run by the gram panchyats.
- Collective farming.
- Large-scale industries owned by the states with workers participation and small-scale industries organized into producer's cooperatives.

CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA

Jayaprakash made a voyage from socialism to Sarvodaya in the fifties. The Sarvodaya movement was started by Gandhi in pre-independent India and spearheaded by Vinoba Bhave in the post-independence era. Jayaprakash's Sarvodaya implies a new order in which the society will be class-less and stateless; it will be a political system in which Lokniti will replace rajneeti it will be 'peoples' socialism., which will ensure not only freedom and equality, but also peace and eternity.

The Meaning of Sarvodaya

The Sarvodaya aims to establish a new social order on the basis of truth, love and non-violence. It is highly critical of the State and its government, because both are based on force and coercion. As such, sarvodaya aims towards the creation of a social order free from every form of authority. Its ultimate aim is to establish a stateless society where "the ruler and the ruled will be merged in the individual".

The main features of sarvodaya social order, are as under:-

- No power should be dominant in society; there should omly be a discipline of good thought;
- All facilities of the individual to be dedicated to society which must provide the individual for growth and development; and
- The moral, social and economic values of all the callings performed honestly should be the same.

Jayaprakash's concept of Participatory Democracy

His concept of participatory and partyless democracy found detailed elaboration in his pamphlet 'swaraj for the people' published in 1961. He said that Indians followed western democracy, where government is based on consent of the people without any participation in it. He wanted and advocated the participation of the people in the polity and governance this would require a thorough-going system of political as well as economic decentralization. He advocated Gandhi's view that as you proceed from the bottom level to the top each higher level should have less and less functions and powers. In such a system of democracy could give the people a stake in the democracy as well as a sensation of Swaraj.

Panchayati Raj System is the foundation of Jayaprakash's views on democracy. Because it will take the govt. to the door step of the people and enable every citizen to participate in it. But he also laid down some conditions, that are –

- Education should be provided to the people.
- Political parties should not interfere in the elections and functioning of Panchayats.
- Real devolution of power and responsibilities to the Panchayats.
- Giving financial autonomy to the local authorities, making civil servants accountable.

On these conditions the structure of participatory democracy has to be built up. And he also viewed political decentralization necessitates economic decentralization. A decentralized economy demands full utilization of local, regional, human and material resources to the satisfaction of local and regional needs. Emphasis should be on small machine, labor intensive economy and village industries.

CONCEPT OF TOTAL REVOLUTION

The clarion call for 'Total Revolution' was the last revolutionary quest of Jayaprakash Narayan. It is the only indigenous revolution in the post independence era. Though a Sarvodaya activist, a revolutionary Jayaprakash could not remain indifferent to the crumbling of Indian polity. Corruption, manipulation, exploitation, social discrimination, unemployment and rise of authoritarianism provoked an old guard of freedom movement like Jayaprakash to launch a total revolution in post-independence polity.

MEANING OF TOTAL REVOLUTION

On 5th June, 1974 addressing a mammoth gathering of 5 lakh people in Gandhi Maidan at Patna, he launched the revolutionary programme called Total Revolution. He defined total revolution as a combination of seven revolutions –

- Social Revolution Establishing equality and brotherhood in the society.
- **Economic Revolution** Decentralization of economy and making efforts to bring about economic equality by taking village as the unit of development.
- **Political Revolution** Ending political corruption, decentralization of politics and making public partner by giving them more rights.
- **Cultural Revolution** Defending Indian culture and regeneration of cultural values in common man.
- Educational Revolution Making education occupation based and changing of education system.
- **Spiritual Revolution** Developing moral and spiritual values, and turning materialism towards spirituality.

• Thought Revolution – Revolution in the way of thinking.

Causes of Total Revolution:

Jayaprakash's total revolution can be traced to the socio-economic, education, moral and political maladies existing in Indian society. He gave his note on Total Revolution in his book 'Prison Diary', written during his year of arrest and solitary confinement in which he talks about why he gave call for 'total revolution'. Since independence, he observed, there has been no real change in social, economic and political structure of the society.

Zamindari is abolished, land reform laws have been passed, untouchability has been legally prohibited and so on. But village in most parts of India is still in the grip of higher castes and bigger and medium land owners. Harijans are burnt alive. Adivasis are still the most backward section and money-lenders still cheat and exploit adivasis. Inspite of nationalization, there is no element of trait of socialism. There is no economic democracy, which is much talked about. The educational system inspite of several committees and commissions remains basically what it was during British rule. Since independence there is steady decline in the political, public, and business morality. Population growth goes racing forward. Poverty is also growing; more than 40 percent of people are below poverty line. The basic necessities of the people are also not getting fulfilled. Therefore there is the need of a systematic change in the society i.e., a total revolution in every sphere and aspect of society.

CONCLUSION:

Narayan spent the first 25 years of independence as the patron saint of lost causes: the Praja Socialist Party, the Sarvodaya movement, even self-determination for Kashmir. His most enduring contribution to the life of the Republic was the movement he led to unseat Mrs Gandhi, which provoked the Emergency. As the eminence grise of the Janata Party, the first non-Congress party to run the central government, he can take credit for catalysing the political forces that set in train the Congress's political decline. Narayan also wrote several books, notably Reconstruction of Indian Polity. He promoted Hindu revivalism, but was initially deeply critical of the form of revivalism promoted by the Sangh Parivar.

In 1998, he was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, in recognition of his social work. Other awards include the Magsaysay award for Public Service in 1965.

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