

Jayaprakash Narayan: Conscience of Modern India

Mr. Subrata Mandal., Ph. D Research Scholar

Department of History, Raiganj University, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.51244/IJRSI.2026.1303000060>

Received: 13 March 2026; Accepted: 18 March 2026; Published: 30 March 2026

ABSTRACT

The research paper title is "Jayaprakash Narayan: Conscience of Modern India" delves into the life, ideals, and transformative influence of one of India's most revered political leaders, Jayaprakash Narayan. Commonly known as JP, he stood as a beacon of moral integrity and unwavering commitment to social justice and democracy during India's tumultuous political landscape. This seminar aims to comprehensively explore JP's life journey, beginning with his early activism during the freedom struggle to his pivotal role in shaping post-independence India. It delves into his philosophy of 'Total Revolution,' which challenged the socio-political norms of his time and aimed at creating an egalitarian society. JP's unique blend of Gandhian principles, deep-rooted democratic values, and pragmatic approach to societal issues will be analysed in the context of modern India's political landscape. This research paper will assess JP's impact on Indian politics, his influence on various social movements, and his role in shaping grassroots leadership. Special focus will be given to his ideas on decentralization of power, social inclusivity, and ethical governance, which continue to hold relevance in contemporary India. Through in-depth discussions, scholarly analyses, and case studies, this research paper seeks to unravel the multifaceted dimensions of JP's conscience-driven leadership. It aims to inspire a new generation of leaders by drawing lessons from his life, highlighting the importance of moral courage, unwavering conviction, and grassroots empowerment in the pursuit of a just and equitable society.

Keywords: Revolution, Total. Sarvodaya, Politics, Movement, Government, Democracy, struggle.

INTRODUCTION

Jayaprakash Narayan whose name means, "Victory to the light" was born in October 11, 1902 in the remote Bihar village of Sitabdiyara. His father Harsu Dayal has boasted about J.P., "My son will be a great man, some day."¹ Jayaprakash Narayan, one of the foremost Indian leaders, was deeply involved in the nation-building process. He was deeply moved by the passion, compassion and limitless love for his country and its people. He was, in fact, a wonderfully lovable and greatly loved hero of India. In his revolutionary life he had witnessed several struggles, hardships, tortures, insults, humiliation, success and failures. His compassionate heart and humanistic outlook yearned to see mankind in the state of peace, happiness and brotherhood. So Jayaprakash Narayan, the great socialist and saviour of democracy, was unique in the universality of his experience and matchless in his contribution to the great movements of nationalism, socialism and humanism. He was a pilgrim in search of a way to achieve the unchanging goals of freedom, equality and brotherhood. His simplicity, humility, love for democracy, respect for values and above all his transparency were unquestionable. He firmly stood, throughout his life, for the emancipation of the tillers, toilers and sufferers from poverty, inequality and injustice.

The growth of Jayaprakash Narayan's personality and thinking in the latter part of his life had their origin from his lower middle-class background. The rural setting of his birth place, called Sitabdiara, with the obvious preponderance of poor peasants also greatly inspired him to mould his career accordingly.² Jayaprakash Narayan himself admitted that he was 'bitten by the bug of revolution' during his 'high school days.'³ It was then the bug of national revolution and national independence. Freedom became one of the beacon lights of his life and it remained strong so long he was alive. He was greatly influenced simultaneously by violent revolutionary approaches as well as by the Satyagraha methods of Mahatma Gandhi.⁴ His debut into public life took place in 1921, as a fighter for Indian freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.⁵ It was during his stay in the

United States of America that he imbibed Marxism and became a committed Marxist. But, being a fierce nationalist, he plunged himself into the freedom movement after his return from the United States of America.⁶ He went on playing a very active and revolutionary role during the struggle for India's freedom.⁷

Though Jayaprakash Narayan closely associated himself with the Congress Party and remained under Gandhiji's overall spell, yet he did not fully subscribe to his rigid adherence to non-violence and other beliefs.⁸ As a revolutionary thinker Jayaprakash Narayan was not satisfied with the working of the Congress Party. The younger sections of the Congress Party were quite dissatisfied with the decay that had crept into Congress politics and felt the need of a more dynamic orientation in the outlook and programme of the Party. For that, they reached socialistic conclusions.⁹ Jayaprakash Narayan's emotional attachment to the toiling masses and his ideological commitment to the socialist cause led him and some young Congressmen to lay the foundation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934.¹⁰ This Party had a two-fold objective of counteracting the pressure of constitutionalist leaders and intensifying the struggle for independence.¹¹ One of the basic aims of this Party was to establish a socialistic society.¹² Jayaprakash Narayan, gradually, came to be regarded as the harbinger of Indian Socialism. Being a resourceful person, a clever strategist, a dauntless fighter and a revolutionary mass leader, Jayaprakash Narayan became the rallying point of most active forces of the socialist movement in India.¹³ side by side Jayaprakash Narayan was a great nationalist fighter. The heroic role played by him in the freedom movement and his activities during the Quit India Movement have become part of our history. His exploits fired the imagination of India's youth. In fact, he became the most dynamic figure loved and adored by the youth of India who were impatient of the foreign yoke.¹⁴

The course of events in post-independent India had a telling effect on Jayaprakash Narayan's social and political thinking and he looked up to Gandhism for answers to his own questions. Mahatma Gandhi, in fact, had a direct impact on the mind of Jayaprakash Narayan through his speeches and writings, and also through his personal example of self-dedication to the point of self-abnegation.¹⁵ Jayaprakash Narayan came to realize that his old goals of socialism could only be achieved through Gandhism.¹⁶ His conversion from extreme socialism to non-violence and Sarvodaya was one of the miracles of the history of India under Mahatma Gandhi and later under Vinoba Bhave. It was the reciprocal psychological and philosophical proximities that built the bridge between the two seemingly divergent thinkers-cum-activists - Jayaprakash Narayan and Mahatma Gandhi. Jayaprakash Narayan found Mahatma Gandhi as a genuine revolutionary and rated Gandhiji's contributions to social thought and methods of social change as imperishable. He accepted Gandhiji's view that the first-rank leaders should work amidst the people and try to make them self-reliant and self-determining in economic and political spheres. Lastly, what had the greatest impact on Jayaprakash Narayan's thought was the moral aspect of Gandhism, its insistence on the purity of means as well as goals, its assertion of an intrinsic relationship between means and ends, its commitment to moral values in all spheres of life and its desire to follow a principled course of action.¹⁷

Jayaprakash Narayan's philosophy of life and thought had changed constantly depending upon the contextual situation. No single doctrine, no single school of thought and no single institution could chain him. As a man of deep convictions, he was slow to change, but forceful. His transition from Marxism to Gandhism, from Politics to Sarvodaya, and from Sarvodaya to Total Revolution ultimately made history. He always demonstrated a high degree of flexibility in his thought and adopted new concepts in place of old ones in order to tackle the new developments in the Indian society. Though he changed his ideas frequently, yet he remained consistent so far as the goals of equality, freedom and peace were concerned.¹⁸ Expressing the same sentiment, Jayaprakash Narayan himself wrote in an article published in "Everyman's" on 3rd August 1974, "My objective has not changed, it remains the same as it was when I was young. It is the same as that of the socialism or communism - a society free from exploitation, a classless society, a stateless society."¹⁹ Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan remained consistent so far as adherence to certain fundamental principles was concerned. One of the greatest contributions of Jayaprakash Narayan was that he brought a sound synthesis of Democracy, Socialism, Marxism and Gandhism.²⁰

Gradually, Jayaprakash Narayan came to realize that socialism as perceived by the socialists in the post-independence period, would not take mankind to the sublime goals of freedom, equality, brotherhood and peace. Under the strong influence of Gandhiji and Vinoba Bhave, he started developing a deep attachment to the theory and concept of Sarvodaya. He lost faith in the party system. Having met Vinoba Bhave in August 1952, Jayaprakash Narayan became a "Jeevandani" in 1954, renounced party and power politics and worked as one of

the leading spokesmen of the 'Bhoodan' and 'Gramdan' movement for twenty years. He put in sustained efforts for implementing the idea of bringing about a political and social transformation through Bhoodan and Sarvodaya movements and through the establishment of Gram Swarajya.²¹ To him, there was hardly any difference between Sarvodaya and Total Revolution.²² He was of the opinion that the Bhoodan movement was "not the politics of parties, elections, parliaments and governments; but politics of the people."²³

Unfortunately, the Bhoodan movement failed in its practice to deliver goods in terms of revolutionary change in the social and economic structure. Jayaprakash Narayan along with many Sarvodaya workers realized the futility of Vinoba Shave's technique of persuasion. Thus, in the seventies Jayaprakash Narayan came to realize the value of dynamic or struggle-oriented Satyagraha of Gandhiji to bring about social transformation. He started believing in peaceful mass action by the people in order to bring a total revolution in almost every sphere of human life and society. Besides, he also came to feel concerned more and more with the country's political system. His emerging faith in the role of State power in society compelled him to devote much time and energy to fight against the growing threat of authoritarianism in India between 1973 and 1977.²⁴

From 1950 to 1970, a period of two decades, India did not provide a happy picture in the socio-economic-political spheres. The people of India were losing gradually their faith in democracy. The nation itself had not gained in happiness over all these years and the situation was almost reaching its breaking point. The entire country was passing through several trials and tribulations. Violence was exuberant in every sphere of life and human ideals of freedom, equality, peace and brotherhood were kept in utmost disregard. Burning problems like unemployment and rising prices were becoming more acute and the students and the youth had started feeling disillusioned with the prevailing system. During this time rampant corruption was spreading like a cancer in all parts of the society and the flood of poverty remained unabated. Social and economic disparities further widened in these two decades, and cattiest, parochial and militant forces had threatened the integrity and values, decorum and dignity of the Indians.²⁵

Jayaprakash Narayan was carefully watching the whole situation. He expressed his grave concern over the future of India and the survival of its democracy. He realized that India was in dire need of a total revolution.²⁶ In the beginning of 1974, Jayaprakash Narayan had come round to the view that it was time for a change. Speaking in Kanpur, on 3rd February 1974, he said he was able to look ahead and see that there is another 1942 Movement in sight to change the course of history. He felt that the situation was ripe enough for a meaningful political action.²⁷ Giving his opinion about the proper time to start a revolution, Jayaprakash Narayan wrote in his 'Prison Diary', "It is only when the people generally, including the young and the students and the intelligentsia- and the latter is more important-are in a state of disaffection, frustration, disillusionment and are alienated from the authority, that the conditions for a struggle are ripe."²⁸

Realizing the exigency of the situation Jayaprakash Narayan decided to give an all-out call for total revolution. He appeared quite optimistic about the beginning of another great revolution in India in the shape of total revolution.²⁹ In a letter to the people of Bihar, entitled "A Long Battle", Jayaprakash Narayan wrote, "But I have faith in the demos, the people. I believe that this situation will be intolerable to the people. And whether today, tomorrow, or the day after, the people's movement will raise its head again in the near future."³⁰

Jayaprakash Narayan's concept of total revolution was a bunch of good ideas collected from different ideologies with an addition of his practical programmes. His theory of total revolution was, by and large, a synthesis of Marxism, Gandhism, Sarvodaya and Democracy. It was a comprehensive revolution aimed at bringing all-round changes in the lives of the human beings and also the society. Jayaprakash Narayan had spelt out the broad outlines of the concept of total revolution in his 'Prison Diary'. According to Jayaprakash Narayan the concept of total revolution embraced many spheres - social, economic, political, cultural, ideological, intellectual, educational and spiritual. The purpose was to bring both internal and external changes and changes in individual as well as institutions.³¹ He was of the opinion that polity, economy, educational policy and social customs were all to be patterned in such a manner that they could be a mutual concern of individual as well as society.³² Elaborating his broad objective of the movement for total revolution, Jayaprakash Narayan wrote, "You have to keep in mind that this struggle is not for a limited objective. Its aim is quite vast: to make the Indian democracy a real and strong one, to end injustice and exploitation in society, to bring a moral, cultural and educational revolution, to create a new Bihar and lastly, to build a new India."³³

The occasion for putting forth the ideas of total revolution arose when following the movement by students in Gujarat in 1974, the students of Bihar decided to launch a movement for the fulfilment of their twelve demands which included issues like corruption, rising prices and evils of the education system. But the students of Bihar were seriously lacking the experiences of a seasoned leader to guide them and were fighting for a very limited objective with a parochial approach. Jayaprakash Narayan, being a leader among all political parties and the masses in general, attracted the attention of the students of Bihar. Students invited him to grace the movement with his guidance and leadership. Though Jayaprakash Narayan was initially reluctant to assume the leadership, owing to the persistent requests of the students he agreed to lead it on certain conditions.³⁴ This movement opened a new chapter in the history of modern India and subsequently proved to be the greatest event in Jayaprakash Narayan's life.³⁵ In fact, this Bihar movement which started with some minor demands of the students became a mass movement under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan. Gradually, the movement came to be known as "JP (Jayaprakash Narayan) Movement".³⁶ It was also during this famous movement that the students of Bihar gave Jayaprakash Narayan a famous title- "Loknayak".³⁷

During the Bihar movement Jayaprakash Narayan, for the first time, introduced the concept of total revolution. On 5th June 1974, while addressing a mammoth public gathering in Patna, Jayaprakash Narayan gave the call of total revolution. He drew the attention of the students to the importance of discipline and peaceful and constructive methods, and also the broader aims and objectives which were supposed to be adopted as the goals of this movement. He also imparted to it a broad, non-partisan and national goal.³⁸ By making an agreement with the students regarding the creation of Janata Sarkars (People's Government) he agreed to support their political demands of the dissolution of the State Legislative Assembly and removal of the Gafoor Ministry.³⁹ But the involvement of several political parties and their affiliated organizations like Jana Sangh, Congress (Organization), Socialist Party etc. ultimately politicized the Bihar movement.⁴⁰

However, the Bihar movement remained peaceful in spite of the fact that the Government of Bihar refused to accept Jayaprakash Narayan's advice and let loose the repressive measures adopted by it. As a result of it, within seven months the students' movement in Bihar started spreading like a wildfire throughout the State involving all sections of people, millions of workers in rural and urban areas, and developed into a people's movement against wrong social, economic, political and educational system. From Bihar the movement for total revolution started spreading its tentacles over other parts of India. More and more people followed Jayaprakash Narayan because they found in him a forum to ventilate their grievances. He gave expression to their frustrations and their resentment against government policies and awakened them to the maladies that afflicted the democratic process in the country.⁴¹ The wide response that Jayaprakash Narayan had evoked was simply an index of widespread concern about the way it was being ruled, and the yearning for a leadership whose honesty was beyond doubt.⁴² Jayaprakash Narayan always stood for integrity, justice, prudence and wisdom, and explained to the people the greatest principle that sustains a democracy.⁴³

Though Jayaprakash Narayan was old enough during his historic struggle of 1974, he had identified himself with the ideals and aspirations of the youth as well as their sense of defiance and adventure. In fact, the letters "JP" had become synonymous with the youth power in the country even before the declaration of total revolution. He was attracted towards the youth from the beginning of his political career. In his Jail Diary, Jayaprakash Narayan had paid the highest tribute to the youth of the country. It was ever since 1930, when Jayaprakash Narayan entered into active politics, he had been a hero of the young, successfully leading many popular movements. During the Bihar movement he converted them into a perfect fire-brand. Being the vanguard of this movement, the students and youth were found on a march unto death to rout out the existing social evils and the corrupt government in power and to replace it by a clean and honest people's administration. Encouraging the youth in their fight against all wrongs, Jayaprakash Narayan wrote in his letter entitled 'A Long Battle', "This battle is a long one. The forces of history are on your side. So go on marching forward with full self-confidence. Your victory is certain." Thus, in this movement for total revolution, when the eyes of every Indian were focused on him, it was found that the leader of the movement, Jayaprakash Narayan had pinned his hopes on the strength of the youth and the youth followed him without a question.⁴⁴

Jayaprakash Narayan did not want this movement for total revolution to be reduced to just an 'Indira Hatao' (Remove Indira) affair. Though, neither Jayaprakash Narayan nor Mrs. Indira Gandhi was keen on confrontation, yet their confrontation appeared quite inevitable.⁴⁵ Criticising Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan wrote

in his 'Prison Diary', "Mrs. Indira Gandhi should know that discipline born of fear is nothing to be happy about. A nation cannot be built by fear..... Under fear there can be 'discipline', but not morale. A healthy nation can be built in a climate of freedom."⁴⁶

India passed through a dark period when Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared an Internal Emergency on 26th June 1975. Following the Article - 352 of the Indian Constitution, Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared this State of Emergency without the knowledge of the Congress Working Committee, the Cabinet, and even the Ministry of Home Affairs. Jayaprakash Narayan was arrested immediately with almost all the opposition leaders. Within a few hours the greatest democratic country in the world was changed into an authoritarian state. The freedom of Press and the Judiciary was taken away and Fundamental Rights of the people were suspended in the name of Emergency.⁴⁷

But, the imposition of Emergency proved to be counter-productive. Numerous arrests and atrocities during this period of Emergency brought together most of the opposition parties having different and even diatonically opposite views under one umbrella of the Janata Party. Jayaprakash Narayan remained optimistic about the chance of reviving democracy in India even though he was passing through severe illness inside the prison cell. He appeared like a beacon during these dark days of Emergency and proved to be a rallying point for hope and liberty. His revolutionary spirit remained undaunted and as soon as he recovered partially from his illness, he became concerned with the future of the movement for total revolution he had launched earlier.⁴⁸

It was when in the name of freedom Indians were being crushed by the sick Congress Government at the Centre, and the darkness of corruption, nepotism, hopelessness and death started encircling the fate of India, Jayaprakash Narayan again stood for the deliverance of the people. His marathon efforts of bringing the disunited opposition under one banner of Janata Party were unparalleled and a rare event in the history of Indian politics. A number of non-Communist opposition parties merged to form a strong opposition in the shape of Janata Party on the eve of 1977's General Elections. The Opposition, whose grand alliance had failed miserably during the previous election to the Lok Sabha, successfully raised its head again under the able command of Jayaprakash Narayan.⁴⁹

Early in 1977 Mrs. Indira Gandhi ordered the release of the political leaders and workers arrested during the Emergency and declared the dates of holding of elections to the Lok Sabha. In spite of his serious illness, Jayaprakash Narayan went round the whole country propagating hugely for the Janata Party candidates. To Jayaprakash Narayan this election to the Lok Sabha appeared like a new challenge.⁵⁰ It was his sole desire to end the Congress monopoly at the Centre. He was at the pinnacle of his glory during this period. The followers of total revolution accepted this election as a challenge, and under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, people defeated the Government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and brought the Janata Rule.⁵¹

Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan succeeded in bringing about a non- Congress Government at the Centre for the first time in India. Being the chief architect of the Janata Party, he saved India from a situation wherein the whole of India's democratic life was certainly in danger. He was responsible for selecting Morarji Desai as the new Prime Minister after the resounding victory of the Janata Party in Lok Sabha elections of 1977. The Chairman of the Janata Party, Mr. Chandrasekhar had also his blessings. His position vis-a-vis the Janata Party came to be compared to that of Mahatma Gandhi with reference to the Congress Party after the attainment of independence by India in 1947.⁵² The newly formed Janata Party Government promised in front of the Gandhi Samadhi at Rajghat, in the presence of Jayaprakash Narayan, to fulfil the commitments made in the election manifesto and to provide a clean, efficient, stable and democratic government. Jayaprakash Narayan also assured the people that he would keep an eye on the Janata Government to ensure that they fulfil their promises and discharge their responsibilities.⁵³

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we may write that Jayaprakash Narayan earned widespread respect as an Indian leader through his modest demeanour and extensive influence across society. He joined politics purely for public good, never chasing power, positions, or Favours a trait shared by few politicians worldwide. J.P. Narayan intentionally distanced himself from all offices, rejecting the opportunity to follow Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister despite many seeing it as his due path. Offers to become India's consensus President in 1967 and 1969 also drew no

interest from him. This stance echoed Gandhi's detachment but contrasted sharply with Nehru's engagement in power structures. Rejecting party rivalries, JP pursued national service driven by firm ideals like justice and equality. His life involved intense struggles, including poor health, high risks during independence movements, and personal sacrifices without material rewards. Researchers highlight his transparent honesty, bold courage, pure motives, sharp common sense, and light humour as key to his uniqueness. He led the 1974-75 movement against corruption, mobilizing masses for democracy and influencing the 1977 government change. Posthumously, studies portray him as a moral icon against injustice, often termed India's "best unwritten Prime Minister." His life and philosophy offers insights for analysing selfless leadership in modern democracies so far.

REFERENCE:

1. Sharad Mishra. Jayaprakash Narayan and His Contribution to Social Movements in India. Research J. Humanities and Social Sciences. Vol. 3, Issue. 2: April-June, 2012, PP. 282-286.
2. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, (Nagpur: Dattsons, 2013), 30
3. Narayan, Prakash, Prison Diary, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt. Lmt, 1977) 25
4. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 5
5. Prasad, Bimal (ed), Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Work, Vol.1, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers,2000), xviii
6. Ranjan, Sudhanshu, Jayaprakash Narayan: Prophet of People's Power, (New Delhi: National Books Trust, 2018), 273
7. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 5
8. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 6
9. Mehrally, Yusuf (ed), Jayaprakash Narayan: Towards Straggle: Selected Manifestoes, Speeches & Writings (Bombay, Padma Publications, 1946), 11
10. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 6
11. Narayan, Jayaprakash, Nation Building in India, (Varanasi, Navachetan Prakashan, 1975) 12
12. Prasad, Bimal (ed), Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Work, Vol.11, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers,2001), 13.
13. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 6
14. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 6-7
15. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 7-8
16. Narayan, Jayaprakash, Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy, Bimal Prasad (ed), (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964) Xiii
17. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 8
18. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 8-9
19. Narayan, Jayaprakash, Towards Total Revolution, Vol-IV, (Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1978) 96
20. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 9
21. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 9
22. Prasad, Bimal, Jayaprakash Narayan: Quest and Legacy, (New Delhi, Rupa.co, 2003) 127
23. Narayan, Jayaprakash, Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy, 12
24. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 10
25. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 10-11
26. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 11
27. Masani, Minoo, Is JP the Answer? (Delhi, The Macmillan Company of India Limited, 1975) 47
28. Narayan, Prakash, Prison Diary, 23
29. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 12
30. Prasad, Bimal (ed), Jayaprakash Narayan: Essential Writings (1929-1979) (A Centenary Volume), (New Delhi, Konark Publishers, 2002) 421
31. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 12-13
32. Dwivedi, R.N., Glimpses of the J.P. Movement, (Varanasi, Vijay Prakashan Mandir, 1988) 81
33. Narayan, Jayaprakash, Sampoorana Kranti Ke Liye Ahwan (Hindi), (Varanasi, 1974) 41
34. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 14-15
35. Doctor, Adi H., JP's Total Revolution: An Exercise in Utopia, (Delhi, Semma Publication, 1987) 13

-
36. Dwivedi, R.N., Glimpses of the J.P. Movement, 24
 37. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 15
 38. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 15
 39. Masani, Minoo, Is JP the Answer? 57
 40. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 15
 41. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 15-16
 42. Bhattacharya, Ajit, Jayaprakash Narayan: A Political Biography, (New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1978) ii
 43. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 16
 44. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 16-17
 45. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 18
 46. Narayan, Prakash, Prison Diary, 29
 47. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 18-19
 48. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 19
 49. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 19-20
 50. Prasad, Bimal (ed), Jayaprakash Narayan: Essential Writings, 47
 51. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 20
 52. Kar, Purnendu Kumar, Jayaprakash Narayan's: Concept of Total Revolution and it's Practice, 20-21
 53. Prasad, Bimal (ed), Jayaprakash Narayan: Essential Writings, 458