# Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan



# LOKNAYAK JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT NEW DELHI JULY, 2002

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#### **PREFACE**

Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan was one of the greatest political thinkers and outstanding leaders that India produced in the twentieth century. A fearless freedom fighter, outright socialist and devoted sarvodaya leader, he endeavoured throughout his life to usher in a truly egalitarian socio-economic and political order in the country and made valuable contributions to the evolution of our political system. His entire life was a saga of selfless sacrifices in the service of the people.

A grateful nation honours the memory of the Loknayak on 3 July, 2002 when the Hon'ble President of India, Shri K.R. Narayanan will unveil the Loknayak's statue in the Parliament House. The initiative for installing the statue came from the General Purposes Committee of the Lok Sabha.

The statue of Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan, sculpted by the eminent sculptor, Padamshree Ram V. Sutar and made of bronze, is 16 feet and 9 inches in height, having a Pedestal of 9 inches. The statue has been donated by the J.P. Vichar Manch, Patna.

To mark the occasion, the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out this publication which carries Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan's views on various aspects of our national life and some select photographs. An exhibition on the life and times of the Loknayak is also being organized by the Parliamentary Museum and Archives of the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

We are grateful to the Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Manohar Joshi, for his keen interest and valuable guidance in organizing the function. We are also grateful to the J.P. Vichar Manch, Patna, for donating the statue.

This publication is a humble tribute to the memory of Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan. We hope it will be found useful and informative by all.

New Delhi; 3 *July*, 2002

G.C. MALHOTRA, Secretary-General, Lok Sabha.

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# *LOKNAYAK* JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

# — A Profile

A man of immense determination and moral uprightness, Jayaprakash Narayan possessed an illimitable capacity to influence people through a combination of intellectual integrity, fearlessness and matchless self-sacrifice. His life, spanning over almost eight decades during one of the most turbulent periods in Indian history, may be encapsulated as a quest for an egalitarian society. A profound concern for freedom and morality made him an impeccable revolutionary who never submitted to any authoritarian regime. A dedicated and benignly person, a man of the masses who incessantly worked for their welfare, he drew inspiration from the common man. While envisaging basic tenets of an ideal society for human uplift and overall socio-economic change, he was always open to any political ideology or system provided he could see in it a possibility of the attainment of the desired human values of liberty, equality, peace and brotherhood.

#### Early Days

Born on 11 October, 1902 in a middle-class family in a village, namely Sitabdiara in Bihar, Jayaprakash, popularly known as J.P., was the son of Harshudayal and Phoolrani. Belonging to a progressive family, he was given the best of education as his father had high expectations from his son, centered around on a career either in government service or legal practice. After attending the village primary school, he was sent to Patna for further education. Admitted in the seventh standard in Patna Collegiate School, he performed brilliantly and his teachers held high opinion about him. They considered him a gifted student, endowed with a phenomenal memory and a keen insight. They were hopeful that one day he would surely make his mark at the national level. On the basis of the result of his Matriculation examination in 1919, he was awarded a scholarship.

During his stay in Patna, he came into contact with the highly scholarly and nationalistic atmosphere at Saraswati Bhavan which was the centre of national and political activities in Patna. When Jayaprakash saw inmates of the Bhavan bubbling with the spirit of patriotism, he was extremely impressed. He would carefully and patiently listen to the discussions of his senior comrades. Gradually, political questions concerning national struggle for independence began to capture his attention. With growing interest in the Bhagwad Gita and other literature, his outlook broadened and he started formulating his own views about the issues confronting the nation.

During these early years, Jayaprakash became a spirited nationalist and gradually leaned towards the revolutionary cult. But, before his revolutionary leanings could mature, Gandhi's non-violent and non-cooperative movement had swept India. Jayaprakash was also greatly influenced by Gandhi's non-violent weapon—satyagraha—against the oppressor. He soon realized that no one could withstand the force of non-violent way of opposing injustice. Highly impressed by Mahatma Gandhi, he shunned all luxuries and became a swadeshi in his attitude and action.

His marriage to Prabhavati, the daughter of prominent Congress leader and top lawyer Brijkishore Prashad, on 16 May, 1920, proved momentous for Jayaprakash in a sense that his family relations with some of the foremost political figures were established and that politics became almost a household affair in his life. Further, he also got an ideal and enlightened life-partner in Prabhavati who was a highly patriotic and sensible person. She extended moral support to him throughout his life.

During the Non-cooperation Movement, he gave up his studies of I.Sc., which were resumed only after calling off of the movement. For further studies, the 'earn while you learn' way of life of the American students had an instructive appeal for Jayaprakash. As a staunch believer in self-reliance, he decided to go to the USA and continue his academic career there. So, leaving his young wife behind, he sailed for the USA with the meagre funds made available by his father.

#### An Encounter with Marxism

During his stay in the USA from October 1922 to September 1929, he had an opportunity to pursue his studies at various

important academic centres in California, Iowa, Wisconsin and Ohio. From Ohio, he took the Masters Degree in Sociology in 1929. At Wisconsin, Jayaprakash came into contact with a group, which had students from various countries and nationalities. This company provided him an opportunity to understand Marxism as an ideology. Interestingly, it was in the land of capitalism that he looked to Marxism as an ideological answer to India's problems. Marxism further strengthened his belief in the universal principles of equality, freedom and brotherhood. His incessant passion for overall social and economic development found much wider expression in Marxism. At the same time, he was deeply influenced by the writings of the great nationalist writer, M.N. Roy.

His fundamental leaning towards Marxism as an ideology for universal betterment of the masses arose from his belief that a relentless passion for social and economic justice was its driving force and that Marxist ideology was more rooted in the objective facts by accepting that societal goods and wrongs are determined by economic conditions under which they live.

Later, while exploring feasibility of implementation of the Marxist ideology in Indian conditions, Jayaprakash Narayan discovered that truth is a related thing and no single theory could hold true to all times and circumstances. This perception of ideology introduced a visible elasticity and a flair to change his views regarding social problems and their solutions. He started reexamining his faith in Marxism in the light of conditions prevailing in India. This ultimately resulted in evolution of his ideas on Democratic Socialism and Sarvodaya.

It was his unshakable faith in the basic ideals of freedom that prompted him to abhor centralization of political and economic power, which had become a dominant practice among communist countries. Even as a pro-Marxist, while advocating socialism for rooting out the vices of capitalism, he cherished the cause of individual liberty against authoritarianism. This socialism provided a path to transform the entire structure of the society without endangering the precious human values of freedom, equality and fraternity.

#### Transition to Democratic Socialism

Jayaprakash Narayan dreamt of an India in which the poor would be free from exploitation, economic or political. In this background, he formed the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in 1934 along with Acharaya Narendera Dev, Minoo Masani and Achyut Patwardhan.

By forming the CSP, he wanted to add a more revolutionary current in the Freedom Struggle and educate Indian masses to embrace socialist values. He endeavoured to convince the national leaders that the social base of the national Freedom Struggle needed to be broadened by the active participation of more workers and peasants. Simultaneously, Indian masses were to be educated to learn that the Freedom Struggle was also meant to improve their working conditions and ensure better living conditions. He campaigned ceaselessly to spread this message. This approach is reflective of his unflinching faith in the development of all sections of the society.

His picture of a Socialist India was a picture of an economic and political democracy in which man would have to serve society which in turn would provide him with employment and the means of livelihood. He would be free to express his opinions and there would be opportunities for him to rise to his full moral stature. Outlining basic objectives of socialism, he presented programmes, like, elimination of exploitation and poverty, provision of equal opportunities to all for self-development, full development of material and moral resources of society and utilization of these resources in accordance with the needs and wishes of the society and equitable apportionment of national wealth. A system of social organization that serves these ends would fit into true socialist society, he concluded.

#### As a Nationalist

On his return from America, he joined the Freedom Struggle and the activities of the Indian National Congress, which had been fighting for Independence since long. Jayaprakash was filled with a burning desire to serve the wider cause of the masses and his attraction for academic life to which he was greatly oriented went into insignificance. During this period, Gandhiji was preparing for the next phase of struggle for Freedom. Jayaprakash Narayan went to Wardha to see Gandhiji. He attended the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress in 1929. Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were so much impressed with his incisive intelligence that he was elevated to the post of General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in September 1932.

After the failure of the Gandhi-Irwin talks and the dismal end of the Second Round Table Conference, most of the leaders of the Congress, including Gandhi and Nehru were arrested. Jayaprakash Narayan, however, escaped arrest and continued his underground activities. Now, the task of reorganizing the Party naturally fell on his shoulders. He secretly travelled throughout the country and worked ceaselessly to fulfil his job. His arrest in September 1932 was reported in the Free Press Journal with the banner lines—"Congress Brain Arrested".

While serving the national cause as an ardent freedom fighter, he was arrested on several occasions. He was arrested on 7 September, 1932 and kept at Nasik Jail where his association with other socialist-minded leaders prompted him to form the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. In March 1939, he was arrested for leading a strong protest and making speech against British imperialism on 18 February, 1939. This time, he was kept at Hazaribagh Jail. He was released from there towards the end of 1940. After his release, he started his underground activities but could not escape arrest. He was again arrested and later on sent to the Deoli Camp Jail where he forced colonial administration to bow to his justifiable demands by remaining on hunger strike for many days. From Deoli Jail, he was transferred to Hazaribagh Jail. His famous escape from Hazaribagh Jail in November 1942 is remembered as an incident of unprecedented courage. His imprisonment at the Lahore Fort was a torturous experience as he was subjected to inhumane treatment. Having been arrested on 18 September, 1943, he was released from there on 11 April, 1946.

In spite of perpetual watch by the colonial administration and torture sustained during detention, Jayaprakash Narayan continued to work for the integration of various factions of national leaders to achieve the wider goal of Independence.

He also attached great importance to the sufferings and rights of the labour class and did his best to awaken political consciousness among them. In 1947, he was chosen President of three important All-India Labour organizations, namely, the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, the All India Postmen and Telegraph Lower Grade Staff Union and the All India Ordnance Factories Workers' Union.

For him, the real meaning of Swaraj was not simply the ending of the colonial rule, but the emancipation of the masses from exploitation and injustice. And since, in his view, the initial performance of the Congress governments offered very little hope of a radical economic programme, he broke away from the Congress in 1948 at the Nasik Conference. From 1948 to 1951, he along with Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, remained immersed in the task of rebuilding the Socialist Party. In 1952, he ceaselessly tried to create a joint platform for all democratic and socialist parties in opposition to Congress. In June 1952, he negotiated a merger between the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and the Socialist Party and thus was born the Praja Socialist Party.

#### As a Sarvodaya Leader

While Vinoba Bhave was on his march through the district of Banda in Uttar Pradesh in 1952, for receiving land-gifts, he met Jayaprakash Narayan. This meeting had a profound impact on him and he started to see *bhoodan* as a practical solution to the land problem and also accepted the philosophy of *ahimsa* which underlay his movement. Thereafter, he went to Poona to undertake a fast for twenty-two days for self-purification. He also set up a sarvodaya ashram in a backward village called Sakhodeora, near Gaya and started living as a villager. From 1954 to 1973, he was totally committed to promotion of the philosophy of Sarvodaya.

His association with Vinoba Bhave and his Sarvodaya Movement made him realise that socialism could not assure

mankind the goals of freedom, equality, brotherhood and peace unless it is transformed into Sarvodaya. At the sixth Sarvodaya Conference at Gaya in April, 1954, he made a proclamation of jeevandan, an offer of his life, for the cause of the Bhoodan Movement. He also announced his retirement from active partypolitics as he believed that politics could not ensure welfare of the Indian people.

While working as a Sarvodaya leader for Bhoodan, resettlement of dacoits and non-violent revolution, Jayaprakash Narayan earned great popularity around the world, and there was a universal approbation of his sacrifices and thoughts. He stressed upon people's self-rule to do away with the faults and failures of western democracy. The process, to be started from the bottom needed to be presented to the people, and by a constructive and non-partisan approach, they were to be helped to transform it into practice. Like Gandhi and Vinoba, Jayaprakash Narayan also held a strong opinion in favour of a Stateless society in which human freedom could be freely realized. He was fed up with the enhanced glory of the State and turned to Sarvodaya with a view to finding out a sure way for establishing real socialism.

His restless search for establishing a new type of society reflected his concern for people at large. The existing society, according to him, is a complex and top-heavy society in which influential categories dominate. Man, according to him, can live peacefully in smaller communities only wherein self-government, self-management and mutual cooperation are the basic mantras. And for establishing such a society, he used a non-violent social revolution through various programmes of Sarvodaya.

#### **Total Revolution**

By the lapse of years, Jayaprakash Narayan's belief that for reconstruction of the socio-economic structure of Indian society, the practice of self-discipline and the establishment of self-government in the country which he often called a participating democracy, were essential, became more and more firm. It was towards the end of 1973 at Paunar ashram of Vinoba Bhave that he felt an inner urge to give such a call to the people. He finally

arrived at the idea of Total Revolution and got an inspiration to proceed in that direction after having encouraging experiences of a peaceful revolution in Musehari sub-division of Muzzaffarpur, a stronghold of Naxalites in Bihar, and re-settlement of the Chambal Valley dacoits. His faith in the power of the people and through them in the philosophy and action of Total Revolution was further strengthened by the subsequent events in Gujarat, where a powerful student Movement to disband the State Legislature came up in 1974.

On the basis of his vast knowledge and experience, he soon realized that it was the youth of the country who could take up the work of bringing about Total Revolution in India, as they had always acted as vanguard of every movement aiming at the people's movement. He wanted them to proceed towards the goal with courage and discipline, without resorting to violence at any stage, so that the Government could not find out any legitimate excuse for violently curbing their efforts. On declaration of Emergency by the Government, Jayaprakash Narayan was arrested on 26 June, 1975 and later released on 12 November, 1975.

Jayaprakash Narayan's call for Total Revolution was a kind of far-sighted effort to bring into existence the Gandhian-humanist version of an ideal society. He was anxious to bring about a total change in the existing state of Indian society and polity. The revolutionary strategy for achieving this goal consisted of seven revolutions—social, economic, political, cultural, ideological, educational and spiritual. It was for this reason that he first gave call for a revolutionary change of the political system, which to reiterate, was an integral part of the Total Revolution and, therefore, of the struggle.

#### Participatory Democracy

Jayaprakash Narayan's philosophy rested principally upon the establishment of self-government in the true sense of the term, which he often called as participatory democracy. The politics of party and power had, according to him, corrupted democracy and defeated its sublime values of human freedom, equality and cooperation. By renouncing the corrupting agents of democracy,

i.e. party-politics and power-politics, he sought to realize the dream of withering away of the State, which both Marx and Gandhi had visualised long back.

Western democracy, he felt, ignored the organic nature of the society. In this society, greed led to conflict and bureaucratic oligarchy. He advocated the case for his sarvodaya democracy based on non-violence, which would not need any police and army for protection, and would not consist merely of formal institutions. It would negate centralization of power, the majority principle, the existing party system and also all prevailing method of direct elections. This system would replace them by welfare society, decision by consensus of opinion, partyless democracy, etc.

#### A True Democrat

Jayaprakash Narayan was a democrat par excellence. His socialism, which gradually developed into the philosophy of Total Revolution, was not only a system of social and economic reconstruction of the Indian society, but it was also a philosophy of the moral and spiritual rebirth of the Indian people. His unfulfilled task, which he left behind, remains: the achievement of a socio-economic revolution illumined by democratic standards, vivified by socialist ideals and firmly founded on moral and spiritual values.

A system based on partyless democracy, which he envisaged for India, involved greater political consciousness, social and economic equality, faith in purity of means, indirect election, non-violent dispositions, etc. He also extended the idea of organization of the local bodies free from party-politics.

He also advocated the 'right to recall' people's representatives in the event of their failure. In other words, if the people felt that their representatives had proved incompetent, they would have the right to ask for their explanation and recall them. It was a supreme democratic right, he believed. He believed that the Constitution of free India had failed to include this right in its ambit.

He was of the view that unless the moral and spiritual qualities of the people are appropriately developed, democracy cannot function in the right direction. Some of the moral qualities and mental attitudes needed for true democracy are: (i) concern for truth; (ii) aversion to violence; (iii) love of liberty; (iv) spirit of cooperation; (v) preparedness to adjust self-interest to the larger interest; (vi) respect for others' opinion and tolerance; (vii) readiness to take responsibility; (viii) belief in the fundamental equality of man; and (ix) faith in the educability of human nature.

In March 1977, Jayaprakash Narayan led all Janata Party M.Ps to the Samadhi of Gandhiji and asked them to follow the Gandhian path of serving the nation and its people without any selfish motive. This effort showed his deep concern for democracy and service.

As a true democrat and social reformer, his path-breaking contribution was acknowledged worldwide. He was awarded with the prestigious *Magasaysay Prize* for his pioneering and service-oriented work in social, economic and political transformation of Indian society and polity. At the national level, he was awarded with highest civil award *Bharat Ratna* posthumously for 1999, in recognition to his life-long services to the nation.

#### His Passion for Honesty and Integrity

A true democrat, he was an outsider by choice who spurned office, as he did the power game. In this, one is reminded of Mahatma Gandhi who devoted himself to promoting the values essential to making the freedom meaningful. Like the Mahatma, he also believed in the character of a political system which was determined by social and cultural surroundings for qualitative improvement of the system. Understandably, he laid an overwhelming emphasis upon morality, not in a restrictive sense, but in terms of rugged personal integrity, a certain balance between thought and deed, and strong sense of public accountability.

#### As a Writer

In spite of his deep involvement in the Freedom Struggle, he wrote a number of books and booklets, which concerned various aspects of Indian life and problems—political, economic and social. Some of his famous works are: 'Why Socialism' (Benares, 1936), 'Towards Struggle' (Bombay, 1946), 'In the Lahore Fort' (Patna, 1970), 'A Plea for the Reconstruction of Indian Polity' (Varanasi, 1959), 'From Socialism to Sarvodaya' (Wardha, 1959), and 'Swaraj for the People' (Varanasi, 1961).

#### His Perception of Economy

Jayaprakash Narayan regarded truth and non-violence as the necessary touchstones to judge all human activities and institutions. He found a great truth in the economic ideas of Gandhiji who was highly critical of the modern Western economy based on large-scale industrialization. In both, the capitalist and state-controlled economy, the worker has no choice to choose for himself, except to sell his labour. He becomes merely a wage-earner, and he is left with no choice to show his craftsmanship. According to Jayaprakash Narayan, this dwarfs human personality by checking the development of intelligence and artistic sense. In both the systems, the position of worker, therefore, becomes like a cog in the machine and he has no say in the production of things.

Large-scale industrialization, Jayaprakash Narayan opined, leads to the concentration of power, civil strife and ultimately to imperialism and war. Besides, it leads to the misusing of natural resources, based as it is on the utilization of non-renewable resources. He was, therefore, highly critical of large-scale industrialism. This system needed to be replaced with a communitarian society, based upon economic decentralization and village-based economic activities which will be self-regulated and self-reliant.

#### His views on Education

Recognising the social significance of education, he thought that education, the aim of which was to bring about Total Revolution, must not be restricted within the four walls of schools. The whole village must become a school, and then all the efficient artisans and cultivators of the village would become its teachers and villagers of all ages would become its students. This implied that education, besides concerning itself with regular education, must also take up adult or social education. As for social education, it is to be imparted through talks on the immediate problems of the villagers. The education system should have a rural orientation in the context of Indian conditions, so that the villages might prosper and the urban people might keep the interests of villages in their minds and cooperate with villagers. Education would provide a healthy and moral basis of relationship among various classes. By and large, it would pave the way for the attainment of self-reliant, self-regulated and state-free society, which was the main objective of his Total Revolution.

#### His views on Welfare Society

Centralization of power, according to Jayaprakash Narayan, was the biggest opponent of democratic principles even when it takes the garb of a welfare state. He was in favour of replacing the powerful paternal State into a new type of society wherein people would plan and implement welfare activities for themselves. The State authority may continue to exist to inspire and encourage them to carry out their welfare activities but its regulatory and disabling character would cease to exist. Stressing upon self-help and hard work, he held the opinion that people needed to be educated regarding the need of self-reliance and trained to improve their lot by their initiative and endeavour.

#### **Death and Tributes**

Jayaprakash Narayan's life was a saga of struggle, sacrifice, suffering and service—all in the cause of mankind and humanity. He fell seriously ill in the third week of March 1979 and was

admitted to a hospital in Bombay, a place which had become his second home. In the morning of 8 October, 1979, he died while in sleep.

Rich tributes were paid to the departed leader in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha on 23 January, 1980. Expressing grief on his sad demise, the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, said:

"Differences apart, he was one of the few leaders who commanded universal respect and affection. There is no doubt that for a long time to come, he will remain a source of inspiration to generations of political and social workers."

Shri Balram Jakhar, the then Speaker, Lok Sabha, paid his tributes to the departed soul in the following words:

"Shri Narayan was a great patriot who made many sacrifices during the freedom struggle and always championed the cause of the people."

Appreciating his qualities and contribution to the nation, the then Vice-President of India and Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri M. Hidayatullah said:

"Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was the embodiment of what is best in Indian life and culture, a far-sighted statesman and outstanding Sarvodaya leader, who for about 50 years was in the front line in the country's leadership."

Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, MP, paid his tributes in the following words:

"His life was a continuous sacrifice in the cause of the people, in the service of India, not only service of India but I would say in the service of humanity. He took to the cause of Sarvodaya and carried the message of Mahatma Gandhi's truth and non-violence. He believed in the people's freedom, he believed in democratic values and he believed also in socialism."

Paying rich tributes to Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri Indrajit Gupta, MP, said:

"He had the courage of his conviction at all times which is a very great quality and for that he sacrificed a great deal. He also had the capacity even in his advanced years of being able to inspire the youth of this country for the causes in which he believed. We express our deep sorrow at his passing away."

Veteran Parliamentarian, Professor N.G. Ranga, also expressed his grief in the following words:

"He was a great humanist and his voice of support was always available and was raised at the right moment in a courageous manner whenever and wherever people were suffering for want of their freedom and human rights."

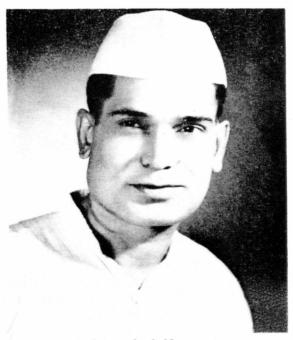
# A PICTORIAL TRIBUTE



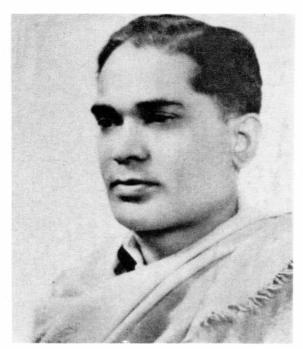
Jayaprakash Narayan



House of Jayaprakash Narayan at Sitabdiara



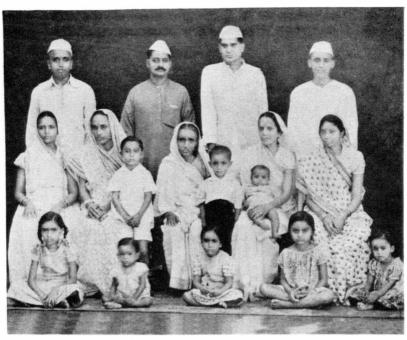
Jayaprakash Narayan



Jayaprakash Narayan in his young age



Jayaprakash Narayan with his wife Prabhavati



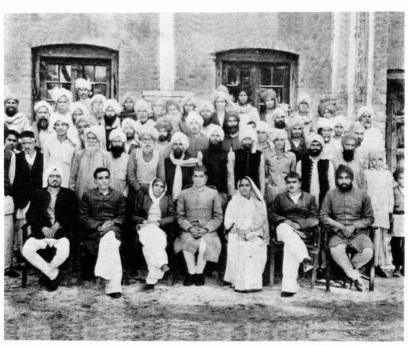
Jayaprakash Narayan with his wife Prabhavati and her mother's family



Jayaprakash Narayan at the All India Kisan Parishad, Bihar, 1940



Jayaprakash Narayan hoisting the flag with the tune of Vande Mataram



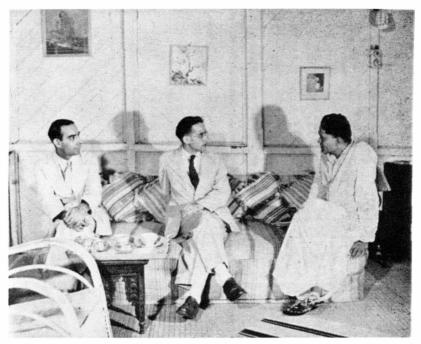
Jayaprakash Narayan at the Hind-Kisan Panchayat, Punjab, 1950



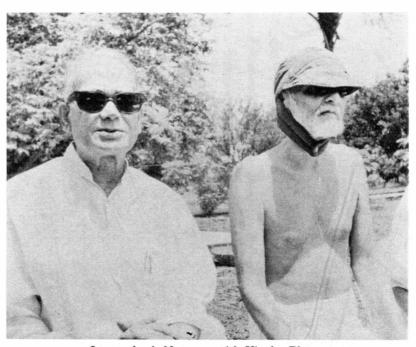
Jayaprakash Narayan with Gandhiji



Jayaprakash Narayan with Acharya Narendra Dev



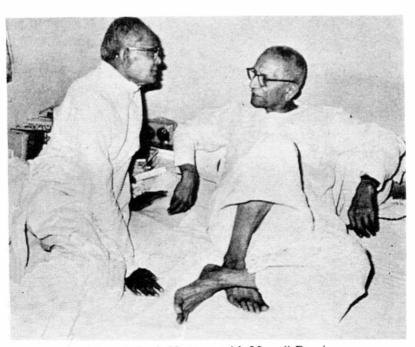
Jayaprakash Narayan with Minoo Masani



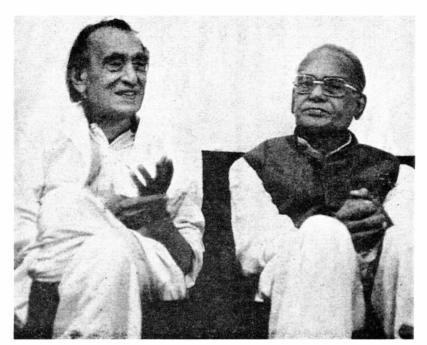
Jayaprakash Narayan with Vinoba Bhave



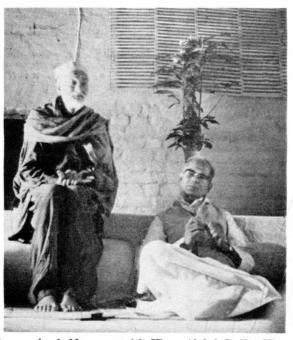
Jayaprakash Narayan with B.P. Koirala



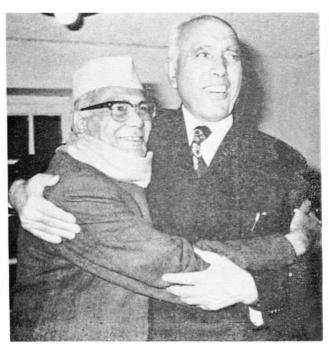
Jayaprakash Narayan with Morarji Desai



Jayaprakash Narayan with Acharya Kriplani



Jayaprakash Narayan with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan



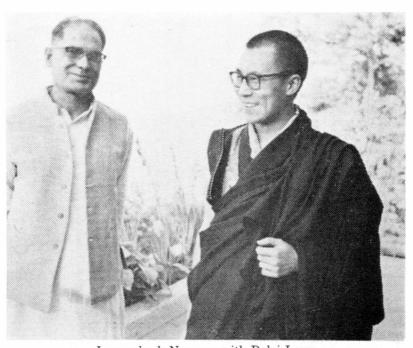
Jayaprakash Narayan with Sheikh Abdullah



Jayaprakash Narayan with Dr. Rammanohar Lohia



Jayaprakash Narayan with Indira Gandhi



Jayaprakash Narayan with Dalai Lama



Jayaprakash Narayan with Willy Brandt



Jayaprakash Narayan accepting the Magasaysay Award



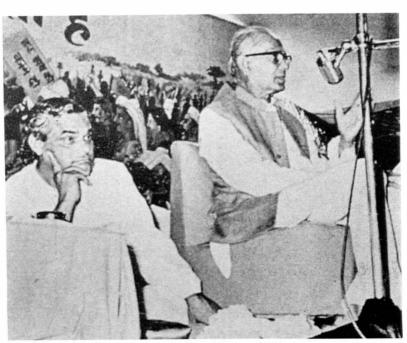
Jayaprakash Narayan receiving land-gifts at Gaya District, 1953



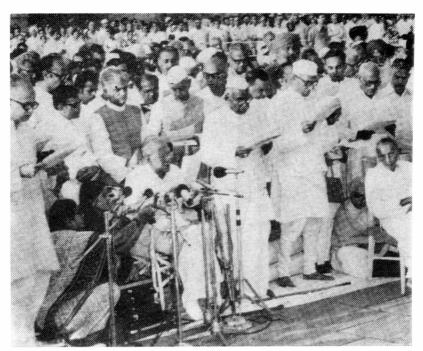
Jayaprakash Narayan offering 'Jeevandan' at Gaya, 1954



Jayaprakash Narayan in a 'Sangharsh Morcha'



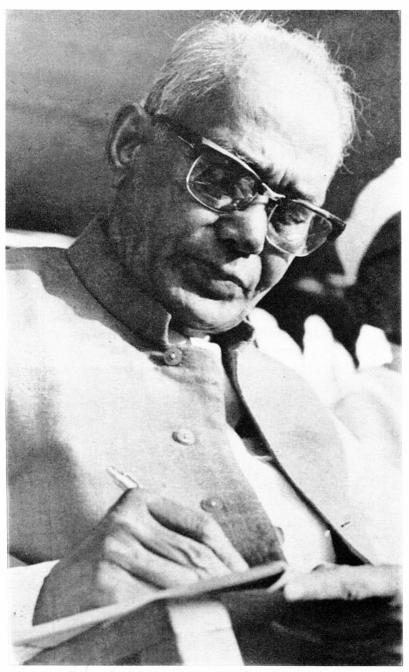
Jayaprakash Narayan at a Janasangh Meeting



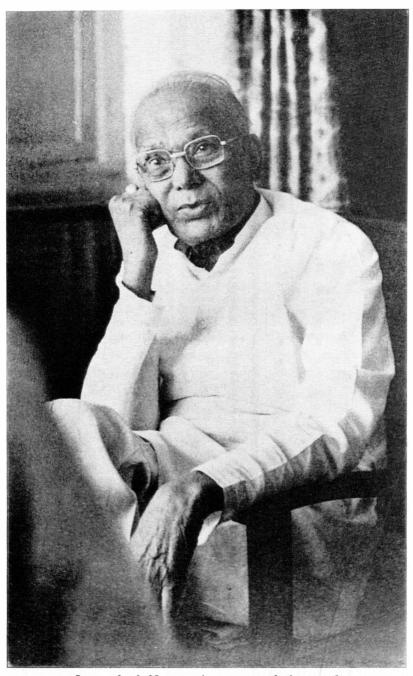
Jayaprakash Narayan administering oath to Janata Party MPs at Rajghat, 1977



Jayaprakash Narayan being presented shawl in Nagaland



Jayaprakash Narayan penning down his thoughts



Jayaprakash Narayan in a contemplative mood



Jayaprakash Narayan catching up with the News



Jayaprakash Narayan at eternal rest



Dr. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy paying homage to Jayaprakash Narayan



The last journey: homage to a legand