

Indian Journal of Modern Research and Reviews

This Journal is a member of the '*Committee on Publication Ethics*'

Online ISSN:2584-184X

Research Article



From Socialism to Sarvodaya: The Intellectual and Historical Evolution of Jayaprakash Narayan and the Making of Total Revolution, 1930–1977

Virender Kumar ¹,  Bhart Singh ^{2*}

¹⁻² Ph.D., Students, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India

Corresponding Author: *Bhart Singh

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.22057170>

Abstract

Jayaprakash Narayan (1902–1979) occupies a distinctive position in the intellectual and political history of modern India. His journey from Marxist radicalism and socialist activism to Gandhian *Sarvodaya* and, ultimately, the doctrine of *Sampoorna Kranti* or Total Revolution, represents a prolonged search for an alternative framework of social transformation. Rather than treating these phases as disconnected ideological positions, this article reconstructs them as stages in a continuing intellectual evolution. It argues that Narayan's Total Revolution of the 1970s was not an abrupt response to the Bihar Movement or the Emergency but the culmination of ideas that had developed through his engagement with socialism, democratic politics, Gandhian reconstruction, Bhoodan, Gramdan, decentralization and voluntary social action. The political and socioeconomic crises of the early 1970s provided the immediate historical context in which these ideas were transformed into a mass movement. The Gujarat and Bihar student movements, particularly the Bihar Movement of 1974, enabled Narayan to re-enter active public life and formulate *Sampoorna Kranti* as a programme of political, economic, social, educational, cultural and moral transformation. The article further examines his distinction between *Raj Neeti* and *Lok Neeti* and the ideal of partyless democracy. The experience of the Emergency and the formation of the Janata Party in 1977 exposed the institutional difficulties of translating this ideal into representative politics. The article concludes that Narayan's historical significance lies not simply in his opposition to the Emergency but in his attempt to reconcile socialist concerns for equality with Gandhian ethics, decentralization and democratic participation. His intellectual trajectory therefore provides an important lens for understanding the changing nature of post-independence Indian political and social history.

Manuscript Information

- ISSN No: 2584-184X
- Received: 26-01-2026
- Accepted: 23-02-2026
- Published: 30-03-2026
- MRR:4(3); 2026: 429-434
- ©2026, All Rights Reserved
- Plagiarism Checked: Yes
- Peer Review Process: Yes

How to Cite this Article

Kumar V, Singh B. From Socialism to Sarvodaya: The Intellectual and Historical Evolution of Jayaprakash Narayan and the Making of Total Revolution, 1930–1977. Indian J Mod Res Rev. 2026;4(3):429-434.

Access this Article Online



www.mrrjournal.in

KEYWORDS: Jayaprakash Narayan, Socialism, Sarvodaya, Total Revolution, Bihar Movement, Emergency, Modern Indian History, Intellectual History, Bhoodan, Gramdan, decentralisation, partyless democracy.

1. INTRODUCTION

Jayaprakash Narayan (1902–1979) occupies a distinctive place in twentieth-century Indian history. His intellectual journey—from socialist radicalism and anti-colonial nationalism to Gandhian *Sarvodaya* and *Sampoorna Kranti*—reflects the changing character of Indian political thought. His early engagement with Marxism and socialism shaped his concern with economic inequality, social justice and the relationship between political freedom and social transformation. As a prominent figure of the Congress Socialist movement, he sought to connect the nationalist struggle with the reconstruction of Indian society. After independence, Narayan increasingly questioned the ability of conventional party politics and state power to achieve genuine social transformation. His engagement with *Sarvodaya*, Bhoodan and Gramdan redirected his attention towards decentralisation, voluntary action, community participation and moral reconstruction. This shift was not a rejection of social equality but a reconsideration of the means through which freedom and justice could be achieved. The crises of the early 1970s brought these ideas into renewed public prominence. Economic difficulties, unemployment, inflation and corruption contributed to growing student unrest in Gujarat and Bihar. Narayan's leadership of the Bihar Movement culminated in his historic call for *Sampoorna Kranti* at Gandhi Maidan, Patna, on 5 June 1974. Total Revolution thus emerged as the culmination of a long intellectual and historical evolution rather than as an isolated political slogan.

This article examines Narayan's transition from socialism to *Sarvodaya* and ultimately to Total Revolution. It also explores the tension between his concept of *Lok Neeti* and conventional party politics during the anti-Emergency movement and the formation of the Janata Party. It argues that Narayan's historical significance lies in his attempt to reconcile social equality, individual freedom, decentralised democracy and ethical public life within the changing circumstances of modern India.

2. Historiographical Context and Sources

The historiography of Jayaprakash Narayan has developed through several overlapping approaches. Early writings concentrated on his socialist background, his role in the freedom movement and his contribution to the Congress Socialist tradition. Later scholarship increasingly examined his relationship with Gandhian thought and the *Sarvodaya* movement. Another body of literature focuses on the Bihar Movement, Total Revolution and Emergency, while studies of the Janata Party place Narayan within the emergence of non-Congress politics in the 1970s. The existing scholarship has consequently tended to separate the different phases of his career. Such separation can obscure intellectual continuity connecting his socialist concerns with his later commitment to *Sarvodaya* and decentralisation. The present study attempts to bridge this divide by treating Narayan's political life as a historically evolving intellectual project.

The article primarily uses Narayan's own writings, including *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy, A Plea for Reconstruction of Indian Polity, Swaraj for the People, Prison*

Diary and Towards Total Revolution. The latter is particularly important because it brings together his writings on ideology, Indian politics, contemporary problems and Total Revolution. The uploaded source identifies the four-volume *Towards Total Revolution* collection as a central component of the primary literature. The study also draws upon contemporary interpretations of the Bihar Movement, the Gujarat movement, the Emergency and the Janata experience. The original manuscript's bibliography includes works dealing with Indian political thought, *Sarvodaya*, social movements, decentralisation, the Emergency and the Janata Party. Methodologically, the article combines intellectual history with political and social history. Narayan's writings are treated as historically situated interventions rather than as abstract philosophical statements. His changing political vocabulary is examined alongside the historical circumstances in which that vocabulary developed.

3. Socialist Beginnings and the Intellectual Formation of Jayaprakash Narayan

Narayan's early political development took place within the turbulent intellectual environment of the interwar period. The nationalist movement had increasingly expanded beyond demands for constitutional reform, while the Russian Revolution and international socialist movements provided Indian intellectuals with new ideas concerning class, economic inequality and social transformation. For Narayan, Marxism offered an explanation of the relationship between political domination and economic exploitation. The struggle against colonialism could not, in his view, be separated completely from the question of socioeconomic inequality. Independence was therefore expected to create the conditions for a more egalitarian society. His association with the Congress Socialist Party was important in this respect. Indian socialism developed within the nationalist movement rather than entirely outside it. The Congress Socialists attempted to combine the struggle for national independence with socialist transformation. Narayan's early position consequently contained two interconnected objectives: national liberation and social justice. However, his later intellectual evolution demonstrated increasing concern with the problem of political power itself. The experience of authoritarian forms of socialism contributed to his growing belief that social equality could not be pursued at the cost of individual freedom. This development was central to his movement towards democratic socialism.

4. From Socialism to Sarvodaya

Narayan's gradual movement away from conventional party politics after independence was one of the most important transformations in his intellectual history. He increasingly questioned whether political parties and state institutions alone could create a just social order. The transition towards Gandhian *Sarvodaya* provided a new framework. The principle of *Sarvodaya*—the welfare and advancement of all—offered Narayan a means of reconsidering the relationship between social change and political authority. Bhoodan and Gramdan placed emphasis upon voluntary redistribution, community

organization and social cooperation rather than compulsory state-directed transformation. This did not mean that Narayan abandoned his concern for equality. Rather, the mechanism of change was transformed. Instead of relying primarily on the state, he increasingly emphasised the active participation of communities. This was a decisive intellectual development because it created the foundations for his later emphasis on decentralization. The village became more than an administrative unit. It became a possible site of democratic reconstruction. In this respect, Narayan's Sarvodaya phase should not be interpreted as a complete departure from his socialist past. His concern for inequality remained, but his understanding of social transformation changed from **state-centred revolution to society-centred reconstruction**. The intellectual importance of this transition lies in the fact that it eventually made Total Revolution possible as a synthesis of socialist objectives and Gandhian methods.

5. Decentralization and the Reconstruction of Indian Society

During the Sarvodaya period, Narayan increasingly focused on the reconstruction of Indian society from below. His writings on *Swaraj*, Panchayati Raj and political reconstruction reflected a concern with the distance between citizens and the institutions of the modern state. This concern developed into a critique of excessive centralization. For Narayan, democracy could not be reduced to periodic elections. A democratic society requires continuous participation by ordinary citizens in decisions affecting their communities. This argument was connected to his increasing emphasis on Gram Sabhas and other local institutions. The historical importance of this phase lies in the fact that Narayan's later conception of *Lok Neeti* had already begun to emerge before the political crisis of the 1970s. The distinction between *Raj Neeti* and *Lok Neeti* therefore represented the mature expression of an idea that had developed gradually. *Raj Neeti* represented politics primarily concerned with the acquisition and exercise of state power, while *Lok Neeti* emphasized the participation and organization of citizens. The original manuscript identifies Gram Sabhas, communitarian governance and people's committees as important elements in this conception of politics. This historical evolution is essential because it demonstrates that Total Revolution was not created suddenly in response to Indira Gandhi's government. Its conceptual foundations lay in Narayan's earlier criticism of centralized politics.

6. The Crisis of the Early 1970s and the Bihar Movement

The early 1970s created the historical conditions in which Narayan's ideas returned to the Centre of national political life. Economic difficulties, inflation, unemployment and growing dissatisfaction with corruption and administrative performance generated widespread social unrest. The original manuscript identifies drought conditions, the 1973 oil shock, inflation, industrial unrest, the Gujarat Navnirman movement and the Bihar student movement among the major catalysts. The Gujarat movement demonstrated the ability of student mobilization to develop into a wider social movement. The

Bihar movement subsequently acquired even greater significance. Students organized under the Bihar Pradesh Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti and raised questions concerning unemployment, corruption, educational problems and administrative failure. Their decision to approach Narayan was historically significant because it brought a former socialist leader who had spent years in Sarvodaya work back into mass political mobilization. Narayan's acceptance of the leadership of the movement represented more than a return to politics. It brought together two elements that had previously existed somewhat separately: the energy of student mobilization and the Gandhian-Sarvodaya tradition of social reconstruction. The turning point came on 5 June 1974 at Gandhi Maidan in Patna, when Narayan called for *Sampoorna Kranti*. The significance of the call was its breadth. Narayan did not present the movement simply as an effort to replace one government with another. He presented it as a wider transformation of Indian society.

7. The Historical Meaning of Sampoorna Kranti

The concept of *Sampoorna Kranti* represented the mature synthesis of Narayan's intellectual development. According to the framework in the original manuscript, Total Revolution consisted of seven interconnected dimensions: political, economic, social, educational, cultural, intellectual and moral transformation. The political dimension focused on decentralization. Political authority was to move closer to the people through local institutions. The economic dimension retained Narayan's longstanding concern with inequality but emphasized cooperative activity, equitable distribution and village self-reliance. The social dimension sought to challenge caste hierarchy, untouchability and other forms of social discrimination. The educational dimension reflected the belief that education should produce socially conscious citizens rather than simply credentialed individuals. The cultural and intellectual dimensions emphasize freedom of thought, community life and civic consciousness. Finally, the moral dimension reflected the Gandhian influence on Narayan's mature thought. Political transformation required personal transformation because institutions could not remain democratic if political actors and citizens lacked ethical responsibility. The concept of Total Revolution therefore represented an attempt to combine structural transformation with moral reconstruction. This was one of the most distinctive characteristics of Narayan's political thought.

8. Lok Neeti, Partyless Democracy and the Historical Problem of Political Organisation

Narayan's mature critique of party politics was closely connected with his conception of *Lok Neeti*. He believed that party competition could encourage the concentration of political power and transform citizens into passive voters. His alternative emphasized local assemblies, people's organizations and continuous public participation. The concept of partyless democracy must therefore be understood historically rather than simply as an institutional proposal. It emerged from Narayan's accumulated experience of the nationalist movement, socialism,

party politics, Sarvodaya and mass movements. Yet the idea contained a fundamental difficulty. Modern representative government requires organization. Political parties' aggregate interests, coordinate electoral activity, select candidates and construct legislative majorities. Narayan's critique identified real problems within party-centered politics but did not fully resolve how a large modern state could be governed without political organizations performing these functions. This contradiction became particularly visible after 1975.

9. The Emergency and the Transformation of the JP Movement

The declaration of the Emergency in June 1975 transformed the historical significance of Narayan's movement. The political context changed from social and administrative reform to the defence of civil liberties and democratic institutions. Narayan became one of the principal figures associated with resistance to the Emergency. The period also exposed the tension between his ideal of partyless politics and the organisational realities of political resistance. To challenge the central government, opposition forces with different ideological traditions had to cooperate. The original manuscript identifies Jan Sangh, Congress (O), Bharatiya Lok Dal and socialist groups among the forces that eventually came together in the Janata Party. This development is historically important because it demonstrated that the defence of democracy required organisational structures of precisely the type that Narayan had criticised. The Emergency therefore transformed *Total Revolution* from a broad programme of social transformation into a struggle for the restoration of democratic political life.

10. The Janata Experiment and the Limits of Narayan's Vision

The 1977 general election represented a major turning point in the history of post-independence India. The Congress Party lost power at the national level, and the Janata Party formed the government. For Narayan, the electoral victory was both an achievement and a problem. It demonstrated that popular mobilisation could successfully challenge entrenched political power. At the same time, the Janata government operated through conventional parliamentary institutions and party organisation. The coalition brought together groups with different ideological backgrounds, political interests and organisational traditions. Internal disagreements eventually weakened the government. The historical significance of this experience is not simply that the Janata Party failed to remain united. More importantly, it demonstrated the institutional difficulty of translating Narayan's ideal of partyless democracy into a modern parliamentary system. The movement had been able to unite political forces around opposition to authoritarianism. It was much more difficult to transform those forces into a coherent alternative system of governance.

This distinction reveals a fundamental tension in Narayan's political thought: the moral authority of a people's movement could transcend party divisions temporarily, but institutional government required durable forms of organisation. The Janata

experience therefore provides an important historical test of Narayan's ideas.

11. Continuity and change in Narayan's Intellectual Evolution

Narayan's political trajectory can be understood through a series of transformations rather than ideological breaks. In the 1930s, socialism provided a language for understanding inequality and exploitation. In the 1940s and early post-independence period, democratic socialism increasingly connected equality with political freedom. During the Sarvodaya period, Narayan shifted attention towards voluntary social action, decentralisation and community organisation. By the 1970s, the accumulated concerns of these earlier phases were incorporated into Total Revolution. The sequence can therefore be represented as:

Socialism → Democratic Socialism → Sarvodaya → Decentralisation → Lok Neeti → Total Revolution.

This sequence does not imply complete ideological consistency. Narayan changed his views substantially throughout his life. However, one concern remained relatively constant: the search for a social order that could combine **equality, freedom and human dignity**. What changed was his understanding of how these objectives could be achieved.

12. Jayaprakash Narayan in the History of Post-Independence India

Narayan's historical importance extends beyond the Bihar Movement and the Emergency. His life connects several major themes in modern Indian history: anti-colonial nationalism, Indian socialism, Gandhian reconstruction, post-independence state formation, student mobilization, mass movements, democratic crisis and the emergence of non-Congress politics. He also represents an important transition from the politics of national liberation to the politics of democratic accountability. During the freedom struggle, mass mobilisation was directed against colonial rule. After independence, the central question became how citizens could hold their own government accountable. The JP Movement of the 1970s represented a major expression of this postcolonial democratic tension. Its historical significance therefore lies not only in its opposition to a particular government but in its challenge to the assumption that formal electoral democracy was sufficient for political participation. Narayan insisted that democracy required active citizens, decentralised institutions and moral accountability.

13. Historical Assessment

Narayan's intellectual project possessed both considerable strengths and important limitations. Its principal strength was its effort to connect political freedom with social equality. He refused to accept that democracy could be separated from social justice. A second strength was his emphasis on decentralisation. By shifting attention from central government towards villages and local communities, Narayan challenged the centralising tendencies of post-independence state formation. A third contribution was his emphasis on civic responsibility. For Narayan, democracy was not merely an institutional

arrangement but also a social and moral practice. However, his vision of partyless democracy faced significant practical limitations. Political parties were not simply instruments of corruption or power accumulation; they also performed essential organisational functions in representative democracy. Similarly, decentralisation alone could not eliminate entrenched caste and class inequalities. Local institutions could themselves reproduce social hierarchies. The Janata experience further demonstrated the difficulty of converting moral authority into stable political institutions. These limitations do not diminish Narayan's historical importance. Instead, they demonstrate why his political thought remains valuable for historical study. The tensions within his ideas reveal the wider difficulties encountered by post-independence India in reconciling mass participation, social transformation and institutional governance.

14. CONCLUSION

Jayaprakash Narayan's journey from socialism to Sarvodaya and Total Revolution constitutes one of the most significant intellectual trajectories in the history of modern India. His political development cannot be understood as a series of unrelated ideological conversions. Rather, it represented a continuing search for a form of social transformation that could combine equality with freedom and political participation with ethical responsibility. His early socialism placed economic inequality and social justice at the centre of political transformation. His later movement towards democratic socialism reflected growing concern for individual freedom and the dangers of authoritarianism. The Sarvodaya phase shifted attention towards voluntary action, decentralisation and community reconstruction. These ideas subsequently became important components of Total Revolution. The Bihar Movement of 1974 transformed this intellectual trajectory into a mass historical movement. The call for *Sampoorna Kranti* brought together political, economic, social, educational, cultural and moral objectives. The Emergency then transformed Narayan into a central figure in the struggle for democratic restoration. Yet the Janata experience exposed the limits of his partyless-democracy ideal. The same political parties that Narayan had criticised became essential to the organisation of resistance and the formation of a national government. The historical significance of Narayan therefore lies not in the complete success of his institutional programme. It lies in the questions that his political journey raised about the nature of democracy in post-independence India. Narayan's enduring contribution was his attempt to move the idea of democracy beyond elections and government formation towards citizen participation, decentralisation, social equality and ethical public life. Seen from the perspective of modern Indian history, *Sampoorna Kranti* was therefore not simply a slogan of the Bihar Movement. It was the culmination of a decades-long intellectual evolution—from socialism through Sarvodaya to a distinctive vision of democratic and social transformation. His career thus provides an important historical lens through which to understand the transformation of Indian political thought between the nationalist era and the post-Emergency period.

REFERENCES

1. Advani LK. *My country my life*. Rupa & Co.; 1978.
2. Appadorai A. *Indian political thinking in the twentieth century*. Oxford University Press; 1987.
3. Austin G. *Working a democratic constitution: The Indian experience*. Oxford University Press; 1999.
4. Barik RK. *Politics of the JP movement*. Radiant Publishers; 1977.
5. Baxter C. The rise and fall of the Janata Party. *Asian Surv.* 1975;15(10):880-892.
6. Bayly CA. *Recovering liberties: Indian thought in the age of liberalism and empire*. Cambridge University Press; 2011.
7. Bhasin P. Jayaprakash Narayan: A political biography. *Third World Q.* 1980;2(2):310-318.
8. Bhavé V. *Bhoodan Yajna: Land-gifts mission*. Navajivan Publishing House; 1953.
9. Bhattacharjee A. *Jayaprakash Narayan: A political biography*. Vikas Publishing House; 1975.
10. Brass PR. *The politics of India since independence*. Cambridge University Press; 1994.
11. Chandra B. *In the name of democracy: JP movement and the Emergency*. Penguin Books; 2000.
12. Chandra B, Mukherjee A, Mukherjee M. *India since independence*. Penguin Books; 2008.
13. Chatterjee P. *Nationalist thought and the colonial world: A derivative discourse*. Zed Books; 1986.
14. Das CN. *Jayaprakash Narayan and the Total Revolution*. Capital Publishing House; 1984.
15. Doctor AH. *Anarchist thought in India*. Asia Publishing House; 1967.
16. Dutta R. The ideology of Total Revolution. *Indian J Polit Sci.* 1981;42(3):45-59.
17. Engineer AA. The JP movement and the electoral system. *Econ Polit Wkly.* 1975;10(28):1055-1058.
18. Frank K. *Indira: The life of Indira Nehru Gandhi*. HarperCollins; 2001.
19. Gandhi MK. *Village Swaraj*. Navajivan Publishing House; 1962.
20. Ghosh S. *Modern Indian political thought*. Allied Publishers; 1984.
21. Guha R. *India after Gandhi: The history of the world's largest democracy*. Macmillan; 2007.
22. Hardgrave RL. The Emergency and democratic politics in India. *Asian Surv.* 1975;15(11):930-944.
23. Hartman F. *Socialism and Sarvodaya in JP's thought*. Minerva Associates; 1982.
24. Jaffrelot C. *India's silent revolution: The rise of the lower castes in North India*. Columbia University Press; 2003.
25. Jain LC. *Grass without roots: Rural development under government auspices*. Sage Publications; 1985.
26. Kantowsky D. *Sarvodaya: The other development*. Vikas Publishing House; 1980.
27. Karunakaran KP. *Democracy in India*. Intellectual Publishing House; 1978.
28. Kaviraj S. *The trajectories of the Indian state*. Oxford University Press; 2010.

29. Kothari R. The 'Congress system' in India. *Asian Surv.* 1964;4(12):1161-1173.
30. Kothari R. *Politics in India*. Little, Brown and Company; 1970.
31. Kothari R. The failure of a system. *Seminar*. 1976;203:12-20.
32. Kripalani JB. *Gandhi: His life and thought*. Publications Division, Government of India; 1970.
33. Kumar G. *The political philosophy of Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan*. Deep & Deep Publications; 1985.
34. Lal B. *The JP movement and the Emergency*. National Publishing House; 1977.
35. Lieten GK. Janata Party and the politics of coalition. *Econ Polit Wkly*. 1977;12(11):467-472.
36. Limaye M. *Birth of non-Congressism: Opposition politics, 1947-1975*. Siddhi Books; 1988.
37. Lohia R. *Marx, Gandhi and socialism*. Rammanohar Lohia Samata Vidyalaya Nyas; 1963.
38. Masani MR. *Bliss was it in that dawn: A political memoir*. Arnold-Heinemann; 1977.
39. Mehta VR. *Foundations of Indian political thought*. Manohar Publishers; 1996.
40. Misra BB. *Government and bureaucracy in India, 1947-1976*. Oxford University Press; 1986.
41. Morris-Jones WH. *Politics mainly Indian*. Orient Longman; 1978.
42. Mukherji PN. Social movements and social change: Towards a conceptual framework. *Sociol Bull*. 1977;26(1):38-59.
43. Nanda BR. *Essays in modern Indian history*. Oxford University Press; 1980.
44. Narayan J. *Socialism, Sarvodaya and democracy*. Asia Publishing House; 1951.
45. Narayan J. *A plea for reconstruction of Indian polity*. Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan; 1959.
46. Narayan J. *Swaraj for the people*. Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan; 1964.
47. Narayan J. *Prison diary*. Popular Prakashan; 1975.
48. Narayan J. *Towards Total Revolution*. 4 vols. Edited by Brahmanand. Popular Prakashan; 1978.
49. Nayar K. *The judgment: Inside story of the Emergency in India*. Vikas Publishing House; 1977.
50. Oommen TK. *Charisma, stability and change: An analysis of Bhoodan-Gramdan movement in India*. Thomson Press; 1972.
51. Pantham T, Deutsch KL, editors. *Political thought in modern India*. Sage Publications; 1986.
52. Parekh B. *Gandhi's political philosophy: A critical examination*. Macmillan; 1989.
53. Prasad B. *JP and social change*. Radiant Publishers; 1992.
54. Puri B. The JP movement: An analysis. *Econ Polit Wkly*. 1975;10(51):1951-1953.
55. Ram M. The Janata Party in power. *Econ Polit Wkly*. 1977;12(53):2135-2138.
56. Rudolph LI, Rudolph SH. *In pursuit of Lakshmi: The political economy of the Indian state*. University of Chicago Press; 1987.
57. Sachchidananda A. *The Bihar movement: A socio-political study*. A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies; 1977.
58. Sarkar S. *Modern India 1885-1947*. Macmillan; 1983.
59. Scarfe A, Scarfe W. *JP: His biography*. Orient Longman; 1975.
60. Sen A. *Poverty and famines: An essay on entitlement and deprivation*. Oxford University Press; 1982.
61. Sethi JD. *Gandhi today*. Vikas Publishing House; 1978.
62. Shah G. *Protest movements in two Indian states: A study of the Gujarat and Bihar movements*. Ajanta Publications; 1977.
63. Sheth DL. Grassroots initiatives in India. *Econ Polit Wkly*. 1984;19(6):259-262.
64. Singh H. *Decentralization and local governance in India*. Sage Publications; 1998.
65. Sinha S. *Emergency in India*. Manas Publications; 1975.
66. Tandon V. *The social and political philosophy of Jayaprakash Narayan*. Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan; 1981.
67. Tarkunde VM. *Radical humanism: The philosophy of freedom and democracy*. Ajanta Publications; 1984.
68. Thakur R. *The government and politics of India*. St. Martin's Press; 1995.
69. Varma VP. *Modern Indian political thought*. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal; 1980.
70. Yadav Y. Electoral politics in the time of change. *Econ Polit Wkly*. 1999;34(34-35):2393-2399.

Creative Commons License

This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-commercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) License. This license permits users to copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format for non-commercial purposes only, provided that appropriate credit is given to the original author(s) and the source. No modifications, adaptations, or derivative works are permitted.

About the Author



Virender is a PhD student at Panjab University, Chandigarh, India. His academic work focuses on advanced research, scholarly inquiry, and systematic investigation within his area of specialization. He is actively engaged in doctoral research, academic discussions, critical analysis, and developing meaningful scholarly contributions through rigorous and evidence-based research.



Bhart Singh is a PhD student at Panjab University, Chandigarh, India. His academic interests involve doctoral research, scholarly investigation, critical analysis, and knowledge development within his field of specialization. He actively participates in academic activities and research, contributing to broader scholarly discussions through systematic inquiry and evidence-based approaches.