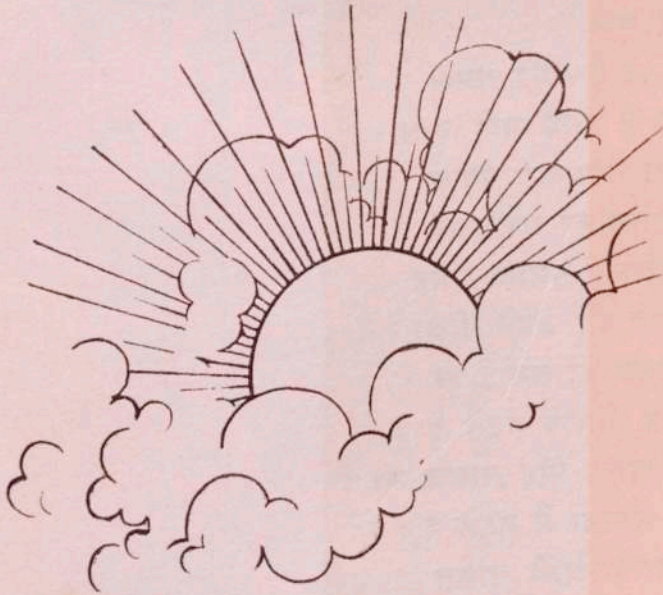


गुरुदेव रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर

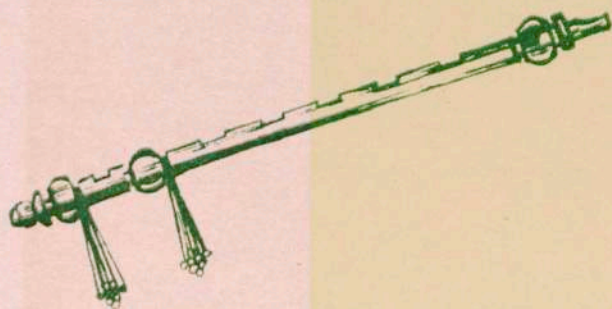
जागे देश
हे लोकेश !



जहाँ मन भयरहित हो
और सिर ऊँचा उठा रहे;
जहाँ ज्ञान उन्मुक्त हो;
जहाँ संसार की सँकरी घरेलू दीवारों से
खण्डों में लड़ा न गया हो;
जहाँ शब्द सत्य की गहनता में से निकलते हों;
जहाँ मानव अनथक प्रयास की पूर्णता की ओर
अपनी बाँहें फैलाता हो;
जहाँ विवेक की साफ धारा,
रुढ़ स्वभाव की नीरस रेगिस्तानी रेती में
अपना रास्ता खो न बैठती हो;
जहाँ तुम सतत विस्तृत होते
विचार और कर्म में मन का नेतृत्व करते हो;
हे पिता ! स्वतन्त्रता के इस स्वर्ग में
मेरा यह देश जागे ।

स्वप्न-रचना

बोन या बांसुरी के वादक के
 मन में सपना है कोई-यों कि सधे
 उसकी इच्छा है,
 उसका यह सपना
 उसकी मर्जी से खुले और बंधे ।
 बोन के तार छेद बंसी के
 कुछ नहीं हैं
 अगर न हो वादक
 स्नेह धीरज का समझदारी का
 ऐन तल्लीन एक-मन साधक ।
 बोन के तार बांसुरी के छेद
 स्वप्न साकार करके रहते हैं
 प्राण वादक के अगर ढंग के साथ
 साज को साथ लेके बहते हैं ।
 तार बेमेल हैं मगर उनको
 हम मिलालें तो
 सिद्ध सारे सुख
 छेद एक भेद है अगर समझें
 विद्ध होते हैं उससे सारे दुःख ।
 रोज बढ़ना नया-नया गढ़ना
 स्नेह के स्वप्न का अकीदा है
 देश है व्यक्ति है समाज है वह
 जिसने सपने को अपने सींचा है ।
 धैर्य हो समझ हो समाई हो
 लोग बेमेल, मिलके बढ़ते हैं
 देश और व्यक्ति और समाज को वे
 भव्य एक भावना से गढ़ते हैं ।
 अभी सम्पन्नता अभी आफत
 अर्थ फिर इसका कुछ नहीं बचता
 देश जब एक प्राण-मन होकर
 अपनी छाती के स्वप्न को रचता ।



मुर्दों से कैसे हम समझौता करते ?

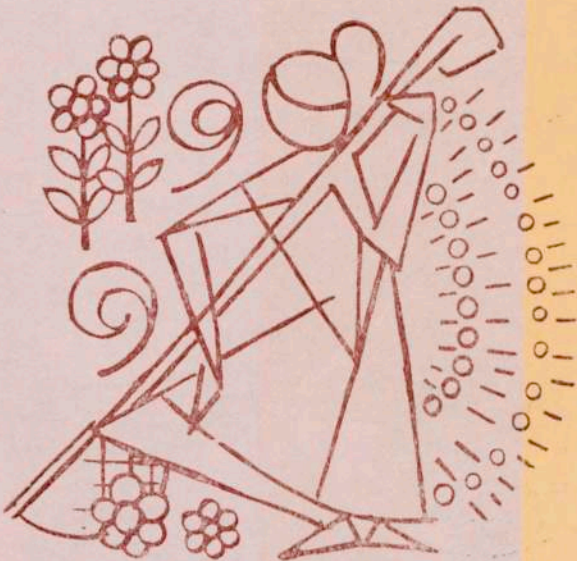
हम ऐसे बंजारे,
जो आँसू की खातिर ढोते हैं अँगारे
हम अभिनन्दन गाते,
या माला पहनाते,
इतने गिर जाते, तो
हम राजा बन जाते
अपने सुख-सुविधा के हम खुद हैं हत्यारे
हम ऐसे बंजारे ।

संकेतों पर मरते,
दिन भर पानी भरते,
पर मुर्दों से कैसे
हम समझौता करते ?
हम तुलसी के चन्दन कबिरा के इकतारे
हम ऐसे बंजारे ।

हर महफिल का सरगम,
कैसे बन जाते हम ?
रंगों की बात अलग,
खुशबू के खास नियम.
सिंहों से जीत गये मृग-छौनों से हारे.
हम ऐसे बंजारे ।

मुक्तक

कुछ कान भी कमजोर हैं वीनाई भी कम है
सोजिश हं जिगर पर मेरी आँतों पै वरम है
पूछा-कि मुझे और सताओगे कहाँ तक
बोले-कि जहाँ तक तेरी आवाज में दम है ।

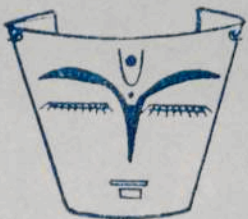


मोहभंग



माटी को रौंद-रौंद कर
मैंने भी खिलौने बनाये हैं,
विभिन्न आकार प्रकार के
रूपों को रंगों में भरकर
मैंने अपनी कर्मशाला में सजाए हैं ।
जब कभी इन्हें देखता हूँ
मन कहता है मैं भी सृष्टा हूँ ।
निर्माता हूँ, इन मौन, निष्प्राण
किन्तु आकर्षक मनोहारी कला-कृतियों का ।
किसी न किसी दिन रिसालों की तरह
ये भी बाजार में बिकने जायेंगी,
और मोल-तोल कर जो इन्हें खरीद ले जायेगा
वह अपने ड्राइंग रूम में या पूजा-गृह में सजायेगा
जब कभी इन प्रतिमाओं की प्रशस्ति होगी,
मुझे भी गौरव मिलेगा;
यही मेरी निर्माण-कला का चरम-प्राप्य है ।
यही मेरी उपलब्धि है ।

एक दिन ऐसा लगा कि मूर्ति ने विवशता और
निरीहता के भाव से कहा--क्यों बेच रहे हो मुझे ?
उसकी आँखों में भय,
करुणा और विषाद का समावेश था
जैसे सहमा-सहमा-सा लगने लगता है मृगछौना
शिकारी के शर-सन्धान को देखकर
भयाक्रान्ता मूर्ति ने
मन का विद्रोह अनायास, जगा दिया
और उत्पीड़न ने मुझसे संकल्प ले लिया
अब नहीं बेचूँगा इन प्रतिमाओं को
इन माटी के भगवानों में, मूक इन्सानों में
भरूँगा प्राण--ऐसा जीवन भरूँगा
जिससे वे समर्थ हो सकें संसार की विभीषिकाओं
से संघर्ष करने के लिए
इन्हें प्रदान करूँगा इतनी शक्ति कि वे युद्ध कर सकें
नवीन समाज की रचना के लिए,
इनमें इतनी चेतना प्रस्फुटित करूँगा कि लगने लगे
किसी अवतार का जन्म हुआ है ।
मैं इन्हें सचमुच भगवान बना दूँगा ।



प्रतिमा में प्राण-प्रतिष्ठा के प्रयास में
 मैं अनवरत साधना में लीन हो गया
 और इस अनुभूति में मैंने
 प्राणों का आसव लुटाकर
 जीवन की समस्त अध्यात्मिक उपलब्धि लुटा दी।
 एक दिन ऐसा लगा--
 खिलौने बोलने लगे, मूर्तियों में प्राण आ गये
 मेरी तपस्या सफल हुई है,
 शक्ति समाविष्ट हो चुकी है।
 मैं आह्लाद से नाचने लगा
 पर यह क्या ?
 मैंने देखा कि ये प्रतिमाएँ मेरी ओर बढ़ रही हैं,
 राम की प्रतिमा का बाण, धनुष से निकलकर
 मेरा वध करने के लिए तत्पर है,
 शंकर की प्रतिमा ने तीसरा नेत्र खोल दिया है;
 भगवती की प्रतिमा के समस्त अस्त्र मेरा मर्दन
 करने के लिए सचेष्ट हैं
 और उनका वाहन शेर
 जैसे क्षण भर में ही मेरे टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर डालेगा।

मेरे बनाए समस्त उपकरण मेरा ही संहार करेंगे
 मेरे आह्वान पर आई शक्ति के द्वारा ?
 यह विभीषिका देख, मैं कांप गया-भयभीय हो उठा
 और अचेतन पड़ा रहा भूमि पर;
 तभी किसी ने प्रश्न किया--
 क्या मानसिक-चेतना खो बैठे हो ?
 मैंने उत्तर के लिए मूर्ति की ओर निहारा,
 उसने यही कहा--
 मैं क्रय-विक्रय की वस्तु हूँ
 मुझसे आत्मीय नाता जोड़कर प्राण भरने का
 दुस्साहस किया ही क्यों था ?
 दोष मेरा नहीं, तेरा है-तूने मुझे समझा नहीं
 मैं माटी हूँ--माटी में ही मिल जाऊँगी;
 तुम मुझे प्राण देकर, अपना अमरत्व चाहते थे ?
 कितने मूर्ख हो तुम।
 एक दिन तुम्हें मुझमें ही विलीन होना पड़ेगा;
 सर्वस्व समर्पण कर
 फिर हमारा पुनः निर्माण होगा
 फिर तुम्हारा पुनर्जन्म होगा।

रामबल शुक्य



टूट सकते हैं मगर हम झुक नहीं सकते

टूट सकते हैं मगर हम झुक नहीं सकते ।

सत्य का संघर्ष सत्ता से,

न्याय लड़ता निरंकुशता से,

अँधेरे ने दी चुनौती है,

किरण अंतिम अस्त होती है;

दीप निष्ठा का लिए निष्कंप,

वज्र टूटे, या उठे भूकंप;

यह बराबर का नहीं है युद्ध,

हम निहत्थे, शत्रु है सन्नद्ध;

हर तरह से शस्त्र से हैं सज्ज,,

और पशुबल हो उठा निर्लज्ज;

किन्तु फिर भी जूझने का प्रण,

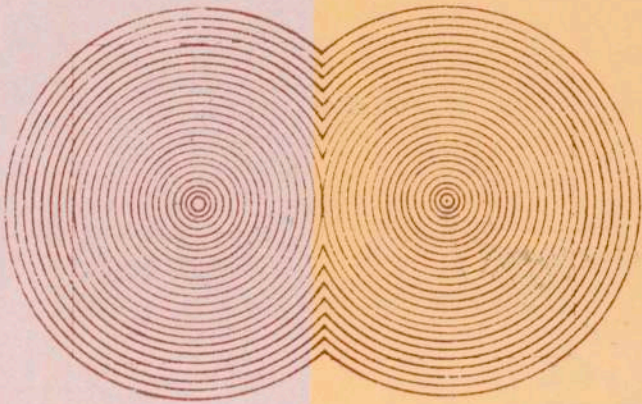
पुनः अंगद ने बढ़ाया चरण;

प्राणप्रण से करेंगे प्रतिकार,

समर्पण की मांग अस्वीकार,

दाँव पर सब कुछ लगा है, रुक नहीं सकते ।

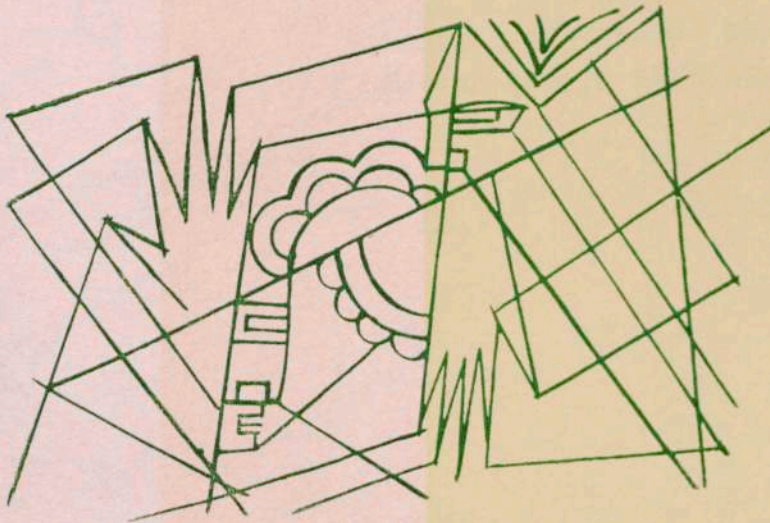
टूट सकते हैं, मगर हम झुक नहीं सकते ।



दिनकर सोनवलकर

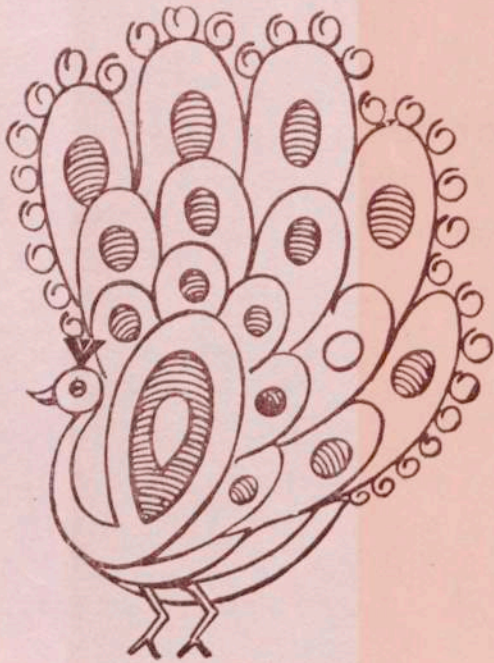
आत्मीय-स्पर्श

बड़ों के पाँव छूने का रिवाज
इसलिए अच्छा है
कि उनके पाँवों के
छाले देखकर
और बिवाइयाँ छूकर
तुम जान सको
कि जिन्दगी उनकी भी
कितनी कठिन थी,
और वे कैसे संघर्षों में
चलते रहे हैं आज तक ।
बदले में
वे तुम्हें सीने से लगाते हैं,
आगे बढ़ने के लिए
सौंप देते हैं—
अपनी समस्त आस्था,
अपने अनुभव ।
यह आत्मीय
विद्युत्-स्पर्श
भर देता है तुम्हारे भीतर
कभी समाप्त न होने वाली
एक विलक्षण ऊर्जा ।



मोरपंखी

फलाया विषधर ने जाल मोरपंखी.
चंदन की देह को सम्हाल मोरपंखी.
घुमड़ रहे हैं काले आवर्तों में
बोभिल प्रश्नचिह्न,
टकराते हैं आपस में सबके
दृष्टिकोण भिन्न—भिन्न,
सदियों के बाद आज
ले बैठा है करवट काल मोरपंखी.
चंदन की देह को सम्हाल मोरपंखी.
छाया है कोहरा, अब नहीं नजर
आती है कहीं धूप,
लगता जैसे नभ के प्रांगण में
उग आया अंधकूप,
भरकर बिजली मन में
जोर से अस्तित्व निज उछाल मोरपंखी.
मूल जा तू भूतकाल के
स्वर्ण-स्वप्न के किरण-वितान,
सामने खड़ा तेरे
क्षत-विक्षत होकर यह वर्तमान,
डाल दे दिशाओं की
गर्दन में बैजन्तीमाल मोरपंखी.
चंदन की देह को सम्हाल मोरपंखी.





जागना भी है एक ख्वाब का नाम,
 फिर भी सुनता हूँ मैं जनाब का नाम ।
 अपनी आँखों से मैंने देख लिया,
 पहले सुनता था रोबदाब का नाम ॥
 फसले देखियेगा सब बेलाग,
 पालसी में नहीं हिजाब का नाम ।
 अहले मेरठ की है जबाँ उदूँ,
 है जो तारीखे इज्तेराब का नाम ॥
 बागवाँ एक बागपत से उठा,
 जिससे ऊँचा है इन्तेखाब का नाम ।
 बात पक्की कहेंगे जो भी कहें,
 याँ नहीं खोखले खिताब का नाम ॥
 जब कि सूरज चमक रहा हो कहीं,
 कौन लेता है माहताब का नाम ।
 होश में आ गये हैं मैखाने,
 अब मैं सुनता नहीं शराब का नाम ॥
 जब चलन अपना ठीक होता है,
 हर सवाल अपना है जवाब का नाम ।
 कौन लेता है इस जमाने में,
 शायरे खस्ताओ-खराब का नाम ॥
 कौल अहले नजर का है ये ‘नुशूर’,
 है ‘चरणसिंह’ इन्कलाब का नाम ।

पुराने सितम : नये साँचे

अँधेरों को निकाला जा रहा है,
मगर घर से उजाला जा रहा है।
जरा सी बात है अर्जे तमन्ना,
जिसे कितना उछाला जा रहा है।
सितम का बार ही क्या कम था दिल पर,
वफा का बोझ डाला जा रहा है।
चुभोए जायेंगे तलवों में नशतर,
अभी काँटा निकाला जा रहा है।
जो डस लेते हैं अपने मोहसिनों को,
उन्हीं साँपों को पाला जा रहा है।
इलाही खैर हो हुस्ने चमन की,
गुलों पर रंग डाला जा रहा है।
पुराने हर सितम को ऐ 'फना' अब
नये साँचे में ढाला जा रहा है।

(आपात्काल की अभिव्यक्ति)

भूला नहीं है दिल सितमें-बेपनाह को,
क्यूँ राहबर बनाऊँ मैं गुम-करदा राह को।
शाहों को भी फकीर बनाया था किसलिए
अब आके दो जवाब फकीरों के शाह को।

(आपात्काल के बाद)

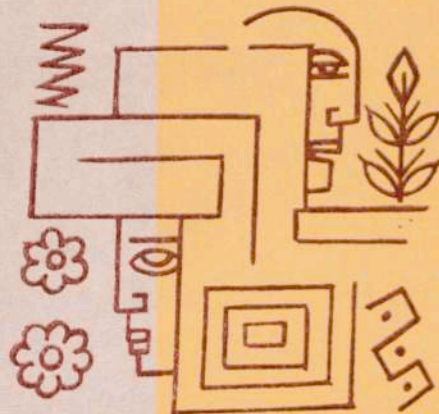


बेश अज़ लालो गोहर नक्दो नज़र ले जाओ
 जो मेरे शेर में है खूने जिगर ले जाओ
 दिल की मायूस फिजाओं में उजाला कर दो
 मेरे अपकार की ताबिन्दह सहर ले जाओ

मजहबो नस्ल की तफ़रीक मिटा दो दिल से
 मेरा जज़बह, मेरा दिल, मेरी नज़र ले जाओ
 सुबह के नूर से रातों का मुकद्दर बदलो
 जुल्मते शब है जहाँ, शम्सो कमर ले जाओ

किसी इन्सान को नफ़रत से न देखो हरगिज़
 मेरी आँखों से मुहब्बत की नज़र ले जाओ
 मन्जिलें आयेंगी खुद बढ़ के कदम चूमेंगी
 कोई मन्जिल हो मेरा अज्मे सफर ले जाओ

आज इन्सान का खुदा ही नहीं मजहब भी है एक
 नये इन्सान से नयी फिक्रो नज़र ले जाओ
 मुन्तज़िर है नयी तारीख़ संवरने के लिये
 मेरा जज़बह, मेरा तेशह, मेरा सर ले जाओ



लो तुम्हें पहना रहा हूँ व्याकरण की मञ्जुमाला

अ

शम्भु का डमरू डमड् डम बोलता है
सूत्र चौदह व्याकरण के खोलता है
कह रहे पाणिनि-नमस्ते
और कात्यायन-पतञ्जलि
लिये सादर पुष्प अञ्जलि
महाविद्या के अधिष्ठाता महेश्वर-
को रहे कर बार-बार प्रणाम
गा रहे उनके सुखद गुण-ग्राम,
आइये, हम भी उन्हीं के गान गायें
बहुत सम्भव है कि इससे
व्याकरण कुछ जान जायें ।
व्याकरण !
जो हाँ, इसी से हो सकी भाषा नियन्त्रित
और इससे ही हुआ है
व्यक्ति का व्यक्तित्व अंकृत ।
मैं जिसे भी देखता हूँ,
व्याकरण से देखता हूँ,
व्याकरण से देखता हूँ

आचरण से देखता हूँ
व्याकरण से, आचरण से तुम दिखे पावन
इसी से तो हुए सबके मनोभावन ।
व्याकरण से आचरण से जो हुआ पावन
वही तो वन्द्य ।
व्याकरण से, आचरण से जो हुआ पावन
वही अभिनन्द्य ।
व्याकरण की दृष्टि से तुम
एक संज्ञा व्यक्ति-वाचक हो
इसलिए सज्जन ! नमस्ते
जातिवाचक, भाववाचक
व्यर्थ हैं तुममें
इसलिये बुधजन ! नमस्ते
सभी स्वर, व्यञ्जन तुम्हारे
परम संयत, स्वच्छ सुथरे
कारकों के निकष में कसकर तुम्हें देखा
तुम खरे उतरे ।
एक तुम, कर्ता ! नमस्ते

क

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दूसरे सत्कर्म के भर्ता ! नमस्ते
 तीसरे तुम करण का संवरण करते
 और चौथे सम्प्रदान विधान भरते
 दुर्गुणों से पृथक् तुम
 पञ्चम अपादानो ! नमस्ते
 सुधी जन सम्बन्ध पाते
 तुम छठे ज्ञानी ! नमस्ते
 सातवें 'अधिकरण' हैं तुम पर सभी का
 इसलिए मैं कर रहा हूँ
 एक सम्बोधन अभी का
 तत्पुरुष ! तुम सर्वथा सम्मान्य हो
 विगत-सम्प्रति औ भविष्यत्--
 में सदैव वदान्य हो ।
 बहुवचन में तुम नहीं विश्वास करते
 वचन भरते एक
 जो तद्द्वित समन्वित
 और उसमें सन्धियाँ पाँचों समाहित
 समस्यन्त पदावली से मिले हो तुम

गूढ़ रूढ़ों में तुम्हारी आस्था है
 और यौगिक शब्द सुमनों से सुवासित
 खिले हो तुम ।
 सभी करते इसलिए 'प्रत्यय' तुम्हारा
 हो गया है तपोधन अक्षय तुम्हारा
 नाम, वह तो सर्वनामों में गया जुड़
 कार्य के सारे विशेषण
 देखते हैं तुम्हें मुड़-मुड़
 व्यर्थ होगा अब अधिक कुछ पिष्ट-पेषण
 में समझता हूँ कि तुम हो
 शुद्ध-शुद्ध क्रिया-विशेषण ।
 हाँ, एक अव्यय है
 कि जिस पर सोचता हूँ
 पर समझने के लिए यह छोड़ता हूँ
 जिसे वेदों ने स्वयं कह 'नेति' टाला
 लो तुम्हें पहना रहा हूँ
 व्याकरण की मञ्जु-माला ॥

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ऐ चरणसिंह कलाम है तूझसे.!

पाक धरती है गंगा-जमना की,
जिसमें उगते हैं खुशबुओं के चमन ।
इस हकीकत को कौन ठुकराये,
सारे भारत के दिल की है धड़कन ।
ये वो धरती है सारे भारत का,
पेट भरती है अक्वल-ओ-आखिर ।
इसको सौ-सौ सलाम क्यों न करें,
पाक धरती है अक्वल-ओ-आखिर ।
रंग देते हैं हर कौल को नया,
फसल-ऐ-गुल का सुहाग हैं ये लोग ।
जो हर इक राग पर खुले-खेले,
अज्म-ओ-हिम्मत का राग हैं ये लोग।
कुछ दिनों से मगर ये फरजाने,
हैसियत अपनी भुला बैठे थे ।
रिवायतों के फरेब में आकर,
अहलेजर को कुबूल बैठे थे ।
थी ये हालत हरेक मेहनतकश,
खा न सकता था अपनी रोटी भी ।
जर परस्तों के जाल में फँसकर,
रहन रख दी थी अपनी चोटी भी ।
देख सकता था इस मुसीबत को,
अहले मेहनत का आसमाँ क्योंकर ।
रहने देता वो सहब-ऐ-हकबीं,
उनके दामन को खूँ चकाँ क्योंकर ।
कूबत-ऐ-कशमकश अता करके,
दर्द को दिल बना दिया उसने ।
गांव के इक किसान का बेटा,
राहते बेशुमार क्या कहिये ।
ऐ चरणसिंह कलाम है तूझसे,
इन बहारों का आसरा देना ।
तूझको कायम खुदा सदा रखे,
गम के मारों को आसरा देना ।



नूरपुर का नूर

नूरपुर का नूर है जो, देश का कोहिनूर है ।
स्वार्थ लिप्सा भोग माया, बन्धनों से दूर है ।
युग-प्रवर्तक उर्मियों में, सहज नौका खे रहा जो,
शक्ति जिसके प्राण की, रखती प्रलय को दूर है ।

जन्म से ही जो धरा के हरित अँचल का पुजारी ।
हलधरों का मीत, हरिजन, दुर्बलों का पक्षधारी ॥
आज युग के भाल पर जो, तिलक बनकर है सुशोभित ।
और माँ की पंजनी में, एक नूपुर सा समर्पित ॥

कह रहा आवाज देकर, हे धरणि के पुत्र जागो ।
उर्वरा अँचल संभालो, प्रगति को गति दो, विभा दो ॥
है प्रगति इस देश की, हलधर तुम्हारी बाहुओं में ।
शान्ति, सुविधा, सुख, समता, श्रमपरक लघु योजना में ॥

भव्यता का मोह त्यागो, दैत्य यंत्रों को हटादो ।
कृष्ण बनकर अगुलियों पर, योजना गिरवर उठालो ॥
आज फिर से देश को, नव क्रांति का इतिहास रचना ।
देश अपना, नीति अपनी, सभ्यता, संस्कृति सँवरना ॥

लहलहाते खेत होंगे, देश-वैभव की कहानी ।
हर दिशा उद्योग देगी, प्रगति की बनकर निशानी ॥
भूमिगत सम्पत्ति अपनी, कोटि हाथों में बँटेगी ।
कीर्ति के स्तम्भ नूतन, अब युवा पीढ़ी गढ़ेगी ॥



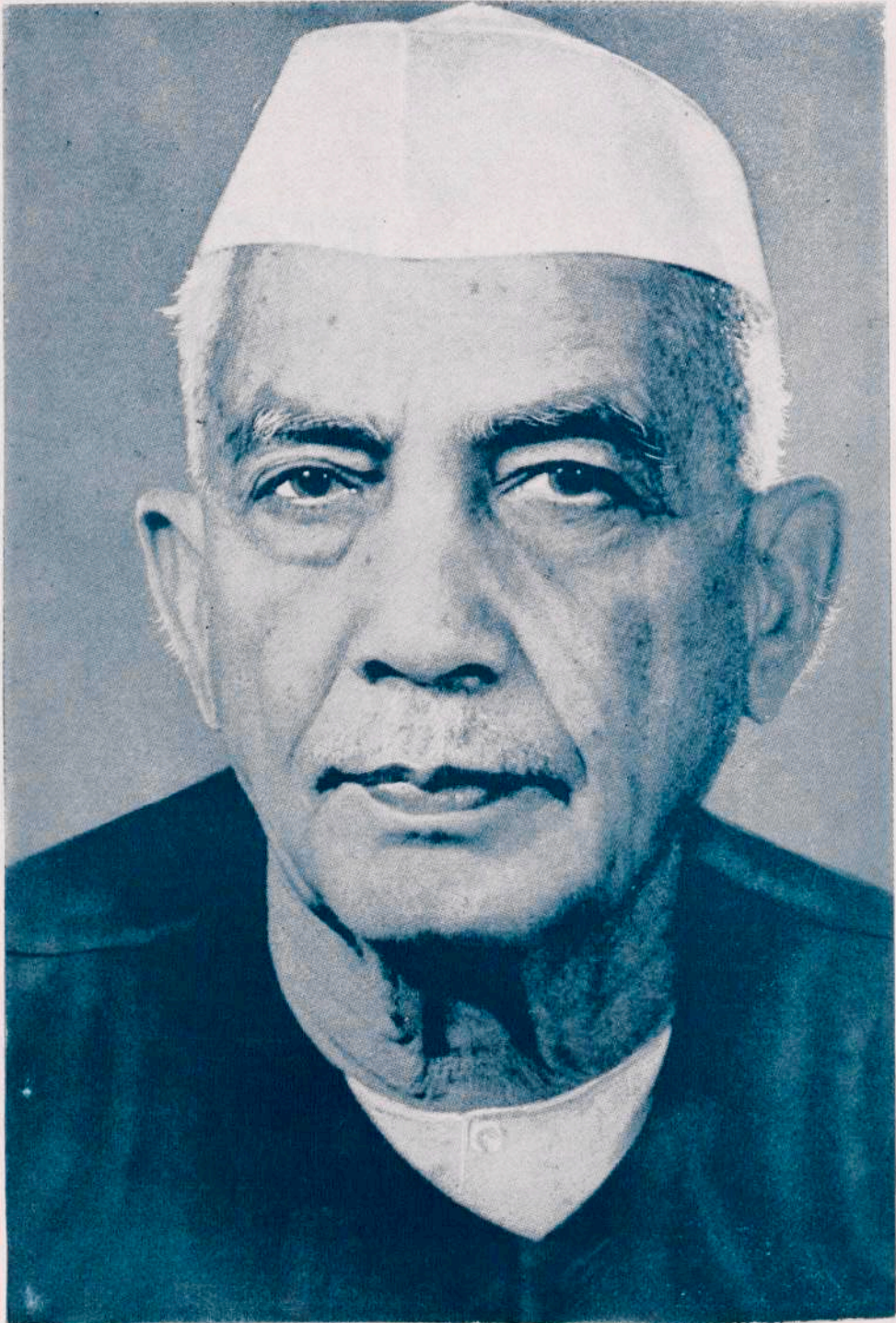
तुमको अभिवादन करते, हम श्रद्धा-सुमन चढ़ाते हैं ।
 भारत माता के सपूत, हम शत-शत शीश झुकाते हैं ॥
 मातृ-भूमि की आजादी की, तुमने लड़ी लड़ाई थी ।
 धन्य स्वतन्त्रता सेनानी, वर वीर विजय श्री पाई थी ॥
 अमर शहीदों ने तेरे द्वांगित पर जीवन प्राण दिया ।
 लोकतंत्र की रक्षा हित दृढ़ प्रहरी ने विषपान किया ॥
 तुमने बिगुल बजाया तब ही, रक्तहीन यह क्रान्ति हुई ।
 आपत् स्थिति हटी देश से, जनता जीती शांति हुई ।
 भरा पड़ा इतिहास तुम्हारा, त्याग और बलिदानों से ।
 जननी-जन्म-भूमि प्यारी है, तुमको अपने प्राणों से ॥
 शांति-व्यवस्था के प्रतीक तुम, हृदय कृषक-मजदूरों के ।
 भारत-रथ के सबल सारथी, रिपु भ्रष्टाचारी मन के ॥
 राम राज्य की सुखद कल्पना, तुम से ही पूरी होगी ।
 जनता औ' शासन की दूरी, अब तो शीघ्र दूर होगी ॥
 अविरल गति से चरण बढ़ाओ राही दूर न मंजिल है ।
 आशीर्वाद करोड़ों का है साथ तुम्हारे हर दिल है ॥
 कृषक-पुत्र सर्वोच्च शिखर तक, पहुंचो यह अभिलाषा है ।
 जन्म दिवस सौ वर्ष मनायें, जन-जन की यह आशा है ॥





VIGIL

परंतप : ३१३



Charan Singh : Through Letters

Foreword

Charan Singh to-day occupies a key position in the national life, both as an important leader of the Janata Party and as Union Home Minister. His views and actions have a wide ranging effect and consequences.

Charan Singh's views are no passing fancies of a politician catapulted into high governmental office and at the centre of national politics. They are based on deep thinking and studies of a life-time. Logic, hard realities, honestly-held convictions and unselfish sincerity are the foundations on which his views and convictions are based.

In the following pages is published a bunch of letters selected at random to give to the reader an idea of the way of thinking of the leader, and why he acts in a particular manner in a given situation.

Agrarian reform, leading to progress of agriculture and welfare of the Kisans, has been a subject dearest to his heart. More than thirty years ago, while serving as a Parliamentary Secretary in the U. P. Ministry headed by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Charan Singh wrote a pamphlet in which he advocated the adoption of co-operative farming as in Scandinavia. The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru felt that the suggestion might be best suited to India, and agreed with Charan Singh that any large scale collectivism might lead to difficulties.

In 1956 Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, V.T. Krishnamachari, wrote to Charan

Singh, after reading the manuscript of Charan Singh's book on Co-operative Farming, that it should be published. V. T. K. agreed with Charan Singh's appraisal of the working of collective farms in the Soviet Union and the agricultural co-operatives in China. There was no conflict between Charan Singh's views on co-operative farming and those of the Prime Minister and the Planning Commission.

The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission underlined what Charan Singh had been advocating : "Agricultural production is the most important thing for the country now, and the success of all Plans will depend on it."

A year and half later, however, Charan Singh had to undertake the unpleasant and unpopular task of opposing the Prime Minister when the latter got the Congress to pass a resolution on joint co-operative farming. The resolution was moved by C. S. Subramaniam, but it was Pandit Nehru's baby. Charan Singh was all for voluntary co-operatives of farmers, but he was dead opposed to State coercion for forming co-operative farms, which would lead the country in the direction of collective farms, treading ruthlessly on democracy and individual freedom.

While Charan Singh spoke as an expert, who had spent a life-time in the study of a subject dear to his heart, the Prime Minister in his Impatience sought to brush aside the well meaning criticism. Few people understood what was the clash about,

and Charan Singh found himself in a lonely minority. A Chief Minister, who was also a member of Working Committee, while commending Subramaniam's resolution at the Congress Session in January, 1959, said that "the system of joint co-operative farming had worked successfully in countries like Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Belgium." The Chief Minister was confusing the service of farmers' co-operatives with co-operative farms. Charan Singh was the staunchest advocate of the Scandinavian type of co-operative farming, but the Congress was letting itself in for what would have led to collective farming.

Charan Singh had sent a copy of his book on Co-operative Farming to the Prime Minister also, but the latter in his letter of March 14, 1957, had written to him : "I received your book on co-operative farming. I am afraid I have not read it. I have little time for reading books". In the same letter, Pandit Nehru went on to say: "Your work in administration is efficient and, more particularly, that you have studied and paid a great deal of attention to agricultural classes."

Had Pandit Nehru not been in such a hurry and had he had the patience to listen to the voice of reason, agricultural reforms in India, would not have run into the problems they did, and the country would have been saved much unnecessary suffering.

The passing of the resolution on Joint Co-operative Farming led to exchange of an interesting correspondence between U. P.'s Chief Minister Sampurnanand and his Revenue Minister, Charan Singh, which highlights the issues of collective responsibility of ministers in a democratic set-up and of party-discipline, and of inner-party-democracy.

Since 1949, Charan Singh had been saddled with the responsibility of formulating land reforms policy of the State and seeing it through, after Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the then Chief Minister, had accepted his ideas on agrarian problems and asked him to have the necessary legislation drafted. Since 1952 Charan Singh was holding the charge of Revenue Department. He

continued in the office after Sampurnanand took over as Chief Minister in 1954.

More loyal than the King, Congress President, U. N. Dhebar wanted to know from Charan Singh through Sampurnanand what his position would be after the passing of the Resolution on Joint Co-operative Farming. Instead of passing on to U. N. Dhebar what Charan Singh had written to him in reply, Sampurnanand wanted to inform U.N. Dhebar that Charan Singh had assured him that while he found it difficult to change his views, he would not now give public expression to these and as a member of the Government "will co-operate in the implementation of the Resolution."

This brought forth an exposition from Charan Singh of his views on the constitutional and moral responsibility of a minister in a democratic set-up, where the Government adopts a policy not approved by him. He had already informed Sampurnanand that the responsibility for implementing the policy adopted at Nagpur would lie with the Minister for Agriculture and Co-operation, not with him as Revenue Minister. He could only undertake that he would not express his views publicly any longer, and in fact he had refrained from doing so since September 1, 1958, when he had spoken in the AICC session at New Delhi.

Now Charan Singh wrote that the very idea of demanding an assurance was distressing. He went on to say : "If a decision is taken from which a Member charged with the responsibility of carrying it out differs, whether radically or otherwise, he will himself like to be relieved of the responsibility even as I am offering to give up the Revenue Department, because I feel that consolidation of holdings, though not in so many words, yet as a corollary of the Nagpur Resolution, is out of place. Had I held the portfolios of Agriculture and Co-operation, the first thing I should and would have done on return to Lucknow, was to request you to allow me to resign."

Charan Singh was not happy with the functioning of Sampurnanand as Chief Minister. It had nothing to do with his own political fortunes.

Sampurnanand, Charan Singh thought, was a grave liability to the Party and to the State. He submitted his resignation several times in 1959, and refused to be persuaded to stay on. Intra-party discontent with Sampurnanand reached such a pitch in 1960 that even the Prime Minister was forced to ask Sampurnanand to step down. Among the critics of Sampurnanand in the Party, Charan Singh was perhaps the only one who was moved by ideological considerations, and the interests of the Party and the State.

Before finally quitting the ministry, Charan Singh wrote a letter, dated March 13, 1959, to the Prime Minister, in which he described how Sampurnanand was proving an unmitigated disaster. One learns from it about the colossal ignorance of Sampurnanand about the functioning of the government headed by him. His many actions exposed him to the charge of casteism and nepotism, partiality for bureaucracy and certain class of industrialists. The state of U. P. continues even today to suffer from the deal that Sampurnanand made with the Birlas for supplying 50,000 kilowatt power from Rehand Dam to their aluminium factory at Rs. 150 per kilowatt. S. P. Jain was granted a loan of Rs. 1.45 crore for setting up a chemical factory in the home town of the Chief Minister, which has not yet been returned, though it was to be repaid by 1966. A further gift of Rs. one crore was made by the State Government agreeing to purchase the electricity plant of Sahu Chemicals for Rs. one crore and at the same time undertaking to supply them 6,000 kilowatt power for 20 years.

Certain high officials of the State Government, including Sampurnanand's favourites, were involved in a housing scandal which was exposed on the floor of Assembly several times both by congressmen and non-congressmen, including Raj Narain. These officers had secured land from a private party for a song, secured scarce building materials and disregarded Municipal laws to make houses, which had been let out by them fetching high rents. Sampurnanand informed the State Assembly that all the allegations, regarding construction of houses of high government officials, had been found baseless after inquiry. Asked who made

the inquiry, the Chief Minister said that he himself did it. Nobody was satisfied.

When Sampurnanand visited the shrines of Badrinath and Kedarnath, the traffic was halted to enable the Chief Minister's caravan to pass.

To stall an investigation into corruption charges and in an attempt at self-vindication, which was nothing more than face-saving on behalf of the Chief Minister, a number of defamation cases were instituted by the Government, in connection with articles published in the "New Age", "Siyasat Jadeed", and the "Blitz." No court case was followed upto its logical end, and there was much criticism of the Government's deal with the Bombay Weekly.

The organisational elections of congress in the state in 1960 caused much bitterness. The ministerialists went all out to defeat Charan Singh in his home district, but he managed to escape through. Charges of misuse of money and government machinery and power were levelled. There was also much tale carrying. Letters of Charan Singh in 1960 addressed to Pandit Pant and Pandit Nehru, and latter's acknowledgment, throw some light on the low level at which this internecine fight was going on.

After the ouster of Sampurnanand, C.B. Gupta took over as Chief Minister in December, 1960. Charan Singh returned to office as Home Minister.

Not every one was reconciled to the ouster of the Ministry headed by Sampurnanand. Complaints against the new ministers continued to be made to the Prime Minister, and Charan Singh received due attention. Jawahar Lal Nehru's letter of February 9, 1961, forwarding a copy of the letter received by him from an official of a co-operative bank levelling charges against Charan Singh, is typical of such complaints and also of the mode of dealing with complaints against congress ministers by Pandit Nehru.

As Home Minister and as one particularly concerned with state security, Charan Singh had to take certain actions which brought upon him the

wrath of the leaders of Jamiat-ul-Ulema, who had the ear of the Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru, who prided on his secularism, wrote to Charan Singh, criticising him for putting the Jamiat on the same level as the Jamaat-e-Islami. Charan Singh in a very frank reply justified his views, but promised to the Prime Minister in deference to his approach to the delicate national problem" not to say or do anything in future, which would give offence to Maulana Hafiz-ur-Rahman. Future events have shown that Charan Singh's views were not without force. For bringing about genuine national integration, the policy of fostering a spirit of exclusiveness amongst the Muslims, would have to be given up. It has already done much harm, and is now being sought to be extended to other kinds of minorities.

Charan Singh has strong views against caste system and in fact has carried on consistent propaganda against caste system in his home district. And yet he has been accused of casteism and in particular of 'Jatism'.

Charan Singh is a 'Jat', and is neither ashamed of it, nor does he want to exploit the Jats or any other caste for political ends.

So long ago as in 1954 he wrote a letter to Prime Minister Nehru recommending that the constitution should be so amended that only those who have married outside their caste should be considered for government service. The qualifications laid down for government service relate to mental and physical fitness of the candidate, not to his heart, he had complained. Pandit Nehru in his reply dated May 27, 1954, turned down the suggestion as this seemed to him to offend against basic principle of individual freedom. (In 1958 Charan Singh differed with Nehru on the issue of joint co-operative farming as he sought to take away the Kisan's individual freedom.)

While Pandit Nehru never doubted Charan Singh's loyalty to the Party and would not believe any one, if he charged Charan Singh of having helped anti-congress candidates (a malady from which Charan Singh's many other compatriots in

U.P. suffered), he did, however, have an impression that Charan Singh was, "rather narrow and rigid" in his outlook. Nehru, however, denied having referred to Charan Singh as "a person holding to 16th century views."

A year later, in October, 1958, Pandit Nehru happened to mention to Charan Singh during a conversation that he did not like the "Jatpan" (Jatism) that Charan Singh had exhibited in his handling of the Congress affairs in Meerut district.

In a letter dated October 6, 1958 Charan Singh explained to Prime Minister why the false charge of Jatism was being levelled against him and in fact against the whole community of Jats. He recalled his letter of 1954 and expressed his regret that the people had not learnt any lesson from history and even people holding important positions in public life all over the country were not able to rise above this weakness (casteism).

Pandit Nehru hastened to assure Charan Singh that when he used the word "Jatpan" he was not thinking of caste but of certain toughness on group lines. He added, "As for Jats, I have always liked them very much and admired many qualities in them."

Charan Singh was very unhappy at the Government of India's handling of the situation after Chinese invasion in October, 1962. In a letter to the Union Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, Charan Singh insisted that the Defence Minister Krishna Menon should quit at once. The Defence Minister had been talking of fighting "to the best of our ability" or "to the best of our means". This, Charan Singh wrote, was the language of a defeatist. He was also critical of Pandit Nehru, and without mincing his words wrote on to charge Nehru with acting hesitatingly under pressure of public opinion and not of his own accord.

There was a proposal to weigh Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri in gold. Charan Singh wrote a letter advising against it. Shastri's reply was typically non-committal.

History was made on April 1, 1967 on the floor of the U. P. State Assembly, when Charan Singh along with 16 other Congress M.L.A.s crossed the floor and toppled the 19 day-old C. B. Gupta Ministry and brought to an end the 21 years of Congress rule in U. P.

Charan Singh's enemies never tire of accusing him of personal ambition and desire for highest office in the State. To Charan Singh, for whom politics without morality has no meaning and who places public causes above politician's ambition, this is nothing else than character assassination. In a letter dated January 1, 1977, addressed to Indira Gandhi, Charan Singh has attempted to put the record straight: what led to his leaving the Congress. in 1967.

After the ouster of Sampurnanand, Charan Singh wanted to contest the election of the leader of Congress Legislature Party, but had been persuaded to stand down in favour of C. B. Gupta. The only condition that Charan Singh had laid down and to which Indira Gandhi's emissaries had agreed, was that two persons with a bad reputation should be dropped and at least two new names added in the ministry. This condition was not honoured and the breach became like the proverbial straw on the camel's back. Ideological differences had been developing since the 1959 Congress session of Nagpur over the Co-operative Farming and State Trading in Foodgrains. Right from 1947, Charan Singh said, he had been expressing his concern over the failure of the Congress leadership to contain corruption. Charan Singh insists that the B. K. D. came into existence because of idealistic reasons.

On February 17, 1968 Charan Singh resigned from the Chief Ministership of the S. V. D. Govern-

ment and advised the Governor to send for the new leader of the S. V. D. with a view to forming the government.

In a press statement issued that very day Charan Singh explained: "In resigning from my office I blame no one. A coalition of so many disparate elements necessarily involves an adjustment with principles. But adjustment or compromise implies a limit also. In my case this limit has been reached, that is, a stage has arrived when I can no further compromise with the future and interest of the people as I see it."

During the nine months and a half of the S. V. D. Government he offered to resign thrice. Twice he withdrew the resignation letters given to the S. V. D. general body.

Emergency that was proclaimed by Indira Gandhi did not demoralise Charan Singh. Neither did it embitter him. One year after the imposition of Emergency, Charan Singh wrote a very well balanced letter to Indira Gandhi on June 26, 1976, calling upon the then Prime Minister to take up the initiative for effecting reconciliation within the country and for creating conditions for restoration of democracy and civil liberties. Charan Singh called for the release of detenues, lifting of press censorship, joint meeting of the leaders of ruling party and opposition leaders, and announcement of a firm date for elections to the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies.

Seven months later Indira Gandhi announced General Elections to the Lok Sabha, which led to her ouster from office. Charan Singh became the Home Minister. His commitment to Agriculture and fight against Corruption in administration continue to receive his utmost attention.

—Editor.

On Co-operative Farming

From
Jawahar Lal Nehru
Prime Minister

New Delhi.
Dated, 24-12-1956.

My dear Charan Singh,

Thank you for your letter of December 17, and for a copy of your pamphlet. I wish I had the time to read your pamphlet. I may not read the whole of it, but I shall look through it and keep it for reference. It is quite possible that your proposal for co-operative farming, as in Scandinavia, may be best suited to India. There is no reason, however, why we should not experiment in various ways including the way you suggested and then decide finally. There is plenty of field for experimenting. I think you are right in saying that any large scale collectivism may lead to difficulties.

Your Sincerely,

Jawahar Lal Nehru

Shri Charan Singh,
Parliamentary Secretary to The
Hon'ble Minister of L. S. G.
United Provinces,
Lucknow.

From
V. T. Krishnamachari
Planning Commission

New Delhi.
Dated, 12 December, 1946

My dear Shri Charan Singh,

I thank you for sending me a copy of your book on Co-operative Farming. Apart from the main argument, you have brought together in it, a large amount of valuable information on problems relating to agriculture.

I agree with you in your appraisalment of the working of the collective farms in U. S. S. R. and the agricultural co-operatives in China. In both these countries, the Governments decided, on ideological grounds, to follow a policy of establishing heavy industries on an impressive scale. Such programmes have to be supported largely by levies from agriculture and suppression of consumption standards. The collectives are found useful as they enable the Governments to take as much as they want from agriculture directly and indirectly. The collectives in Russia were formed after inflicting untold suffering on the people. Have you read Churchill's account of his conversation with Stalin on Collectives? This was on the eve of Leningrad. I enclose a copy of this account as it will interest you. Similarly, those who visit China for a short time cannot know the internal stresses and strains in their co-operatives. We cannot, of course, think of imposing any such burden on agriculture in this

country, as we are wedded to a democratic way of life.

As regards Co-operative farming, you have quoted what the Prime Minister has said in his address at Jaunpur. That represents the policy advocated by the Planning Commission. Co-operation is a people's movement. They must decide ultimately what forms of co-operation they would like to have. The function of the Government is to educate them and place at their service such technical and other assistance as they may need—also organise experiments from which they can learn.

I do not share the view, sometimes expressed, that the people in villages cannot manage even ordinary multi-purpose societies. I think they are quite capable of running them and developing them and deciding for themselves what functions they want to undertake on a common basis. The 'large societies', that are now being formed, are based on distrust of our people and I do not regard them as genuinely co-operative.

The essential thing is that we should spread the Co-operative Movement to such an extent that all families in rural India should be represented on co-operative societies in their own right and participate in the movement as active members. This will become possible only if in every village there is at least one multi-purpose society with universal membership. These societies will take up functions, which they find to be necessary—such as, joint supply of seeds and fertilisers, joint ownership of implements, godowns etc., joint construction of wells etc. After experience of such joint activities of different kinds they may decide to take co-operative farming with or without merging individual holdings. It is for them, when they are convinced of the advantages, to take the decision. This is the only way in which co-operative farming can come in India.

Would it be possible for your Government to undertake a review of the working of the co-operative farming societies now in existence and see how they are working and how their working can be improved? The aim is intensive agricultural farming, covering every acre of land. Can such societies

assist in this and show higher yields than can be got under other system ?

The basic question is not one of the degree of co-operation desired. It is the larger one of democratic vs. totalitarian methods. Can we, by democratic methods, raise the standards of living of the rural population rapidly? I placed before States the target of 40 per cent increase in five years. Even this has not been accepted. How long will the people tolerate the present standards? In a recent book Mr. John Strachey (the Labour Leader) has said that no country can sustain democratic institutions unless it has, as a minimum, the *per-capita* income of Italy which is about £ 300 a year. This is roughly 14 times ours.' Mr. Strachey adds in a footnote that he 'hopes and believes' India will be an exception, but if we cannot achieve a modest programme of doubling agricultural production in ten years, can there be grounds for optimism ?

What you have outlined in Chapter 15, "Intensive Agriculture", is what the Planning Commission has advocated in its recent discussion with State Governments. I enclose the preliminary remarks, I made in our talks with them to explain the manner in which the additional targets of food production can be reached. I am glad you have specially emphasised the need for using organic and green measures in addition to fertilisers. This is a vital point. But we have to see that every family carries out this programme and thereby doubles its income within a short period. This is the challenge before the country.

I am afraid I have written at considerable length. But agricultural production is the most important thing for the country now, and the success of all Plans will depend on it.

I suggest that, in consultation with Sampurnanand Ji, you consider whether you can publish the book with such modifications as may be necessary. With regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
V. T. Krishnamachari

Shri Charan Singh,
Revenue Minister, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow.

From
Sampurnanand
Chief Minister
Uttar Pradesh

Lucknow.
Dated, January 11, 1959.

My dear Charan Singh Ji,

Your speech at the meeting of the Subjects Committee has created a rather embarrassing situation. I do hope you will help me to ease it satisfactorily. While you were speaking, one of the members passed on a chit to me asking me if your words embodied the considered opinion of the U. P. Cabinet. I wrote back saying, "the A. I. C. C. is the forum where national policies are discussed and finalised. It is not only the right but the duty of every member to express his opinion freely and frankly. When once a policy has been finally adopted, it will obviously be the duty of every Congress Government in the country and every member thereof to implement it." I thought the matter ended there, but yesterday the President, Sri Dhebar, called me and said that he and the Working Committee would like to know exactly what your position is after the acceptance of the resolution on agricultural cooperation by the Congress. I told him that I have every hope that you would loyally accept the resolution and try to implement it in the letter and the spirit. He said that he also hoped it would be so, but he should like to have a definite assurance on this point, because it would obviously be difficult for anyone to assume responsibility for measures proceeding from a policy from which he differs so radically. He suggested that if necessary I might give you some time to think over the matter.

On Collective Responsibility

I do trust, the hope, I expressed to the President, is correct and that I can reply to him that now that the Congress has finally accepted the policy underlying this resolution after hearing you, you will give the fullest support to all measures required for implementing it.

Yours sincerely,
Sampurnanand

Sri Charan Singh,
Minister for Revenue,
Uttar Pradesh,
Lucknow.

From
Charan Singh
Minister for Revenue
Uttar Pradesh

Lucknow
Dated, 21 January, 1959

My dear Babu Ji,

Your letter of January 11, could be placed in my hands only on January 16 on my return from the Congress Session.

I am extremely sorry to find that my speech at the meeting of the Subjects Committee has created a somewhat embarrassing situation. The subject-matter of the resolution that was moved by Shri Subramaniam on behalf of the Working Committee was so vital to our economy that I considered it necessary to place my views fully and frankly before those in whose hands the decision lay. I was

and am still of the view that I would have failed in my duty, had I not drawn the attention of the Subjects Committee to the other side of the medal.

The Congress President and the Working Committee would, however, like to know where I stand now that the principle of agricultural co-operation has been accepted by the Congress. My reply is simple : as for implementation of the resolution in regard to co-operative farming, it so happens that I do not hold the portfolio of 'Agriculture' or 'Co-operation'. It is another friend who holds them and on whom, therefore, the responsibility directly to implement the resolution lies. I can only undertake that I will not express my views publicly any longer (in fact, I had not expressed them any where since September 1, 1958, when I spoke in AICC Session at New Delhi). Nor will I do anything which will stand in the way of such implementation.

As regards ceilings, I have always been an advocate of small farms and, as I said in the meeting of the Subjects Committee also, it is small farms alone which suit our economy and will solve our problems. So, the large farms have to be cut down. The question simply is what method shall we adopt to achieve this aim. In taking away the rights of the land-lords and conferring rights on the tenantry, we in Uttar Pradesh have gone much farther than the Planning Commission has proposed. We did not give any rights of resumption to the landlords as other States did, which resulted in eviction of innumerable tenants from lakhs of acres of land. According to the report of the Committee on Tenancy Reform (Panel of Land Reform) appointed by the Planning Commission submitted in March 1956, the landlords "could even extort money by threatening to resume land..... In some cases, the landlords have sold out or partitioned the land, which they personally cultivated and having thus brought their holdings below the permissible limit, proceeded to evict the tenants to resume further areas."

On the contrary, we have conferred permanent rights even on sub-tenants and those who were

recorded merely as trespassers, thus, transferring to them some 20 lakh acres of cultivable land. These sub-tenants and trespassers, who came mostly from Harijans and other backward classes, have not been considered as entitled to any rights in any other State and have simply been thrown out in a summary fashion.

Now, imposition of a ceiling in terms of recommendation of the Planning Commission will not make available to us even three quarters of a million (7.5 lakhs) acres of land (including the area which is uncultivable out of roughly 46 million (457 lakh) acres, that constitute the total holdings area in the State. Further, as experience of some of the States, which have enacted laws in regard to ceilings would testify, implementation of such laws presents immense administrative problems.

In the circumstances of U. P., therefore, where large holdings or holdings having an area of more than 50 acres are very few, indeed, (or, to be precise, not even two out of one thousand) and the surplus area available very little, I thought imposition of a heavy graduated tax on the large holdings coupled with a very low ceiling on future acquisitions of land (viz., 12.5 acres for an earning unit) would do the trick, that is, will eliminate inefficiently-operated large farms altogether and bring about a reduction in the area of others, without throwing any responsibility on the State Government or bringing it directly into the picture. The results are apparent : large farms are on sale in every district even though the tax has not yet been finally assessed on all of them, much less realized. Also, this method is bringing us money, whereas under the one recommended by the Planning Commission or the Working Committee, we will have to pay money to the large holders. Further a law on ceilings will create an apprehension in the minds of the middle-class farmers, for at whatever point we may fix the ceiling today, there is not guarantee, so the farmers will feel and our political opponents will argue that tomorrow it will not be lowered or re-fixed, say, at 20 acres or even at 10. It will also create discontent among millions and millions of small holders and landless labourers, who will necessarily have to go

without any share in the surplus land, obtained from the large farmers. This situation will result in great political damage to Congress in Uttar Pradesh (as in some other States also, where the surplus land may be too little and claimants too many). For reasons such as these, I am still of the view that no ceilings should be imposed. But if you and other colleagues think that a law on ceilings has to be enacted, inasmuch as I believe in an economy of small farms on principle, I will have no objection to it. Only I would like that we may bring the circumstances of our State to the notice of the Working Committee once again and seek an exemption.

What, however, worries me still more in this connection is the advisability or otherwise of carrying on the consolidation of holdings operations any longer. I am not sure, but pooling of the entire village lands being our ultimate aim, it would seem to be a waste of time and effort to pool the lands of individuals, which consolidation of holdings amounts to. So, as an Implication of the Congress resolution at Nagpur, the operations may have to be closed. But if they are the impact of the closure on the psychology of the peasant will be tremendous. The realization that Congress is planning for a scheme of things where he will no longer be his own master, but will have to work jointly with others in a joint farm, will come home to the peasant as if in a flash.

Although Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said, in the Plenary Session on January 10, that "the farmer would continue to retain his property rights and would get a share from the net produce in proportion to his land and those, who worked on land irrespective of whether they owned the land or not, would get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm", Shri Subramaniam, the mover, asserted that his was only an intermediate state and "the distant goal was that all agricultural property

should be owned by the community and only those, who work to produce, would be entitled to a share."

The resolution, as originally drafted, provided that the "surplus land should vest in Panchayats and should be managed through village co-operatives." It was amended by Shri Subramaniam himself in the Subjects Committee to say that, instead of village co-operatives, the co-operatives would consist of small peasants and landless labourers. It was further amended by Pt. Nehru in the Plenary Session to the extent that the co-operatives will consist only of landless labourers. Now, by no stretch of meaning can such co-operatives, where all the land vests in the Gaon Panchayats, be called co-operative farms.

The Chief Minister of a State, who is perhaps also a member of the Working Committee, while commending the resolution to the acceptance of the Subjects Committee, said that "the system of joint co-operative farming had worked successfully in countries like Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Belgium." Now this statement, which showed that the speaker was confusing service or farmers co-operatives with co-operative farms, amazed everybody who knew anything about the subject.

This shows that we have not a very clear picture of what we want. In my humble opinion the whole matter, which involves the socio-economic life of the entire country-side, needs re-examination, preferably in consultation with the District and Pradesh units of our organisation.

With regards,

I am yours,
Charan Singh

Dr. Sampurnanand,
Chief Minister, U. P.,
Lucknow.

From
Sampurnanand
Chief Minister
Uttar Pradesh

Lucknow,
January 22 1959.

My dear Charan Singh Ji,

I have received your letter and intend sending the enclosed communication to Dhebar Bhai. Kindly let me know if, in your opinion, this is a correct statement of the position.

Yours sincerely,
Sampurnanand

Enclosure

Lucknow,
January 22, 1959.

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

You might remember that you had asked me, in view of the speech made by Charan Singh Ji, to ascertain from him what his position would be after the passing of the Resolution. I told you that I had every hope that after giving full and free expression to his opinion in the AICC meeting which is, after all, the forum for discussing and formulating national policies, I had every hope that, as a loyal Congressman, he would do his best to implement the policy underlying the Resolution passed at the Open Session. I have now discussed the matter with him. He assures me that, while he finds it difficult to change his opinion on certain matters, he will not now give public expression to his views and, as a *Member of the Government, will cooperate in the implementation of the Resolution*. I think this is all that we can reasonably ask for from anyone under a democratic set-up. A man forms an opinion on the basis of his studies and practical experience and changes them either due to the force of superior logic or further experience but, once a certain decision is arrived at as a result of discussion, he loyally carries out that resolution. Some of the

matters which form an integral part of the Resolution on Agriculture are such that it is possible to say something on both the sides, but experience will very soon demonstrate what the right course of action is. I hope you will agree with me that after that assurance given by Charan Singhji, it is not necessary to pursue the matter any further.

Yours sincerely,
Sampurnanand.

Shri U. N. Dhebar
President
Indian National Congress
7, Jantar Mantar
New Delhi.

From
Charan Singh

Lucknow,
January 22, 1959.

My dear Babu Ji,

Your letter of January 22 was received by me the next day. I have made my position clear to you in detail in the last letter. It is only two parts of the Nagpur Resolution that are relevant in the context of an assurance demanded by the Working Committee from me, viz., fixation of ceilings on land and co-operative farming. As I wrote, I am prepared to put up a ceiling and co-operative farming is not my responsibility. A Minister need not agree positively with all the decisions that are taken by a Government. If a Minister does not agree with a certain policy followed in another department, he simply keeps silent and does not and cannot criticise it in the public. That is what I propose to do in the matter of co-operative farming. As you yourself have hinted, I cannot possibly forswear my views in this regard.

There is however, an aspect of the Nagpur Resolution, which calls for an early and anxious consideration. If you think necessary, the matter may be referred to the Working Committee. It concerns the consolidation of holdings operations. The ideology behind the consolidation of holdings

scheme is individual farming. Obviously, it is not consistent with the aim of joint farming, wherein instead of the land of the individuals, land of the entire village, or a good part of the village, will be pooled. I find myself in a fix. On the one hand, inasmuch as the ideological base of the scheme has disappeared, I no longer feel any enthusiasm about pushing it through. On the other, if we declare that the operations are closed, I am sure, it will do irretrievable damage to the Congress. (What is true of the advisability or otherwise of continuing the consolidation of holdings scheme any further, is also true of our policy regarding encouragement of small irrigation schemes, which mostly are synonymous with masonry wells. Why should a farmer sink his own well, or how can we ask him to take advantage of the facilities that we are providing in this regard? The argument that the co-operative farm is still three years away will not convince anybody).

There is a way out, however. I have been, in a manner, saddled with the responsibility of formulating the land reforms policy of the State and seeing it through from January, 1949, when your predecessor accepted my ideas on agrarian problems and asked me to have the necessary legislation drafted. Since May, 1952, I am holding charge of the Revenue Department formally. Now, this period for a Minister in a particular department is long enough. If, therefore, either you or the Congress President feels that co-operative farming is a matter, which is the direct concern of a Revenue Minister and or the consolidation scheme has to be scrapped, then, perhaps it will ease matters for all concerned if the Revenue Department is entrusted to the charge of some other colleague,

Since 1949, I have been conducting one campaign or another throughout the countryside of our Pradesh. This was possible, because our land reform measures, which tended to restore self-respect and initiative to the toiling rural masses and put heart into them for greater and greater efforts both of body and mind, had their broad approval and appreciation. In the meetings that I have addressed during the last one year, it is on the need of increased agricultural production that I

have been laying almost entire stress, and pointing out to consolidation of scattered fields as a major means of increasing the production. I will now cease going out among the masses. This is the price I am prepared to pay for my views.

Finally, I may submit that the very idea of demanding an assurance, more particularly after you have had a talk with Shri Dhebar, has distressed me greatly. Meetings of the A. I. C. C. and the like are held to formulate policies after a free discussion. If a decision is taken from which a member charged with the responsibility of carrying it out differs, whether radically or otherwise, he will himself like to be relieved of the responsibility even as I am offering to give up the Revenue Department, because I feel that consolidation of holdings, though not in so many words, yet as a corollary of the Nagpur Resolution, is out of place. Had I held the portfolios of Agriculture and Co-operation the first thing I should and would have done on return to Lucknow was to request you to allow me to resign. But if people who happen to hold views different to those contained in official resolutions, are asked to give assurances of good conduct, persons holding important positions like me in the Organisation or in Government, will think twice before participating in any discussion except to say 'yes' to whatever the Working Committee chooses to put forward. Such a state of affairs will not be, in my humble opinion, conducive to the interest of the Congress itself or the country. Already, not many people think it expedient to speak out their minds freely in the A. I. C. C. or the Plenary Session. I know it as a matter of fact that there are many responsible members of the A.I.C.C., who do not agree that co-operative farming is a practicable proposition, or will serve the national interest, and yet either voted for it or kept neutral.

I thank you greatly for sending the draft of the reply that you propose to send to the Congress President, for my approval, but the best course will be to send both my letters as they are. Indeed, it was with this end in view that I sent you a spare copy of my earlier letter. I enclose a spare copy of this one also. With regards,

I am Yours,
Charan Singh

Dr. Sampurnanand,
Chief Minister, U. P.,
Lucknow.