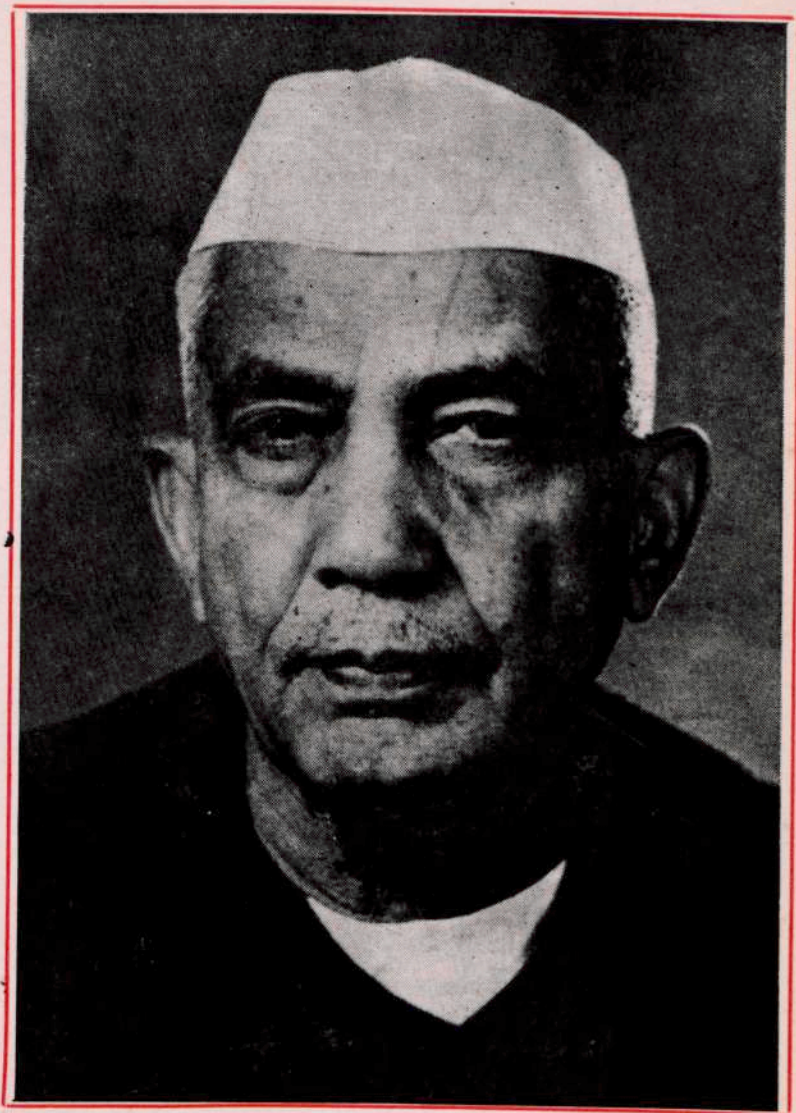


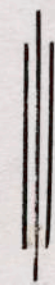
**MY DAYS  
WITH**



**Chaudhary  
CHARAN SINGH**

*Tilak Ram Sharma*

# MY DAYS WITH Chaudhary Charan Singh



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## Introduction : Apologia

It is rather presumptuous for a Minister's Private Secretary to assess or write about any Minister, specially a Minister like Chaudhary Saheb who was an acknowledged national leader, distinguished Minister and later Chief Minister and Prime Minister. His was a many splendoured genius. He was a *Karam* Yogi in work and possessed other qualities which is hard to come by among politicians of today. I, therefore, considered it my duty to highlight these little known qualities and true facts about Chaudhary Saheb who has remained a figure of controversy throughout his political career. In fact, this controversy raged viruallently even after his untimely death. I, as his Private Secretary, was fortunate to observe him at close quarters and for a sufficiently long period. This is my only excuse for embarking on this write up. I am conscious of the fact that I am not sufficiently gifted to do full justice to Chaudhary Saheb and his high calibre. But I have to bring certain facts about him, which are not sufficiently known to the people at large.

Thanks are due to Dr. B. N. Puri retired Head of Department (Ancient History) Lucknow University who encouraged me to attempt this write up.

I am grateful to my neighbour and colleague late Sri K. N. Ghosh, retired Under Secretary, U. P. Secretariat, for his all time cooperation in giving me his valuable gridance and useful suggestions.

Inspite of my best efforts to see each and every word of this book minutely and carefully, I find a few spelling mistakes here and there. For this, I blame none else but the catract in my both eyes.

C-924, Sector B,  
MAHANAGAR,  
LUCKNOW.

*Filak Ram Sharma*

## My Posting

I worked as Private Secretary with Ch. Charan Singh, then Minister for Agriculture, from October 1963 to May, 1964 and again from August 1965 to March 1967 when he held charge of Forest and L. S. G. departments. He took over as Chief Minister in April 1967, and I being junior, was then not taken by him as his Private Secretary because it was not in Consonance with his principle to favour any one. I also did not like to embarass him by putting forth my claim.

I hail from a village in teh. 'BAGHPAT' of district Meerut.

I passed High School of undivided Punjab university from the Government High School, HANSI. District Hissar, and one year Post. Matric Clerical Examination from the Government Inter College, Rohtak. Further examinations, I Passed in Uttar Pradesh.

I joined Rural Development department in the month of November, 1938 and moved to the Secretariat. in March, 1944 as a temporary stenographer. Later in 1947, on the basis of a competitive examination, conducted by the U.P. Public Service Commision, in which I stood second, I was confirmed in the Secretariat. In April, 1946, came the fateful day when the old Pant Cabinet of 1939 after swearing in ceremony at GOVERNMENT HOUSE entered the Council House among thundering applause of "JAI HIND" after a lapse of more than 6 years. Besides the Six Cabinet Ministers, 12 Parlimentary Secretaries were also inducted. Pt. Pant had S/Sri C. B. Gupta and Lal Bahadur Shatri, While/Sri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai had S/Sri Charan Singh. J. P. Rawat and Govind Sahai, Dr. Sampurnananda had Sri Raghukul Tilak as his Parliamentary Secretary, with whom, I was then posted. In fact, I had gone to Sri Tilak ji to find out when Ch. Charan Singh was reaching Lucknow. After replying to my query, he inquired what for I wanted to

contact him. I told him that I hailed from Meerut from Ch. Saheb's constituency and was keen to work with him. Sri Tilak ji made certain enquiries about my qualifications, length of Service, knowledge of Urdu and Hindi etc. and asked me to work with him adding that I could later be shifted to Ch. Saheb if I so desired. Next year i.e. in 1947, Sri Tilak ji resigned along with Acharya Narendra Deo and some others to seek re-election to the Assembly on the newly-formed Socialist Party Ticket. But luck did not favour him. After 1952 elections, three more cabinet ministers were added to the Pant Cabinet. Sri Vichitra Narain Sharma was made Minister for Transport and he desired to have me with him. I remained with Sri Sharma ji till 1960 when Dr. Sampurnananda resigned and many of his cabinet colleagues refrained from joining the C. B. Gupta government. It was in 1962 that Sri Sharma ji joined the Gupta cabinet, and I was again posted with him but Kamraj Plan saw the ouster of S/Sri C. B. Gupta, V. N. Sharma and Phool Singh. The question of my posting again cropped up. In the meantime, Mr. Din Dayal Private Secretary of Ch. Saheb got promotion as Under Secretary to government. He is really a very competent, experienced tactful and intelligent person who is now running the NAVYUG GIRLS' DEGREE COLLEGE in Dugawan, Lucknow. I was Posted to work in his place. I was feeling hesitant to step into his shoes and more so to work with a senior and difficult minister of the calibre of Ch. Saheb. This was my first posting with Ch. Saheb but for a short period of about 8 months only. It so happened that Sri J. P. Mathur, Private Secretary to Sri Chatur Bhuj, Sharma ji, Minister for Local Self Government got an opportunity as Officer in:charge of superseded Municipal Board, HATHRAS, district Aligarh. Sri Sharmaji tried a few persons, but was not satisfied. He requested Ch. Saheb to spare me to work with him as I had experience of working with L. S. G. Minister. Ch. Saheb reluctantly agreed to spare me and I joined my new posting in May, 1964. However, an interesting feature of this change had been that Ch. Saheb did not have any Private Secretary during these 8 months. A few names suggested by the administration were not approved by him and the one whom he wanted, was not sufficiently up in the list. In the absence of a gazetted officer as Private Secretary, the minister is much incon-

venience as he has to sign the T. A. advance memo of the staff, countersign their details of T. A. Bills, sign stationery indents and requisitions for books from library etc.

Let me remove a mis-understanding. It was not that I was very competent and could not be replaced. Of course, I had a reputation for honesty, straightforwardness, and simplicity--- qualities very dear to Ch. Saheb. I was also free from the habit of smoking and bettle chewing; nor was ever seen in the restaurant or coffee house. My bad temper and tendency to get easily irritated were outweighed by my rural bias

Next year i. e. in 1965, Mr. Mathur returned to the Secretariat. He too was asked to go and work with Ch. Saheb. But he politely refused. I proceeded on two months leave. In the meantime, several friends and colleagues seeing one post of Private Secretary lying unfilled, came to me to suggest that I should request Ch. Saheb to have me. I refused to do so saying that Ch. Saheb had seen my work and knew my worth. It did not behove me to pressurise him to take me. Supposing he held the view that I was not up-to the mark. In the interest of the cadre these colleagues then put another proposal; I should go and meet Ch. Saheb and say nothing about my posting. To this I agreed. In August, 1965 one afternoon I reached 8 Mall avenue, Ch. Saheb's residence. He was pleased to see me and wanted to know where I remained during this period. When I told him that I was on leave, he said, "I know it". He was busy in arranging his personal and political files. I also helped him as far as I could. Towards the evening, we sat on the lawn and then this conversation took place :

"Mr. Mathur has come back."

"Yes Sir, he has come and joined here."

"He is senior, to you."

"Not only senior, but a permanent one." a little pause.

"Then what about yourself."

"As you desire Sir."

"You come to me. In fact on a previous occasion too I had directed the deparment to send you back to me."

"Thank you, Sir."

This was my second posting with Ch. Saheb. On the expiry of my leave, I joined with him some time in mid August, 1965 and worked with him till 31st March, 1967. He took oath as Chief Minister in April, 1967. It is a common practice that when a minister is elevated to the post of Chief Minister and one who has in the past been in the secretariat as Minister, as Speaker or State Minister, he generally takes his old personal staff to the Chief Minister's room. But Ch. Saheb was an exception in this regard. He did not want people to say that since I belonged to Meerut, so I had been appointed as Private Secretary to Chief minister. He had laid down a principle the senior most Private Secretary should go to Chief minister, and no. 2 Private Secretary with no. 2 in the list of ministers and so on. In 1937, When Ist Congress Ministry of Pt. Pant was formed, this criterion was adopted and after 30 years in 1967, this very sound, just and reasonable procedure was followed. However, in no other Ministry, there after, could this be rigidly adhered to, because then some old Ministers had joined the cabinet and they insisted on their having their old personal staff. Thus, in April 1967, after his taking over as Chief Minister, I had to say good bye to Ch. Saheb, so far as our official position was concerned. Thereafter, I could go to meet him after a gap of some months. But let me gratefully admit it, whenever I went to see him, he immediately put aside the file or papers, he was studying and asked about my welfare. I too never asked for any favour for my self.

In accordance with seniority, my turn came to work with Mr. Akhtar Ali Khan of Rampur, Minister for Excise (of Swatntra Party.) Owing to some differences in his party, he had to resign. I was posted with Sri Udit Narayan Sharma, Minister for Revenue, as his Private Secretary had proceeded on leave. The Meerut people continued to express resentment on my not having been taken to the Chief Ministers office. Their difficulty was that Ch. Saheb was too busy to attend to their problems, and there was no Deputy or State Minister of the area to help them. Now they had been deprived of seeking even my help in such matters as I could offer. To this Ch. Saheb's reply was "Look here, after Chief Minister comes Home Minister. I am Chief Minister and Home Minister too. At No. 3 comes Reve-



nue Minister. Tilak Ram is with Revenue Minister. If I call him here, he will be no. 2 on my staff. There he is no. 1. If he has any difficulty, he can straightaway come to me." What affection what consideration, I can never forget. As a token of my high regard of this great personality, I venture to highlight some of his unforgettable qualities which I feel, otherwise would go unnoticed and unrecorded.

## First Meet

It was in May 1946, that I met Choudhary Saheb at his residence in Naini Tal, where he as also other members of Government, had gone for summer recess, a practice in vogue in those days. I was then posted as Personal Assistant to Sri Raghukul Tilak, Parliamentary Secretary to Dr. Sampurnanand Minister for Education. Unfortunately Ch. Saheb was taken ill and as per instructions of Sri Tilakji, I had gone to enquire about Ch. Saheb's health. After exchange of "Namaste" I disclosed my identity and the purpose of my visit. He asked me to take a chair and the following conversation in Hindi ensued;

What is your name ?

Tilak Ram Sharma, Sir.

Which place do you belong to ?

I hail from district Meerut, Tehsil Baghpat.

( Ch. Saheb then represented Baghpat and Gaziabad Tehsils in the Assembly.)

"Which village ?"

A small village near KHEKRA town.

"Name of the village."

Sankrod.

I have been to Sankrod during my election tours. It is on the bank of Yamuna.

Then I enquired about his health and any service I could render. He told me that he was feeling better and asked me to thank Tilakji. Just then some other persons dropped in and I left. This was my first appearance before Ch. Saheb.

It would be proper to mention here that he did not like to be called 'Saheb', as personal staff, particularly orderlies often address their bosses. Of course, they could address him as "Choudhary Saheb."

### SECOND MEET

In 1946, when the Congress government took over in U. P. there was great shortage of foodgrains. The stores of food and civil supplies department were lying almost empty. That is why the food portfolio was also kept by Pt. G. B. Pant with him, along with general administration. All the members of Government had been advised to rush to their constituencies and help the procurement drive. Ch. Saheb had also reached his constituency and was touring different villages where the farmers were somewhat reluctant to part with their grains. One fine morning at about 5.30 A. M. when I reached Agarwal Mandi Railway station from Khekra, to catch a bus for Meerut, I saw a small gathering of about a dozen persons near a tonga driven by bullocks. I saw Ch. Saheb there, and greeted him. He recognized me at once and said, "Verma has gone to Lucknow. I have some very important letters to dictate. Please see me at Meerut."

I got a bus and reached Meerut in a couple of hours. But Ch. Saheb had to cover a number of villages as per his programme. There was no other pucca road there except this one connecting Baghpat (tehsil Hdq) to Meerut (distt. Hdq). Ch. Saheb had to move about in the scorching sun of May and June, in a tonga and sometimes on foot. No other vehicles were available in the country side, in those days. He returned to Meerut some time late in the night. Next morning, I went to his residence on the Western Kutchery Road—a small house, one drawing room on the ground floor and may be two rooms upstairs. There was a wooden takhat and a few mudhas besides a small table and a few chairs. This was our second meeting.

### THIRD MEET

Besides, occasional exchange of greetings whenever we met, I remember to have one more important meeting with Ch. Saheb, prior to my posting with him, in 1963. This meeting

took place in 1948 for some public bussiness. There was a KACHACHA road from Delhi-Shahdara to Sharanpur via Baraut and Shamli. This was a very old road and according to Ch. Saheb, existed in the Mughal period also. This road runs parallel to river Yamuna. My village lies six furlongs off this road (about 25 km. from Delhi). This road passes through village KATHA and Baghpat. Pt. Rameshwar Dayal, Ex. Deputy Commissioner, Delhi belonged to Katha village while Baghpat belonged to Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan who was a member of the U. P. Legislative Assembly since pre-Independence days. He was intimately known to Pt. Pant. A proposal was afoot to make this road pucca, but not in its present position but 5 or 6 miles towards east. This naturally perturbed the residents of my village and they insisted me on my seeing Ch. Saheb in this connection. So, one morning I reached his BANDARIA BAGH residence. He was then sharing the lower portion of one of the minister's bungalows. He was sitting on the ground with a big pillow behind his back and a desk in front of him. I explained the purpose of my visit. He gave a patient hearing to what I said and then put one question : Tell me, if one pucca road is to be built in the tehsil ( Baghpat ), where would you like it to pass through ? Through the mid of the area or on one side of it ? This appeared to me quite reasonable and I had no other words to say except that in that case fertile land will have to be acquired afresh and the earth and brick work on it will be a costly affair. Later on, however, the road was made pucca at its old place and now it has become the shortest route between Delhi and Saharanpur. Probably, the effort made by Nawab Saheb and Pt. R. Dayal turned the table in their favour.

## Life Sketch

Before dilating on the various qualities of Ch. Saheb, it seems necessary and desirable to throw some light on his life, various offices held by him as also his way of working. For this, fortunately, I have a detailed note written in August, 1966 by one who was very close to him when Ch. Saheb was Minister for Forest and L. S. G. in U. P. I recapitulate it verbatim. But alas, this note is incomplete inasmuch as it does not cover his role as Chief Minister from April, 1967 to February 1968 and again in 1970, as also the useful work done by him at Delhi from 1977 to 1980, first as Home Minister, then Dy. Prime Minister in charge Finance and ultimately as Prime Minister in 1979-80. I am also unable to say much about this period as I was then not with him.

Ch. Saheb's life can roughly be divided into three stages:—

- ( i ) Prior to his taking over as a Minister viz. party offices held by him at Meerut and later at Lucknow as Parliamentary Secretary.
- ( ii ) When he worked as Minister for Revenue Home and Agriculture on different occasions, besides holding charge of other departments.
- ( iii ) Chief Minister of U. P. and Home Minister Dy. Prime Minister and later Prime Minister of India.

As the following pages will show in my opinion, Stage (ii) viz. his tenure as Revenue Minister, Home Minister was, so far as administrative reforms go, the golden period of his life. It was during this period that a foundation was laid for his elevation to the highest office of the Prime Minister of India. It was during this period that he

successfully implemented the ZAMINDARI ABOLITION SCHEME which was an epoch event in the history of India. This was a pioneer step and a model for the whole country and for this alone, he may aptly merit the title of 'KISAN BANDHU'. This made him a true messiha for the rural masses. It was because of his tactful, intelligent and successful handling of this gigantic task of land reforms and in its wake en masse resignation of Patwaris, considered to be the backbone of administration, that Ch. Saheb emerged as a good administrator and an authority on land tenure problems affecting 70 percent masses of the country.

It was the (ii) stage period of his life that enabled him later rise to the post of the Prime Ministe of the largest democracy of the world and the following pages throw ample light on the significant role during this stage viz. ( ii )

Of course, his (iii) stage period was also a period of hectic political activity, which saw great political upheavals resulting in the unity of the opposition and to the formation of Janta Party which succeeded in forming the first non Congress Government at the Centre since Indias independence. It may be pointed out here that the ball for uniting. the opposition was set rolling in 1967, during his tenure as Chief Minster of S. V. D. Government in U. P. He had sent his Revenue Minister, Sri Udit Narain Sharma (a former Socialist ) to Madras to meet Sri Prakasam ( who had left Congress ) and to other state. capitals to organise the opposition and form a single party to replace the Congress. His efforts materialised ten years later when in the port-emergency period, with the cooperation of S/Sri Jai Prakash Narayan and Acharya Kriplani, Janta Party came into being. However, no signifacant. administrative changes were made during this period.

## August 1966

### “SOME FACTS ABOUT SHRI CHARAN SINGH, MINISTER FOR FOREST AND L. S., G. U. P.”

Shri Charan Singh was born in an ordinary peasant home in a village of district Meerut on December 23, 1902. He took a degree of Bachelor of Science in 1923, a degree of Master of Arts ( History ) in 1925 and a degree in Law in 1926. He started independent legal practice in Ghaziabad in 1928 and shifted to Meerut in 1939.

In 1930 he was sent to jail for six months for contravention of salt laws. In August 1940, he was prosecuted on a false charge, but was acquitted by court. Three months later, viz. in November 1940, he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the individual satyagrah movement. In August 1942, he was arrested under the D. I. R. and was released in November 1943.

He was a member of the Ghaziabad Town Congress Committee from 1929 to 1939 and held some office or other in the Committee for several years. He served either as President or General Secretary of the Meerut District Congress Committee continuously from 1939 to 1946. He had been a member of the P. C. C. and the A. I. C. C. for almost 20 years continuously now and a member of the State Election committee or Parliamentary Board since 1951 except for a period of two years, viz. 1953 and 1954 (when, disgusted with group bickerings in the Congress, he deliberately did not seek any office under the Organisation).

When the District Board of Meerut was captured by the Congress party, he was elected its Vice-Chairman, which office he held for full five years, viz., 1932-36. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly in February 1937 and has been its

member ever since (except for the period of 1939-46 when the Provincial Legislature had been superseded).

He was appointed parliamentary Secretary in April, 1946, and a member of the State Cabinet in June 1951. Given below are the details of portfolios which Sri Charan Singh has held since 1946 onwards:

Year	Portfolios held
1946-47	Parliamentary Secretary to Minister for Revenue.
1947 ( Sept. )-1948 ( May )	Parliamentary Secretary to Minister for L. S. G. and Health, (Held full charge of Health.)
1948 ( May )-1951 ( June )	Parliamentary Secretary to Chief Minister. Held full charge of Justice and Information.
	It was during this period that, although not connected formally with Revenue, Shri Charan Singh forged the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Legislation and also conducted the Z. A. F. (Zamindari Abolition Fund) Campaign.
1951 ( June- Septemer )	Minister for Justice and Information.
1951 ( Sept. ) - 1952 (April)	Minisre. for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Information.
1952 ( April ) - 1954 ( Dec.)	Minister for Revenue, Agji-culture and Animal Husbandry.
1955 ( Jan. ) - 1957 (March)	Minister for Revenue and Trans port.
1957 - 58	Minister for Revenue.



1958 ( April–November )	Minister for Revenue and Finance.
1958 ( Nov. ) – 1959 ( April )	Minister for Revenue, Irrigation and Power.
1960 ( Dec. ) – 1962 ( March )	Minister for Police or Home ( excluding Jails ), Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.
1962 ( March ) – 1963 ( August )	Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.
1963 ( Oct. ) – 1965 ( May )	Minister for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Forest.
1965 ( May ) – 1966 ( Feb. )	Minister for Forest.
1966 ( February )	Minister for Local Self Govt. and Forest.

So that excepting Education, Industries and P. W. D., Shri Charan Singh has experience of administering all the departments of the State Government.

While he has efficiently administered each and every department that was entrusted to him which fact is acknowledged by all and sundry, friend and foe — — his contribution in the field of Revenue, Home and Agriculture has been outstanding.

In the matter of land reforms, Uttar-Pradesh has given a lead to the entire country. In this State, the Zamindari or Landlord-Tenant system, has been eradicated root and branch. Credit for achievement of this herculean task—herculean because of the bewildering complexity of tenure and the vast size of the State—goes entirely to Sri Charan Singh in every sense of the term. It is he who is the originator of every single idea embodied in the land reforms legislation, who wrote scores of well reasoned articles and broadcast scores of speeches from the Radio in explanation of every single step that was taken, and who addressed virtually about a thousand largely attended meetings

over the vast area of the State, each for hours and hours together. Every piece of Legislation in the sphere of land-reforms, was so well thought out and drafted that not one was invalidated by the Judiciary as in other States.

Shri Charan Singh was responsible for the BHUMI-DHARI Scheme whereunder, on payment of ten times the yearly rent, the tenant, in addition to permanent rights of occupancy and user, was entitled to reduction in his rent by fifty percent and also rights of transfers in his holdings. This scheme has been copied by other States in some form or other.

Village communities were given wide powers of land-management and a Gaon Samaj Manual was brought out detailing rights and duties of the Panchayats— which became a model for other States to follow.

A cheap and effective machinery for assessment and payment of compensation was set up which completed its job within record time, as also a machinery for realisation of land revenue which also has worked smoothly and at little cost, without any complications, ever since.

The PATWARIS numbering some 28,000 who resigned en masse with a view to bringing revenue administration to a standstill, were asked to quit by Sri Charan Singh at a stroke and another institution of Lekhpals created in their place within no time. He met with much opposition in the higher echelons of the Congress Party but did not flinch.

Shri Charan Singh was also responsible for introduction of Consolidation of Holdings Scheme in this State—which was greatly resisted by the Opposition and even some Congressmen. Today, it is unanimously accepted that the consolidation of holdings is a boon to the peasantry of the State.

In order to ensure that land does not get concentrated into a few hands only, Shri Charan Singh introduced a provision that nobody ( wife and minor children included ) is, in future, allowed to acquire land which will make his holding more than 12·5 acres.

Although both the First and Second Five Year Plans provided for resumption of lands from the tenants, by every Zamindar, to the extent of 30 acres or so, Shri Charan Singh refused to accept the advice of the Planning Commission and did not allow a single tenant to be ejected. Not only were all the tenants protected, but sub-tenants and non-occupancy tenants also who were summarily thrown out in other States, were granted full permanent rights in Uttar Pradesh. Further, millions of people consisting overwhelmingly of Scheduled and Backward Classes, who had been entered as trespassers or occupiers without consent, were also treated as tenants and granted full rights.

The history of land reforms legislation of the world will, perhaps not offer another example of the kind. But, as irony would have it, in conferring permanent rights on this, the poorest section of the peasantry, Shri Charan Singh was opposed tooth and nail by several leading Members of the Cabinet -- who have not forgiven him for his role in favour of the under-dog till date.

In proof of what has been said above one may refer to a Report which Mr. Wolb Ladejinsky, an agrarian expert, who was deputed by the Ford Foundation Team to study the effect of land-tenure on agricultural production in the so-called Package of IADP districts in India. He says :

“.....Only in Uttar Pradesh has a well thought-out comprehensive legislation been enacted and effectively implemented. There, millions of tenants and sub-tenants were made owners and hundreds of thousands who had been evicted were restored in their rights.” (Page 3.)

“Looking back at the agrarian structure of Aligarh after a decade and a half of reform legislation, we have no suggestion either for adding or revising any of it, except with regard to sirdars, to which we have referred earlier. Many a good piece of agrarian reform legislation has arrived still born in India, but in Uttar

Pradesh it went hand-in-hand with enforcement and important attainments. The lesson to be drawn from this is but one : It can be done when there is a will to do it. Millions of falsified record entries can be ferretted out, correct land title can be recorded, and security of tenure rights can be brought about.....” (Pages 57-58).

Mr. Wolf Ladzjinsky refers to the case of Uttar Pradesh in an article also published in the “Times of India” on September 9, 1964, in the following words :

Administrative problems are a formidable obstacle to implementation of the reforms. On the other hand, judging by the experience of the largest and most populated State of India, Uttar Pradesh, this is not an insurmountable difficulty if there is the will to overcome it. More to the point is the faulty content in many legislative enactments.”

In effect, everybody in the State who tilled a piece of land, howsoever tiny and irrespective of his title, has been granted permanent rights of occupation and user. So that no cultivator in Uttar Pradesh has been left with any sense of grievance whatsoever. That is why, despite the political and administrative conditions since the departure of Pant Ji to Delhi being what they are, communists have not been able to gain any foothold in the countryside worth the name.

Shri Charan Singh's contribution to development of agriculture in the State is also of no mean order. But here a reference may be made only to the Soil and Water Conservation Act and Agriculture Marketing Act. It was 1954 that he got the legislation on Soil Conservation enacted in the State and in doing so he was, perhaps, the first in the country. It was in 1958 that he introduced the second measure as a private member. Since then the legislation has been copied by almost all the States, but it was only in the 1964 that it could be put on the Statute-Book in the State of its origin. This could have been done, at least, as early as in 1955, but Shri Charan Singh was foiled in his attempt by vested interests.

In the field of Animal Husbandry also, he put in great spade work and initiated several schemes and several pieces of legislation. Here only a reference to the Cattle Marketing Bill should suffice. This measure, perhaps, the first of its kind in the country.....and which would have led to great improvement in cattle wealth.....was placed by him before the Congress Party in November, 1954, but could not be pursued as the Department of Animal Husbandry (along with Agriculture) was passed over to another Minister a month later.

In the sphere of Home Affairs again, he established a record. He conducted the affairs of this Department with such tact, or firmness and judiciousness combined, that both the public and the Police force (including high-placed officers and low placed constables) were, and are, all admiration for him. The number of punishments during his tenure was lower than previously, and yet the integrity and efficiency of the Police went up by leaps and bounds. It is for this unique achievement and a sense of security, the common man has begun to feel that everybody in the State wants him back in the Home Affairs almost nostalgically. Members of the Opposition have expressed this desire in almost every session of the Assembly whenever the question of law and order came up for discussion.

The reforms which he introduced in the Transport Department, are of no less importance. He put a stop to all irregularities and consequent corruption, current in the operation of public carriers and stage buses, by regularising the **benami** transactions and.....**ensured** that, in future, permit and registration conformed with actual ownership of the vehicles. For this one single act, the transport operators of the State remember Shri Charan Singh with gratitude till to-day.

In the Forest Department also, over which he presides today, he has taken several measures and solved several problems which were pending or defied solution for the last 20 years. Some sixteen hundred square miles of forest, which were fast deteriorating under the management of district administration, have been taken over by the Forest Department.....which State Government had been hesitating to do since the days of Pant Ji

for political reasons. The ravines of the Jamuna and the Chambal are being put under forests.....which will lead to stoppage of further erosion of fertile lands and creation of incalculable wealth. The intractable question of reservation of forests inherited from the Tehri State, pending solution for 15 years, has been solved by an enactment. Settlement of forests taken over from zamidars 14 years ago, is proceeding with a fast speed, Like other departments, the Forest Deptt. also will look back wistfully on his tenure when he will be Forest Minister no more.

He was entrusted with the portfolio of L. S. G. hardly six months ago. Immediately expectations were aroused in urban areas, and signs of reform and improvement are clearly visible. Within this short period, he has centralised the Municipal Services.....which scheme had been under consideration for the last 40 years. This one single act will lead to elimination of factionalism amongst Municipal members, establishment of the authority of Presidents of local bodies and marked improvement in administration. It has been greatly welcomed by the intelligentsia, the public men and the Municipal Services concerned.

This is not the place to detail various other ideas and schemes for the welfare of the people which have been advanced by him, but have either not been considered at all or accepted by his colleagues only after great damage to public interest had been done. Still, perhaps, one may be mentioned here. For example, he had always been laying great stress on small irrigation works since mid-fifties, but nobody would listen. Today, the State Government has veered round to his views but only after wasting tens of millions of money in the form of Capital expenditure and of recurring loss of four crores every year to the exchequer.

He has written several books which is rare for a busy Minister anywhere, but particularly so, in this country. His four major publications are :—

- (1) Abolition of Zamindari — (Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1947; Pages 263).
- (2) How to Abolish Zamindari Which alternative system to adopt. — (Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, U. P., India, 1947; Pages 68).

- (3) Agrarian Revelation in — (Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, U. P., Uttar Pradesh. India, 1958; Pages 65).
- (4) India's Poverty and Its — (Asia Publishing House, Solution. Bombay, 1964; Pages 527).

His popularity, both amongst the masses and the intelligentsia, is incontrovertible. A conversation with a rikshaw-puller or a motor-driver, a labourer or a farmer, with a passenger in the railway train whether in the lower or the higher class, with the members of the Bar or the Judiciary, with a peon, a clerk or a gazetted officer serving anywhere in the State, or with a villager whatsoever, will convince the sceptic of this truth.

If members of Congress Party in the U. P. Legislature were asked to indicate their true opinion uninfluenced by ulterior considerations, more than 80 percent would vote for larger responsibility being made over to Shri Charan Singh in the public good.

As proceedings of the Legislative Assembly will prove, there have been several occasions when Leaders of the Opposition asked for extension of time of the sitting, and got it, so that they might profit by Shri Charan Singh's speech. Perhaps, the record of no other Legislature in the country offers any other example of the kind.

He is industrious and his ability to work hard is undisputed.

His intellectual attainments again are accepted on all hands.

He is an untiring crusader against corruption.

His own integrity is beyond cavil. To-day he possesses no land, no house, except a plot of 2000 sq. yds. which he acquired as a member of the Meerut Housing Co-operative Society in 1945, and a few thousands of rupees in his bank which he acquired by selling his share of patrimony which amounted to 21 acres in all.

His private life is above reproach, an open book and an example for others to follow.

His record of solid, constructive service to the State is beyond all comparison.

It does not take much intelligence, rather any intelligence at all, to provide money in the budget and then construct a new road a new school, a new hospital, a new tube-well, a new factory. Where as it does take not only intelligence, but originality, imagination, statesmanship and great application, both of mind and body, to think out a new idea, formulate a new scheme, enact a new law, set up a new system, reform the old order, solve problems that affect tens and tens of millions of people alike or together, and create new values. Almost all the latter kind of work that has been done in Uttar Pradesh, owes its origin or inspiration to Shri Charan Singh. Had he been allowed a larger opportunity, the name of the State would have evoked respect in the country, rather than excited ridicule as it does today

All these qualities are conceded by his political opponents. As would appear from a book "FACTIONAL POLITICS IN AN INDIAN STATE : THE CONGRESS PARTY IN UTTAR PRADESH" (Bombay : Oxford University Press, University of California Press, 1966) by Paul R. Brass, just published, their only charge against him is that Shri Charan Singh is "proud by nature and uncompromising".

Extracts from this book, given below, would, perhaps help understand some facets of his personality :

"Chaudhuri Charan Singh, currently Minister for Agriculture in the Uttar Pradesh Government, has dominated the district Congress and district politics since the early forties and has successfully resisted numerous challenges to his leadership during his long rule. Chaudhuri Sahib, as he is reverentially called by his followers, has been an unusually successful faction leader in Uttar Pradesh politics. Inspired less by a desire for power than by an invincible belief in the rightness of his actions and policies, Charan Singh seeks neither friend nor favour and gives no quarter to those who oppose him.



Charan Singh is not exactly an intellectual in politics, but he is a well-read man, with an incisive intelligence which he has devoted to a continuing study of agricultural problems in Uttar Pradesh. Charan Singh is the leading ideologist in Uttar Pradesh of the peasant proprietor. As a prominent member of the United Provinces Zamindari Abolition Committee, he worked hard to ensure that the Zamindari Abolition Act would contain no loopholes, which would permit the continued dominance of the Zamindars in the rural economy of the State, and to make certain "that landlordism may not raise its head again". (Page 139-140).

\* \* \* \* \*

"Charan Singh has many of the qualities of the ideal Indian faction leader. He is known for his intellectual abilities and has a reputation for integrity. No one has ever charged him with a desire for material advantages for himself. The major criticisms levelled against Charan Singh as a Party leader are that he is proud by nature and uncompromising in his relations with others". (Page 141).

\* \* \* \* \*

"Chaudhury Charan Singh is not a community leader only. Some of his major supporters in the past have been Brahmans. In 1962, the President of the D. C. C. was a Brahman and an ally of Charan Singh. In the 1963 election for president of the District Board, Charan Singh successfully supported another old ally in district politics, who happens to be a Vaishya.....". (Page 146).

\* \* \* \* \*

"In fact one of the reasons for the transfer of political leadership in Meerut from the Tyagi family of Asaura to Chaudhuri Charan Singh was a temperamental difference in the character of the two leaders, which arose from their different cultural and economic backgrounds.

Charan Singh was a "man of the people" with no desire for enhanced status in the ritual hierarchy.....". (Page 147).

"Most faction leaders are accommodating politicians, easily accessible and quick to come to the aid of their followers and constituents. However, there are variations in this pattern. In Meerut district, Charan Singh... ..a highly successful factional leader.....has developed the reputation of being relatively unaccommodating and uncompromising. It is not that Charan Singh will not listen to grievances or provide material benefits to his followers, but he requires that requests for his intervention be reasonable and just. Charan Singh can be relatively unaccommodating in this sense because he is loyal to his followers and because he seeks nothing for himself which he would not share with those who depend upon him". (Page 237).

\* \* \* \* \*

In certain circles, however, Shri Charan Singh's adherence to a certain code of public conduct and devotion to certain principles, of which Mr. Paul R. Brass speaks, are rated as "rigidity" on his part and counted against him.

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\*

## His Good Qualities

Besides being a good administrator, Chaudhary Saheb had many good qualities of head and heart. He was a great patriot scrupulously honest, extremely hard-working, very courageous and a strict follower and supporter of Indian culture and civilization. To bring home these points to the readers, it would be worthwhile to elaborate them, as below :

### PATRIOTISM

During the struggle for the independence of our motherland, in 1930, 1931 and particularly in 1942, he travelled from village to village after sunset, moved quietly into the houses of such of the village folks, where he could safely pass the night besides having wholesome meals. Getting up early before dawn, he left quietly for the next place—quietly, because the elderly persons of the house were afraid of giving shelter to one working against the government of the day and mobilising people against it. According to an old man of his constituency, Chaudhary Saheb had often to leave by the back-door and sometimes by scaling the walls of the house or a cattle-shed, with a small bundle containing a few *Chapaties* in his arm to satisfy his hunger till he succeeded in reaching some other suitable place. He was an image of MAHATMA GANDHI without his loin cloth. This process continued for a sufficiently long time.

I myself had a taste of his spirit of patriotism. It was in 1965 when I had gone to sleep and was awakened by my family members to attend to a call from Chaudhary Saheb. It was past 11.30 P.M., so I felt perturbed as to what could it be at that late hour of the night. He asked me to take down an urgent telegram. I hastily fetched a sheet of paper, took pen and began to jot down :

SRI LALBAHADUR SHASTRI  
PRIME MINISTER INDIA NEW DELHI

NO GOING BACK ON AUGUST FIVE POSITION ( . )  
FOREIGN POWERS WILL COME TO OUR RESCUE IN  
THEIR OWN INTEREST.....”

I can't recollect now, but there was one more sentence.

After cessation of hostilities on Indo-Pak border in 1965, the matter was coming up for discussion in the Parliament the next day. So, Chaudhary Saheb wanted to put the record straight. This shows that he did not remain confined to the doings of his department or to the affairs of the state alone, but always had an eye on the national problems and their solutions too. When Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri was invited for talk at TASHKAND (RUSSIA), Chaudhary Saheb's own view was that acting on Gandhiji's line of action, in such matters, we should not straight-away discuss Chhumb or Ichhugal canal, but should begin with Kashmir and tell Pakistan that if they really wanted treaty and peace with India, they should first vacate the portion of Kashmir illegally occupied by them. It was for the experts to assess the merits of this proposal. What I want to emphasise here is that he was always alert and mindful of the happenings on our border. He was a true national leader and great patriot with a long-term view.

It would not be out of place to mention here that much before the China war (1962) he had in his personal political files, a file on NEFA affairs (Now Arunachal) where the Chinese were creating trouble and disputing our claim to a portion of that territory. Chaudhary Saheb had some material about the situation then prevalent there, supported by notes of some responsible persons who remained posted in that area, as also the various cuttings from different newspapers, to throw light on the happenings in the eastern part of our country.

I am told that he had written detailed letters about Tibet, first to Sardar Patel and then to Sri Ayengar, Dr. Katju (Home Ministers Government of India) and to others concerned, regarding his fears about the intention of Chinese in Tibet. But all this fell on deaf ears and China succeeded in grabbing Tibet thereby jeopardising India's security on the Himalayan front. Such was

Chaudhary Saheb keen interest in safe-guarding the hard-earned freedom of India.

## Integrity

“Honesty is the best policy” is a phrase which is repeated parrotlike by many, day in and day out. But very few people act upon it. Chaudhary Saheb was an ardent follower of this policy. Not only he scrupulously acted on it but also preached, persuaded and even pressurised others to be honest. He used to say : “There was a time when people said that such and such is a dishonest person, but now they have to point out with difficulty, that such and such is an honest man. What is special in one’s being honest Everybody should have this trait”.

By honesty, one generally feels straightforwardness in monetary transactions; that is not all. Honesty comprises sincerity in thought, word and deed. Chaudhary Saheb’s standard of honesty was of a very high order. When he was holding charge of Forest and LSG departments, immediately preceding his becoming Chief Minister, a proposal was received in which the notice issued to a particular party, by the Administrator of a Munisipal Corporation (M. N. A.) had been okayed by the Secretariat department, Officer concerned and also by the Secretary. Chaudhary Saheb had also put his signatures in that file meaning thereby that he approved of the action taken. At this stage, I happened to see the file rather deeply and pointed out to Chaudhary Saheb a lacuna in the order. He turned over the pages, studied the case again and asked me to take down—

“My P. A. has pointed out to me...” I stopped writing and requested Chaudhary Saheb kindly not to drag me into the matter.

“But it was you who pointed out this to me”.

“Does not matter, Sir, it is our duty to bring it to the notice of our boss any flaw or mistake in the papers put to him”.

"No I had approved of the proposal and overlooked the mistake. You brought it to my notice. I don't want to take credit for this. All right, you write like this :

"My P. A., to whom I had given this file to study, has pointed out to me.....".

Cases are not wanting when articles drafted by subordinates and even books written by them are often published in the name of the bosses.

Once his eldest daughter along with her children, came by road from Agra to Lucknow. During the course of talk with her, Chaudhary Saheb somehow extracted the information that they made use of a jeep of the Forest Department and had paid for the purchase of petrol used in the jeep. On reaching the Secretariat at 10 A. M., he immediately called me and said "Look here, they have come from Agra by a jeep of the Forest Department. Of course, she paid for the petrol consumed therein. But I am not satisfied with this. You find out what are the rates of charges if a Government vehicle is used for private purpose. After calculating the amount due, deduct the sum paid by them and have a cheque for the balance, issued by me. Mind it, this is to be done before lunch today." I at once contacted the department concerned and the needful was done.

When he was Chief Minister, there was a ring from someone in the morning. Chaudhary Saheb was busy with his shave. The shadow on duty disposed of the caller, telling in the hearing of Chaudhary Saheb, that he was in the bathroom. There-after, he called the shadow and asked :

What am I doing ?

You are shaving, Sir.

Then why did you say that I am in the bathroom.

But surely, you would not have talked to him just then.

Then say so; he is here, but can't speak to you just now. please ring him again, after 10, 15 minutes. Don't tell a lie.

Two more points deserve mention in this connection. The trunk calls made for political or private purposes, were to be charged from 34, Mall Avenue (Chaudhary Saheb's residence in Lucknow). Similarly, the Roadways taxi charges or petrol used for journeys outside Lucknow, in connection with social functions—which Chaudhary Saheb rarely attended—were also recovered from his residence. Smt. Charan Singh had to bear the brunt of these ideals. She found it difficult to balance the domestic budget. Cuts had to be resorted to on other items, cloth being one of them. Once Chaudhary Saheb found a worn out *Dhoti* placed in the bathroom for his use. He took it to her and said sarcastically; "Shall I go wearing this *Dhoti* to attend the cabinet meeting to day." So much was he annoyed that he tore it into two. The reward of honesty is suffering, suffering and more suffering. Though these practices about telephone and petrol bills were not altogether uncommon and hence not of much significance in that era, yet in the present day atmosphere, these things are certainly of great importance and an example for others to follow.

When a Minister quits office, the files containing his personal and political correspondence as also those pertaining to his T. A. bills etc. containing bills and cash receipts etc. of taxi, petrol bills paid, are either weeded out or sent to his residence. I remember to have sent to Chaudhary Saheb's residence a file of his T. A. memos containing details of expenditure incurred during his stay at Circuit House/Inspection House. The items of expenditure were Atta, dal, sugar, vegetables, coal, milk, tea, curd, butter, sugar and bread or biscuits etc, involving an expenditure of some where near Rs, 15 or Rs 20. These items of expenditure formed the basis of his 'out-of-pocket expenses' It may be pointed out here that just as Government servants draw daily allowance permissible under rules, for their stay outside the headquarters the Ministers are allowed to draw 'out-of-Pocket expenses'. No limit has as yet been fixed for this. The result is that in some cases, amounts running into three figures are charged for a day as 'out of pocket expenses'. In 1967, when he took over as Chief Minister and I had to part company, I handed over the file of his T. A. memos to him. He desired the file to be weeded

out. I then requested him not to do so. "Why?" he asked "of what utility these are now?" I then told him that a time will come when a look at these small *parchis* (bill showing charges for these items) mentioning various items of grocery, will jolt the conscience of future occupants of the ministerial *gaddi* in the matter of 'out of pocket expenses' chargeable by a Minister.

In the next few pages is being reproduced a note written by Chaudhary Saheb, in his own handwriting, to me. This not only reflects on the high sense of honesty on his part, but in its wake, also brings to the fore his other qualities—strict discipline, protocol, guidance, solely by his own code of conduct and conscience.

[To avoid any confusion and mis understanding, let it be made clear here that in U. P., Personal Assistant to Minister was a gazetted officer at that time and 3 or 4 Stenographers attached to the Minister, were nongazetted. Sri J. P. Verma was a stenographer at that time and Sri Kartar Singh belonged to Security Branch of U. P., C. I. D. Later the Personal Assistant was designated as Private Secretary (gazetted) and the stenographer as Personal Assistant (nongazetted) K. M. stands for Krishi Mantri—Minister for Agriculture].

#### PERSONAL ASSISTANT (SHRI TILAK RAM SHARMA)

I was scheduled to visit Trivandrum in connection with meetings of the Central Board of Forestry in the last week of January last. In order, primarily, to save time I decided to make the trip by a plane of the Hind Flying Club, Lucknow. In this five seater plane, two of the seats were available for two of such members of the personal staff who had to accompany me to Trivandrum. For reasons which are private, that is, have no bearing on public interest, these two members had to travel by train.

Now, the question is whether the entire amount of money thus spent on railway journey, that is, the travelling and



Personal Assistant (Shri T. P. Verma)

I was scheduled to visit Tiraudum in connection with meetings of the Central Board of Forestry, in the last week of January last. In order, primarily to save time I decided to make the trip by a plane of the Hind Flying Club, Lucknow. In this six-seater plane, two of the seats were available for two of such members of the personal staff who had to accompany me to Tiraudum. For reasons which are private, that is, ~~have~~ no bearing on public interest these two members had to travel by train.

Now, the question is whether the entire amount of money that spent on railway journey, that is, the travelling & daily allowances should be charged to public account or to my personal account. I have all along been of opinion that it is I who should bear the expenses minus the amount of D.A. for the number of days which could have been taken had these two persons made the journey by plane. Shri T. P. Verma, Lucknow

has been of a different opinion. He says that under rules, a Minister is under no obligation to take his personal staff along with him whether in a car, train or plane even if vacant berths in the means of transport employed, are available. Secondly, it is open to a member of the personal staff also <sup>to say so</sup> whether he will or will not travel in the same means of transport as the Minister, particularly, when an aeroplane is used. A member of the personal staff, says Sri Verma, may not like to take the risk of air travel. Perhaps, there is another consideration weighing with him, which he has not so explicitly stated, viz, he regards it as embarrassing for himself to accept any amount from me in such circumstances or to debit it to my account. He also says that <sup>there</sup> are precedents where members of the personal staff of a Minister have, in exactly a similar situation, travelled by a parallel means of transport and been allowed to charge their expenses to public account.

As I have said already, I hold a different view. Sri J. P. Verma & the other might had to travel by train for reasons beyond their control. In the circumstances that arose, the question whether they could or would not like to travel by

daily allowances should be charged to public account or to my personal account. I have all along been of opinion that it is I who should bear the expenses minus the amount of D. A. for the number of days which would have been taken had these two persons made the journey by plane. Shri J. P. Verma, however, has been of a different opinion. He says that under rules, a Minister is under no obligation to take his personal staff along with him whether in a car, train or plane even if vacant berths in the means of transport employed, are available. Secondly, it is open to a member of the personal staff also to say whether he will or will not travel in the same means of transport as the Minister, particularly, when an aeroplane is used. A member of the personal staff, says Shri Verma, may not like to take the risk of air travel. Perhaps, there is another consideration weighting with him, which he has not so explicitly stated, viz, he regards it as embarrassing for having to accept any amount from me in such circumstances or to debit it to my account. He also says that there are precedents where members of the personal staff of a Minister have, in exactly a similar situation, travelled by a parallel means of transport and been allowed to charge their expenses to public account.

As I have said already, I held a different view. Shri J. P. Verma and Shri Kartar Singh had to travel by train for reasons beyond their control. In the circumstances that arose, the question whether they would or would not like to travel by plane did not arise at all. For, the two berths were simply not empty or available in fact. They were occupied by my daughter and her husband. Also, whether the rules or precedents may or may not lay down, my conscience tells me that it will not be in consonance with correct standards of public conduct that the expenses should be borne by the public exchequer. I am a public man and not a Government Officer, and would, therefore, like to be guided by my instinct, feeling or conscience in such matters, rather than by rules.

P. A. will, therefore, please ask Shri J. P. Verma and Shri Kartar Singh to submit to the relevant officer their bills only for the amount of the D. A. which would have been chargeable, were the journey made by the plane. The T. A, which was per-

missible to them under the rules, for a railway journey, must be debited to my account. If they are not willing to charge from me the full amount that may have been permissible under the rules, they should have no hesitation in accepting, at least, the amount actually incurred by them. If they still do not agree, then Shri Tilak Ram Sharma will please pay to the account of the Hind Flying Club an equivalent amount to haulage charges of the plane, of course, distributed rateably, that is, two-sevenths of the entire expenses or an amount equivalent to the T. A. of these two persons plus D. A. of the excess number of days that the railway journey involved—which ever is greater of the two.

This is to be done today or tomorrow at the latest. I am putting all this in the form of a formal note, because I have asked Shri Verma several times by word of mouth to heed my advice. I am now issuing a formal order to the P. A. so that my wishes may no longer be disregarded.

Council Chamber  
1.05 P. M.

Charan Singh  
4.2.64

K. M.

's wishes in the matter have been fully carried out. T. A, Memos of Sri Verma & Sri Kartar Singh are being sent to S. A. D. (A). No railway fare will be charged by them from Government. Instead, they will have it from K. M.—of course, with great reluctance. In view of this, nothing else is perhaps needed.

Charan Singh  
5.2.

Tilak Ram Sharma  
4.2.

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papers. did not arise at all. For, the two  
berths were simply not empty or available  
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public exchequer. I am a public man  
and not a Government officer, and  
~~my conscience~~ ~~would~~, therefore, like  
to be guided by my instinct, feeling  
my conscience in such matters, rather than by  
rules.

P.S. will, therefore, please ask Shri J.P.  
Vijaya & Shri Kanta Singh to submit to the  
relevant office their bills only for the amount  
of the D.A. which could have been chargeable,  
if the journey were by air plane. The T.A.  
which was permissible to them under the rules, for  
a railway journey, must be debited to  
my account. If they are not willing to  
charge from me the full amount that  
may have been permissible under the rules, they  
should have no hesitation in accepting, at  
least, the amount actually incurred  
by them. If they still do not agree,  
then Shri Tika Ram Sharma will please

pay to the account of the Hind Flying Club an amount equivalent to landing charges of the plane, of course, distributed ratably, that is, two-sevenths of the entire expenses of an amount equivalent to the T.A. of these two from plus D.H. of the excess number of days that the railway journey involved \_\_\_\_\_ whichever is greater of the two.

This is to be done to-day or tomorrow, as the case. I am putting all this in the form of a formal note, because I have said this Viswa several times by word of mouth to lead my advice. I am now issuing a formal note to the P.A. so that my wish may no longer be disregarded.

Council Chamber.

1.05 P.M.

Viswa Singh

6.2.64

K.M.

As wishes in the matter have been fully carried out. T.A. Memo of Sri Venka & Sri Kantu Singh are being sent to S.A.D.(A). No. By. fare will be charged by them from Govt. Instead, they will have it from K.M. - of course, with the great reluctance in view of the, nothing else - perhaps needed.

Viswa Singh

5.2

U.P.

4/2

## Hard work

“Our Ministers have to work very hard, they sit in office till 10 PM” said some visitors of their own accord, while sitting in the P.A’s room waiting for their turn to go in, to see the Minister. I simply nodded my head implying that I partially accepted their version, because so far as hard work was concerned, I myself, as also some of my other colleagues, did not lag behind. Then I said to myself : Ministers generally reach office at about 11 AM and leave for lunch at 1-30 or 2 PM returning to Secretariat that too not invariably—near about 4 PM unless there be some departmental meeting earlier. While I, with my other colleagues, came to office at 10 AM and remained there till 10 PM, with hardly half an hour off to take tea etc. at our table. No, going to restaurant in the Council House premises or the Coffee House in Hazratganj. Frankly speaking, I have not as yet seen the inside of the Coffee House, If it happened to be a Tuesday I made do with a glass of water mixed with a lemon juice and little sugar. That was all I had during the day and no relaxation in work. How could then I endorse the above view, of some people. Chaudhary Saheb, was also no exception in this respect, till 1964. Thereafter, there was a lot of change in him. He had his light breakfast in the morning and reached Council House by 9-30 AM, He continued to be there, sitting in his chair, till 9-30 PM—no lunch and no rest, particularly during the hot summer days—and this he did, not for a day or two, but for months together. He used to take meals once in the night, At lunch time, he used to take a cup of tea with some biscuits or a few pieces of melon during summer sharing some with the Secretary or any other MLA/MLC who dropped in at that time. Sitting in front of the cooler, we felt dozy in our chair before him, whenever there was gap owing to his turning to the relevant pages of the file to dictate his minutes further. But I was then wonderstruck to see his capacity to work so hard, from 9-30 AM till 9 or 9-30 PM uninterruptedly, sitting in his chair. It was really a marvellous feat of his

stamina. After this, I acknowledged my defeat and in my heart of hearts ceased to boast that I was a very hard working person. The fact was that after the resignation of Sri C. B. Sharma, Minister LSG, the Chief Minister Smt. Sucheta Kriplani kept LSG portfolio with her for some time but later entrusted it to Chaudhary Saheb. In some files, there were complaints against the Chairman or some member of the Municipal Board. Replies given by the Chairman or member concerned, along with DM's comments, bearing endorsement and views of the Commissioner, made the reading matter sufficiently bulky. These papers were then examined in the Sectt. Deptt. and secretary's note thereon, made the study-material sufficiently voluminous. One difficulty with Chaudhary Saheb was that as is the usual prevalent practice, he did not go by the latest note of the officer on the file. He used to read the office note also very carefully and after going through Secretary's note at the end, formed his own opinion and in a few cases he accepted the views expressed by office. This explains his engrossment or involvement throughout the day in the Secretariat files, at that time, because the material often ran into some hundred or even more pages. This is one instance what hard work he could do with dedication. Probably Pt. G. B. Pant was another such Person who did not take rest or forty winks during the day as was mentioned by some members in the House while paying tributes to Pantji, on his departure to Delhi as Home Minister, Government of India. Chaudhary Saheb himself worked very hard and expected others also to do the same. The security men generally have an easy time so long as the Minister remains in his office room. But Chaudhary Saheb had some useful instructions for them too. "You should not keep sitting outside my room, but occasionally, say after an hour or so, come into the room to see that I am safe and sound".

One more instance of what hard work Chaudhary Saheb could put in. At the time of revision of pay scales of U. P. Govt. employees in mid-sixties, on the basis of the Pay Committee Report, the question of revision of grades of the employees of local bodies also came up. LSG portfolio was then held by Chaudhary Saheb. A proposal was mooted to appoint a Committee for the purpose. When the file reached Chaudhary Saheb for his finally



approving the proposal, he enquired from the Secretary whether the department will get some monetary help from the Finance Department. Coming to know of the fact that the local bodies will have to bear the burden of extra expenditure involved in raising the pay scales of these employees, Chaudhary Saheb deferred the idea of appointing a Committee which would have taken two or three years to submit its report and meant an expenditure of several lakhs of rupees. He directed a senior Officer of the LSG branch to study the new pay scales as recommended for Govt. employees and prepare a statement showing the current scales of pay of employees of local bodies, revised pay scales of their counter-part in Government departments and then suggest revised pay scales for employees of local bodies. He further directed the officer concerned to expedite the matter so that orders could be issued before the election results (of 1967 elections) came i. e. during the time of the Sucheta Govt. then in power. The officer had naturally to put in great labour and one day reached Meerut Circuit House where Chaudhary Saheb was convalescing. He had gone there in connection with his election campaign though he could not visit his constituency even for a day, as he remained confined to bed owing to his serious illness. In this way, Chaudhary Saheb made history as he was the only person in India who did not go to his constituency for election campaign even once and still he won by a overwhelming majority. The day this Officer reached Meerut, Chaudhary Saheb was advised complete rest and none else but the doctor attending on him, his shadow and myself, were allowed to see him. So strictly was this instruction followed that an ex-Minister, an MP and the DIG Meerut had also come back disappointed, only a few days back. Not caring for his health, Chaudhary Saheb, asked the Officer to stay there for a day or two. During this period he had gained some strength and the complete rest helped in improving his health. After two days, he sat with the said officer at 9 AM, and by lunch time, had gone through the entire lengthy statement which was prepared as per his instructions. Thus the entire work of pay revision for each category of local bodies, was finalized within 18 days. No doubt, tremendous strain of sitting for several hours and discussion with the said Officer on each and every item of the statement, resulted in prolonging his illness owing to three relapses and great setback to his early recovery. But as per his desire and instructions, the orders were issued in time.

## Courageousness

So far as his courage and boldness go, one has not to make any deep study or research in this behalf. At the Nagpur session of AICC in 1958, a resolution on cooperative farming was moved by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru. It was Ch. Charan Singh alone, who had the courage to oppose that resolution. Though he had to suffer a lot on this account subsequently, but he did not care for consequences in the interests of farmers. According to him, the system would have reduced the land owners to labourers and the production per acre would also have gone down. He quoted figures after figures of various countries to explain his point. He emphasised that the production in the cooperatives had gone down when compared to what it was when the individual was the owner of his land. It is a well known fact that in a joint enterprise or partnership, one wants to give his least while on the other hand, in one's private or individual work, one puts his best in it. There must have been a large number of agriculturists, their supporters and representatives of peasantry, from all over India, but none could muster courage to oppose that resolution.

Second instance is that of Patwaris. In the wake of various schemes of land reform, the Patwaris resigned *en masse*. Chaudhary Saheb accepted their challenge and decided to accept their resignation. Not only the U. P. Government was perturbed at the idea, but the Central Government also got nervous fearing that without the Patwaris, who are the backbone of administration, the entire revenue structure will collapse. But Chaudhary Saheb remained firm and came out successful in this crisis. Thereafter, he emerged as a strong administrator and was considered to be the best Revenue Minister and later the best Home Minister and best Agriculture Minister of India.

## Indian Culture

“Have your long hair cut and put on a cap and wear *dhoti*. Had God desired you to sport long hair and put on pants and tie, He would have arranged your birth in Europe, America or some other western countries. This is not in accordance with our old civilisation and culture.” Thus spoke his Holiness Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Jyotirmath, Swami Krishnabodh Ashram Ji (1953-80) while addressing a large congregation of his devotees. Our old national leaders S/Sri B G Tilak, C. Rajagopalachari, Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Pandit Pant and Dr. Sampurnanand also wore *dhoti*. Chaudhary Saheb was an ardent follower of our old civilisation. He had his hair cut, wore *kurta dhoti* and whenever he moved out of his residence or office, always put on a cap. He never went out bare-headed. His *kurta* in summer and woollen jacket or sherwani in winter, were always buttoned up to the neck. Like Sri Lal Bahadur Saastrri, who had only one woollen coat prior to his going to Delhi, Chaudhary Saheb had only one woollen sherwani till 1967, i. e. before he became Chief Minister. In 1965, when his *sherwani* gave way and needed some repairs, it was given to the tailor-master of Shri Gandhi Ashram, Hazratganj, Lucknow. As bad luck would have it, it was misplaced or lost somewhere by the master. We were feeling much worried and thought that Chaudhary saheb will be very angry and much annoyed. But it was a great surprise to see him cool, undisturbed and calm. He did not say anything about the person who was responsible for the loss. He simply said, “all right, purchase a piece of new cloth and give it to him for making a new sherwani.” Such was his regard for people of ordinary means.

One more instance of his great consideration of such people. When the dinner given in honour of a VIP from Delhi at Carlton Hotel was over and the guests began to disperse a Policemen got his hand injured while closing the door of the VIP vehicle.

It was bleeding profusely. Whosoever passed that way, first enquired what had happened, showed sympathy and then moved on with the good advice to "send him to hospital early." Choudhary Saheb was then Home Minister U. P. He saw the injured person, felt sorry for what had happened and asked him to get into his car immediately. He straightaway went with him to the hospital instead of going to the aerodrome to see off the VIP.

He had great regard for those older in age. Whenever Sri Vishnu Sharan Dubish (a Kakori case convict) though an ordinary MLA from Meerut district, but older in age, entered his room, Chaudhary Saheb always stood up to show respect to him.

He was also a follower of old culture and etiquette. Like an old mother-in-law, who keeps an eye on how her daughter-in-law sits, how she talks, laughs and eats, Chaudhary Saheb, at a glance, detected if the incoming person had violated any of the standards of our old etiquette. People had to be very cautious in buttoning up their shirt or coat and took care not to put hand in the pocket of the pant or coat—a sign of disrespect to elders. He also did not like people coming to see him with bettle in their mouth. Smoking of cigarettes by subordinates or younger ones in his presence, could not be imagined. Such were his standards of conduct. In this respect, he did not spare even himself. He applied this yardstick to his own self as well. Once he dictated a letter to some near relation. One sentence was, 'I shall be accompanied by my wife' The letter was typed out and put up to him for his signatures. He did not sign it and said : "it is all right for young people like you to write wife, but for old people like me, while writing to a relation it does not look nice". Let it be like this : "I shall be accompanied by Ajit's mother". How strict he was in upholding old traditions and etiquette. It gives an insight into his intellectual make up and sound thinking.

This chapter will remain incomplete if I fail to mention just one more interesting incident which I can't forget through out my life. In 1965-66, Chaudhary Sah b used to take meals once at 9 PM. He had his breakfast at about 9 AM, tea with light refreshment like biscuits (or pieces of melon in summer), at

noon and wholesome meals at 9 P. M. He had then given up his midday meal and, as stated elsewhere in these pages, he kept sitting in his chair throughout the day without any rest or slumber. One day, when he was ready to leave office at about 8-30 PM; and the exit door of his room had been opened by the orderly, an MLA who was very close to him, entered his room from that side, I had no knowledge of his presence in the Minister's room. Just then there was a ring from his residence to send Chaudhary Saheb soon, as meals were ready. When I opened the door to go in, Chaudhary Saheb was talking to the newcomer in a low voice—perhaps some confidential Party matter was being discussed. Seeing me enter his room, he waved his hand signalling me to go back. I returned and sat on my chair. After 7 or 8 minutes, bell rang and I sent a P. A. in. But Chaudhary Saheb sent him back saying "Send Tilak Ram." I thought he was annoyed by my entry at that time. But I was surprised to hear something altogether different. He inquired "Tilak Ram, I had sent you back waving my hand. Have you felt it?". "No Sir, I should not have come in, at that time, but the gentleman had not passed through my room". Then he went in his ante-room and as usual, before going out, put on his cap and took his stick. I was waiting near the office table for his departure. He stopped there, stick in his left hand and raising the first finger of his right hand towards me, he asked "Tilak Ram, have you pardoned me?". "Yes Sir" this was my spontaneous reply then, because neither was I prepared to hear this type of question, nor could I think, at the spur of moment, of any other words, as I was then overjoyed by the gentleness of my boss. Later, when he had left the room, I could not help having a hearty laugh at the childlike repentance of this cent-per-cent gentleman whose pious conscience could not bear the pinch of even inadvertently injuring the feelings of others, no matter, if they happen to be his subordinates. This truly fitted in Gandhiji's *Ahimsa* too and Chaudhary Saheb was a true Gandhite. Swami Vivekanand while dilating on eight steps of Raja Yoga, said "A Yogi must not think of injuring anyone, by thought, word or deed". (P. 21 of Raja Yoga), Chaudhary Saheb was a perfect Karam Yogi.

## Disposal of dak

The disposal of dak is considered an easy going affair by majority of Ministers. The dak is generally marked to the officer/person concerned by the personal staff and passed on to proper quarters over the signature of the Private Secretary and in exceptional cases over the signature of the Minister. Only a few selected letters from V. I. Ps or other important personalities, are put up to the Minister for his orders. But with Chaudhary Saheb, disposal of dak was a very difficult affair. He did not attend to it daily and also did not want it to be marked by the personal staff except in very rare cases when the delay might cause some embarrassment. The result was that it was accumulated for 3, 4 days and even for a week. Then one day he would announce that he would be doing the *dak* the next day. We understood what it meant. The entire office staff was alerted. One was taking dictation, another waiting for his turn to go in when the previous one had been dictated 15 or 20 letters, the third one was busy contacting some officer who was dealing with the subject mentioned in the applications/letter lying before Chaudhary Saheb at that moment, because he wanted to know the latest position of the case before dictating a reply and the fourth one was turning over the pages of the despatch register to know as to whom and when the previous complaint or application referred to in the current letter, was sent—to Secretary, Chief Engineer or the Superintending Engineer, Irrigation, Meerut, if the matter concerned them. This applies to references concerning other departments also. That was the reason why P. A.s, always keen to go to work with Ministers, invariably dragged their feet when their posting with Chaudhary Saheb was conveyed to them, because here every member of the staff had to face Chaudhary Saheb. The peons too had to do a lot of running about with papers bearing URGENT or IMMEDIATE slips, for being delivered without delay to the Officer with whom Chaudhary Saheb had just then finished his talk. In short, we all were on

our toes on 'dak day'. This process continued throughout the day till the pad became empty. On such an occasion, there was great rush of visitors also. They somehow used to come to know that Chaudhary Saheb was sitting in his office and had no programme that day to go outside the Council House—an opportune moment to meet him, of course, during visiting hours, but by coming earlier, they wanted to ensure their chance to go in, in the first round while encroaching upon our hard-pressed time, on 'dak day'.

Chaudhary Saheb did not mind dictating letters on behalf of his Private Secretary, to persons of his constituency or others seeking time and date to meet him. No doubt, such routine letters are acknowledged by the Private Secretary. But, Chaudhary Saheb used to indicate detailed information to be sent in reply to such letters. He very rarely, sent replies to such letters over his signatures.

He paid no attention to three category of letters :

1. written in pencil,
2. casting aspersion on the Minister,
3. where copies had been endorsed to a number of persons.

In his opinion, the latter had no confidence in the Minister and the former had not the courtesy to address a Minister in ink.

It was not that petitions or complaints concerning his own department only were received by him. Though he was then Minister for forest and LSG, people continued to address him as Home Minister, Revenue Minister and Agriculture Minister though more than a decade had passed when he left charge of the Revenue and Home departments. Each and every line of such complaints regarding land disputes, irregularities in *chakbandi*, harrassment by police or deteriorating law and order position in the area, were read by Chaudhary Saheb, and then marked to the officer concerned. He used to say that even a strongly worded remark written by the personal staff, even signed

by the Minister, will not be so effective as mere marking of the paper in the Minister's handwriting to the officer concerned. In such cases, officers too read each and every line of the letter or application. Once Sri B. B. Lal, ICS, then Secretary and Commissioner Irrigation and Power, came to see Chaudhary Saheb and brought with him an application which he showed to me to find out where and when the previous application, referred to in the middle of the second page of the current one, was sent. I was surprised to see that such a senior and busy officer could spare time to go through each and every line of that badly written application running into two pages. Chaudhary Saheb had simply written "A. & Sachiv, Irrigation" on the margin of the application and put his signature and date.

Chaudhary Saheb's this method of disposal of dak bore fruit. Once going through his dak, he came across a post card of few lines from the wife a police employee of lower rank posted at Kanpur complaining against some senior Police Officer who was after her and harrassing her. Chaudhary Saheb, instantly contacted the DIG on phone, gave him the address of the post card, instructed him to record the statement of the lady at the earliest and ring Chaudhary Saheb back. The complaint was found to be correct and the Officer was punished.

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## Disposal of Files

While the disposal of files is an uphill task for some Ministers, it is an easy-going affair for others. Some resort to *peshi* system which means that the Private Secretary or some senior member of the personal staff, puts the file to the Minister, briefs him about the subject being dealt with in that, apprises him of the progress made till date, shows to him the latest communication received in that connection, as also the important relevant notes which the Minister might like to glance at, so as to enable him to arrive at a decision and record his minutes in the file. In *peshi* system, the Minister has to depend, to some extent, on others. Some Ministers, who, with passage of time, gain experience and familiarise themselves with the commonly used terms like DFA, PUC, Sl. no. *XY* c.c., and the like, come to know of the technique of disposing of files, and have not to depend on others. They fight the battle of files single-handed.

Chaudhary Saheb followed the latter method, viz., he did files himself. He did not care much if a small number of files got accumulated. In fact, he remained very busy with meetings -- two, three and sometimes even more, in one day. Perhaps, he believed that for better administration, mass contact is most essential and hence vigorous touring by Ministers for most of the month, to try to reach every nook and corner of the State, to know the problems of the far flung areas of the State. But, that is not always possible. The next best thing to achieve this object, according to Chaudhary Saheb, was through meetings with officials and non-officials, in order to understand their problems and difficulties, suggest solutions, if any, and put forth his own views, on various problems facing them. Hence, a large number of meetings. The result was that the dak and files, barring very important and urgent ones, could not receive his

attention daily. When the wooden rack kept by his side, was loaded with files to its full capacity, he would one day sit to wade through them. He combated each and every file and one by one, all the files were brought down to the ground, from where they were sent to proper quarters. When the rack had become empty, he would put down his pen and take a sigh of relief. Generally, he wrote his minutes, even sufficiently lengthy ones, in his neat, clean and quite legible handwriting. While doing files, he did not want any interruption—no visitors, no officer except the one wanted by him in connection with the disposal of a particular file. Once an ex-Minister phoned to inquire as to what was he doing. His instant reply was : “Disposing of files, for which I am paid by Government”. (file peet raha hun jis ki sarkar tankha detehai). Anyone else in his position, would have encouraged that ex-Minister to come for gossips.

It is not that in a hurry or rush of files, he simply put his signatures below that of the Secretary's note, in lieu of his approval of the action suggested. He carefully and minutely read both the notes, officer's note as also the office note, to assess the correct position of the case. In a few cases, he upheld the views expressed in the office note.

I remember a case in which fodder for cattle in U. P. ran short because of serious drought in 1965, and arrangements had to be made to procure fodder from the military farm, Jhansi. A reply received from Jhansi was examined in detail here, particularly the terms and conditions of the bargain. It took some time before a suitable reply could be despatched. By the time the matter was finalized, and the file reached Chaudhary Saheb, the situation had changed as owing to timely winter rains, green fodder was available in abundance and after sometime, bumper Rabi crop was going to be harvested. In the ordinary course, the proposal might have been approved thereby causing a great loss to U. P. Government. But Chaudhary Saheb, always alert in reading files, also with a practical viewpoint, returned the file with the remark that there was no need then to procure fodder from anywhere.

## Visitors

During my 40 years of Government Service, of which 25 years were spent with political bosses (right from Parliament Secretary to Chief Minister and a Governor designate) I have come to the conclusion that generally the following five types of visitors come to meet these V. I. Ps.

1. Literate persons who approach them in connection with the redress of their grievances and fulfilment of their legitimate and reasonable demands i. e. educational facilities, medical facilities, irrigation works, construction of roads etc. They fail to get them conceded to, at the lower levels, but succeed in achieving their object after a little push from the above.
2. Persons who want some agency, permit or quota e. g. ration shop, coal depot agency, bus permits and cooking gas or petrol pump agency.
3. Literate persons who know well that their demands or requests are unreasonable and contrary to departmental rules and regulations on the subject, but still they continue to pester the V. I. Ps and openly declare that if their demands had been reasonable and according to rules, where was the necessity of their coming all the way to meet these V. I. Ps. The same could have been conceded to by authorities at the lower level. They approach the V. I. Ps for special or out of the way favours. A strange plea indeed !
4. Illiterate persons mostly hailing from villages or those coming from weaker sections of the urban localities, with all sorts of business, canal water

disputes, *Chakbandi* irregularities, even court cases and jobs to their educated but unemployed wards and so on. It is none of their concern whether the V. I. P., they are approaching, is empowered to do anything in the matter or not. Since the said V. I. P. belongs to their district, region or area, they consider him the *massiha* of all their difficulties.

5. Persons who are almost daily visible near the entry pass office or the residence of some V. I. P. They choose their prey after carefully examining the visitors and the task for which they have come, as also the money they can part with.

Persons coming for change or cancellation of transfers of Government servants or for Party tickets at election time are seasonal visitors.

The visitors who used to Chaudhary Saheb, were mostly of category (1) and (4). Persons of other categories i. e. (2), (3) and (5) were almost negligible. Because of his straight forwardness and strictness not to oblige individuals, such persons could not dare face him.

His visiting hours were fixed : at residence after breakfast and before going to office and there after in the evening in his office in the Secretariat Members of legislature were given time between 5 and 6 P.M., officers prior to 5 P.M. beginning sometime after 4 P.M., and general public after 6 P.M. During office hours, he did not like any interruption from visitors. Some of the legislators who were close to him, often tried to take chance to meet him during office hours, but he deferred it to visiting hours fixed for them. A couple of them gave vent to their feelings that Chaudhary Saheb should not be so rigid in meeting members of the house and when this was some how conveyed to Chaudhary Saheb, he promptly retorted. "I have not to be the Chief Minister, I must attend to the business of my department sincerely".

Once an MLA who was one of those few whom Chaudhary Saheb liked much, entered his office room in the Secretariat. Chaudhary Saheb was busy in studying a file and I was sitting before him to take down his minutes. When Chaudhary Saheb raised his head he saw that gentleman sitting before him. The time was between 12.30 to 1.00 P.M. He asked him as to how did he come there at that time. In the next moment, he turned to me to inquire as to how had he entered the room at that time. Instead of giving any reply, I also turned towards this visitor asking him as to with whose permission had he come in ? Chaudhary Saheb realized that he had not taken permission from any body and instantly asked him to go out. Much though the MLA insisted on being heard for a minute only, Chaudhary Saheb remained adamant not to talk to him and insisted on his vacating the office room. The MLA concerned had no option but to go away. So strict was he in observing the visiting hours. I think, it was he and he alone who could enforce this type of discipline with dignity.

Perhaps he believed in the theory propounded first by Sri C. Rajgopalachari to Sri Kamraj when the latter, after taking oath as Chief Minister of Madras, had gone to Rajaji for his blessings : "Keep the Secretariat corridors clear of the visitors. I did it with a frown, you do it with a smile".

Once a District Magistrate came to me to convey to Chaudhary Saheb that he wanted to meet him. I explained to him that during office hours only Secretariat Officers or local Heads of Departments could meet him and that the visiting hours for other officers were from 4 P.M. to 5 P.M., He showed his inability to wait till then, so I went in to inform Chaudhary Saheb. His question and my answers are given below :

It is not the time to meet me. Ask him to come at 4 P.M.

But he has to leave earlier by train.

Then he should have come in the morning.

He reached Lucknow after 10.30 or so.

In that case, he should have given you a ring from the Railway Station to get appointment with me.

At this, I kept quite.

All right, send him in.

This apparently superfluous conversation leaves a moral. If you are compelled by circumstances to meet a V. I. P. beyond his visiting hours, then make it a point to have an appointment with him at the earliest possible opportunity to justify your action.

Whenever Chaudhary Saheb wanted to talk to any Secretary or other departmental head, he himself used to assign time. Call the Chief Conservator, Forests at 11.30 A.M., Secretary P. W. D. at 12.15 P.M., Consolidation Commissioner at 3.15 P.M., Chief Engineer Irrigation at 3.45 P.M. and so on. An interesting feature of that period was that Secretaries and Heads of even those departments which were not in his charge, were also always cautious to reach my room a minute or two earlier than the appointed time, in order to know what was the business for which they had been called and whether there were any papers available with me, in that connection. If they were at the headquarters, they always made it a point to come personally instead of deputing their 2nd in command for the purpose. In some cases, these officers had to apologise to their Ministers for their absence in Chaudhary Saheb's room at a particular time when their Minister also needed them. Such was the high regard of those senior bureaucrats of that time, towards the senior-most Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

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## Taxing Tours

While tour with a Minister is considered a source of great pleasure and recreation, it was not so with Chaudhary Saheb. Here is one such instance. In April, 1964, on a Sunday, I returned from my morning walk a bit late. Chaudhary Saheb (then Minister for Agriculture) was scheduled to leave by State Plane for Jaunpur at about 8 a. m. So, I was in a leisurely holiday mood. As soon as I returned to my house, there was a ring and I was told that Chaudhary Saheb wanted to talk to me. He said :

I have to go to Delhi.

When Sir ?

Today.

All right, I shall get the necessary reservation made by the night train.

No, I have to reach there by noon today,

Then you better take the State Plane to Delhi instead of to Jaunpur.

But it is a party affair. State Plane can't be used for it. You find out about Service Plane timings, Although Sri Bahuguna (then General Secretary, UPCC) is also making some arrangement. This relieved me of a great worry, as I became sure that something will come out of it as Sri Bahugunaji was there.

Who will accompany me on tour this time ?

Sri--will be accompanying you this time.

No, either send Sri Ram Agarwal (then a Stenographer whom he had taken as Private Secretary to Home Minister Government of India) or you accompany me. We propose to leave by 9 A.M. by car for Kanpur and from there will fly to Delhi.

I was not at all ready to go on tour at such short notice. But Sir Sri Ram Agarwal had also returned from tour 2nd days back, I sent for Sri Agarwal whose residence was quite close to mine. Fortunately, he was there and arrived in no time. I told him what Chaudhary Saheb desired and inquired about his willingness to go on tour. But, as was expected, he showed his inability to do so, There was no alternative left for me but to get ready. I then requested Sri Agarwal to sit by the phone and entrusted to him a number of jobs :

- (i) to inform the D. M. Jaunpur about cancellation of Chaudhary Saheb's visit to Jaunpur, with the request to convey it to an M. P. of Varanasi who had been given time to meet Chaudhary Saheb at Jaunpur on that date.
- (ii) to inform U. P. Niwas people at New Delhi and ask them to send a car to meet Chaudhary Saheb at 1 P. M. at Palam Aerodrome and also to reserve accommodation in U. P. Niwas and keep lunch ready for him.
- (iii) to inform D. M. Meerut to reserve accommodation in Circuit House as from Delhi Chaudhary Saheb intended to reach Meerut that very night.
- (iv) to sort out for his orders the papers which were handed over to me by Chaudhary Saheb some 10 or 12 days back, in order to give them to him for reading while in plane from Lucknow to Jaunpur. Consequent on cancellation of the visit to Jaunpur, his fresh orders were needed as to what action was to be taken on those papers.

During the conversation I had with Chaudhary Saheb, I had conveyed to him that it would not be possible for me to reach his residence in time by a *rikshaw* at such short notice, so he had very kindly agreed to send his car. I reached his residence in time wherefrom we proceeded to Kanpur where Sri Bahuguna had already purchased three tickets—for self as also for both of us. We reached U. P. Niwas at about 1.30 P. M. and Chaudhary



Saheb busied himself with the work for which he had to rush to Delhi. Some important letters had to be typed out and then Sri Bahugunaji and my self went to a number of persons viz. Sri Kamraj, Sri G. L. Nanda, Sri K. D. Malviya and a few others. We returned to U. P. Niwas very late in the night and D. M. Meerut was informed about the cancellation of the trip to Meerut and requested to divert the person coming from Lucknow with Chaudhary Saheb's bedding and clothes etc. to Delhi, from Hapur railway station if possible, otherwise from Meerut. Next morning information was again sent to D. M. Meerut that Chaudhary Saheb would be reaching there by noon. After lunch, I had to inform D. M. Meerut that the programme had been changed and Chaudhary Saheb would be reaching there in the night. This process of informing the D. M., getting Circuit House reserved and then cancellation, continued for about a couple of days as one or the other important business at Delhi continued to engage his attention. Then on the third day, it was conveyed to me that Chaudhary Saheb would be reaching Meerut by noon. Taking a clue from the last 2, 3 days experience, I did not inform the D. M. Meerut this time. But on that day, the Minister actually left for Meerut. On reaching there, we found the Circuit House closed, no officer, no police guard was to be seen any where. Chaudhary Saheb was surprised to see all this and inquired from me whether the D. M. had been informed or not, I promptly told him. "No, Sir", "But Why" ? "Because for the last three days the D. M. was being informed about the impending visit to Meerut and to reserve the Circuit House, but everytime it had to be cancelled so I had become a laughing stock I was not sure whether you will actually be able to leave for Meerut. When you suddenly got ready, I was busy with some other work and could not inform the D. M." He felt much annoyed, but in a brief sermon suggested to me the action which should have been taken on such an occasion. He went on to say "Then you could ask the Resident Commissioner, U. P. Niwas, to inform the D. M. Meerut about my visit or you could speak to Mr..... (a senior IAS officer) who was also there, to do so". Little did he know that such an action by me would have been considered as rudeness on my part towards these officers of the rank of a Commissioner. However, taking a leaf from that, in future when such a situation arose, I contacted some junior officer and made him responsible to do this type of *begar* for me. Thus this incident proved a blessing in disguise.

## “Reasonableness”

In 1963, Chaudhary Saheb held charge of Agriculture, Animal Husbandary and forest Department. On the occasion of presentation of Budget of demands pertaining to his portfolio, he dictated his budget speech which was typed out and cyclo-styled, Some media men as also a few members of Legislature had come to know of it. When everything had been completed and the sets were ready for distribution in the House, he by the way asked me :

Have You read my budget speech ?

Yes Sir, every word of it.

How do you like it ?

It is all right, as it goes.

You seem to have something to say. Speak out.

Well Sir, I don't agree with the upper half of page 3 of the speech.

What is that ?

There you have made some observations about bureaucracy its sluggishness and lethargy etc. and that the reins of bureaucracy need to be tightened up.

But that is quite true.

May be Sir, but many a true things if they are un-pleasant, are not said. If you have any complaint about their working, you call them to your chamber and give them a bit of your mind. But on the floor of the house, you should support them.

You always take a pessimistic view.

After this, he left for lunch and returned when the Assembly hall was ringing. The Assembly was to begin at 2 P.M. with the presentation of demands relating to his portfolio. He went straight to the Assembly Hall, but sent his shadow to me with the message that his budget speech be put in the confidential almirah and not a single copy be distributed. This was done. But when he started speaking, the media men as also some members, made a strong demand for his budget speech which they said had been cyclostyled. At this Chaudhary Saheb sent words that the first three pages of the speech (running into about 24 pages) be removed and the rest sent to the House for distribution. When that was done, enquiries were made as to what happened to the first three pages of the speech. Chaudhary Saheb silenced them by saying that it was the only material for their use.

An old Government servant who took great liberty with Chaudhary Saheb insisted on having a complete copy of his speech. But I refused to give it to him. He probably spoke about it to Chaudhary Saheb. In his absence, Chaudhary Saheb called me and asked :

“Had Mr...asked for a full copy of my speech.”

Yes Sir.

“You should have given a copy to him.”

“Well Sir, I intentionally avoided doing so.”

“Why ?”

“You are taking him at his face value. But I have every doubt, through him, it would reach your rival no. one and he would take in to Delhi to show to Nehruji that in U. P., no opposition is needed. Chaudhary Saheb is performing their role very well. Although in the ministry, he is criticising the Congress Government.

“You did well”.

If Chaudhary Saheb was convinced that he was wrong, he had no hesitation in admitting his mistake. When he was Home Minister, Government of India, an interview given by his

family members was published in a weekly (either "Hindustan" or "Dharamyug") Therein, it was stated that several years back one day he became very angry on some happening in the family and went away to office. But as is clear from the budget speech episode, his rethinking continued in such cases. After an hour or so, he is said to have phoned from the office to his residence that he was wrong. They were right. A man of very clear conscience indeed.

Once in 1965, his near relation came to Lucknow from Delhi with her children, on getting some hint from her husband posted elsewhere. The next day, the place was visited by Pakistani planes. After a few days, in a joyful mood over India's victory, he told some persons sitting before him, how such and such had come to know of it, two days in advance and so they had left for Lucknow. After some time, finding him alone, I said, "Chaudhary Saheb, What are you doing all this?" What happened? he said. You are telling such things to these people". "But that is true. She told me so". "But Sir, that was all secret talk between a husband and his wife, not intended to be made public. "What to do. I can't stomach anything".

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## A Philanthrophism

While financially Chaudhary Saheb was not very well off, still he did not hesitate to help deserving helpless people in time of their need. There is a letter in the book written by him to a gentleman of his constituency, in which he admits that aids of small amounts to needy persons were given by him, but that the case referred to in that letter, needed some big amount, so he desired the addressee to send the requisite amount to the boy of a poor family reading in the Medical College of Haryana. The response was quite favourable and prompt.

Once one of his close associates, who is Congress M. P. now, needed Rs. 250/- (two hundred and fifty) to deposit his security money at the time of filing nomination papers. By chance, this amount was not to be found at Chaudhary Saheb's residence. They both were seriously thinking as to what should be done. In the meantime, I happened to go there with some urgent papers to be shown to Chaudhary Saheb. That gentleman, with Chaudhary Saheb's silent permission, mentioned the difficulty to me to know whether the sum of Rs. 250/- so urgently needed, could be arranged by me. Unfortunately, I too had no money with me at that time, but promised to arrange it from somewhere. This clearly reflects on the tight financial position through which he passed. That is why I readily believed what Dr. Shiv Swarup (ex. Vice-Chancellor Delhi University and an M. P.) said while paying tributes to Chaudhary Saheb, how one day Chaudhary Saheb told Dr. Swarup that he had to go to Lucknow and that money be given to him for the purpose. At this Dr. Swarup was surprised that one who had been "Vizer" (Minister) needed money like this. May be, other people may consider it an exaggeration, but not I.

One may then ask, how did he manage to fight the elections? The farmers of his constituency raised sub-scription

३० मार्च, १९६६ ई० ।

निजी

प्रिय प्रेम नारायण,

मैं चाहता हूँ कि तुम एक विद्यार्थी की आर्थिक सहायता करो। छौट्टी-मोटी छात्रवृत्ति तो मैं भी देता रहता हूँ। परन्तु यह लड़का एक मैडीकल कालिज में पढ़ता है और उसका खर्च बड़ा है जो न मैं और न उसके घर वाले सहन कर सकते हैं। गत वर्ष मैंने पिलखुआ-निवासी एक मित्र से इस लड़के की सहायता कराई थी। अबकी बार सोचते-सोचते मेरा ध्यान तुम्हारी तरफ चला गया। हो सके, तो निम्नलिखित विद्यार्थी के पास ६०० रु० का एक चेक ५० रु० माहवार के हिसाब से—उसके खर्च के लिये शीघ्र भेज दो :

देवराज गिरि गोस्वामी,

विद्यार्थी चतुर्थ वर्ष, एम० एन० मैडीकल कालिज,

डाकखाना अस्थल बौहर, जिला रोहतक [पंजाब]

तुम्हारा

सप्रेम

श्री प्रेम नारायण जी,

चेयरमैन,

म्युनिसिपल बोर्ड,

बड़ौत,

जिला मेरठ ।

चरन  
1/28

amongst themselves, hired a taxi or two from Delhi (only 25 miles off from there) for election campaign and met all the expenses of petrol, poster etc.

Though he needed money badly, to help the poor and needy persons as also to help some of his close devotees fighting assembly elections, but he did not accept money from all and sundry. In 1967 assembly election, when he was convalescing at the Circuit House, Meerut, some people of Ghaziabad (perhaps some factory owners) came to him and left a sum of Rs. 6,100/- for his use during the election. Chaudhary Saheb did not keep money with him. When they had left, he asked me to take away the amount from below his pillow. Rs. 6,100/- may appear a small amount to-day, but in 1967, it was atleast equal to Rs. 50,000/- of present day. I somehow kept that amount safely with me for a few days, because, thereafter, we were to leave for Lucknow. In the railway compartment, he instructed me to return the amount of Rs. 6,100/- to the party concerned by a bank draft as he did not want to keep it.

A cheque of Rs. 1,000/- (one thousand) sent by the Treasurer, UPCC, to party candidates for election purpose, was also returned by him.

On the one hand he was not accepting monetary help except from the peasants of his area; on the other he was prepared to suffer and gladly bear inconveniences for want of money. After the 1967 elections, Sri C. B. Gupta was sworn in as Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh. Chaudhary Saheb had not joined his Cabinet. So, the Government car, as per rules, was sent back immediately to the Government Estate Department. The personal staff can stay with the out-going Minister for about a fortnight to weed out papers and winding up the office. After some days, the assembly session began. Chaudhary Saheb reached the Council House with someone who had gone to meet him at his residence. At noon, he left Council House for his Mall Avenue residence on foot. I accompanied him discussing something just to pass time. He did not like to make use of *rikshaw* (as it is driven by man) and a tonga was not in sight around. Doing *padyatra* we passed the first crossing near the

Government House. The amount of Rs. 6,100/- continued to haunt my mind as this money, with the addition of only a few thousand more, could have helped him to purchase a car. A jeep suddenly stopped in front of us blocking our way. Some party-men, may be MLAs, got down and took Chaudhary Saheb with them in the jeep to his residence. In this way, that day's problem was solved. Then I thought of the next day when he would come to the Council House. I phoned to an officer who had worked with Chaudhary Saheb and requested him to reach Chaudhary Saheb's residence on the pretext of a courtesy call, and then pick him up to the Council House. At noon, before lunch, another officer was approached by me to meet him at gate no.....and give him a lift upto his residence saying that he himself was going for lunch. This trick of "courtesy call" and "lunch trips" worked well, ofcourse, through different officers, for a couple of days. The third day he saw through the game and refused to go in the Officer's car. After sometime his constituents or some friend gifted him a car and saved him of these trilulation. Thus, he was not rolling in money, his necessities of life were always met, sooner or later.

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## In opposition

Chaudhary Saheb was the first non-Congress Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. Many reforms and achievements of that period go to his credit: abolition of the system of naming educational institutions on caste basis, reconstitution of the Unions of these institutions, making provision for inclusion of good sportsmen and meritorious students in them. In a way, the general tone of administration had improved and discipline and punctuality had been restored. One day, an old man from Kanpur came to meet Chaudhary Saheb and thanked him because after his taking over the reins of U.P. Government, the old man had started sending his young daughter to the College, whom he had withdrawn because of great nuisance at the crossings, near the College as also in the institutions. There was a marked improvement in the law and order situation too. To mention all these achievements, a separate book can be written.

I would like to draw attention to an interesting event of those days. The Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi was scheduled to visit Rae Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh. Prior to this some Socialist Ministers of U. P. along with others of their Party, had courted arrest at Delhi, in connection with Hindi agitation. On the Prime Minister's a rival in U.P., they had a plan to *gherao* her and create trouble. Sri Udit Narain Sharma, Revenue Minister, was first named to accompany the Prime Minister on that tour. But later Chaudhary Saheb himself decided to accompany her. As was expected, black flag demonstrations had been arranged at the helipad and some objectionable slogans were raised against her by the persons present there. When persuasive efforts that being the Prime Minister of India, she should be given due respect, failed, lathi charge had to be resorted to, in order to control the situation. It was then rumoured that orders had also gone to authorities at Varanasi for the

house arrest of Sri Raj Narain, though his Socialist Party was a partner in the SVD Government. Smt. Gandhi had visited some other states also where non-Congress Governments were functioning. At Calcutta, stones were thrown at her, causing her some injury. On her return to Delhi after some time, she had, in an interview admitted that "if there is law and order in any state (perhaps she meant non Congress States), it was in Uttar Pradesh".

As Leader of opposition, Chaudhary Saheb took special care to see that none of his (B.K.D.) party men indulged in unconstitutional methods. Once, during the disturbances in the Asembly Hall, some member of his party threw his shoe at some member of the ruling party. He came to know of it and when Chaudhary Saheb came to power again, he refused to consider the man for appointment as a Minister inspite of his good party work and his being his ex. State Minister.

Whether in Government or in the apposition, he always tried his best to abide by the rules and healthy time honoured conuentionions.

## Chaudhary Saheb In Lime Light

After the fall of Gupta Government in U. P., Chaudhary Saheb alone had taken oath of office and secrecy On April 1, 1967. The Sanyukt Vidhayak Dal (SVD) of which he was the Leader, comprised as many as eight political parties—Chaudhary Saheb's Jan Congress, Jan Sangh, Praja Socialist Party, Socialist Party, Republican Party, Swatantra Party, Communist Party of India and Communist party (Marxists). Besides, there was a group of independents. Representation in the form of Minister or Deputy Minister was to be given to each of them. It took some time for him to select his team. This explains why he had taken oath singly a few days earlier. The day his entire team was preparing to go to the Government House for swearing in ceremony, I reached his residence quite early. I saw a number of would be Ministers, Deputy Ministers and other central and state leaders sitting in the room where a *havan* was to be performed. I straightway went into the room where his family members were sitting and then slipped into the verandah where Chaudhary Saheb soon came out after his bath. The following conversation took place :

You are sufficiently junior.

When did I say, Sir, that I am very senior ?

How can then you be appointed as Private Secretary to Chief Minister by passing over 8 or 10 persons above you ?

Well Sir, I have not come here to discuss my posting with the Chief Minister- Your political and personal files are lying with me. Your room will be allotted to some Minister today and his Private Secretary will insist on my vacating the confidential almirahs to keep his important papers and files, Where should I send these files ? To your residence or to the

Chief Minister's room ? I was hesitant to send these to your residence lest they meet the same fate as the files of a Congress Minister had met a couple of days ago. (Some members of SVD had forcibly taken away files from the car of a Congress Minister and seattered them hither and thither under the impression that the office files were being taken away with some ulterior motive or to pass orders in the back date).

Better send them carefully to my residence.

Well Sir, since you have raised the posting issue, I would like to say a few words.

What have you to say ?

Well Sir, when you were Agriculture or Forest Minister, none raised the bogey of seniority, but when you take over as Home Minister or Chief Minister, seniority comes in. In the past, when senior persons were asked to work with you, they proceeded on long leave. One of them even remarked "am I alone left to be thrown before a lion". *Secondly*, I would gain nothing by my being posted with the Chief Minister. I am a permanent Government servant selected by the Public Service Commission. I worked in the Secretariat prior to your coming over here. Mine is not a political appointment (when a person comes with the Minister and goes when the Minister quits). *Thirdly*, all Ministers (Dr. Sampurnanand, Sri C. B. Gupta and Smt. Sucheta Kriplani) in the past, on being appointed as Chief Minister, had taken their personal staff with them and their seniority did not come in their way. At this he kept quiet and perhaps in his heart of hearts, realised that justice had not been done to me. Just then, some one reached there to take him to the room where a *havan* was to be performed. I came away with his instructions to send his private files to his residence.

For the first time, the swearing in ceremony of a Council of Ministers took place, not in the Darbar Hall of the Government House, but on the open lawns where *ashamiana* was pitched. Not only V. I. Ps and distinguished persons, but also the general public got an opportunity to witness the ceremony.

I continued to meet him off and on, not only when he was Chief Minister, but also in his capacity as Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, though I was then posted with a Minister of the ruling party. Once I marked his amazement on seeing me enter his room, in the gaze of intelligence people outside his room.

Months and years rolled by and the year 1977 saw the emergence of Janta Party and the formation of Janta Government at the centre. Chaudhary Saheb became Home Minister, Government of India. In Uttar Pradesh, as also in some other northern states, Legislative Assemblies were dissolved and President's rule was imposed. During this period, I was posted with Chief Secretary—Sri Kripa Narain. I must gratefully admit that he was very kind and considerate towards me. On the eve of oath taking ceremony of Janta Government in Uttar Pradesh, to be headed by Sri Ram Naresh Yadav, the Chief Secretary got a post of Deputy Secretary (attached to Chief Secretary) created for me to retain me with him. I went away home late in the night with the impression to work as Deputy Secretary from that day onwards. But when I reached office next day, I was asked to go as Private Secretary to the Chief Minister. This did not effect my emoluments, because as Private Secretary (special grade) I was already in the time scale meant for a Deputy Secretary of the Uttar Pradesh Secretariat Service. At that time I could not understand how this change took place. Later I was told that it was at Chaudhary Saheb's intervention that I was sent to work with the Chief Minister. In this way, the apparent injustice—if I may so call it—was undone in 1977.

Once in 1977, when he was Union Home Minister, I had gone to his residence in New Delhi, along with Sri Ram Naresh Yadav, Chief Minister and Sri N. M. Majumdar IA, Secretary to Chief Minister. Myself and Sri Majumdar were sitting in the drawing room and the Chief Minister had gone to talk to the Home Minister in another room. After sometime Chaudhary Saheb emerged out of his room, followed by Sri Raj Narain, then Union Health Minister, Sri R. N. Yadav, Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh and some M. P. When he approached us, we both stood up to pay respects. He stopped there, and said :

How are you ?

I am all right, Sir, thank you.

How much period is left in your retirement ?

Hardly five months.

Your health is quite good, (a hint to the Chief Minister to give me extension in Service, but it could not be possible).

When had you been to your village ? (for the last several months I had not gone there. I wanted to avoid telling this).

I am going there tomorrow, Sir,

Sri Raj Narain : The question is not when are you going there; the question is when had you gone there ?

Myself : I have not been able to go there for sometime past. The people there have a problem and want to meet you. Due to change in the course of Yamuna, considerable land of my village has gone to Haryana.

Chaudhary Saheb : Yadavji (Chief Minister, Uttar Pardesh) You have a talk regarding this with Devi Lalji and settle the issue. Some other persons had also spoken to me about this matter.

Thus, he stayed there for about three or four minutes, talking to me. Such was the considerateness of the man who as Home Minister, being responsible for the internal security of this vast country, remembered the 1967 episode inspite of the turmoil and hectic political activities at the all India level.

## 1965 Drought

In 1965, there was a serious drought. Water level had much gone down and the tube wells and hand pumps had dried up. At about the same time, the news of starvation death appeared in a section of the press. Smt. Sucheta Kriplani was the Chief Minister and Chaudhary Saheb had kept only Forest Department with him. He was not happy with the distribution of portfolios, in the paost-KAMKAJ PLAN period. A high level meeting was convened and Chaudhary Saheb was specially requested to attend that meeting. Discussions were going on in the meeting when Smt. Sucheta Kriplani asked for Chaudhary Saheb's views on the subject under discussion. He casually replied that whatever they were doing was right. Smt. Sucheta Kriplani again inistød on Chaudhary Saheb saying something. At this Chaudary Saheb said;

“First of all please withhold the wireless message which you propose to send to all D.Ms. to freeze the stock of traders. This will create unnecessary panic among the public and the essential commodities will go underground causing great inconvenience to the public at large”.

There after, he turned to the Food Minister and asked; “Have you confirmed the news about the starvation death in the distret. (perlaps Bijnor)”.

Getting a negative reply, Chaudhary Saheb spoke in a raised voice;

“How could you take the morning tea and breakfast without confirming the news of starvation deaths published in today's paper. You should have contacted the D.M. to know the correct position. If it was wrong, it should have immediately been contradicted”.

This is all that me could gather from him about this important meeting, before he left office at 10 P. M.

After the meeting, when he had returned to his room we saw him surrounded by a number of mediemen.

Their grouse was that the prices of grains had gone up high. He told them that it was not so. They argued that it was selling @ Rs. 2/- per K. G. Chaudhary Saheb replied that it was selling @ 1, 1/2 K. G. per rupee. Where ? enquired the mediemen. At all shops in the market, said Chaudhary Saheb. In the market, wheat is not available at less than Rs. 2/- per K. G., was the mediemen's reaction. Why Wheat ? Are Maiza, bajra and Jawar not grains, retorted he.

But who eats them ? They asked.

People in the villages and poor people in cities, eat them. You too just try. They are very tasty, was his reply. Such was Chaudhary Saheb's handling of the mediemen, who all left laughing.



## Baghpat Bridge

The construction of a bridge at Baghpat over Yamuna, of which the foundation was laid by Chaudhary Saheb as Prime Minister in 1980, would have been started 30 years ago, had the efforts then made by Chaudhary Saheb in this behalf, materialised. It so happened that in 1955, when I was going from Khekra to Delhi (by S. S. L. Ry.), the train terminated at LONI, as there was a breach ahead between Loni and Shahdra (Delhi)—a distance of about five miles. I had to go back via Baghpat, Meerut and reached Ghaziabad to proceed from there to Delhi. At Ghaziabad also, the rail and road traffic was stopped from going to Delhi as many culverts had been washed away by the heavy flood current of Yamuna. I had to accompany Sri Vichitra Narain Sharma, Minister for P. W. D., with whom I was then posted, to Sabarmati (Ahmedabad) in connection with a meeting to be held there. On his arrival at Ghaziabad from Meerut, arrangements had been made by the authorities concerned to ferry the Minister to Delhi. As I had not accompanied him, I was stranded at Ghaziabad and passed night there. Next morning, I took a train for Agra, from where I went to Jaipur where I boarded the Delhi Express for Ahmedabad. After my return from there, I was constantly taken by the idea what a critical and peculiar situation had been created by the floods that kept the capital of India cut off from the rest of the country, by rail and road for about a fortnight. It then struck me that there should be at least one more bridge, not very far off from the present one, for regular flow of traffic from the east of Delhi. I requested my boss, Sri Sharmaji to have a new bridge near Baghpat. But he pointed out that the P. W. D. Engineers had suggested a place near KAIRANA (district Muzaffarnagar). Then I spoke to the Chief Engineer P. W. D. but got no favourable reply. Being disappointed, I thought of approaching Chaudhary Saheb who was then Minister for Revenue. I went to him with the draft of a

note to be sent to the P. W. D. Minister. Since the matter concerned people of his constituency, he was pleased to make necessary corrections in the draft and addressed it to the Chief Minister. A copy of the same is given on the next page. [A photostat copy bearing valuable, useful corrections made by Chaudhary Saheb, in the typed draft prepared by me is also available thereafter]. The note, in due course, reached the Minister P.W.D., and after discussions between the Minister, Secretary, P. W. D. and the Chief Engineer, it was decided to explore the possibility of having the bridge at Baghpat as was suggested by Chaudhary Saheb. The proposal had every chance of being approved, as Chaudhary Saheb told me later when I inquired about the progress in the matter. But luck did not favour Baghpat people, as Chaudhary Saheb resigned after some time from the Uttar Pradesh Cabinet. The question of the bridge then took a U turn. The site originally selected viz, near KAIRANA, opposite Panipat in Haryana, was finally approved for the purpose. Thus, the construction of a bridge at Baghpat was delayed by 30 years or so. However, when Chaudhary Saheb became Prime Minister, he fulfilled this need of the area and laid the foundation of this bridge.

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Chief Minister,

I understand a proposal to have a bridge on the Yamuna somewhere between Delhi and Saharanpur, is being mooted, perhaps, by the Government of India. In this connection I would like to place my views on record as follows :—

The new bridge should be as close to Delhi as possible. It is necessary for the safety of Delhi itself and also to divert some of the traffic which at present passes via Delhi, to some other route. The two existing bridges, one near Saharanpur and the other at Agra, are each at a distance of some 100 miles from Delhi. The new bridge should be sited in the vicinity of Delhi. If unfortunately the Delhi bridge at any time becomes useless—as it actually became during the heavy rains last year when Delhi remained cut off by road from the rest of the country for about a fortnight or so—then the entire traffic to or from Delhi has to be diverted either via Saharanpur or via Agra, which means a lot of

Chief Minister

later, by the G.S. is being metted, )

I understand that ~~there is~~ <sup>the</sup> a proposal to have a bridge on ~~river~~ <sup>the</sup> Yamuna between Delhi and Saharanpur. In this connection, I <sup>would like to</sup> place my views on record for the ~~information of those concerned :~~ <sup>on file -</sup>

(1) The new bridge should be as close to Delhi as possible. It is necessary for the safety of Delhi itself and also to divert some of the traffic which at present passes via Delhi, to some other route. The two <sup>existing</sup> bridges, one near Saharanpur and the other at Agra, are each at a distance of <sup>some</sup> over 100 miles from Delhi. ~~To have no bridge over Yamuna within a reasonable distance of the present one, is not in our national interest.~~ If unfortunately, the Delhi bridge at any time becomes useless - as it actually became during the ~~last~~ heavy rains last year when Delhi remained cut off by road from the rest of the country for about a fortnight or so - then the entire traffic going to or from Delhi has to be diverted either via Saharanpur or via Agra, which means a lot of extra expenditure, inconvenience and waste of time. To obviate these difficulties, there should be a bridge at a distance of 15 or 20 miles from Delhi. ~~If we have the new bridge at Baghpat, it will meet our requirements.~~

The new bridge should be sited in the vicinity of Delhi

In my opinion Baghpat will be the better place. ~~that is,~~ when there were no new roads the main trade route between the Punjab and the U.P. ~~was~~ passed through Baghpat

(2) The upper portion of our frontiers with Pakistan, i.e. near Amritsar, can be approached via Saharanpur, Ambala. But the central portion i.e. near Ferozpur, ~~is~~ can only be approached by a direct route via Delhi. In case of emergency, if the military personnel has to be despatched to that side, Delhi bridge will have to be used where as already stated even in normal days there is so much heavy traffic. By having a bridge at Baghpat, this contingency will be <sup>obviated</sup> ~~removed~~

(3) Baghpat is also connected by a ~~good pucca~~ <sup>metalled</sup> road with Meerut, an important military centre in the west. I understand that on the other side of the Yamuna also, there is a good pucca road from Sonapat (a few miles from Baghpat) to Rohtak and, perhaps, upto Jind, Nerwana also. I am not sure, but my idea is that Meerut can in this way be connected right up

~~From~~ Ferozpur Cantt. This advantage of having pucca roads on both sides of Yamuna will not be available at any other place between Delhi and Saharanpur.

having the bridge

There is yet another point in favour of Baghat -  
(4) Then the last but the most important consideration is that God forbid if at any time the question of evacuation

of the people of Rohtak, Hissar and PEPSU ever arises, then the ~~max~~ <sup>only</sup> bridge nearest to them will be that of Delhi which I am afraid might not allow that much <sup>intake</sup> ~~involving~~ of traffic due to quick military movements at that time. Thus strategically too, the choice <sup>should</sup> fall on Baghat.

a very important point, indeed, from national considerations of national defence.

Sd/- Chaman Singh  
31. 7. 56

extra expenditure, inconvenience and waste of time. To obviate these difficulties, there should be a bridge at a distance of 15 or 20 miles from Delhi. In my opinion Baghpat will be the proper place. Formerly, that is, when there were no railways, the main trade route between the Punjab and the Uttar Pradesh passed through Baghpat.

The upper portion of our frontiers with Pakistan, i. e. near Amritsar, can be approached via Saharanpur, Ambala. But the central portion i. e. near Ferozpur, can only be approached by a direct route via Delhi. In case of emergency, if the military personnel has to be despatched to that side, Delhi bridge will have to be used where, as already stated, even in normal days there is so much heavy traffic. By having a bridge at Baghpat, this contingency will be obviated.

Baghpat is also connected by a direct metalled road with Meerut, an important military centre in the west. I understand that on the other side of the Yamuna also, there is a good pucca road from Sonapat (a few miles from Baghpat) to Rohtak and perhaps, upto Jind, Narwana also. I am not sure, but my idea is that Meerut can in this way be connected right upto Ferozpur cantt.

There is yet another point in favour of having the bridge at Baghpat—a very important point, indeed, from considerations of national defence, is that if God forbid, at any time the question of evacuation of the people of Rohtak, Hissar and PEPSU arises, then the only bridge nearest to them will be that of Delhi, which I am afraid might not allow that much intake of traffic due to quick military movements at the time. Thus strategically too, the choice should fall on Baghpat.

Sd/- Charan Singh

31-7-56

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## His letters to me

In the year 1963, while disposing of his dak, he dictated some letters which after being typed out, were put to him for his signatures. In one of these letters, some minor correction was made. Even though that did not look awkward, he desired that letter to be re-typed saying;

“You people in the Secretariat may not have much consideration for our letters, but in the country-side people have great regard for the letters received by them, from a Minister; they attach great importance to such letters, keep them very carefully and even get them framed.”

Next day, I made a search in my papers at my residence and traced a letter dated June 25, 1951, written by Chaudhary Saheb to me. I had sent him a congratulatory letter from my village where I had gone on leave, on his elevation to the post of a Cabinet Minister from that of a Parliamentary Secretary. The letter (copy given onwards) is an acknowledgement of the greetings sent by me. I showed that letter to Chaudhary Saheb saying that we too have great regard for your letters. He was pleased to see that this letter had been preserved by me safely during the past 12 years (1951-1963). How courteous Chaudhary Saheb had been in sending a reply on such an auspicious occasion to all those who sent him congratulatory letters.

When he took over as Home Minister, Government of India in 1977, I happened to be in Delhi and personally congratulated him. When he became Deputy Prime Minister, I sent him a congratulatory letter to which his reply was duly received and a copy is given onwards. This was his last letter to me. Thus, his first and last letter to me have been very well preserved by me during all these years.

During his Prime Ministership, I heard each and every word of his speech made on 15th August from the ramparts of RED FORT. On that occasion, I had written to him, but I am not aware whether considering the nature of this letter, that was ever shown to him or not, because I did not hear anything from him in response to that. However, a copy is given for the readers to see how for they share my views in this matter.

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नैनीताल

२५ जून सन् १९५१

प्रिय तिलक राम,

तुम्हारा ७ जून का पत्र यथा समय मिला ।  
बधाई संदेश के लिए बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद ।  
अपने गाँव वालों को भी मेरा धन्यवाद देना और  
यथा-योग्य नमस्ते कहना ।

तुम्हारा,

चरण सिंह 1/26

चरण सिंह

श्री तिलक राम,  
ग्राम सांकरोद,  
पो० खेकड़ा,  
ज़िला मेरठ ।

उप-प्रधान मंत्री (वित्त)

भारत

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER (FINANCE)

INDIA

नई दिल्ली

दिनांक फरवरी 13, 1979

प्रिय तिलक राम जी,

आपका पत्र दिनांक 24 जनवरी, 1979  
मिला। आपकी हार्दिक बधाई के लिए बहुत-बहुत  
धन्यवाद। मेरे प्रति जो भावनायें आपने व्यक्त की  
हैं, उनके लिए आभारी हूँ।

स-प्रेम,

आपका,

चरण सिंह

चरण सिंह

श्री तिलक राम,  
सी० 924 महानगर,  
लखनऊ (उ० प्र०)



August 18 1980

Respected Chaudhary Saheb,

My previous letter conveying my hearty congratulations on your assuming the high office of Prime Minister, would have been shown by now to you, by Shri Lalit.

This is apropos your broadcast to the nation. It covered almost all the main problems facing the country, at present. I, however, feel that the following points should also have been dealt with which were probably inadvertently left out, because of your being too busy to attend to these minor matters. But surley, this is a great lapse on the part of permanent occupants of the South Block. This simply displays their lack of imagination, foresight and experience :

- i ) "foreign affairs" did not find a place in your broadcast. The foreign diplomats in New Delhi and their bosses abroad, must have been greatly disappointed to have no words for them, from the Prime Minister of India. A simple declaration of adherence to the policy of 'non-alignment' pursued by India, so far, was very much expected. Of course, A.I.R. did mention this fact later in the news which are seldom heard by these V.I.Ps.
- ii ) There was no mention of friendly relations with our neighbours, viz, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka etc.
- iii ) Tribal and border areas, Mizoram and Nagaland etc. should have been assured of peace and tranquility there, with a warning to the trouble-makers to be curbed with a stern hand.
- iv ) A reference to the "large stock of food and ample foreign revenue at the disposal of government"

gives unnecessary credit to the past government and this was hardly called for on this occasion.

2. For fear of being lengthy, I cut short my reactions. I am sending these to you with great hesitation, for whatever they are worth, as I feel I shall not be doing my duty towards you by not apprising you of this common thinking.

With respectful regards.

Your's sincerely,  
SD/-TILAK RAM

CHAUDHARY CHARAN SINGH  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

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## Pandit Nahru and Chaudhary Saheb

This is a delicate subject and I did not want to write anything about it. But I would not be doing justice to this great personality, if I keep anything back from the readers, what I know.

After the departure of the 1st U. P. Chief Minister, Pt. G. B. Pant to Delhi as Home Minister, Government of India, Dr. Sampurnanand was elected as leader of the U. P. Legislature Congress Party. In the list of Ministers to be included in his Cabinet, it is said that the names of two ex. Ministers, Chaudhary Charan Singh and Sri Mohan Lal Gautam, were not included, perhaps because of their apparent support for bifurcation of Uttar Pradesh. When this list was shown to Pt. Nehru, he inquired where was Chaudhary Charan Singh in that ? On being told that he had been dropped, Pt. Nehru is said to have remarked : "In U. P. no Government can function smoothly unless Chaudhary Charan Singh is in it." Chaudhary Saheb also then joined the Sampurnanand Ministry. This happened in 1954. Soon after Chaudhary Saheb tendered his resignation from that Ministry on some minor difference. Sri C. B. Gupta, after his defeat in the 1957 assembly election, was also out of Government at that time. Sri Gupta was dominating the U. P. Congress, as also the U. P. Congress Legislature Party, since Sri Rafi Ahamad Kidwai's departure for Delhi as Communication Minister, Government of India. During the Chief Ministership of Dr. Sampurnanand, Sri Gupta being out of Government, felt his position being eroded and he too was not happy with the affairs of the state. Through the efforts of a mutual friend, Sri C. B. Gupta and Chaudhary Saheb joined hands, though prior to that, no love was lost between the two. At a time, when a no confidence motion was being discussed in the U. P. Assembly against Sampurnanand Ministry, Sri Gupta and Chaudhary Saheb manouvered to

present a petition signed by over 90 M.L.As., to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, to the effect that they too had no confidence in that Ministry but were unable to vote against it, because of party whip. After some time in 1960, Dr. Sampurnanand had to quit because of some tangle of his own creation. Since, Sri Gupta was not a member of any house at that time, Chaudhary Saheb was considered to be the only choice to take over as Chief Minister of U. P. But, Sri C. B. Gupta himself took oath of office as Chief Minister and later got himself nominated by the Governor as an M. L. C. The nomination was challenged in the High Court, and perhaps in the Supreme Court, on the ground that the Chief Minister could not nominate himself as a member of the legislative Council, because such nominations though made by the Governor, are actually made on the recommendation of the Chief Minister. Thus, Chaudhary Saheb was left to be content with Home Ministership of U. P. It was then given out that Pt. Nehru was not in favour of Chaudhary Saheb taking over as Chief Minister. Whatever the position, Chaudhary Saheb's chance to become Chief Minister had receded. Later, when under the Kamraj plan, Sri C. B. Gupta had to quit in 1963, Chaudhary Saheb being a very senior and competent Minister was again considered to be the best choice, But alas, this time too, he missed the bus and Smt. Kriplani was made the Chief Minister of U. P. People attributed these supersession of Chaudhary Saheb to the annoyance of Pt. Nehru towards him, because of his opposition to the Prime Minister's resolution on co-operative farming at the AICC Session at Nagpur in 1958. Be that as it may, one thing is clear that even after these two apparent injustices to him, he kept cool and did not lose patience; of course, he had a sense of frustration as on one occasion he was heard whispering in low voice; "Politics has become a dirty game. If that boy (Sri Ajit Singh who was then in America) sends me a few hundred dollars per month, I want to leave it (Politics)". After 1967 elections, he not only withdrew from the contest of the leadership of U. P. Legislature Congress Party, but also proposed Sri C. B. Gupta's name for the leadership. People say that in an interview with Pt. Nehru later, Chaudhary saheb had taken up this matter with him and Pt. Nehru was reported to have said that he never intended to deprive him of his due,

although there was some difference of opinion between them on some matters like co-operative farming. In case, all this is correct, it goes to show that true facts were not placed before Pt. Nehru at that time.

In 1963, I had an occasion to accompany Chaudhary Saheb (then Minister Agriculture, U. P.) to the Prime Minister's office. He had been given 10 or 15 minutes time for talk with the Prime Minister, in response to our letter to this effect. Chaudhary Saheb remained with Pt. Nehru for about 50 minutes. Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, then Home Minister, Government of India, twice came with a file in his hand, to meet the Prime Minister, but every time he was told by P. S. to P. M. that Chaudhary Charan Singh was in. While returning from P. M's residence in a car, I casually mentioned to him that he had been far too long with the Prime Minister and that Sri Nanda had to go back twice. Then Chaudhary Saheb revealed that the discussions were prolonged, because first some political matters were discussed and then the departmental performance was taken up. That being the period of PL 480, much emphasis was then laid on more production to achieve selfsufficiency on the food front. Chaudhary Saheb, being Agriculture Minister, was of the view that the desired progress in the field of agriculture was not possible as the distribution of seed and fertilizer was under the charge of Cooperative-Minister, Irrigation with another Minister, and so on. In order to achieve good results, his suggestion was that all these departments should be placed under the charge of a senior Minister (Probably with the designation of Deputy Chief Minister) and a few State Ministers could be attached to assist him. Though, at the political level, this could not be possible, but at the officer's level, this was fully implemented in the shape of the creation of the post of Agricultural Production Commissioner, who looks after agriculture, gram vikas, animsl husbandry, co-operative, minor irrigation and similar other nation building departments. What inference to draw from this lengthy interview of Chaudhary Saheb with Pt. Nehru, is just a matter of conjecture.

## Congress Alvida

The otherwise exemplary, unblemished and clean political career of Chaudhary Saheb, was, according to some, slightly tarnished by his quitting the Congress. Some went to the extent of blaming him for engineering the fall of Gupta Government in 1967, so as to become the Chief Minister of U. P. These facts need to be analysed in some detail. To arrive at a correct decision, the following points seem relevant :

- (i) had he acted in a planned way to overthrow the Gupta Government in 1967, or
- (ii) was he, all of a sudden, compelled by circumstances, to take the drastic action of leaving the Congress ? If so, what were those circumstances ?

So far as (i) above is concerned, planned action is negatived by the following factors :—

- (a) At the time of distribution of tickets for 1967 Assembly election, he would have manipulated to help the largest number of his men to get Congress ticket so that they, along with him, could defect to swell the number of opposition. That no such manipulation was involved, is clear, as only 17 MLAs left Congress with him, in March 1967. Taking his popularity among the masses into account, this number would have been somewhere between 70 and 80, if not more. In the 1969 elections, his newly-formed party, Bhartiya Kranti Dal (BKD) had captured over 100 seats and among the defeated candidates the majority of those who secured the largest number of votes, belonged to BKD.

- (b) In case of a pre-plan, he would have advised many of his men in the Congress to revolt and seek election as independent candidates and join him later at the crucial moment. But not many independents joined his new JAN CONGRESS, at that time.
- (c) Sensing that the opposition will create trouble for Congress, as Congress then had narrow majority in the House, and fearing hurdles at every stage by opposition, Sri C. B. Gupta was in favour of the opposition being given a chance to form Government first. But Chaudhary Saheb suggested that the Congress should form Government, and a stable Government at that.
- (d) Had he any previous intention of leaving Congress, he would not have decided to contest the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party, because the Sanyukt Vidhayak Dal (SVD) was offering Chief Ministership to him, on a platter. But he was paying no heed to their repeated requests.
- (e) In a letter written by him on 15-2-1967, i. e. about a month and a half prior to his leaving Congress, to one Sri Dharam Singh (English version of the letter is given below and a copy of the original is on the page opposite), he had all praises for the Congress, inspite of some evils having crept into it with the passage of time, and he then considered it the only Party in the country, which could do some good for the people.

(English version of the letter)

CHARAN SINGH  
Mantri.

Dated February 15, 1967

Dear Dharam Singh,

Sri Ram Charanji has come to me with your message and also that of other gentlemen, that I should come to your

constituency and say something in the public meetings there, to make the Congress candidates successful. I did want to go, not only to your constituency but also to some other constituencies, but my health does not permit my doing so. I am continuously ill for the last two months and in between, I started doing work without full recovery. The result has been that I have had three relapses. So, I have become very weak. I have not been able to go to my constituency after January 16. As I am not getting complete rest here, so I am leaving for Lucknow today.

I want that you all vote for Sri Vichitra Narain Ji Sharma and Smt. Kamla Chowdhry. With the passage of time, some evils have crept into the Congress—there is no doubt about it. But today, no other party is strong enough to develop the country. Keeping in view the present dissatisfaction, I hope, the Congress, in future, will rectify its mistakes and as it was in the past, it will again become the popular institution of the people. It has done greatest service of the country. But, as I have said above, it has decidedly committed some mistakes.

Yours

Sri Dharambir Singh Ji,  
Modinagar, District Meerut.

Sd/- Charan Singh

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The only inference which can be drawn from the foregoing paras, is, that Chaudhary Saheb had no pre-plan to leave the Congress and least to topple the 18 days old Gupta Government. The question now arises what other development took place all of a sudden, which left him with no other alternative but to leave the Congress—his dear Congress which he so sincerely served to the best of his capability and capacity, for more than 40 years and which he always held in high esteem. To know the reason for his doing so, we have to recall the leadership issue. Chaudhary Saheb wanted to contest the leadership of Uttar Pradesh Congress Legislature Party in 1967. He had issued an appeal to all the Congress MLAs. But, before the crucial date, two emissaries of the High Command, at the instance of the Prime Minister, Smt. Gandhi, came to see him at his residence.



प्रिय अमेठीरिसिंह,

श्री रामचरण जी, ज्ञान का तथा दूसरे सज्जनों का यह संदेश लेकर मेरे पास आए हैं कि मैं ज्ञान के चुनाव क्षेत्र में ज्ञान के कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवारों को सामर्थ्य बनाने के लिए २.४ बोटों की सीमा सामंजसिक सभा में करूँ। मैं तो चाहता था कि ज्ञान के ही क्षेत्र में नहों, बल्कि दूसरे क्षेत्रों में भी जाऊँ, परन्तु मेरा स्वास्थ्य इजाजत नहीं देता। मैं दो फ्लोने से बराबर बीमार-रुज रहा हूँ और बीच-बीच में, पूरा व्यवहार बिना ही मैं ने काम करना सांभल कर लिया, इस वरिष्ठ क्षेत्र बार विरलेपन (रोग का पुनः संक्रमण) हो चुका। इस से मैं बहुत कमजोर हो गया हूँ। मैं १६ जनवरी के बाद अपने क्षेत्र में भी नहीं जा सका हूँ। और यदि मुझ को यहाँ आराम नहीं मिल पाता है मैं जाऊँगा तो वापिस जा रहा हूँ।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि ज्ञान सब लोग की विभिन्न तराफों श्री राम जी और श्रीमती कमला चौधरी को जोर दें। समय के साथ कांग्रेस में एक एराबैरिंग जा गई है - इस में कोई शक नहीं। परन्तु आज किसी भी राजनीतिक पार्टी में मुझ को तयारने को शामिल नहीं है। वर्तमान स्वतंत्रता को देख कर, मुझे आशा है कि भविष्य में

सं. प. ३

- 2 - श्री

कौंगेस जहर प्रपत्रो खासियों का सुधार करेगा  
और फिर जनता की प्रिय संस्था बन जाएगा। ~~और पार्लियामेंट की~~  
~~आने दे दे वा. ल. के लिए वा. वा.~~  
~~विषय तो वह आज भी है परन्तु जैसा कि मैं पहले~~  
~~कह चुका हूँ, कुछ गमनामा हम लोगों की ओर से जनसभ~~  
~~हो चुका है।~~

प्राप का  
चरण सिंह

श्री धर्मवीरजी जी,  
मोदीनगर,  
जि. मेरठ

They were Raja Dinesh Singh and Pt. Kamalapati Tripathi. (In the interview given by Smt. Gayatri Devi, w/o Chaudhary Charan Singh, the name of Pt. Uma Shankar Dixit is given in place of Pt. K. P. Tripathi—"DINMAAN" date 24-6-87 June 24, 1987, pages 19-20. The rest of her version is exactly the same as is given here). They persuaded Chaudhary Saheb to avoid contest, as it would create friction and bitterness in the party and weaken it, adding that the Congress had been badly mauled in the north India and non-Congress Governments were in offing in the Hindi belt. Chaudhary Saheb fully understood what the fate of the country would be, had Congress been voted out of power. Like a true patriot, guided by the interests of the nation, he subordinated his self interest to that of the country and agreed to withdraw from the contest. An emotional sentence then uttered, had its marvellous effect; "Chaudhary Saheb, please save the Congress" (Chaudhary Saheb Congress ko bacha lijiya). Chaudhary Saheb had also then suggested that both of them, Sri C. B. Gupta and Chaudhary Saheb, should remain out and let some young man lead the Party and become Chief Minister. Probably, Sri Guptaji did not approve of it. Chaudhary Saheb then insisted that the persons who had a bad reputation and had no good image in public, should not be taken in the Ministry. The response of the emissaries was that the new Government would be constituted in consultation with Chaudhary Saheb. Sri Gupta was unanimously elected leader and formed his Government. Chaudhary Saheb was shocked to see the names of several such persons whom he did not want to be in the Ministry because of their bad reputation. He brought it to Sri Guptaji's notice who showed his ignorance of any such assurance having been given to Chaudhary Saheb about his consultation at the time of formation of Government. Chaudhary Saheb contacted the people at Delhi and they had a talk with Guptaji, but he did not budge an inch saying that it was the Chief Minister's prerogative to select his team. Chaudhary Saheb was informed of this development and advised to do as he wished. What could he do at that late stage—leadership contest was over, Government had been formed and was functioning. This incident was engraved in his mind; he felt much humiliated and insulted. Hurried conmltation were held at Chaudhary Saheb's residence. His supporters and sympathisers were divided into two groups—one was in favour of his leaving the Congress and the

other was opposed to this move. Chaudhary Saheb was at the cross/road of his political career. He was feeling suffocated and great tension overtook him. The sober element expressed the view that these people (people of SVD were dying to have him as their leader) would make Chaudhary Saheb fall in such a ditch from where he would not be able to get out. They quoted the fate of several other top leaders who had gone into obijion after leaving Congress. On the other hand, the argument of the other group was that there was then left nothing for him in the Congress, because when Sri C. B. Gupta went out under Kamraj Plan, Smt. Sucheta Kripalani was appointed as Chief Minister ignoring Chaudhary Saheb's claim. Now Sri C. B. Gupta had again been in saddle and thereafter, they feared, Pt. Kamlapti Tripathi would get a chance. They contended that Chaudhary Saheb was doomed in Congress too. Where was the harm if he took a chance outside the Congress. As stated above, several central and state top leaders of the opposition party were approaching him day and night. S/Sri Raj Narain, Nanaji Deshmukh, Ram Chandra Vikal, Tambeshwar Prasad and many others continued to come to him, off and on. But Chaudhary Saheb was adamant and was not prepared to oblige them. Much against his inner conscience, Chaudhary Saheb one day announced in the House that he had left Congress with his 17 collegus, and formed a new JAN CONGRESS.

It is for the constitutional experts to say whether it is to be considered a defection or not, particularly when the Anti-Defection Act had not been passed. Previous to that Acharya J. B. Kriplani had left Congress to form his new (K. M. P. P.) Krishak Majdoor Praja Party; Sri Ashok Mehta had left his (P. S. P.) Praja Socialist Party, to join Congress. In the south, Sri Prakasam (Madras) had also left Congress.

A few words for Sri C. B. Guptaji. Justice should not be denied to him and credit must be given to him where due. Immediately after Chaudhary Saheb resumed his seat, Sri Guptaji was on his feet to announce like a true democrat:

“I am in minority now, I tender the resignation of my Government Let Chaudhary Saheb form his Government”.

Several colleagues of Sri Guptaji had expressed their anguish at this hasty action on his part. According to them, he could seek time to prove his majority in the House, and by next morning, many opposition and independent members, they opined, would have crossed the floor and joined Congress.

It is now for the readers to judge for themselves whether Chaudhary Saheb, at the old age of 65, left Congress of his own, or he was compelled by circumstances to do so. Even after his taking over as Chief Minister when some people from Meerut congratulated him, he said, "the way I have become Chief Minister, I am not happy".

One Minister of Gupta Cabinet, with whom I had once been posted, was heard by me telling his friends and other party-men sitting in his drawing room after the fall of Gupta Government that they (Congress men) too were not less sorry at the exit of Chaudhary Saheb from the Congress.



## Chaudhary Saheb and Parliament

This subject is, no doubt, beyond the purview of this book whose very name suggests in unambiguous terms that it covers the events which took place between me and Chaudhary Saheb. Of late, however, the subject has gained some significant mention and it has prompted me to express my views. The fact that Chaudhary Saheb could not face the Parliament, has now become a part of history and no useful purpose will be served by a hair-splitting analysis of this established fact of the days gone by. It is, however, for consideration how far others are also to blame for this.

Among the Prime Minister of India, I consider Smt. Indira Gandhi to top the list. No doubt, Pt. Nehru did his best to put the country on a sound footing and he laid the foundation of modern India. But for his efforts, the progress and achievement we have made, could not have been possible. True, the big factories and plants were essential for the industrialisation and to stabilize the defence production. But it was also an unavoidable part of his duty to take precaution to safeguard the country against any foreign aggression. Alas, he erred on this count. The Bokharo and Bhilai Plants could not help to check the thrust of Chinese near Taiwan, Bom Dilla and Chung Valley, in 1962. Even an ordinary person when he goes to reside in a newly built colony, makes arrangement of a gun, and if that be not possible, at least a *lathi* is kept at hand. He does not wait for the bamboo plant of his field or garden to grow into a tree to be used as a *lathi*. Smt. Indira Gandhi took a more practical view of things and paid due attention to the defence of the country. The result was that after the 1971 Bangla Desh War, India was considered by super power of the world, "a force to be reckoned with in the South Asia". During the Janta Party regime, she and her son, late Sri Sanjaya Gandhi, had been prosecuted and she was once arrested. But, on her return to power in 1980, she showed no

signs of a revengeful mood. Had she desired, she could have finned the various allegations and counter allegations against the near relations of the top members of the Central Government of the Janta Party. But, she refused to meddle in such petty affairs, as she wanted to devote her entire energy and time to take the country forward as, according to her, there had been a great set back in its progress during the intervening period. She had become a statesman of international fame. The century old Congress Party to which she belonged, was also famous for its rightful cause and high moral standards. It was on the basis of support given by Congress that Chaudhary Saheb formed the Lok Dal Government at the centre. But later this support was withdrawn. Why ? No explanation for this is available. It is certain that in between, there was no session of the Parliament, so that any controversy might have arisen on the introduction of certain bill or any other legislative measure. Nor was there any indication to show that the Lok Dal Government wanted to denationalise Banks or reverse any other decision of the Congress Government or there was any difference of opinion on the policy regarding Public or Private Sector, or for the matter of that, on any other business. Nothing of the sort happened. What justification then was there to withdraw like chess pieces, the support given by a reputed oldest national Party which was supposed to set moral standards for other parties. It was all the more painful to see this drama being enacted, not in a third-rate Municipal Board, but at the Parliament level in India. A gentleman's promise was broken before the ink of the agreement—if there was any—had dried up. What a good example India set before the democracies of the world ! The process, in its wake, also cast a reflection on the judgement of the President of India in selecting a person who could not face the Parliament. How can the President, absolve himself of this unfortunate episode. An honourable course for the Congress would have been to suggest to the Lok Dal Government that in view of the prevailing political situation in the country, Parliament elections be held early. Had it been accepted, their purpose would have been served. If not, they had every right and option to withdraw their support. The democracies of the world could not then raise a finger against India.

## Miscellaneous

1. In 1967, Sri Udit Narain Sharma, his Revenue Minister, after taking oath of office, suggested to Chaudhary Saheb that either Sri Tilak Ram Shrama or Sri Atma Ram Srivastava (who was also on the personal staff of Chaudhary Saheb) he posted with him. Chaudhary Saheb told him that he had ordered posting of P. Ss and P. As. according to seniority. Sri Udit Narain Sharma again stressed : "They are our men".

Chaudhary Saheb's instant reply was "Sharmaji what are you saying Government servants are nobody's men. They are loyal to the person with whom they have to work. They all are our men now. If you have any difficulty then let me know".

2. In 1965, after the famous 62 days strike by non-gazetted Government employees for parity in D. A. with the central Government employees, Smt. Sucheta Kriplani, the then Chief Minister entrusted the task of settling the issue, to Chaudhary Saheb. He asked for some data from various State Government, and the same was processed by the Finance Department to enable him to have a comparative study of the ratio between the per capita income and the salary paid by different State Governments. Enough mathematical calculation was involved. Such statements which were received late, instead of being sent to Finance Department were made over to us (personal staff) to do the calculations. Feeling bored and tired at 8-30 P. M. after day's hard work, I dared to tell him :

"Chaudhary Saheb, five, seven or ten rupees, whatever you want to give (this used to be the usual increase in D. A. instalment then), be recommended to the Chief Minister. Where is the justification in comparing us with those living



in the south. They can do without woollens and with a pair of chappals throughout the year while here people need shoes, blankets and woollens viz coat, pant, pullover etc. to guard against cold, in winter". At this, he retorted—

"But those people are more honest and hard working than your people".

I quietly collected all those papers and returned to my room.

Now I repent how impertinent I had been to him then.

3. After getting down from the train at Hapur and keeping the luggage in the car, the M. L. A. who had come there to receive Chaudhary Saheb, asked whether the "type baboo" had also come. Chaudhary Saheb was much annoyed and said "Mr.—you are an old member of the House. Don't You know that not a "type baboo" but a P. A. or Private Secretary accompanies us". He was so displeared with him that throughout his journey from Hapur to Bulandshar, he did not even speak a word to the M. L. A. concerned.
4. When I, for the first time accompanied him on tour to Meerut, I had to stay at the Circuit House and he went to visit his constituency. In the evening, he reached direct the house of his friend where he had to take his dinner. I received a ring from there inviting me to dinner. I thanked them saying that I had my arrangement and they need not worry. The next moment his Host friend was on the phone to tell me that Chaudhary Saheb was waiting for me and that he would not start his meals till I reached there. Just then a car arrived in the portico. When I reached the place, I found dinner had been served before Chaudhary Saheb and a few others persant there. A start was made only when I joined them. Such was his consideration for his personal staff.
5. Chaudhary Saheb had good knowledge of astrology and had great regard for really good astrologers. As for numero-logy, it appears that the figure of FIVE played an important role in his life. His date of birth 23 makes  $2+3=5$

He became Chief Minister in 1967  $1+9+6+7=23$ ,  $2+3=5$   
 Two of his daughters were married on fifth (wide invitation  
 cards given below).

## ओइम्

ईश्वर की अनुकम्पा से कुमारी सरोज (आयुष्मती पुत्री श्री चरण सिंह) का पाणिग्रहण संस्कार श्री श्याम बिहारी लाल जी वर्मा के सुपुत्र चिरंजीव अविनाश चन्द्र के साथ सोमवार, तिथि मार्ग शीर्ष बदी ६, सम्बत् २०१२, तदनुसार ५ दिसम्बर सन् १९५५ ई० को होना निश्चित हुआ है।

आपसे प्रार्थना है कि संस्कार के साक्षी होने तथा वर व कन्या को आशीर्वाद देने की कृपा करें।

३, साउथ एवेन्यू,  
 लखनऊ।

विनीत :  
 चरण सिंह  
 श्याम सिंह  
 मान सिंह

\* \* \* \* \*

ॐ

प्रियवर,

परमात्मा की असीम कृपा से मेरी पुत्री कुमारी ज्ञानवती, एम० बी० बी० एस०, का पाणिग्रहण संस्कार विजनौर निवासी चौधरी ढालगोपाल सिंह जी, एडवोकेट, के सुपुत्र चि० सत्येन्द्र प्रसन्न सिंह, आई० पी० एस०, के साथ बुधवार, मार्गशीर्ष शुक्ल ३, सम्बत् २०१३, तदनुसार ५ दिसम्बर, सन् १९५६, को होना निश्चित हुआ है।

इस मंगल बेला को मधुमय बनाने के हेतु सभी अवसरों पर परिवार सहित आपकी उपस्थिति सादर प्रार्थनीय है।

१५, माल एवेन्यू,  
 लखनऊ।

विनीत :  
 चरण सिंह

## Chaudhary Saheb thus spoke :

6. Office and power, in due course reach the person who deserves them.
7. If you (peasants) have three or more sons, keep only one of them on agriculture and send the rest to a nearby town or city to earn their living by means other than agriculture, because the greater the number of persons dependent on agriculture, the lesser will be the per capita income of that country.
8. In demonstrations and rallies, some unsocial elements do infiltrate and then it becomes difficult to keep the mob non-violent.
9. Before giving the phone to me, be sure that the person at the other end has picked up the receiver. An exception is to be made in the case of some V. I. Ps. and doctors. The latter too should also not be kept waiting for long.
10. Bazahir ujale, babatin andhere,  
Libase rafiqee safar men lutere,  
Khuda ka lia in se bach ke nikal ja,  
Yeh ahle siyasat na tere na mere.

بظاہر اُجالے باطن اندھیرے      لباسِ رفیقِ سفر میں لٹیڑے  
خُدا کے لئے ان سے بچ کے نکل جا      یہ اہل سیاست نہ تیرے نہ میرے

बजाहिर उजाले बबातन अँधेरे, लिबासे रफ़ीके सफर में लुटेरे ।  
खुदा के लिए इनसे बच के निकल जा, यह अहले सियासत न तेरे न मेरे ॥

(Apparently very clean, but having an evil heart; dressed like a friend, but highway robbers in disguise; for God's sake, keep aloof from such people. These politicians are neither for your good, nor for mine. With a smile, Chaudhary Saheb further added—"I am also one of them".

11. The districts comprising a state should be such that the Chief Minister may remember the names of all the District Magistrates and the Superintendents of Police of his state, besides knowing them personally.

12. I had to wage a struggle for every single step. I always carried my resignation in my pocket.

10. \*  
\*  
\*  
Kanda ka la in so pach ke nikal ja.  
Libas raphice sahar na hater.  
Baxhar jale, babatin andhar.

سید محمد رفیع خاں صاحب  
بیت سید محمد رفیع خاں صاحب

Apparently very clean, but having an evil heart; dressed like a friend, but hides robbers in disguise; for God's sake, get away from such people. These politicians are neither for your good, nor for mine. With a smile, Chandrababu Sabhu further added - I am also one of them.