

Charan Singh  
Chief Minister, UP.

OLD  
Vidhan Bhavan,  
Lucknow.  
25th January '68.

Dear Friend,

The Coordination Committee of the SVD had, on January 22, called upon me to take steps, say, by January 31, to so phase or draw up the programme that the conflicting viewpoints of the various constituent units are resolved to their satisfaction, failing which they have decided to return to the leadership of Sri Ram Chandra Vikal.

The events along with their sequence which have led to the present situation must still be fresh in your memory. I had committed the audacity to ensure peace during the visit of the Prime Minister to the State despite the intentions of some of the members and leaders of the SSP and to reshuffle the portfolios including those of three of the Ministers from the Jan Sangh. Immediately, a storm burst over my head. The SSP and the Jan Sangh publicly demanded my resignation in strident tones. Last it was left behind, the Communist Party also joined the campaign.

I had told the Coordination Committee on January 17 that, in the circumstances, the SVD should find a new leader well in time before the Legislature went into sessions for the budget. In passing, I had also said that almost everybody who was anybody in any of the constituent units of the SVD, considered it his right and privilege to criticize me publicly in blatant terms, usually on the ground that I had not made any attempt to implement the 19-point programme and that nor was I sincere about its implementation. I further told the Committee that although quite a good few of the 19 items had already been executed, or, were in the process of execution or capable of implementation, atleast, in the immediate present, but that this was a side-issue. The question that fell for immediate consideration was that of finding a new leader because, as I told the Committee, in view of all that had happened, I had not the heart left to continue to lead the team any longer. In fact, since I took over in April last, I have not had even a single week's respite from situations created today by one party and tomorrow by another.

As the Coordination Committee has now desired, the programme can, perhaps, be phased and a plan for the next financial year drawn up, which a sub-committee can do after taking various viewpoints and factors into consideration. But it is not the programme alone that matters: there are other questions equally vital to the functioning of Government that call for an answer. For example:

/(1) Shall we or shall we not punish those public servants who are found guilty of indiscipline, refusal to work and attempts to paralyse the administration



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(despite the handsome emoluments that they receive)?  
If we do not — and public servants being the main  
agency of Government — Government can render no  
service to the people.

(2) Has a political party, particularly one  
which is a partner in Government, the right of  
staging a Satyagrah or organising a mass movement  
against its own Government? Should any of the ruling  
parties launch an agitation for seizure of private  
buildings, for example, the Anand-Bhavan at Allahabad,  
or lands of private persons even if they have managed  
to keep large areas in fraud of the law or public  
lands belonging to the village community or the Forest  
Department? Such a course will bring democracy into  
contempt. The only right and proper course is to have  
the necessary law enacted by the Legislature and get  
it executed through the executive and the judiciary.

(3) Shall we or shall we not prosecute persons  
who may contravene the law though it be as a result  
of an agitation mounted by one or more of the consti-  
tuent units of the SVD?

Law as it stands today or as it may stand  
tomorrow, is the basis of all civilized society and,  
if disrespect for law is allowed to spread, there will  
be anarchy.

An allied question is whether prosecutions  
that may already be pending in a law-court, shall be  
withdrawn on political considerations? If executive  
discretion takes the place of judicial decisions,  
there will be end of democracy.

(4) Should a political party or should it not  
be entitled to advocate 'gherao' and arrest of  
Ministers, whether of the Union or the State Govt.?

For, only <sup>a month ago, one of the constituents of SVD</sup> ~~presently~~, the SSP passed a resolu-  
tion for 'gherao' and arrest of the Prime Minister  
and her production before a so-called people's court,  
and two of the Central Ministers had to cancel their  
programme of visiting Allahabad because the Samajvadi  
Yuvjan Sabha of the town had passed a resolution of  
'gheraoing' them if they did.

(5) Shall we or shall we not allow the Police  
to enter the University campus if decisions like the  
arrest of the Prime Minister are sought to be  
executed, or other crimes like burning of post-offices  
etc. are apprehended, within its precincts, and the  
Vice-Chancellor is obviously unable or unwilling to  
prevent them?

Perhaps, not all the constituent units of the  
SVD are clear in their minds about the answer.

(6) Should ruling parties behave as if responsi-  
bility for peace and good governance of the State  
was not theirs?



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If democracy has to succeed, even the opposition parties, while making statements or taking up a posture, have to keep in mind that they may have — and the people may rightly expect them — to act up to the same if and when they come into power. Only very recently, one of them has off-hand "condemned the police firings and lathi charges in Modinagar, Azamgarh, Varanasi, Rae Bareilly and other places in the State and demanded a judicial inquiry into the police excesses at these places." There was no question of excesses and, where necessary, inquiries had already been ordered. It is forgotten that the police or the bureaucracy is not an enemy but Government's own instrument of service of the people. No Government in the world has done without the police or the bureaucracy nor will it ever be able to do. How the police or the bureaucracy will conduct itself depends upon our own efficiency or what we expect of it. Constant or unbridled criticism will only serve to demoralise it.

(7) Shall the Chief Minister or shall he not have the right to reshuffle the portfolios or to drop a Minister if he thinks that public interest so demands ?

True, in a Coalition, discretion of a Chief Minister to choose his colleagues may not be so unfettered as in a one-party Government. But if his right to drop a Minister or to allocate and reallocate the portfolios, is made dependent on the consent of the Minister concerned or that of somebody else, then the authority of the Chief Minister will be greatly compromised and he cannot be held responsible for good conduct of government.

(8) Has any of the constituent units of the SVD or a leader thereof the right to publicly criticize the Chief Minister or to publicly demand his resignation ?

If yes, then it will make the Government ridiculous. The obvious way out is to ask the Chief Minister in private to voluntarily resign or to bring up a vote of no-confidence against him according to rules.

(9) Shall the Government or shall it not raise and husband its financial resources in order that people may have more and better food, raiment, shelter, medical and educational facilities, transport and communications, electricity, etc. ?

The answer can only be in the affirmative. Today, excepting two States, we are the poorest and, at the same time, ~~even in relation to per capita incomes, the lowest-taxed in the country~~ (vide Statement on the next page). Whereas under a Government that knew its job and meant sincerely to carry it out, perhaps, the proportion of tax to income in Uttar Pradesh should have been far greater,

*in a general meeting of the SVD or before such other forum as rules may provide*

*taxing per capita incomes as the base, but adjustment on the basis of per capita income*



(4) as it is today)

(if not just the reverse, till the State had passed out of the woods and, at least, crossed the misery line : or,

Statement showing per capita taxation in each State as percentage of per capita State income in 1964-65.

State	Per capita taxation	Per capita income at current prices	Per capita taxation as percentage of per capita income
			$\frac{\text{Col. 2} \times 100}{\text{Col. 3}}$
1	2	3	4
	Rs.	Rs.	
1. Andhra Pradesh ..	17.58	402.55	4.37
2. Assam ..	14.75	394.00	3.74
3. Bihar ..	9.76	279.37	3.49
4. Gujrat ..	21.00	424.00	4.95
5. Jammu & Kashmir ..	8.51	-	-
6. Kerala ..	19.00	369.58	5.16
7. Madhya Pradesh ..	13.30	408.20	3.26
8. Madras ..	20.81	439.40	4.74
9. Maharashtra ..	26.13	524.00	4.99
10. Mysore ..	16.69	NA	NA
11. Orissa ..	8.97*	304.45*	2.95*
12. Punjab (including Haryana) ..	23.13	586.00	3.95
13. Rajasthan ..	14.70	394.00	3.73
14. Uttar Pradesh ..	10.24	365.12	2.80
15. West Bengal ..	21.14	388.00	5.45
ALL INDIA ..	-	421.50	-

\* These figures relate to the year 1963-64 as the State Income figures for the year 1964-65 are not available.

NA Not available

Note:- The latest figures of State Income which are available relate to the year 1964-65 and that too have been copied out from respective publications of different States available with us.

Yet, this Government has been engaged in throwing away resources that already exist and is not prepared to effect economy by retrenchment largely because of the fear of political consequences. While in view of the increasing population, not only alternative but additional resources are necessary.

The latest figures, if available, would make no sense in the picture





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(10) Shall the constituent units of the SVD behave as representatives exclusively of their own parties — their workers and supporters — and not as representatives of the entire people? I must be forgiven if I say that the larger part of their energy and attention has been, till date, devoted to agitations and destructive criticism, to demands of students, organized labour and Government employees, to furtherance of their particular ideology and projection of the image of their respective parties mostly at the cost of other partners in Government. If this continues, then history will record that we were not true to our charge. //

Questions like the above have been plaguing me and my colleagues since the very formation of Government. Despite this, I believe our record has been, at least, as good as that of any other Government in the country. Had the political circumstances been otherwise, I am sure it would have been far better.

The implications of the situation are ~~xxx~~ clear enough. And it is not that they are not obvious to all my colleagues. Only, last night in a meeting of the Coordination Committee an important Minister coming from a major constituent, remarked that a Coalition Government could not possibly give an "efficient" administration to the people! Nor is it that there is a misunderstanding about the objectives of the SVD Government in the minds of leaders of all the constituent units. During discussions in a meeting of the Coordination Committee held in May last about the desirability or otherwise of abolishing land-revenue and the best method of doing it, an important leader vouchsafed that he or his party was not concerned with economic development of the State but that their aim was political!

I have my own answers to the questions that I have raised, but I pass the buck to the SVD.

Sincerely Yours,

*Charan Singh*  
(CHARAN SINGH)

All Members of SVD,UP.



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