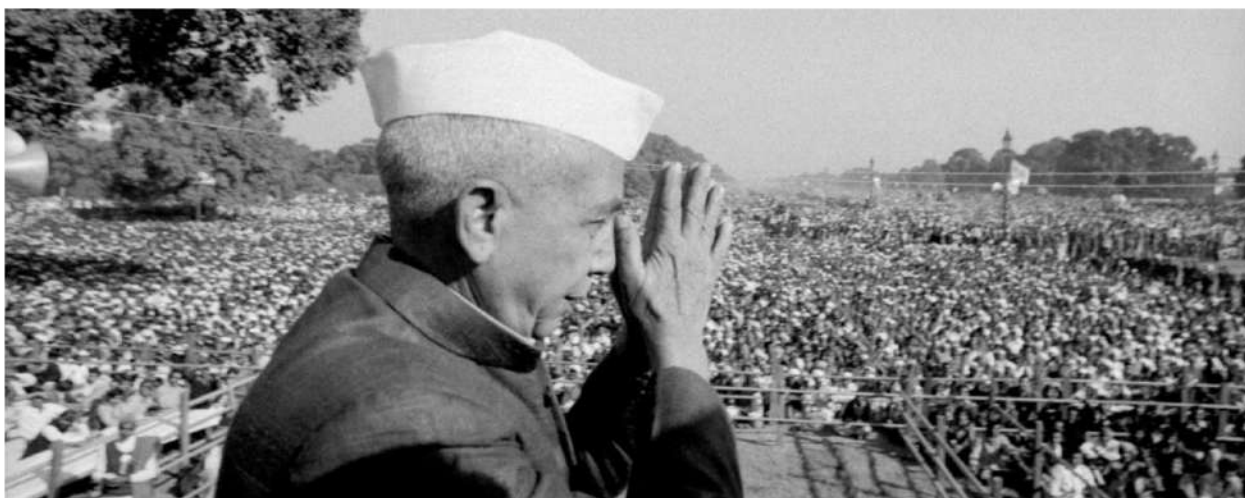




## Chaudhary Charan Singh Archives



Life History of Chaudhary Charan Singh

<http://chaudharycharansingh.org>

1707-1860

The Tewatia clan grows its influence in Ballabhgarh, Faridabad in present day Haryana. Nahar Singh, an 1857 revolutionary, is hung by the British for his role; his clansman Badam Singh leaves for across the Yamuna



The Tewatia's, a clan of the hardy peasant Jat community, live in village Sihi, district Ballabhgarh to the South of Delhi in the modern day state of Haryana. They come into their own after the contraction of the authority of the Empire after the death of Aurangzeb, the last great Mughal Emperor. Gopal Singh is given the responsibility to collect revenue on behalf of the Mughal court for a 1/16th share, and thus starts the story of the ascent of his clan.

Over the course of the next 150 years, the Tewatia clan grows its local influence. Gopal Singh's descendant Nahar Singh (1823-1858)

becomes the chieftain, or Raja, of the small state of Ballabhgarh (with 121 villages) and play a revolutionary role in the 1857 War of Independence. Captured and hung by the British on Delhi's Chandni Chowk along with 17 co-conspirators, his unsuccessful revolt sets off an exodus of his clansmen to villages a safe distance away from Ballabhgarh to (it is said in family mythology) avoid the depredations of the British forces.

Badam Singh, one such clansman, leaves Sihi village looking for new opportunities and he moves to Bhatauna village 60 kilometers away from the Yamuna, another clan village, halfway from Sihi to the great Ganga river. He has five sons, the eldest is Lakhpatt Singh, the youngest Mir Singh.

23 Dec 1902

**Charan Singh is born to Netra Kaur and Mir Singh on 23 December**



Mir Singh (18 years old) marries Netra Kaur (from Chitsona Alipur village in Bulandshahr district) in 1898. Family moves 15 kilometers north to farm 5 acres as a tenant in village Nurpur (loosely translated - 'Village of Light'). Charan Singh, Mir Singh's eldest child, born in Nurpur.

1903 - 1921

**Mir Singh, a talented farmer and his young child Charan Singh's education commences in Jani Khurd**



The young Mir Singh, a talented and hard working farmer, transforms the leased farmland. Now, the owner wants to sell it at a price the young Mir Singh could not possibly afford by the only means he had - the sweat of his brow. He has to move.

Mir Singh, along with the infant Charan Singh, moves 60 kilometers north to a clan village **Bhoop Garhi** where the family lives till 1922. His brothers settle in yet another clan village **Bhadaula**, 20 kilometers south, both village in Meerut district.

Charan Singh receives primary school education at Jani Khurd, 2 kilometers from Bhoop Garhi, where he walked each day. He is like any other village boy at home: helping out with household chores, cutting fodder for animals on the hand-powered gandasa, playing kabaddi.

The village school's capability is limited, and the quick-learning Charan Singh is moved 15 kilometers away to Meerut in Moral Training School for a year, after which he moves to Government College, Meerut in 1914. In the ninth grade he opts for Science, also shows an interest in English, Economics and History. The programs and personalities of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Mahatma Gandhi simultaneously influence the teenage Charan Singh.

Charan Singh completes Matriculation in 1919, and Intermediate Degree in 1921. Deeply influenced by Bharat Bharati by Maithilisharan Gupt, a Hindi poet who wrote powerful Hindu nationalist poetry; and by the April 1919 Jallianwala Bagh massacre in Amritsar

His eldest uncle Lakhpat Singh is especially fond of the studious and promising Charan Singh. He came to know that his favorite nephew's studies would be stopped due to his fathers' inability to fund it, and he commits to pay till the young Charan Singh completes his studies.

1922

**Mir Singh moves to village Bhadaula, Meerut district where he lives for the rest of his life; his journey completed**



Good farming land becomes available for Rs 21,000 in Bhadaula, where Lakhpat Singh wants Mir Singh to move to. Two other brothers were in the British Army and had served in the Boer War 1899-1902 in South Africa, their salary and pension helped fund the down payment of Rs 7,000. This kept the land in the name of the original owner while they

paid him off over the years. The family was united once again, and the joint family worked the land themselves, Mir Singh leading the way with his industrious habits and agricultural expertise in making the land green. The land was 21 acres, which was sold by Charan Singh and his two brothers circa 1961.

1923

### **Charan Singh receives a Bachelor of Science from Agra College**

Charan Singh receives a Bachelor of Science from Agra College

1925

### **Receives a Masters of Arts in History from Agra College, Marries Gayatri Devi**



Receives a Masters of Arts in History from Agra College, Uttar Pradesh. Studies the history and politics of Britain, France and of India. Learns to read, recite and sing Kabir and comes to know scores of this saint's doha's by heart and uses them to good effect in his subsequent interactions with village folk. Eats food cooked by a Bhangi caste man, faces a boycott in his hostel mates but perseveres.

25 June. Marries Gayatri Devi, from Kundal Garhi village, Rohtak district, Haryana. She is a Matriculate from Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jalandhar and belongs to an Arya Samaji family.

1926 - 1927

### **Receives a Masters in Law from Agra University**

Receives his Masters in Law (L.L.B.) from Meerut College, Meerut (then a part of Agra University). Refuses to join as Principal at Baraut Jat School and Lakhavti Jat Degree College unless they removed Jat from their name, which they do not.

Satya Wati, his eldest child, born on 14 September 1927.

1928

### **Starts a practice of civil law in Ghaziabad city**

Commences practice of civil law in Ghaziabad city, Meerut district. Participates in his first political activities, the anti-Simon Commission protests.

1929

### **Joins Indian National Congress, where he remains till 1967**

Joins the Indian National Congress at the age of 27, establishes the Town Congress Committee of Ghaziabad in which he holds various elected positions until 1939.



1930

**Active in both the Arya Samaj and the Congress, his activities for social and political change intermingle.**



Office bearer of the Ghaziabad Arya Samaj committee, Chairman or General Secretary, till 1939. Actively participates in Gandhi's Salt Satyagraha, first ever imprisonment for six months on 5 April. Wins elections unopposed to the District Board of Meerut where he remains until 1935 as Junior Vice President and then Vice Chairman.

From here on, the thinking and ideals of Gandhi increasingly attract him and they become increasingly his own: non violent revolution, social change, uplift of the Harijans, satyagraha, sacrifice, self control, simplicity and khadi as a representation of the craftsman and the village. 'Truth is Religion' and the values of honesty, duty, fearlessness, hard work and commitment become the foundations of his life. Dayanand's call for social change, and the formless attraction of Kabir, both come to reside within Gandhi's political revolution.

Ved Wati, his second daughter, born on 17 September, 1930.

1932

**Agitates against the Communal Award**

Participates in the Congress agitation against the Communal Award. Recruits a Harijan cook at home, who works for him till 1939.

Third child Gyan Wati born on 23 September.

1937

**Elected for the first time to the United Province Legislative Assembly, continually elected to this Assembly till 1974**

Elected for the first time to the United Province Legislative Assembly on the Congress ticket from Meerut district (South-West), comprising tehsil Baghpat and Ghaziabad, winning 78.06% of the vote and defeating the candidate of the National Agriculturist Party. (Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and Mathura districts were then a part of the Delhi PCC).

Represents this legislative area 8 consecutive times viz. 1937, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967,



1969 and 1974.

Fourth girl child Saroj born on 23 February.

1938 - 1939

**Active in presenting progressive rural and farmer friendly legislation to the Congress Legislative Party and the Assembly. Moves to Meerut city, from Ghaziabad, in 1939**



Introduces the Agricultural Produce Market Bill in the U. P. Legislative Assembly as a private bill to safeguard the interests of the producer against the rapacity of food-grain dealers and traders. However, facing stiff opposition by vested interests, the bill is not passed until much later in 1964 when he became Cabinet Minister for Agriculture. It is said that the Government of Punjab passed its Mandi Samiti

Act in 1940 based on the draft bill presented by Charan Singh.

Leads a pressure group of Congress Legislators to protest with Govind B Pant, the Premier, the absence of progress in effective administration in the United Provinces, specially the behaviour of the Police and Civil Services.

On 5 April 1939 proposes a resolution before the executive committee of the Congress Legislature Party, calling for reservation of 50% of positions in public sector jobs for the sons and dependents of the cultivators or agriculturalists. The resolution, however, is received lukewarmly and not accepted by the party.

Studies the issue of Zamindari abolition carefully. Formulates the Land Utilization Bill, precursor of the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Bill, calling for the transfer of land ownership to all tenants or actual tillers of the soil who chose to pay an amount equivalent to 10 times the annual rental on the land they cultivated. The bill faces stiff resistance from landlords and therefore is not placed in the Assembly. Publishes several articles proposing various measures for the protection and promotion of the interests of the cultivators. Also introduces a resolution before the Congress Legislature Party prohibiting any enquiries with regard to the caste of any Hindu who seeks admission in an educational institution or a position in any government service, except in the case of Scheduled Castes.

Plays a leading role in the formulation and passage of The United Provinces Agriculturists and

Workmen Debt Redemption Bill, a measure to provide relief to the cultivators that frees several farmers of Uttar Pradesh from the clutches of moneylenders and debt and helped thousands of farmers in saving their fields from public auction.

Moves to Meerut city from Ghaziabad in late 1939, post the resignation of the Congress Government in November. Holds one of two positions, President or General Secretary, of the Meerut District Congress Committee until 1946. Establishes himself as a prominent spokesman for the interest of peasant cultivators, sponsoring several measures before the party and in the legislature on their behalf.

United Provinces Assembly in force from 17 July 1937 to 2 November 1939.

Fifth child, Ajit, born on 12 February.

1940

### **In Bareilly jail, for 1 year, during the Individual Satyagraha movement**



Second imprisonment in November, for one year, during the Individual Satyagraha movement. Interred initially in Meerut central Jail, then in Bareilly Central Jail, freed in October 1941. Writes Shishtachar, on good breeding and manners, as a series of letters to his children from prison. Remains General Secretary and President of Meerut District Congress Committee until 1946.

1942

### **Third imprisonment, for 13 months, during the Quit India movement. Recommences civil law practice on being freed**

Third imprisonment, from 23 October 1942 until November 1943 during the Quit India movement. Before imprisonment, leads an underground anti-colonial struggle in Ghaziabad, Hapur, Mawana, Sardhana and Bulandshahr. On release, goes back to practicing law though that did not do well at all as he did not take on cases that he thought to be false. Lives a life of hardship and poverty. He is said to have stated that 'being a lawyer was his compulsion, not something he enjoyed'.

"The simplicity of his lifestyle was evident to anyone who knew him. Yet, this was no unsophisticated peasant. Charan Singh was intellectually superior to most of his political colleagues and opponents, even though many of the in the early post-Independence days were themselves highly educated". Paul R Brass, pp 82.

Sixth and last child, daughter Sharda, born on 23 December.

1945

## **Proposes employment of cultivators in government services to make the administration more representative and responsive to the over 85% rural population in United Provinces**

At a meeting of kisans of Banaras, chaired by Acharya Narendra Dev, drafts a Congress Manifesto on Land and Agriculture calling for the abolition of landlordism, which is passed as a resolution of the All-India Congress Working Committee in December. At the same kisan gathering, he proposes an increase in the employment of cultivators in government services, but it does not receive the support of the Congress or the government.

1946

## **Charan Singh elected for the 2nd time, to the UP Legislative Assembly. Appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister Govind Ballabh Pant**



Govind Ballabh Pant (1887-1961) elected Premier of United Provinces. Charan Singh looks up to Pant as a father figure, and called the time he worked with GB Pant (1946-1954) as the 'golden period' of his life (speech in Delhi in 1981)

Elected to the UP Legislative Assembly again from Meerut District (South-West). Fought elections with funds collected from the public, did not accept money from the wealthy -

this becomes his hallmark his entire political life.

Appointed Parliamentary Secretary in the Congress government of Govind Ballabh Pant. The cabinet had 6 Ministers and 12 Parliamentary Secretaries including Lal Bahadur Shastri (later Prime Minister of India), and Chandra Bhanu Gupta (3 time Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and the primary political opponent of Charan Singh).

Serves as Parliamentary Secretary till 1951 under the Cabinet Minister for health, local self-government, and finally the Premier (as the Chief Minister was called then). Becomes a member of the All-India Congress Committee (AICC). Amends UP Tenancy Act to provide shelter to stop eviction of tenants from the land they tilled, and all those evicted from 1 January 1940 are reinstated.

Becomes aware of the weaknesses of the Congress organization - upper caste urban leadership, casteism, opposition based on personalities, self-seeking, lack of unity, and oppressing the weak - and the involvement of the committed workers of the Congress in agitational methods to the exclusion of knowledge of the problems and a vision of the solutions of India's many deep-rooted problems

1946

## Govind Ballabh Pant (1887–1961) elected Premier of United Provinces



Govind Ballabh Pant (1887–1961) elected Premier of United Provinces. Charan Singh looks up to Pant as a father figure, and called the time he worked with GB Pant (1946–1954) as the 'golden period' of his life (*speech in Delhi in 1981*)

1947

## Publishes his first book of many – "Abolition of Zamindari, Two Alternatives"



Publishes Abolition of Zamindari, Two Alternatives. Charan Singh's views on peasant farming and agriculture in India start taking shape, deeply influenced by worldwide trends. This is his first book, and the scale of his reading is evident in the bibliography (given below).

Charan Singh published this book, his first, in the middle of drafting the Report of the United Provinces Zamindari Abolition Committee, under the Chairmanship of Chief Minister Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant. (14 November 1946 to 3 July 1948)

- **Hubbard, Leonard Egerton.** Economics of Soviet Agriculture, London: MacMillan And Co, Limited. 1939.
- **Marx, Karl.** The Communist Manifesto (later Manifesto of the Communist Party), 1848.
- **Marx, Karl.** Das Kapital or Capital: Critique of Political Economy. 1867
- **Lenin, Vladimir.** Selected Works.
- **Birzi, Professor.** Italian Campagna. 1933. (not found)
- **League of Nations.** European Conference on Rural Life. Geneva, 1939.
- **Howe, Frederic C.** Denmark: A Cooperative Commonwealth. London: Allen & Unwin. 203 pages. 1922.
- **Addison, Christopher Lord.** A Policy for British Agriculture. 1939
- **Warriner, Doreen.** Economics of Peasant Farming. Oxford University Press, 1939.
- **Fei, Dr. Hsiao Tung.** Peasant Life in China. London: Kegan Paul. 1938.
- **Buck, John Lossing.** Chinese Farm Economy, University of Chicago Press, 1930.
- **Snow, Edgar.** Red Star Over China. Random House, 1938.
- **Hindus, Maurice Gerschon.** The Great Offensive. New York: Harrison, Smith and Robert Haas. 1933. (Authority on Soviet and Central Europe)
- **Van Der Post, A. P.** The Economics of Agriculture. South Africa: Central News Agency. 1937
- **Jordan, Virgil.** Businessmen's Commission on Agriculture, National Industrial Conference Board and Chamber of Commerce of the USA. New York. 1926.

- **Kautilya**, Artha Shastra
- **Powell, Baden** (1881-82) quoted in the Cambridge History of India
- **Kaye, John William FRS**. A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58. London, Longmans, Green. 1875
- **Gangulee, N.** The Indian Peasant. London: Oxford University Press. 1933
- **Nanavati, Sir Manilal Balabhai and Anjaria, Jashwantraai Jajantilal**. The Indian Rural Problem. Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. 1944.
- **Masani, Minocher Rustom 'Minoo'**. Socialism Reconsidered. Bombay Padma Publications. 1944.
- **Mumford, Lewis**. Technics and Civilization. Harcourt, Brace and Company. pp 495. 1934. ("American philosopher and historian of technology ... It is the moral, economic, and political choices we make, not the machines we use, Mumford argues, that have produced a capitalist industrialized machine-oriented economy, whose imperfect fruits serve the majority so imperfectly.")
- **Mumford, Lewis**. The Culture of Cities. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1938. ("Lewis Mumford's The Culture of Cities is a classic ... was the first and remains the best book on the culture of cities' .... 'Mumford advocated 'decentralization' and earned a reputation for hating large cities")
- **Strachey, John**. The Theory and Practice of Socialism. London: Victor Gollancz. 1936. Pp. 488
- Author not found. The Land and the Peasant in Rumania.
- **Cole, G.D.H.** Practical Economics. London: Pelican Books. 1937. (socialist, an English political theorist, economist, writer and historian)
- **Schuman, Frederick L.** Hitler and the Nazi Dictatorship. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. pp 558. 1935. (was a historian, an American political scientist and international relations scholar.)
- **Burns, Dr. W.** Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India. A Note. Government Press, Lahore. 1943. Pp 127+
- **Dantwala, Prof. M L**. Gandhism Reconsidered. Bombay: Padma Publication. 1944. (Leading Indian agricultural economist, 1909-1987?).
- **Mukherjee, Dr. Radhakamal**. Food Planning for 400 Millions. 1938 ("Radhakamal Mukerjee (1889-1968) ... considered a pioneer in sociology in India. Lucknow University was a major centre of sociology and social anthropology. Under the scholarship of the triumvirate .... Lucknow soon emerged as a leading centre for social science studies and it remained so until the mid-1960s")
- **Mukherjee, Dr. Radhakamal**. India Analyzed. 1934.
- **Shridharani, Krishnalal**. The Mahatma and The World. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946.
- **Narayan, Jayaprakash**. Why Socialism? All India Socialist Party, 1936.
- **Katju, Kailash Nath**. My Life at The Indian Bar. 1945
- **Government of India**. UP Agricultural Reorganization Committee. 1939-41.

- **Government, British.** *Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation*, 1923.
- *League of Nations Publications*. 1940.
- *Agricultural Debt Redemption and after in Bhavnagar State*. 1937.
- **Nanavati, Sir Manilal B.** *Final Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission*. 1945.

1948

**Helps write the "Report of the United Provinces Zamindari Abolition Committee", the landmark land reform legislation in Independent India.**



General Secretary, UP Legislature Congress Party until 1956. Participates in the Report of the United Provinces Zamindari Abolition Committee headed by the Chief Minister G.B. Pant, including Cabinet Minister for Revenue (Hukum Singh) as Vice-Chairman and Charan Singh as Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier. Writes a private 17-page dissenting note to the Premier Govind B Pant, who appoints him as Chairman of a Drafting Committee and thus re-drafts the Bill. He becomes the principal architect of the Bill, and subsequently the main defender against attacks from the right and left of the political spectrum.

**Publishes "Abolition of Zamindari in UP: Critics Answered."** Land reforms eliminate the landlord as an intermediary between the state and the self-cultivating peasant and restructures society in a peaceful manner. The land on which the landed and the landless (Scheduled Castes or dalits), had built their homes was made over to millions of homeowners; the right of the landlord to 'resume' land was not given in UP (unlike most other states); and the nascent democratic structure of society was strengthened by making millions of peasants allies of the State. The issue of the landless rural poor remains a burning issue.

04 Aug 1951

**Becomes UP Cabinet Minister of Justice and Information**



Becomes Minister of Justice and Information with Cabinet rank from 4 June to 8 August. Holds the Cabinet portfolios of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Information from 9 August 1951 to 19 May 1952.

1952

## Passage of the U.P. Zamindari and Land Reforms Bill, one he considered the principle achievement of his political life



Passage of the U.P. Zamindari and Land Reforms Bill which firmly establishes him as the representative of the village and of the peasant, and one he considered the principle achievement of his political life. Takes it on himself to popularize the bill in the villages by undertaking whirlwind tours of the entire state especially the Eastern parts where landlordism was widely prevalent and exploitative then in West UP; by making over a score of speeches over All India Radio on the subject; and writing several articles in newspaper in support of the ZALR.

Appointed Minister of Revenue and Agriculture (two inter-linked and critical portfolios) on 20 May 1952 until 27 December 1954.

The patwaris, front-line revenue employees of the state with grievances about their terms of employment, launched a statewide strike to pressure the Government with covert support from the landlords. Charan Singh refuses to give in to their coercive demands and establishes his reputation for swift action and strong administrative capabilities by dismissing from service all the 27,000 patwaris. In place of the patwaris, he creates the posts of Lekhpal answerable to the elected village bodies and issued instructions to recruit 18% from the Scheduled Castes communities though in the absence of qualified candidates only 5% of Scheduled Castes could be appointed as Lekhpal.

“Agitators come to hold the opinion that only if they stuck to their guns, some day they will win. The correct attitude that Government should adopt in such circumstances, is that if the demands of its employees, or, for he matter of that, any other section of our people, are reasonable, they will be accepted as soon as they are brought to its notice. If they are unreasonable, they will not be accepted -- strike, satyagrah, or any other form of agitation notwithstanding .... Democracy without leadership is anarchy,” Note by Charan Singh 21 April 1967 on the issue of the agitation by state employees

1953

## Guides passage of UP Consolidation of Holdings Act of 1953 in UP Legislative Assembly

Guides the passage of UP Consolidation of Holdings Act of 1953 in UP Legislative Assembly and implements it successfully from 1954. He exempts fertilizer from sales tax and frames a policy for redistribution of land obtained by imposition of ceiling on large farmers to Scheduled Castes. He also exempts payment of land revenue for farmers owning land up to three and half acres. He prepares a bill, first of its own kind in the country, to regulate the sale and purchase of animals though the bill could not be passed as G.B. Pant moved to Delhi.

1954

## **Continues as a Cabinet Minister in Dr. Sampurnanand's ministry after G.B. Pant's departure for Delhi**



GB Pant moves as Union Cabinet Minister for Home on 27 December 1954

“After Pant's departure for the Center, however, Charan Singh lost control over both the relevant portfolios and consequently the power to steer policies in the direction he preferred.” Paul R Brass, *An Indian Political Life*, Volume 1. pp 125.

Appointed Minister for Revenue and Transport in the government of Dr. Sampurnanand on 28 December, till 9 April 1957. Refuses to accept recommendation from Planning Commission to allow Zamindar's to resume land from tenants, passes an Amendment that no land owner would lose land already in his possession.

Writes to Jawaharlal Nehru (22nd May) for making inter-caste marriages compulsory for gazetted officers as a step towards dismantling the caste hierarchy of Hindu society.

1956

## **Publishes "Whither Co-operative Farming"**



Publishes Whither Co-operative Farming.

1957

## **Given the portfolio of Finance in addition to Revenue**

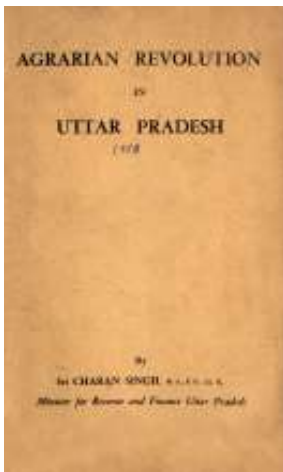
Given the portfolio of Finance in addition to Revenue on 10 April 1957. Portfolio of Power added in February 1959.

Father Mir Singh passes away, aged 77.



1958

## Publishes "Agrarian Revolution in Uttar Pradesh"



Publishes Agrarian Revolution in Uttar Pradesh.

1959

## Speaks against Jawaharlal Nehru's proposal for collective farming, resigns from U.P. Cabinet after continuing differences with Sampurnanand



At the 64th session of the All India Congress Committee in Nagpur in January, Charan Singh gives a one hour-long well-argued and hard-hitting speech against cooperative farming as a system 'wholly unsuited to Indian realities'. Vigorous clapping follows his impassioned speech, but the official resolution on Co-operative Farming is passed unanimously nonetheless. None dare oppose Nehru, now at the very peak of his power and authority. Collective or co-operative farming is a Nehruvian dogma of the times to supposedly increase agricultural production, and anyone opposing this

is considered a 'reactionary' by Prime Minister Nehru enamored as he is of this socialist pattern of land holding. This endears Charan Singh to some of his constituents, but puts him in the doghouse with Nehru and the central leadership of the Congress.

The subsequent death of Cooperative Farming in Soviet Russia and Communist China is a

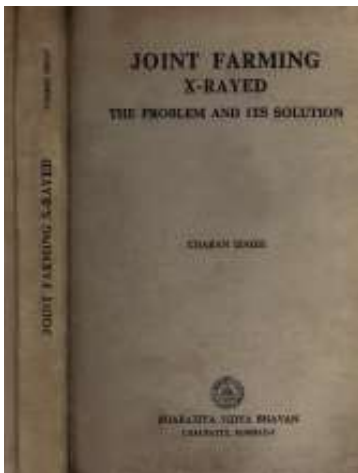
validation of Charan Singh's foresight and knowledge of the Indian peasant, indeed any peasant, and a severe indictment of Nehru's short-lived passions.

Resigns from the government of on 22 April on multiple inter-linked issues that have been simmering since 1954 and even earlier: his frustrations with politics and politicians, the ineffectiveness of an increasingly corrupt government machinery, urban and business bias of state polity, the individual incapability of Chief Minister Dr. Sampurnanand, the capitalist Sahu Jain and Birla's Hidhalco issues, and the sidelining of Charan Singh in factional politics of the state Congress organization. Sits out of the government, for the first time since 1937, for 19 months - from 22 April 1959 to 6 December 1960.

"Charan Singh makes clear first that the issues between him and Dr. Sampurnanand on these arrangements reflect the fundamental differences in their respective assessments of the needs of the country, whether its salvation lay in improving agricultural practices and increasing production or in industrial development. .. Statement which was proposed to be made in the assembly on 21 August 1959 but which never came off ... is an extraordinary document, 52 pages in length ... it is at times brutal, a others analytical, eloquent throughout its critique of the policies of the development state. There can have been few statements of this type written with such sophistication, clarity, and dedication anywhere in India at this time". Paul R Brass (2011) *An Indian Political Life*, Volume 1. pp. 149-150

1959

### **Publishes "Joint Farming X-Rayed: The Problem and Its Solution"**



*Preface. Page vi-vii, xi, xii*

"Our economists and planners, perhaps, do not take into account Indian conditions but are influenced by the theories of Karl Marx who concluded without due examination of facts that the laws regarding industrial development at which he had arrived, applied to agriculture also. In India the amount of arable land is limited and the population dense. The production per acre has, therefore, to be increased. In the USA, Canada, Australia and other such countries, the best results are obtained by large-scale mechanized farming, which increases the production per man, because plenty of land is available and labour is scarce.

The other effects of the displacement of human and animal power by petrol and diesel on the economy of the country may be easily foreseen. Unemployment will be accentuated. In the circumstances of our country, industries and services cannot absorb the number of persons that will immediately be released from agriculture by any large-scale pooling of lands. Co-operative farming as an instrument of national policy has thus a very important human aspect. Import of machinery and motive power will strain the

none too sufficient exchange resources of the country.

It is not generally realised that, with the replacement of the bullock by the tractor, farm-yard manure will become scarce and increasing use will have to be made of chemical fertilizers. Evidence collected in this book will prove that the use of inorganic fertilizers tends to reduce soil fertility, even though the immediate results may be striking. Organic manure, on the other hand, maintains fertility and makes the soil an inexhaustible source of food supply. It is not without good reason that the agricultural experts of this country do not now advise unadulterated use of synthetic sulphates and phosphates. The country should not too hastily embark upon a venture for which posterity may condemn the present leaders.

In short, large-scale farming will reduce production, injure the democratic principles which the country cherishes, invite bureaucratic control and lead to rapid mechanisation with all its consequences. Peasant farming, on the other hand, will enable the country to steer a path which may not be spectacular but which will ensure that it does not abruptly go off the rails.

Our problems are staggering, indeed. Only if we realised them! We are faced with formidable impediments of lack of capital, miserably low ratio of capital formation to population growth, large-scale unemployment, still larger scale of under-employment, relatively inadequate land and other natural resources, insufficient agricultural production and an impatient population whose aspirations have been awakened and which is becoming increasingly conscious of poverty and economic differences. These problems will require all the energy, skill, administrative acumen and the statesmanship we are capable of.

There is no example which India can follow in solving her problems because in no other country conditions were identical to ours. We can never attain the standards of the USA because our physical resources per capita are comparatively little, or those of the UK because we cannot build up an industrial structure as the UK did on the exploitation of foreign resources and foreign peoples. Nor can we hope to copy the methods of the USSR or China because, as apart from the far more favourable natural resources-man ratio in the former country and the balance-sheet of results in their totality in both, we have given ourselves a democratic constitution.

The belief that our vast population is in itself a great asset an incentive for large-scale industrialisation, is unfounded. In view of the paucity of physical resources relative to population, our low purchasing power and the hard fact that capital or financial resources can ultimately be constructed out of physical resources, India's huge population is an impediment to economic development or industrialisation – a definite liability, not an asset.

It would not, however, be proper to take merely a negative attitude. An attempt has, therefore, been made in this book to give a positive answer."

“Promotion of innovations or technological improvements is as necessary as accumulation of capital. Only three centuries ago India stood, at least, on the same economic level as Western Europe. Today, things have considerably changed. The reason lies in the greater propensity of the Westerners to innovate. To that end impediments like illiteracy, ill-health, caste-system and a fatalistic attitude of life that most of our countrymen suffer from, will have to be removed. Then alone will the efficiency both of labour and available capital improve.

Stress will have to be laid mainly on bringing about technological improvements, for example, in indigenous ploughs, in the use of organic manures, in constructing small irrigation works, and in the organisation of handicrafts and small industries, rather than doing things in a big way or reproducing expensive European and American models—big farms, big factories, big irrigation or hydroelectric projects. Apart from other considerations, big economic projects take time to fructify. Capital is locked up for years together; meanwhile, with passage of time and increase in population, problems multiply and become more and more intractable.”

Otherwise, almost everything that has been expressed somewhere else and, perhaps, in a better manner. I have drawn greatly, both in ideas and words, from David Mitrany’s *Marx Against the Peasant* (George Weidenfield and Nicolson Ltd., London, 1952), Horace Belshaw’s *Population Growth and Levels of Consumption* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1956), Elmer Pendell’s *Population on the Loose* (New York, 1951) and Kingsley Davis’s *Population of India and Pakistan* (Princeton University Press, New York, 1951). To the authors of these works I owe a deep debt of gratitude.”

1960

### Joins the Cabinet of U. P. Chief Minister C. B. Gupta



Joins the Cabinet of U. P. Chief Minister C. B. Gupta on 7 December as Minister for Home and Agriculture. Home portfolio taken away on 13 March 1962 due to differences with the CM, continues as Minister for Agriculture till 1 October 1963. Imposition of Ceilings on Land Holdings Act of 1960 passed by UP Legislative Assembly in which he took keen interest.

“(Charan Singh) .... Says that Agriculture Ministry is a very truncated affair, that the process of truncation was begun under Pant, and continued under both Sampurnanand and Gupta”. Interview in Lucknow with Paul Brass, April 21, 1962.

Mother Netra Kaur passes away, aged 75.

Gobind Ballabh Pant, mentor and father figure, passes away on 7 March 1961

02 Oct 1963

## Joins the UP Cabinet of Chief Minister Sucheta Kripalani



Joins the UP Cabinet of Sucheta Kripalani on 2nd October as Minister for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries and Forests. Formulated Uttar Pradesh Bhoomi Evam Jal Sanrakshan Adhiniyam, 1963.

1964

## Publishes "India's Poverty and Its Solution"



## Charan Singh wants change in portfolio

Lucknow, May 12 (PTI)—Uttar Pradesh Agriculture Minister Charan Singh has in a letter to Chief Minister Sucheta Kripalani requested her to relieve him of his agriculture portfolio, according to sources close to the Chief Minister.

The sources said before the commencement of the last budget session Mr Singh had communicated to the Chief Minister that if he was to retain agriculture portfolio he should also have allied portfolios like irrigation and community development, otherwise he would press her for permission to retain only the forest portfolio.

In view of his insistence on the change of portfolio, a reshuffle of portfolios of the ministers in the Cabinet may soon be effected.

Agriculture portfolio taken away on 14 May. Holds Forests and Local Self-Government from 14 February 1966 till 13 March 1967. Even when holding the unimportant LSG portfolio, he continues to implement his beliefs in administration.

He had in his mind, in fact, "to make an example of certain highly-placed-corrupt officials so that servants of local bodies all over the state may take heed". .... "Today, standards of public life have greatly slumped. In fact, no standards, worth the name, are at all left. Instead of being an opportunity for public service, offices of public responsibility are regarded, the eyes of an unduly large number of persons, as a source of

profit and self-aggrandizement. If this state of affairs continues unchecked, the State of Uttar Pradesh will go down irretrievably. Rather than be dismayed by any risks that public life in our conditions has increasingly come to pose, I would unhesitatingly take the action that I propose..." on the suspension of a member of the Meerut Municipal Board in 1966. *Paul R Brass (2011) An Indian Political Life, Volume 1. pp. 149-150*

And his views on the agitation of the lower grade of government employees for higher wages and Dearness Allowance.

"If a probe is made, it would be found that the amount of emoluments that Government employees all over the country are drawing have, in the total, played not too mean a part in creating the economic crisis that we are faced with to-day. Government servants (along with organised labor) have come to form a privileged class completely divorced from the masses: The emoluments of this class have no relation with the per capita incomes of the people they are supposed to serve: There is no correspondence between the life of the two -- the life of the servant and the life of the master." *Extract from a cabinet note to Sucheta Kripalani, 30 June 1966 on the UP State employees agitation*

"Some of the questions that fall for consideration, are whether there should or should not be some relation between the average incomes of our people and the emoluments of public servants. Have needs of Government servants alone to be taken into consideration and not of those from whose pockets the resources for meeting such needs, are ultimately derived? When prices rise or shoot up, it the comparatively ill-paid employee entitled to greater financial assistance or the better-paid employee? Should highly-paid officers at all be given any D.A.? .... the gap between the incomes of our people as a whole and their servants, is becoming wider and wider." *Extract from letter to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, 27 July 1966 on the UP State employees agitation*

"All the emphasis since advent of Independence has been on rights emoluments, benefits, concessions to labor and so on, while hard work or performance of duty has been nobody's concern and has become a rare virtue. The factory labor in India produce far less, and receives more, than in the West. Most undoubtedly this is one of the causes of the economic malaise in which the country finds itself today." *Extract from letter by Charan Singh to T.N. Singh,*

1967

## **Breaks away from the Congress, after 38 years. Becomes Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh**



Breaks away from the Congress along with 17 MLAs after negotiations with Indira Gandhi reach an impasse, calls it a betrayal and forms the Jan Congress on 1 April. This was the first of many instances when Charan Singh's political paths crossed with those of Indira Gandhi, and in most instances she out-maneuvered him with superior Machiavellian ease though he did 'win a few battles along the way'. (Paul Brass)

Charan Singh is unanimously elected as the leader of Samyukta Vidhayak Dal (SVD) 1, a joint organization of multiple opposition parties. Becomes the first non-Congress chief minister of UP from 3 April 1967 until 25 February 1968; and starts the historical process that led to the rise of the so-called Other Backward Castes (OBCs) as the pre-eminent political force.

(After the 1967 Parliamentary elections, a meeting of non-Congress chief ministers and other important leaders is held at New Delhi on 9th April on the initiative of Humayun Kabir to form a national alternative to the Congress. All the leaders present agreed in principle to form an all-India party and M.P. Sinha, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, invites all Chief Ministers of non-Congress states, presidents and secretaries of like-minded parties in the opposition from different states to meet in May 1967 at Patna. A decision is taken to form the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD), and M.P. Sinha elected its first Chairman. Charan Singh elected a member of the Executive, later merges his Jan Congress into the BKD and takes on the Chairmanship of the party which increasingly becomes UP based over time.)

"Corruption has grown manifold. I hold the politicians responsible for this, not the bureaucrats. My experience has been that the political leadership defines the actions of the officers, they react quickly to directions: it is like the horse and the rider. The horse very rapidly understands whether the rider on his back knows riding or not, and drops him immediately if he rider does not ... corruption starts at the top, not from the bottom." Interview with Shyam Lal Manchanda, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library Oral History Project, 10 February 1972. Lucknow, UP.

1969

**Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD) does resoundingly well in Uttar Pradesh, at the expense of the Jana Sangh, Socialists and Congress. These remain his political opponents and allies over the course of the next**

16 years



In the UP mid-term Assembly election, held in February 1969 after a year's time of President's Rule, Charan Singh's BKD increases its strength significantly from 17 members of the break-away Jan Congress to 98. These seats were won partially at the expense of his previous SVD coalition partners especially the Jan Sangh, which was reduced by half from 98 seats to 49, but also for the SSP, whose wins came down from 44 to 33 1 which explains the continued tensions with the Jana Sangh into the future specially during the Janata Party regime. All this was done without organized

funding or an organization structure in the BKD worth the name, and these characteristics were a part of all of Charan Singh's subsequent political parties. He would not seek funds from wealthy merchants or industrialists, and depended instead only on collections in public meetings.

Jana Sangh realizes his existentialist threat to their political base, and they remain at various times in close combat and in cooperation till 1985.

17 Feb 1970

### Becomes Chief Minister of UP for the second time, with the support of the Congress



Becomes Chief Minister of UP for the second time on 17 February until 29 September with the support of Indira Gandhi's Congress (R) after both factions of the Congress approach Charan Singh to form the government. The alliance between the two parties broke on the issue of Charan Singh's refusal to merge the BKD into Congress (R) and also because three Rajya Sabha members of his party voted against Indira Gandhi's initiative to eliminate the

privy purses of the Indian princes.

Dissolved all 51 Zila Parishads on 28 April, on charges of corruption.

**Saksena, N. S. (1993) India: Towards Anarchy 1967-1992. Abhinav Publications, Delhi. Senior IPS, head of UP Police, head of CRPF, member UPSC, member National Police Commission.**

“ Mr. Charan Singh ... had performed the miracle of reducing communal riots to zero in the notoriously communal riot-prone state of UP. .. It was done by enforcing the law of the land. Anyone who threw a stone maliciously was arrested, prosecuted and on conviction was sent to jail with no remissions and higher class for the so-called political prisoners.” pp. 28

"I had the opportunity to know the attitude of Charan Singh towards law and order in UP during three periods from December 7, 1960 to February 1962 when he was the Home Minister of UP, from April 1967 to February 1968 when he was the Chief Minister, and from February 17, 1970 to October 2, 1970 when he was the Chief Minister for the second time. On the first occasion, I was the DIG of Meerut range, the home ground of Charan Singh. On the third occasion I was his chief of UP Police. On all three occasions, Mr Charan Singh showed no leniency to law-breakers. The press, for some reason or the other, was hostile to Mr. Charan Singh and it would publish bold headlines of Jats indulging in lawlessness against any section of the population, especially Harijans. In any such fact or story came to Mr. Charan Singh's notice he would never let the police rest till the culprits were safely lodged in jail without bail. ... I have no doubt if Mr. Charan Singh were the Chief Minister of UP, Mr. Mahender Singh Tikait would have stopped preaching lawlessness or would have been in jail. Mr. Charan Singh's declared policy was never to give any higher class in jails to such prisoners." pp. 52-53

"Early 1970: I was the chief of UP Police and Mr. Charan Singh was the Chief Minister. Quite a few of his unruly followers, chiefly Raj Narain, threatened to disturb the meeting of the Prime Minister. The Chief Minister told us in no uncertain terms that we were free to arrest any of his followers if they were a threat to the PM's security. As a result, looking after the PM's security became an easy task". Pp 126

"The best anti-corruption legislation is the Uttar Pradesh Public Men Enquiries Ordinance of 1967, enacted by Mr. Charan Singh when he was Chief Minister of UP...the only correct attitude in this respect was that of Mr. Charan Singh who declared in a public speech that if the Home Minister was himself corrupt how could he object if a traffic constable accepted money from a guilty motorist". pp 179

14 Nov 1970

## "The Story of New Congress-BKD Relations: How New Congress Broke the U.P. Coalition"



Publishes The Story of New Congress-BKD Relations: How New Congress Broke the U.P. Coalition

1971

## Indira Gandhi calls Parliamentary elections in March, Charan Singh loses first election to the Indian Parliament from Muzaffarnagar



Indira Gandhi calls Parliamentary elections in March, wins by a landslide majority (winning 352 seats of 542) on the catchy slogan of 'Garibi Hatao'.

Charan Singh loses first election to the Indian Parliament from Muzaffarnagar. Remains in Lucknow as the Leader of the Opposition in the UP Legislative Assembly until 1977.

1974

**BKD continues to do well in UP Assembly elections, but cannot replace the dominant Congress due to a fragmented opposition. Commences efforts at bringing together all political parties opposing the Congress, under his leadership; forms the Bharatiya Lok D**



UP Legislative Assembly elections held in February 1974 in which joint coalition of BKD, SSP and Muslim Majlis won 106 seats under the leadership of Charan Singh against the Congress' 215. Claims major coercion and ballot fraud by the Government. Realizes the Congress won with a minority (32%) of the votes polled due to a split in the opposition votes: while the BKD won 21%, Jana Sangh 17%, Congress (O)

8%, and Socialists 3%.

Learns from his SVD experience where a disparate coalition pulled in contradictory directions and makes sincere attempts to forge opposition unity on the sustainable basis of an agreed party constitution, flag, electoral symbol and leadership as an alternative to the Congress. Thwarted by the Congress (O) and Jana Sangh who prefer to retain their separate identities. As a first step to a national alternative to the Congress, however, he constitutes the Bhartiya Lok Dal (BLD) on 29 August with the merger of the BKD, Swatantra Party, Samyukta Socialist Party, Uttkal Congress, Rashtriya Loktantrik Dal, Kisan Mazdoor Party and Punjabi Khetibari Zamindari Union.

June 1975- Mar 1976

**In jail for the fourth time, for the first time in independent India, during the Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi.**

Imprisoned during Indira Gandhi's authoritarian Emergency regime from 25 June to March 1976 in Delhi's Tihar jail. On being released, gives a historic 4-hour speech in the UP Legislative Assembly on 23 March, condemning the Emergency and energizing opposition to Indira Gandhi. Redoubles efforts at forging opposition unity, but faces issues with Morarji Desai's desire to be leader and Jana Sangh's opposition to subsuming its identity in a single political party.

1977

**Helps found the Janata Party, and provides the principal electoral base for the defeat of the Congress in North India. Becomes Union Home Minister of India**



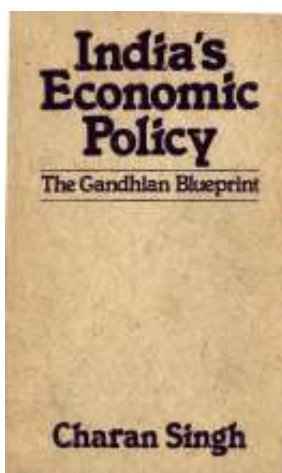
Indira Gandhi announces elections on 28 March in a month and lifts the iron veil of the Emergency, hoping the opposition will continue to squabble and not be ready for the snap elections. She miscalculates - the opposition parties surprise her, and themselves, and form the Janata Party.

Charan Singh provides the principal electoral base for the defeat of the Congress in the 1977 General Elections, the BLD faction within the Janata Party is estimated to be 100 Members of Parliament. (The other factions were the

Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Congress (O) and the CFD). Elected to the Indian Parliament for the first time at 75 years, and becomes Union Home Minister from 24 March 1977 to 1 July 1978. He often said he was 10 years too late to Parliament to bring any significant change.

1978

**Publishes "India's Economic Policy: The Gandhian Blueprint"**



Publishes India's Economic Policy: The Gandhian Blueprint.

"If we want our country to develop, there are only two prescriptions: first, increase in agricultural productivity per acre and simultaneous reduction of the number of workers per acre; secondly, a transformation of our national psychology in the sense that Hindus, in particular, give up the belief that this world is not a mere illusion and, as individuals and also as a nation, we develop and urge to improve our economic condition and to that end, our people learn to work better and harder.

.... pp. 3

....Agriculture and industry are to a large part complementary to each other: it is more a question of emphasis and priorities....All this, however, does not mean

that industry is as important as agriculture. It is agriculture which plays the primary role - the role of a precursor.

...Therefore, as long as this country remains committed to the present pattern of economic development in which it sets up capital-intensive modern industries at enormous cost, only to cater to the needs of the urban elite or to export their products at throw away prices, not only will unemployment go on increasing and capital go on concentrating in the hands of a few, it will also run the risk of going deeper and deeper into bondage to the affluent nations. The only and the right way of avoiding this bondage, in other words, of fostering financial and technological self-reliance is to make a clear break with the prevailing pattern of industrialization and take the Gandhian path, adapted of course to the changed or changing condition... pp 115.

1978

### Significant differences within the Janata Party, infighting between Cong (O), Jan Sangh, BLD, CFD faction

Fired from the Union Cabinet of Morarji Desai in July due to differences that came to a head on account of the handling of the prosecution of Indira Gandhi. The real reason was power: the Congress (O) and Jana Sangh continued to scheme and neutralized Charan Singh's key political lieutenants in Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Haryana and in the Janata's central political bodies. He had no choice other than to fight back or be decimated in the winner-take-all world of politics.

Presides over the historic Kisan Rally on 23 December 1978 at Boat Club in Delhi on his 76th birthday, said to be the largest ever rally of peasants and villagers in the history of independent India. Convinces the warring leaders of the Janata Party that he was the only one with a political base and needed to be brought back in.

28 July 1979

### Prime Minister of India



Finance Minister in Janata Cabinet of Morarji Desai, 24 Jan - 16 July 1979. Prime Minister in a short lived government with the support of a coalition of political parties including the Indira Congress.

On 24 January, as a result of multiple attempts at reconciliation with Morarji Desai, came back to the Union Cabinet as Deputy Prime Minister and Union Minister for Finance for a brief period till 16 July. Presented the Union

Budget in Parliament on 28 February 1979, making a point of his rural and anti-urban bias. He knows this to be only a symbolic statement, too little and too late, but he just had to make it

once he had come this far.

Continued differences with Morarji Desai, machinations by the dominant Jana Sangh faction and by Jagjivan Ram and some very ill advised actions by lieutenant Raj Narain and other former Socialists lead to the final break-up of the Janata Party. Resigns from the Union Cabinet on 16 July. Invited by President N Sanjiva Reddy to become the 5th Prime Minister of India on the basis of the Parliamentary support enjoyed by his disparate coalition. Becomes Prime Minister of India from 28 July 1979 with the support of Indira Gandhi's Congress (I).

Submits his resignation on 20 August 1979 without facing Parliament, on the day of vote of confidence, as the Congress withdraws its support due to his inability to confirm that he would withdraw criminal cases against Indira Gandhi and son Sanjay. Continues as caretaker Prime Minister till 14 January 1980, when mid-term elections are held to Parliament.

1980

### His party, Lok Dal, wins 41 seats in the Lok Sabha

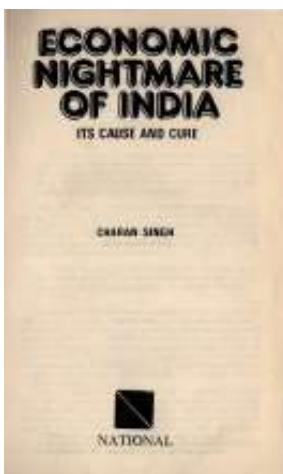


Elected to Parliament for a second term from Baghpat, Uttar Pradesh. Election results a major setback for his party, the Lok Dal. While the second largest political party in Parliament after the Congress (I), it could win only 41 Parliamentary seats (with 9.4% of the national vote) against 384 (with 43% of the votes) to the Congress (I). The remnants of the Janata Party win 19% of the votes polled, but only 31 seats in Parliament.

Indira Gandhi wins, once again.

1981

### Publishes "Economic Nightmare of India: Its Cause and Cure"



Publishes Economic Nightmare of India: Its Cause and Cure.

"He was exceptional, secondly, in producing a substantial corpus of written work, between 1947 and 1986 which contained a coherent and elaborate set of ideas, encompassing a vision of the nature of rural India and of the road that rural India might best take. He was a genuinely productive intellectual, who distilled in his writing a potent mixture of analysis and prescription. That, too, would merit close attention from the political economist interested in the agrarian question, even in the absence of an active political career. But, thirdly, he possessed a special distinctiveness, in combining a capacity for political action with

intellectual activity and facility in conveying ideas." Terence Byres (1988) Charan Singh, 1902-87: An Assessment, The Journal of Peasant Studies, 15:2, 139-189)

1982

## Split in Lok Dal



Split in Lok Dal, many of his key political lieutenants leave him on account of political differences.

Remains engaged with opposition unity, forms an electoral alliance with Atal Bihari Vajpayee of the Bharatiya Janata Party - the first National Democratic Alliance - that fails to take off due to conflicting political power bases.

The Charan Singh Papers at NMML in the 1982-1984 period are full of references to the state of the Indian economy and increasing inequality, the economic policies of Nehru and what he sees as their wrong directions, and the focus of the Indian elite post independence. He

continues to be paranoid about the break-up of India - 'divisive forces', he calls them - and speaks boldly against extremist activities in the Sikh community in Punjab, the weak kneed handling by the government of Indira Gandhi of extremists like Bhindrawale, vigorously as well as very publicly opposes the demand for Khalistan - for which he receives multiple death threats.

1984

**Becomes the center of political opposition to Indira Gandhi, but after her assassination loses 1984 elections to Rajiv Gandhi in a landslide sympathy vote. Remains engrossed in the affairs of the nation, vigorously and publicly opposes Sikh extremism.**



Remains engrossed in the state of the nation - forms a new party - the Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party - on 21 October comprising the Lok Dal, Democratic Socialist Party, Rashtriya Congress, Kisan Mazdoor Party, Utkal Congress and other smaller parties.

1984 October 31. Indira Gandhi assassinated by her Sikh security guards. Rajiv Gandhi wins Parliamentary elections

in December with the biggest ever majority in Indian history of 411 seats out of 542.

Before Indira Gandhi's assassination, dissatisfaction with her regime brought Charan Singh once again to the center of a realignment of opposition forces. Elected to Parliament for the third, and last, time from Baghpat with only 3 Members of Parliament. All opposition swept away in the 'sympathy wave' for Rajiv Gandhi. Once again, and for the last time, Indira Gandhi worsts Charan Singh.

25 Nov 1985

## Suffers a severe stroke that incapacitates him for the next 18 months



Suffers a severe, incapacitating brain stroke on 25 November. Receives treatment by the best doctors in India and in the USA, at Indian government expense, but remains partly paralyzed and incoherent. Slowly sinks into a semi-comatose state over 1986.

29 May 1987

## Passes away on 29 May, near 85



Passes away on 29 May 1987, near 85. Cremated in Delhi next to the samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi, now called Kisan Ghat.