**“Charan Singh: Spokesman of the Peasantry and the Countryside”**

1. **Early Life: Son of a Peasant Tenant Farmer**
2. **Making of the Man of the Masses: Freedom Fighter and Peasant Crusader (1927-1947)**
3. **Man of the Masses: Zamindari Abolition and Agrarian Reforms (1948-1967)**
4. **As Cabinet Minister and Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh** (1948-1970)
5. **Towards National Politics: In Opposition and During Emergency (1971-76)**
6. **The Janata Party (1977-79)**
7. **Prime Minister as ‘First Public Servant’ of the Nation**
8. **Thoughts on National Problems**
9. **An Agrarian Intellectual and Iconoclast**
10. **Central Panel: Timeline and Highlights**
11. **Early Life: Son of a Peasant Tenant Farmer**
	1. Birth:
		1. 23 December 1902 at Noorpur village, Bulandshahr, Uttar Pradesh.
	2. Parents
		1. Parents descendents of Nahar Singh of Ballabhgarh, Haryana who was hung by the British at Delhi’s Chandni Chowk in 1857 for his revolutionary role in India’s First War of Independence.
		2. Mother: Netra Kaur
		3. Father Mir Singh a 5 acre tenant-at-will of Raja of Kuchesar.
	3. Education
		1. Primary school education at Jani Khurd village, Matriculation from Meerut (1919), and Intermediate Degree from Agra College (1921).
		2. Bachelor of Science from Agra College (1923), Master of Arts in History from Agra College (1925) in Europe, England and Indian history, Master in Law from Meerut College, Meerut (1927)
	4. Early Influences (Pics)
		1. Mahatma Gandhi
		2. Swami Dayanand and Kabir
		3. Sardar Patel
12. **Making of the Man of the Masses: Freedom Fighter and Peasant Crusader (1927-1947)**
	1. India’s Freedom Struggle
		1. Actively participated in Gandhi’s call for the *Salt Satyagraha* by making salt in Loni, Ghaziabad. First imprisonment for six months on 5 April 1930.
		2. Second imprisonment in November 1940 in Bareilly jail for 1 year during the Individual *Satyagraha* movement. Interred initially in Meerut central Jail, then in Bareilly Central Jail, freed October 1941.
		3. Third imprisonment, for 13 months, during the *Quit India* movement from 23 October 1942 until November 1943
	2. Crusader for the Peasant
		1. Elected to the United Province Legislative Assembly on the Congress ticket from Meerut district (South-West). 1937
		2. 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.
		3. On 5 April 1939 calls for reservation of 50% of positions in public sector jobs for the sons and dependents of the cultivators or agriculturalists to Congress Legislature Party
		4. Formulates *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.
	3. Commitment to social change
		1. Introduces resolution before 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.
		2. Keeps a *Chamar* cook at home in Ghaziabad and Meerut
13. **Man of the Masses: Zamindari Abolition and Agrarian Reforms (1948-1967)**
	1. Pivotal Role in Transformation of Agricultural Economy of Uttar Pradesh:
		1. Architect of Path breaking Legislations
			1. Leading role in formulation and passage of *The United Provinces Agriculturists and Workmen Debt Redemption Bill*, 1939 a measure to provide relief to cultivators to free farmers of Uttar Pradesh from the clutches of moneylenders and saving their fields from public auction.
			2. Writes the *Report of the United Provinces Zamindari Abolition Committee, in 1948,* the landmark land reform legislation in Independent India that gave ownership rights to over 60 million tenanted peasants in U. P.
			3. Passage of the *U.P.* *Zamindari and Land Reform Bill,* 1952,one he considered the principle achievement of his political life. These land reforms eliminate the landlord as an intermediary between the state and the self-cultivating peasant and restructures society in a peaceful manner.
			4. *UP Consolidation of Holdings Act, 1953*
			5. *Imposition of Ceilings on Land Holdings Act,* 1960
		2. Opposition to Joint-farming & In Defense of the Small Family Farms: 1950s-1960s
			1. At great cost to his political career, publicly opposed Jawaharlal Nehru’s resolution for Cooperative Farming at the 64th AICC session at Nagpur in 1959 as singularly unsuited to India’s social structure and to agricultural productivity.
14. **As Cabinet Minister and Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh** (1948-1970)
	1. Vast Administrative Experience
		1. Portfolios managed as Minister between 1946 and 1970: Justice & Information; Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Information; Revenue and Agriculture; Revenue and Transport; Home and Agriculture; Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries and Forests; Forests and Local Self-Government
		2. Efficient and strict Administrator
			1. List examples
		3. Man of impeccable personal integrity
			1. List examples
	2. Emerging role in Anti-Congressism
		1. First non-Congress CM of Uttar Pradesh, India’s largest province
		2. Bhartiya Kranti Dal draws landowning castes away from Congress, the start of its ultimate decline in Uttar Pradesh.
	3. Commitment to Social Equality
		1. Law against funding of caste-based College and School etc.
	4. Administrative Capability
		1. 1952. 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 form 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.
		2. 1970. Dissolved all 51 Zila Parishads on 28 April, on charges of corruption.
15. **Towards National Politics: In Opposition and During Emergency (1971-76)**
	1. Leader of the Opposition, UP Legislative Assembly 1971-1975
	2. Central to anti-Congressism in India. As a step to a national alternative to the Congress he constitutes the Bhartiya Lok Dal (BLD) on 29 August 1974 with the merger of the BKD, Swatantra Party, Samyukta Socialist Party, Uttkal Congress, Rashtriya Loktantrik Dal, Kisan Mazdoor Party and Punjabi Khetibari Zamindari Union.
	3. Tihar Jail in emergency 1975-76
	4. Quote on Democracy from his historic 4 hour Speech in UP Assembly in 1976 on release from Tihar jail
16. **The Janata Party (1977-79)**
	1. Elected Member of Parliament, first of three terms 1977, 1980, 1984.
	2. Pivotal role in formation of Janata Party, provides the principal electoral base for the defeat of the Congress in North India. BLD contributes party symbol and manifesto BLD faction within the Janata Party was estimated to be 100 Members of Parliament.
	3. Union Home Minister of India, 24 March 1977 to 1 July 1978.
	4. Economic brain of the Janata Party
		1. Extract from *A Gandhian Blueprint* 1978

“If we want our country to develop, there are only two prescriptions: first, increase in agricultural productivity per acre and simultaneous reduction of the umber 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 ach 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.

* 1. Historic Peasant Rally: Putting the Peasant on the Power Map (Picture).
		1. Backward caste leader
	2. Mandal Commission and Minority Commission
	3. Finance Minister (Picture, Budget Presentation)
		1. Highlights of Budget : quote from book written by then Finance Secretary
	4. Due to internal contradictions and factional politics JP
1. **Prime Minister as ‘First Public Servant’ of the Nation**
	1. **From the Ramparts of Red Fort (Pics)**
		1. Extracts from Speech
			1. **Warning to Pakistan** ‘’It has been our decision and it remains our decision so far that we do not want to manufacture nuclear bombs, or join the race for nuclear weapons. However, if Pakistan sticks to its decision and continues in its efforts to manufacture the bomb or stockpiling of these bombs, I and my colleagues will probably be forced to reconsider the entire question”.
			2. ‘If our country is to progress, we will have to put in hard work and show enterprise and when I say that, I include myself and my minsters’.
			3. ‘Corruption knows no bounds. A country where people are corrupt, will never be able to progress whosoever may be the leader of the party or whatever be the sound programme he might follow’.
			4. ‘I was referring to the section which deserves greater attention from the government - the harijans, the tribals, the landless, the unemployed or underemployed and 50 percent of our farmers who have got an hectare or less land. These poorer sections have so far been neglected and the Government will pay special attention to them’.
			5. ‘We will be deemed to have succeeded only if no communal riots are reported for one year or for the tenure of this government’.
	2. **Other Quotes**
		1. On Health and Education
		2. On Foreign Policy and Nuclear Non-Proliferation
2. **Thoughts on National Problems (To be extracted from article “*What I Stand For*” in Real India magazine)**
	1. Inequality & Democracy
	2. Caste
	3. Language Policy
	4. Khalistan: speaks boldly against extremist activities in the Sikh community in Punjab, what he saw as the weak-kneed handling by the government of extremists like Bhindrawale, publicly opposes the demand for Khalistan for which he receives multiple death threats.
	5. Federalism
	6. Media Policy
	7. Minorities
	8. Public Sector
3. **An Agrarian Intellectual and Iconoclast**
	1. Original books by Charan Singh in English - his Case for India’s Alternative Development
		1. *Abolition of Zamindari: Two Alternatives***.** 1947. Kitabistan, Allahabad*.* 263 pages.
		2. *Report of the United Provinces Zamindari Abolition Committee*. 1948. Superintendent, Printing & Stationary, Allahabad, UP. 611 pages.
		3. *Joint**Farming X-Rayed: the Problem and its Solution.* 1959. Kitabistan, Allahabad. 322 pages. (Later published, in a new edition, in 1964, as “India's Poverty and Its Solution”, see below)
		4. *India’s Poverty and Its Solution.* 1964. Asia Publishing House, National Publishing. 527 pages.
		5. *India’s Economic Policy: The Gandhian Blueprint*. 1978. Vikas Publishing House, Delhi. 127 pages.
		6. *Economic Nightmare of India: Its Cause and Cure.* 1981. National Publishing House, Delhi. 598 pages.
		7. *Land Reforms in UP and the Kulaks.* 1986, Vikas Publishing, New Delhi*.*
	2. Manifestos (BKD, BLD, JP and LD) were based on the frameworks from these books.
		1. Extracts from some manifestoes
		2. Highlights: UB, Agricultural Primacy, Small Scale Industry etc.
	3. Quotes from Professors Terence Byres and Paul Brass

“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)*

1. **Central Panel: Timeline and Highlights**
	1. Brief chronological summary of life along with pictures
	2. A Multi-level Politician:
		1. District, State to National politics: pictures with stalwarts from district, state leaders and national leaders across the political spectrum
	3. Books
	4. Character
		1. Universally acknowledged personal integrity in private and public life
			1. Never took funds from a capitalist, ran all his political parties on shoestring budgets with money collected from peasant supporters
		2. Relentless crusader against corruption in public life & public sector

“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.*

“ 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. *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.

* + 1. Gandhian Simplicity
		2. Family Man

 **Chaudhary Charan Singh**

**Panel #1. Early Life: 1902-1929**

**Ancestors**

From the hardy peasant clan of Nahar Singh of Ballabhgarh, Haryana. Nahar Singh was hung by the British at Delhi’s Chandni Chowk in 1857 for his revolutionary role in India’s First War of Independence.

**Parents**

Mir Singh and Netra Kaur give birth to Charan Singh in village Noorpur on 23 December 1902. **Mir Singh a 5 acre tenant-at-will of the Raja of Kuchesar.**

**School, College**

Received primary school education at Jani Khurd village, 2 kilometers from Bhoop Garhi in Meerut district

Matriculation from Meerut in 1919, and Intermediate Degree from Agra College in 1921.

**1923**. Bachelor of Science from Agra College. Fired by Gandhiji’s call to uproot untouchability, he recruited a *Bhangi* caste cook in his hostel and faced a severe boycott by his hostel mates which he overcame.

**1925**. Master of Arts in History from Agra College, specialised in the history and politics of Britain, France and India.

**1927**. Master in Law from Meerut College, Meerut. He refused to join as Principal at Baraut Jat School and Lakhavti Jat Degree College unless they removed Jat from their name, which they did not.

**1928** Started practice of civil law in Ghaziabad city. Participated in anti-Simon Commission protests.

**1929** Joined Indian National Congress at the age of 27, where he remained till 1967. He established the Town Congress Committee of Ghaziabad in which he held various elected positions until 1939.

He was deeply influenced by *Bharat Bharati* by Maithilisharan Gupt, a Hindi poet who wrote powerful Hindu nationalist poetry; by the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of April 1919 in Amritsar that further fired the imagination of Indians to rid India of British rule; and the personalities and programs of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Mahatma Gandhi.

His lifelong commitment to a simple, almost ascetic, life took shape during this period along side his nationalist dream of an India free from foreign rule and from internal divisions. He held few material possessions his whole life, wore khadi, was a vegeterian, and came to hold an aversion to any kind of addiction from cigarettes to alcohol.

**Panel #2. Struggle for India’s Freedom and of the Peasant: 1930-1947**

The thinking and ideals of Gandhi increasingly attracted him and they become 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 deep social change in ritual-bound Hindu society, and the formless attraction of Kabir, both came to reside within Gandhi’s political revolution.

**1930** Charan Singh was active in both the Arya Samaj and the Congress, his nationalist activities for social and political change intermingled and merged. Office bearer of the Ghaziabad Arya Samaj committee, Chairman or General Secretary, till 1939. Won many elections unopposed to the District Board of Meerut till 1935.

Actively participated in Gandhi’s call for the Salt Satyagraha by making salt in Loni, Ghaziabad. First imprisonment for six months on 5 April 1930.

**1932** Participated in the Congress agitation against the Communal Award. Took in a *Chamar* cook at home, with him till 1939.

**1937** Elected for the first time to the United Province Legislative Assembly on the Congress ticket from Meerut district (South-West), compromising tehsil Baghpat and Ghaziabad, winning 78.06% of the vote and defeating the candidate of the National Agriculturist Party. Represents this legislative area 8 consecutive times viz. 1937, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967, 1969 and 1974.

**1938**. Active in presenting progressive rural and farmer friendly legislation to the Congress Legislative Party and the Assembly. Established himself as a prominent spokesman for the interests of peasant cultivators, sponsored several measures before the party and in the legislature on their behalf. Introduced 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 was not passed until much later in 1964 when he became Cabinet Minister for Agriculture. The Government of Punjab led by Sirt Chhotu Ram passed its Mandi Samiti Act in 1940 based on this draft bill presented by Charan Singh.

On 5 April 1939 proposed 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 without reference to caste. The resolution, however, was received lukewarmly and not accepted by the party.

Studied the issue of Zamindari abolition carefully. Formulated 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 faced stiff resistance from landlords and therefore was not placed in the Assembly. Published several articles proposing various measures for the protection and promotion of the interests of cultivators. Introduced 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.

Played 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.

Moved to Meerut city from Ghaziabad in late 1939, post the resignation of the Congress Government in November. Held one of two positions, President or General Secretary, of the Meerut District Congress Committee until 1946.

**1940**. Second imprisonment in November in Bareilly jail, for 1 year, during the Individual *Satyagraha* movement. Interred initially in Meerut central Jail, then in Bareilly Central Jail, freed in October 1941. Writes *Shishtachar* in Hindi*,* on good breeding and manners. Remains General Secretary and President of Meerut District Congress Committee until 1946.

**1942**. Third imprisonment, for 13 months, during the *Quit India* movement from 23 October 1942 until November 1943. Recommences civil law practice on being freed. 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.

**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**. Elected, for the 2nd time, to the UP Legislative Assembly from Meerut District (South-West). Fought elections with funds collected from the public, did not accept money from the wealthy - this became a hallmark of his entire political life. Appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister Govind Ballabh Pant. Charan Singh looked 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

Became a member of the All-India Congress Committee (AICC). Amended *UP Tenancy Act* to provide shelter to stop eviction of tenants from the land they tilled, and all those evicted from 1 January 1940 were reinstated.

**1947**. Publishes his first book of many “*Abolition of Zamindari*, *Two Alternatives”.* (what is this about?) Charan Singh’s views on peasant farming and agriculture in India had taken shape, deeply influenced by worldwide trends. The scale of his reading is evident in the bibliography of his books.

Became 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.

**Panel #3. Struggle against *Zamindari* (Landlordism) & Collective Farming: 1948-1959**

**1948**. Writes the *Report of the United Provinces Zamindari Abolition Committee,* the landmark land reform legislation in Independent India that gave ownership rights to over 60 million tenanted peasants. Land reforms eliminated the landlord as an intermediary between the state and the self-cultivating peasant and restructured 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 employment for the landless, rural poor remained a burning issue.

Published *Abolition of Zamindari in UP: Critics Answered*. (what is this about?)

General Secretary, UP Legislature Congress Party until 1956.

**1951**. UP Cabinet Minister of Justice and Information. Minister of Justice and Information with Cabinet rank from 4 June to 8 August. Holds 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. Wrote a private 17-page dissenting note to Premier Govind B Pant who appointed him Chairman of a Drafting Committee to re-draft the Bill. He became the principal architect of the Bill, and subsequently the main defender against attacks from the right and left of the political spectrum. This established him for life as the representative of peasant, family farmers.

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; by making over a score of speeches over All India Radio on the subject; and writing a series of 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 form the landlords. Charan Singh refused to give in to their coercive demands and established his reputation for swift action and strong administrative capabilities by dismissing from service all the 27,000 *patwaris*. In place of the *patwaris*, he created 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,” *Charan Singh 21 April 1967 on the issue of the agitation by state employees*

**1953**. Guided passage of *UP Consolidation of Holdings Act of 1953* in UP Legislative Assembly and implemented it from 1954. He exempted fertilizer from sales tax and frameed a policy for redistribution of land obtained by imposition of ceiling on large farmers to Scheduled Castes. He also exempted payment of land revenue for farmers owning land up to three and half acres. He prepared 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 in December. After Pant’s departure, Charan Singh lost control over the relevant portfolios and consequently the power to steer policies in the direction he preferred.

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.* (what is this about?)

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

**1958**. Publishes *Agrarian Revolution in Uttar Pradesh.* (what is this about?)

**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 1959, Charan Singh gives a one hour-long 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 was 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 was of a socialist pattern of land holding. This endeared Charan Singh to his constituents, but put him in the doghouse with Nehru and thus 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, and a severe historical indictment of Nehru’s short-lived passions.

Resigned from the government of on 22 April on multiple inter-linked issues that were 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 Hidalco issues, and his own sidelining 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*. (what is this about?) A manifesto of his peasant politics, with criticisms of India’s development model as valid today as they were in 1959.

**Panel #4. Frustration and break with the Congress: 1960-1967**

**1960**. Joined the UP Cabinet of Chief Minster 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. Gobind Ballabh Pant, mentor and father figure, passes away on 7 March 1961.

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

**1964**. Founded *Krishak Samaj* with an objective to benefit small and ordinary farmers by modern scientific methods.

**1964**. Published *India’s Poverty and Its Solution*. (what is this about?)

**1965**. Differences continue with the establishment Congress. Agriculture portfolio taken away on 14 May. Holds Forests and Local Self-Government from 14 February 1966 till 13 March 1967. **1966**. Indira Gandhi elected Prime Minister on 24 January, remains till 24 March 1977.

**Panel #5. First Non-Congress Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh (what did he do as CM in his two stints)**

**1967**. Broke away from the Congress, after 38 years, along with 17 MLAs after negotiations with Indira Gandhi’s emissaries and CB Gupta reach an impasse, and formed 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.

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

**1969**. Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD), established in 1967, did resoundingly well in Uttar Pradesh, at the expense of the then Jana Sangh, Socialists and Congress. All these parties remained his political opponents and his allies over the course of his future political career.

**1970**. Became Chief Minister of UP for the second time on 17 February until 29 September with the support of Indira Gandhi’s Congress (R). 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.

**Panel #6. In Opposition and in Jail in Independent India: 1971-1976**

**1971**. Indira Gandhi calls Parliamentary elections in March, wins by a landslide majority (winning 352 seats of 542) on the catchy slogan of ‘Garibi Hatao’. Loses his first election to the Indian Parliament from Muzaffarnagar due to money power and internal sabotage. Remains in Lucknow as the Leader of the Opposition in the U.P. Legislative Assembly until 1977.

**1974**. BKD did well in the U.P. Assembly elections, but could not replace the Congress despite its minority votes due to a fragmented opposition. Charan Singh commenced efforts at bringing together all political parties opposing the Congress, under his leadership, that were to finally lead to the formation of the Janata Party in 1977.

U.P. Legislative Assembly elections held in February 1974 in which a 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%.

Charan Singh learnt from the 1967 SVD experience where a disparate coalition pulled in contradictory directions and made 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 constituted 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.

**1975**. In jail for the fourth time, for the first time in independent India, from 25 June to March 1976 in Delhi’s Tihar jail during the Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi. On being released, he gave a historic 4-hour speech in the UP Legislative Assembly on 23 March, condemning the Emergency and energizing opposition to Indira Gandhi. Redoubled efforts at forging opposition unity, but faced issues with Morarji Desai’s desire to be leader and Jana Sangh’s opposition to subsuming its identity in a single political party.

Extract from Historic speech in Uttar Pradesh assembly after being released from Jail

**Panel #7. The Janata Party: 1977-1980**

**1977**. One of the founders of the Janata Party, provided the principal electoral base for the defeat of the Congress in North India, the BLD faction within the Janata Party was estimated to be 100 Members of Parliament.

Elected to the Indian Parliament for the first time at 75 years, and became Union Home Minister from 24 March 1977 to 1 July 1978. Home Minister importance and measures?

**1978**. Significant differences and factional infighting within the Janata Party. 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. Convinced the warring leaders of the Janata Party that he was the only one with a political base and needed to be brought back in.

**1978**. Published *India’s Economic Policy: The Gandhian Blueprint.* What is this about

**1979**. On 24 January, as a result of multiple attempts at reconciliation with Morarji Desai, Charan Singh 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. Budget speech importance and measures?

**Panel #8. Prime Minister of India: 1979-80**

Achievements – steps as PM

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.

Sought to implement reservation for backward castes, advised by Presdient to wait till after elections and a political mandate. Study dates for Mandal Commission constitution and report submission.

Speech on Pakistan and nuclear bomb.

**1980**. His party, Lok Dal, wins 41 seats in the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament).

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.

**Panel #9. Sunset Years: 1981-1987**

**1981**. Publishes *Economic Nightmare of India: Its Cause and Cure*. What is this about

**1982**. Split in Lok Dal, many key political lieutenants left him on account of political differences. Remained engaged with opposition unity, formed an electoral alliance with Atal Bihari Vajpayee of the Bharatiya Janata Party – the first National Democratic Alliance (NDA).

The *Charan Singh Papers* at NMML in the 1982-1984 period are full of references to the poor state of the Indian economy, increasing inequality, the economic policies of Indira Gandhi, the incorrect urban-industrial leanings of Nehru and the Indian state, and the urban focus of the Indian elite post independence.

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

**1984**. Remained engrossed in the state of the nation and formed a new political 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. Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh security guards on October 31. Rajiv Gandhi wins Parliamentary elections in December 1984 with the biggest ever majority in Indian history of 411 seats out of 542.

Before Indira Gandhi’s assassination, dissatisfaction with her regime had 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 3 Members of Parliament.

**25 November 1985**. Suffers a severe brain stroke that incapacitates him for the next 18 months, brinbging to an end his political career.

Slowly sinks into a semi-comatose state over 1986 and passes away on 29 May 1987, near 85. Cremated in Delhi next to the *samadhi* of Mahatma Gandhi, now called Kisan Ghat.

**Misc Panels**

Use Paul Brass’ four differentiators of CS ?

Re-read Paul’s EPW article and Intro to Volume 1

**Use quotations by Charan Singh from his books and letetrs on contemporrary issues.** For examplehis 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*.” 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 ad has become a rare virtue. The factory labor in Inida 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, Union Minister of Iron & Steel, 18 August 1966*

“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.*

He would not seek funds from wealthy merchants or industrialists, and depended instead only on collections in public meetings.

**Panel on Character & Personality?**

 Deep personal integrity

Strong administrator

Consistency of social and political views

Strong prejudices

Family man, sense of humor,

**Panel on Views**

Political economy of India and India’s development direction

Agriculture and rural India

Collective farming

Micro and village industry

Casteism

**Panel on CS being an Organic Intellectual of the Indian Peasant**

 Deep understanding of agrarian issues as well as global political events

Published books on the political economy of India from 1948 till 1982

Wide reading, ability to synthesise historical and social trends. Children always remember him as engrossed in readinbg or writing books

Research and meticulous data collection and critical thinking

“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)*

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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*

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*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 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 PMs 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

1959 Extract from *Joint Farming X-Rayed: The Problem and Its Solution*.

“ 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.” *Preface. Page vi-vii, xi, xii*

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**1978**. *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.