CONCLUSION
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In the state of Uttar Pradesh, since independence right up to 1967 General Elections the Congress maintained its stronghold and ruled the state. The first non-Congress Government of various allied political parties, named सम्युक्त विधायक दल was formed for the first time in 1967 under Charan Singh's Chief Ministership. The change was not sudden but was the result of efforts of Opposition at the national and state levels.

An alliance to oust the Congress was for the first time made in Kerala in 1957. Several opposition parties with the Communist party playing the leading role formed a united front. That was the first non-Congress Government in the country. When the Communists came to power in 1957, the Congress allied itself with the communal organisations which had a medieval outlook, like the Muslim League and the Fair Service Society to replace the Communist party. Thus the Ministry in Kerala was dissolved by the Central Government in 1960. After the dismissal of Communist Government a mid-term poll was held in Kerala in February, 1961 after which coalition Government consisting of non-Communist parties was formed.

In the second General Elections the decline of the Congress party was only at the level of Assemblies, but the third General Elections had shown an unexpected fall in the
percentage of votes polled by the Congress even at the Parliament level.

After the Fourth General Elections (1967) the Congress position in the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies showed a steep fall. Out of total 507 seats in Lok Sabha the Congress secured only 285 seats and at state level out of total 3,563 Assembly seats Congress secured only 1,090 seats.

In U.P., the biggest state of India, the Congress could secure only 198 seats out of 425 seats. The opposition in U.P. which was moved into the treasury benches on April 1, 1967, after the fall of Congress Government, consisted of eight parties. The Janata Party had 77 seats, PSP-44, Communist(R)-14, Swatantra-12, PSP-11, Republican-9, and the Communist(L) one seat only.

In the election of 1967, the linguistic grievances accounted for certain amount of fall in the Congress vote including those of Muslims.

While on the one hand efforts of the non-Congress parties were going on to give a straight fight to the Congress, on the other hand public opinion on the basis of performances and practices of the Congress too was not encouraging for the Congress as what they had observed in Kerala State.
By the time of 1967 General Elections most of the people grew more about what they regarded as abuse by the Congress party of the constitutional provision meant for emergencies. All opposition parties were distressed and annoyed. From this arose a bitter feeling, and many of those who had been voting for the Congress became its opponents. The opposition parties of states grew more conscious and stood solidly against the Congress. They formed various Fronts to give Congress a straight fight in every constituency. The result gave the allied parties a clear working majority.

Thus the stronghold of Congress in Uttar Pradesh which was continuing since independence came to an end. No doubt even after 1967 General Election in U.P. Congress was the largest single party but C.B. Gupta had to form the Government with the support of independent members. Here it can be noted that since in other 8 states the non-Congress Governments were formed (1967) and it seemed that there was a wave of non-Congress movement, on account of this only the C.B. Gupta Ministry could not last long and soon it collapsed because of too many defections of the members which resulted in the formation of Samyukta Vidhayak Dal (SVD) with Ram Chandra Vikal, an independent MLA as its leader. Subsequently Charan Singh, a prominent leader of Congress whom the blow of anti
Congress wave could not spare, left the party and joined Jana Congress. This party also merged itself with the SVD and Charan Singh was elected as its new leader. Thus the ground was clear for the formation of the first non-Congress Government in Uttar Pradesh under Charan Singh.

Following the resignation of C.B. Gupta Ministry in the wake of defeat in the Assembly, Charan Singh was invited to become the Chief Minister. However, no sooner had the SVD Ministry been formed cracks started appearing. The first to withdraw from the SVD was a CPI member who alleged that the party had failed to carry out the nineteen point programme.

The demand of the Jana Sangh and BJP Ministers adoption of Hindi as the language of correspondence also caused tension amongst supporters of the SVD Ministry, particularly the Muslims. These Ministers also tried to use their position to pack their own party members in various positions in the state. In view of these frictions the SVD was ultimately defeated on July 6, 1967. However, the SVD Ministry continued in office with great difficulty till February 19, 1968 when it tendered its resignation. On February 24, 1968 the President of India suspended the Assembly. But subsequently when he found that no stable Government could be formed under the existing circumstances he dissolved the Assembly on April 12, 1968.
The collapse of the SVD Government can be attributed to two reasons: (i) SVD was a party of parties with different ideologies, programmes and principles who were united with one point programme but that was ouster of Congress Government from the state. After the SVD rule in state the allied parties wanted their programmes to be implemented, which was rather impossible since the aim and gain or achievement of one party was loss against the interest of the other coalition partner. Thus separate interest of each party dominated over the allied party interest.

(ii) Personal interest of the leaders was also a reason for the break of SVD. As evident even from Congress rule on the quitting of C.B. Gupta as Chief Minister. It may be noted that the election of Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani was not unopposed and she had to face a rival in Kamalapati Tripathi. Though there were factions within the Congress ranks the Congress party continued to head the Government. Charan Singh once a prominent leader of Congress too did not seem happy with the Congress, that's why resigning from Congress he joined Jana Congress, and then merged Jana Congress with the SVD just for the sake of power. It was not the people of Uttar Pradesh who either formed or replaced SVD Government but only and only the leaders shifting and quitting from party to party for personal gain.
Another major development that took place in U.P. was after the mid-term poll of 1969 where no single party could secure a clearcut majority. The non-Congress coalition made an attempt to form a coalition Ministry but because of the strong opposition of Jena Singh and SSP to Charan Singh becoming the Chief Minister coalition Ministry could not be formed. Ultimately on February 16, 1969 the Congress Government headed by C.B. Gupta with the support of Independents and Swatantra was formed.

In the elections of 1969 though the collective strength of the opposition members was more than the strength of the Congress (Congress had 21 seats = 33.65%) but the Opposition could not oust Congress due to division in their own ranks. It was not only the Opposition but the Congress too was divided on certain issues and as a result Gupta Ministry could not last long and stability was shaken due to split in the Congress.

After the resignation of Kamalpati Tripathi from the presidency of UPCC, under the directive of the AICC, the group rivalries within Congress became prominent. While C.B. Gupta favoured Banarsi Das for the Presidency, Kamalpati favoured Bahuguna. At the intervention of the Central leadership the crisis was tided over for the time being. However, when the split in the Congress party took place C.B. Gupta supported Congress(O), while Tripathi group suppor-
ted Congress(N). The two sections were divided in such a manner that none of them could form the Ministry. A stable Ministry could be possible only with the support of BKD (having 98 seats). Consequently both the sides started wooing Charan Singh, and ultimately Charan Singh decided to cooperate with the Tripathi group to topple the Gupta Ministry. In the meanwhile the Gupta group secured the support of Jana Sangh (having 46 seats) and also made efforts to win the support of SSP (having 33 seats).

Though negotiations between Charan Singh and Kamalapati Tripathi continued for the formation of the Government, no agreement could be reached on the issue as to who should head the Government. Finally on February 10, 1970, C.D. Gupta tendered his resignation advising the Governor to invite the opposition leader Charan Singh to form the Government. One thing to be noted here is, resignation of Gupta was not any kind support to Charan Singh but it was a move to prevent a Government under Kamalapati Tripathi. Despite C.D. Gupta's resignation, political situation in the state took a new turn after few days when Charan Singh broke alliance with Congress(O) and reached an agreement with Congress(N) to form a single party government and the Congress(N) was to extend full support to his Ministry. The BKD Ministry formed by Charan Singh in U.P. as an one party Government survived for two months only, from February 17 to April 16, 1970 and then it was a BKD-
Congress(N) coalition Government from April 17 to October 1, 1970.

The reason for the short tenure of BKD Government in the state was strained relations which developed between the two coalition partners. The Congress(N) came out with open allegations that the coalition Government was deviating from the policy line approved by Congress(N). This was not liked by Charan Singh and he called on them to quit the Ministry. The friction between the two was further accentuated following the decision of BKD MPs to vote against the abolition of Privy Purses in the Parliament.

The tension between the two partners grew so high that Charan Singh asked thirteen Congress(N) Ministers to resign from his Council of Ministers. When they refused to comply with his request he asked the Governor to dismiss them. At this stage K. Balath Tripathi withdrew his support. The Governor, on the advise of Attorney General asked Charan Singh to resign and sent a recommendation for the imposition of President's Rule in the state. The state was duly placed under President's rule on October 4, 1970. However, the State Assembly was not dissolved to enable the parties to reach some sort of accord regarding the formation of Government.

Here it can be noted that the short tenure of non-Congress Governments i.e. SVD Government and BKD Government, and
their immediate collapse is not related with people in general in any aspect. The responsibility for these changes and developments least goes to state level leaders even, but to national level party leaders — Too many alliances between political parties or entirely different and divergent ideologies clearly indicates one joint programme and that was to remove Congress(R) from power.

The resignation of Charan Singh from SVP government, prior to his defection from Congress (o. which he seemed to be an integral part), then formation of Jana Congress, defection from Jana Congress and joining, B&D — all this is enough to show that Charan Singh was not satisfied with any party. Besides this I am not wrong. he never left any chance to head the Government in Uttar Pradesh. What I feel the height of lust of power was that on the one side C.S. Gupta (Congress(R)) resigned from Chief Minister'ship on February 10, 1970 with a move to prevent Charan Singh to make any alliance with Congress(R) to form Government in Uttar Pradesh. Moreover he advised Governor Gopala Reddy to invite Charan Singh to form Government since B&D had 98 members in the Assembly and also had the support of Opposition Front (opposition to Congress-R). The Congress(R) had only 211 members in the Assembly and having just 33.6% of the total strength of the House. Ignoring all such friendly and sincere
gestures of C.B. Gupta, Charan Singh made an alliance with Congress(N) and thus formed BKD Government in Uttar Pradesh in coalition with Congress(N) on February 17, 1970.

At the time of Mid-term poll of 1969, the BKD was also entering into politics and had prepared to contest elections. Its list contained 51 Rajputs, 36 Muslims, 17 Banias, 48 Ahirs, 88 Harijans, 10 Jats, 5 from backward communities and 26 others. The Congress list contained 115 Brahmins alone besides representatives of other castes. The greatest development in U.P. after the mid-term poll was that the long continued dominance of Upper Castes was broken.

Another blow given to U.P. politics and as a strength to non-Congress parties was rift in the Congress itself. After the 1969 polls, C.B. Gupta (Congress) with the support of Independents and Swatantra formed the Ministry on February 16, 1969. Stability could not last long because of the split in Congress. The new Congress under the leadership of Kamalapati Tripathi started opposition and joined hands with the BKD to topple the C.B. Gupta Ministry, and succeeded in the mission.

The coalition Government between the BKD and Congress(N) was not on the basis of any kind of similarity in the ideologies, policies and programmes of the two. On the contrary it
was on give and take basis. It was sheer personality of Charan Singh only who became a hero at that crucial moment. All non-Congress parties and Congress itself were looking towards Charan Singh to reach a compromise for alliance and form a coalition ministry. All parties were ready for any terms and conditions. But it was perhaps the farsightedness of Charan Singh who gave preference to Congress(N) to form the Government. One reason to form a coalition ministry in alliance with Congress(N) might have been that Congress was in power not only at the Centre but also in many states. Anyway whatever might have been the reason the fact is that the main aim of all parties was just to come in power irrespective of their varying ideologies. If it was not a fact then BKD could never have come in alliance with Congress(N) when both did not see eye to eye. The Congress(N) was dominated by higher castes (as general impression was) and BKD was a party of workers, farmers and peasants.

Away from power tactics if we see the achievements or failure of opposition Government then it comes out that it was mainly due to the assertive personality of Charan Singh that the BKD could take certain popular decisions. Many of the decisions were welcomed by people.

The policies of the BKD Government provided some relief to people in terms of their deteriorating conditions.
As a relief to farmers, the BKP Government decided to abolish land revenue on holding up to 3.125 acres which was considered the average uneconomic holding. It decided to withdraw sales tax on fertilizers, withdrawal or restriction on export of Gurh, to distribute surplus land among landless labourers and to take over the sugar industry. The BKP Government also decided to lower the ceiling on land holdings from 40 acres to 30 acres.

Regarding administration and law and order in the state the BKP Government took decisions like setting up a Law Commission for judicial efficiency and elimination of corruption from Courts; to reconstitute the regional transport authorities with a view to eliminate corruption; to appoint a commission headed by a High Court Judge to investigate the concealment and minimization of crimes and suggest remedies for the widespread evils in the police department; to promulgate an ordinance making the membership of union for students voluntary; and to promulgate an ordinance empowering the state Government to detain any person so as to prevent him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the security of state or the maintenance of public order or on supplies and services essential to the community.

Regarding law and administration Charan Singh was very strict against unlawful activities by Government personnel,
students, common public land grabbers and politicians. An Ordinance for preventive Detention was issued on August 5, 1970 under which many students were arrested in Kanpur and Lucknow for unlawful activities. Besides students, 6 MPs and 11 MLAs were also arrested. This led the opposition parties to criticise Charan Singh ruthlessly.

The BKD neither believed in capitalism nor in socialism or communism; it believed in middle Gandhian path, an economy based overwhelmingly on self employment where exploitation was reduced to minimum if not eliminated altogether. It believed that democracy was founded upon the ownership of property. But concentration of economic and political power should not be in the same hands.

The BKD did not believe in parliamentary form of Government. It was in favour of presidential form. Besides this a resolution for the abolition of the Legislative Council was also passed on April 19, 1970, under which the existence of Upper House was declared as superfluous and a sheer wastage of time and money.

Soon after the declaration of President's rule in U.P. on October 2, 1970, the five opposition parties, Congress(I), Janata, Swatantra, SSP and BKD joined hands to form the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal (SVD). On account of its
strength of 250 in a House of 426, it asked the Governor to invite T.N. Singh (a Congress-O member of Rajya Sabha) to form the Ministry. On October 18, 1970 T.N. Singh was sworn in as Chief Minister.

Here one important thing to be noted is, though at the time of formation of BJD Government when both Congress (O) and Congress (N) were wooing Charan Singh to gain his support in order to form Government, Charan Singh, despite C.B. Gupta's obligations and sacrifices, chose Congress (N) as its coalition partner to form BJD Government. But now on account of his failure to keep his ministry in power and after collapse of his ministry neither Charan Singh nor Congress (O) hesitated while coming together in efforts to prevent Congress (N) from coming to power in the state. Instead they made an alliance to make SVD Government. Keeping in view the past experience, the fate of such an alliance could have been easily predicted. It had to fall. And the same happened just after five months. The T.N. Singh SVD Ministry which was installed on October 18, 1970 collapsed on April 4, 1971 when Kamalpati Tripathi (Congress) was sworn in as Chief Minister.

The collapse of T.N. Singh Ministry was because of two reasons. Firstly the allied parties could not adjust with each other on various issues and as a result defections in SVD started; the second reason was T.N. Singh's defeat in the
Maniram by election in 1971. After his defeat it became difficult for the parties of alliance to find a suitable leader. Many defected from SVD and joined Congress(N). Thus the Congress(N) with 222 members behind it urged the Governor to dissolve SVD Ministry and Tripathi was sworn in as Chief Minister whose Ministry lasted till 1974 elections, and then H.N. Bahuguna from the same party (Congress-N) took over as Chief Minister on March 5, 1974.

The drama of alliances, coalition governments and defections from one party to another lasted from 1967 to 1974 in the first phase of U.P. Government. It appears that the people were tired of the political game and got confirmed that apart from Centre, in U.P. too it was only the Congress(N) which could give the state a stable Government. This strengthened the position of Congress, as witnessed by the 1974 elections in which in a House of 425 Congress(N) secured 213 seats as against 211 out of 425 in 1969. But other parties except Jan Sangh were almost drowned. The reason why this time opposition parties did not come together was that the leaders of opposition parties had perhaps realised and were convinced that joint ventures would not work any more.

After Bahuguna, N.D. Tiwari took over as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and the Congress in U.P. remained in power throughout the emergency phase (1975-77).
The emergency period (1975-77) in India as well as in
the state of Uttar Pradesh gave such a lesson to the people
in just 19 months that they never had in 25 years span. The
Allahabad judgement will go down as a landmark in Indian
history. It gave a sharp turn to Indian Politics setting a
new frenzied pace to events and initiating an entirely new
style of Government in the country with different norms and
values.

The election petition filed by Raj Narain against
Mrs. Indira Gandhi resulted (on June 12, 1975) in her
disenfranchisement for six years. The judgement promptly gran-
ted an absolute stay for 20 days. She was held guilty of
corrupt practice under Section 123(7) of the Representation
of People Act under two counts: obtaining assistance of
Government officials for constructing rostrums and supplying
power for loudspeakers at the meetings addressed by Mrs.
Gandhi in Rae Bareli on February 1 and February 25, 1971 and
obtaining and procuring the assistance of Yashpal Kapoor (a
gazetted officer, Officer on Special Duty in the Prime
Minister's secretariat) during the period from January 7, 1971
to January 24, 1971 in furtherence of Mrs. Gandhi's election
prospects.

As a result emergency was declared in the country by
the President of India Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad on the night of
June 25-26, 1975. The actions during emergency period even in Utter Pradesh, the Prime Minister's home state, talked a different language. Besides family planning excesses, the people were angry over the MLA and DIR arrests. Even in the villages now people listened to BBC for true news.

One can criticize the emergency period to any length. Apart from its destructive and evil aspects one cannot deny that it brought certain things good also for the state: efficiency in Government offices, prompt services, halt to corruption of any kind in any sphere, and consciousness even among the villagers.

The 1977 election results gave a violent shake to the Kaleidoscope of Indian politics. RSS, Jana Sanghis, Janaitis, Muslim Leaguers, Old Congress men, LLD, and Socialists, all came under the common whiplash of Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarian oppression. They shared jail cells and suffered together for nineteen months, and came to know and understand each other from close quarters; had plenty of time to discuss dispassionately each others ideologies and politics.

So that when they were all released in January and February 1977, they came out decided to bury the past and turn a new leaf and work as a team, on a single front. In the "supreme common cause of banishing dictatorship once for all" and restoring democracy in the country.
The formation of Janata Government at the Centre and state levels was so very much same as that of SVD Government (twice) in Uttar Pradesh. It was obvious that the cementing factors to different political parties except the CPI was not a common ideology or principles but rather a common programme that too one only, just removal of Congress(I) rule from centre and from states.

Soon Janata Party met the same fate as SVD had met in U.P. Thus cracks had emerged. It was not U.P. politics this time but national politics where Charan Singh played exactly the same role as he had played in U.P. during non-Congress rule in the state.

It was Raj Narain's criticism (with full backing of Charan Singh) of the party president Chandra Shekhar because of which Morarji Desai asked both Raj Narain and Charan Singh to resign from the Union Cabinet. Not only both of them resigned but the whole lot of Charan Singh supporters resigned from the party. At the state level, in U.P. 200 members of Janata Party submitted a memorandum demanding removal of Chief Minister, Ram Naresh Yadav.

It was Charan Singh who managed to bring Lamsari Das as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, who continued till the Assembly was dissolved and 1980 elections held. In the election of 1980 the Congress(I) swept the poll and captured
306 seats in a House of 425 as against only 46 in 1977. The Janata was almost wiped out securing only 4 seats. Its breakaway group Bhartiya Janata Party secured 11 seats and Janata only 4 as against 351 seats in the House of 425 in the year 1977. Thus once again Congress(I) Government in the state was formed under the Chief Ministership of Vishwanath Pratap Singh.

The Janata Government at the Centre as well as in U.P. took decisions with an aim to give maximum relief and freedom to the people. To all the victims of emergency not only relief was given but stern action against guilty was taken. More courts were opened to expedite the judicial process. Compensation to those who lost their jobs during emergency was given and they were reinstated.

Decision to open more schools, to recruit more teachers, to increase salaries of teachers, technical staff and Medical staff etc. were taken. It was not only salaried class but farmers and peasantry was also rewarded in different forms. To farmers relief was given regarding fertilisers, irrigation, powercut in taxes etc. To small industries also cheaper land was to be given as decided by the Government. Considerable amount was spent for the development of Hill areas. A grant of Rs. 660 crores was approved to be distributed as loans, Rs. 17,800 crores employment plan for U.P. was
approved. Rs. 26 crore job plan only for Eastern U.P. was promised, under which 30,000 people were to get employment.

On the basis of the above analysis it can be concluded that since independence there was no remarkable development in U.P. till 1967. It was only after the elections of 1967 that some sort of line came into U.P. politics. In other words it was the beginning of non-Congress movement that brought a change in the otherwise slow momentum of affairs in the state. A remarkable change could be observed, specially in the post-Emergency period. It looked as if the excesses of Emergency and the resultant trauma had the greatest impact on the people and politics of U.P. The reaction was unprecedented. For people who have been looking forward to a change in Government, opportunity came their way in the 1977 elections and no doubt full advantage has been taken of the rare opportunity. A non-Congress wave of such proportions and intensity was never experienced in the post-independence politics of U.P. The rest is history.

But this is only one side of the turbulent period, otherwise known as the Janata phase which has been discussed in the main body of this dissertation. More surprises were to come. The political situation took so many turns in U.P. during the Janata phase that it calls for an extremely sharp
memory to recall and recount all the happenings and episodes (chapters IV & V).

If the Janata victory brought jubilation and relief to the people of U.P., unfortunately it was for a very short period. The developments that took place during the Janata phase were of such nature that the people as well as leaders started to have second thoughts on the whole political system existing at that time. The Janata phase was characterised by uncertainty, absence of consensus, instability, disunity and therefore became most notorious for inaction, pettyfogging, personal rivalries and political skull-duggery. The reader may refer to the relevant chapters in this dissertation for a detailed account of the political situation in U.P. during this most disturbing phase of politics in the state.

Public memory may be proverbially short, but this is more often not true. The people of U.P. have gone through many non-Congress Governments like SVD and BKD; but it was Janata Government which gave them a jolt and made them sit up and opened the doors for a vigorous thought process and retrospection.

There is too much evidence to show that the people of U.P. along with others who had to bear the Janata brunt have ultimately reconciled to the fact that they had had enough
of the SVD, BKD and Janata and that it was time to go back to their original moorings. They have always been ruled by the Congress when they wanted to have a change, they had it, but they felt that it was a change for the worse. The people cannot be blamed for this. It was the performance, rather non-performance of the various non-Congress Governments that put the people off. They saw through the politicians' game, and decided that there is nothing like the good old Congress, the only party which could give them a modicum of stability, and continuity. And so it was the Congress again in 1980.

Compared to many states in India, U.P. had a comparatively peaceful time. Politically speaking, the state had been more fortunate in the sense that it was not notorious for political elections as was the case with Haryana and Bihar. But the fact cannot be denied that nothing remarkable happened in U.P., the premier state of India which gave top class leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi to the country.

The political situation in U.P. as is evident from the present study, has more often than not been guided, directed, and controlled by the central leadership. The centre in its own interest had never allowed any man of independent views to continue as Chief Minister in U.P. for a reasonable period to enable him to give a good performance. A good and astute politician poses a threat to the central leadership whose self-imposed importance stands questioned. Such state level
leaders are either replaced or called to the Centre and provided a berth in the Union Council of Ministers. A case in point is that of Vishwanath Pratap Singh. By all counts he would have given a better administration to U.P. than Bripet Misra had he been allowed to continue.

Another factor that has to be taken care of is that U.P. is too big a state to be administered from Lucknow. It goes without saying that it needs to be divided and reorganized into two states for administrative convenience. The immediate need is eradication of corruption in administration. The people should learn to nurse only honest politicians with commitment and integrity. A major surgical operation is the immediate need. An entirely new approach is called for. Total overhauling of the political situation and administration is the need of the moment. The people of this great state can look forward to better times, but only if they show more maturity and give evidence of political awareness of the appropriate kind.