CHAPTER IV

JANATA PHASE IN U.P. & RAM NAERISH

YADAV'S CHIEF MINISTERSHIP
After the Lok Sabha polls in the first trial of strength in U.P. Assembly on April 1, 1977, the Congress, with the help of CPI, defeated the non-CPI opposition's amendment to the motion of thanks for the Governor's address by 46 votes, thus frustrating the attempt to topple the N.D. Tewari Ministry. 223 members including 15 of the CPI voted against the amendment and 177 for it. Though the Congress win was a forgone conclusion, there was a lot of excitement and tension.

According to the position the Congress strength in the House was 208 and the CPI's 16. The Janata Party's latest strength 132 and CFD's 44.

On the advice of the Prime Minister (There was Janata Government at the Centre) the acting President B.D. Jatti dissolved 9 State Assemblies including U.P. on May 1, 1977.

The UPCC Parliamentary Board, on May 9, 1977 decided for an alliance with the CPI and the Republican Party (Gawai faction) in the ensuing State Assembly elections.

The CPI wanted to contest 60 to 70 seats and desired an adjustment with the Congress. The CPI State Executive took a decision that the CPI and the Congress would not contest

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 2, 1977
2. Ibid., May 2, 1977
3. Ibid., May 10, 1977
elections against each other. However both the Parties were free to put forward their political points or view freely, even on points on which they did not agree.

There was great rush for Janata Party tickets. Thousands printed forms had already been taken away by applicants. There was such a great demand that private typists were selling the forms on their own. Thousands of aspirants for the party ticket had arrived in the State capital with their supporters.

The State committee of the CPI(M) had set up a five men committee to conduct negotiations with the Janata Party for adjustment of seats for Assembly Elections. In a statement the party secretary said that the party would have 'no truck' with the CPI because the latter was still continuing to support the Congress.

A meeting of the U.P. Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Samiti had demanded 50 percent representation for youths in the selection of candidates. At a meeting the samiti declared that it would not allow selection of candidates "who had stabbed the J.P. movement in the back."

All the decisions taken by the Tiwari Ministry during the last days of its existence which were against the interest of the people were to be reviewed. For this purpose the Governor
M. Chenna Reddy set up a three men review committee comprising of the Revenue Board Chairman, the Chief Secretary and the Law Secretary.

Satish Chandra, the Governor's advisor declared that there were mainly two tasks before the administration. First there should be free, fair and peaceful elections. Secondly the tempo or development and economic welfare scheme should be maintained at the existing level if not increased. On May 3, 1977, the Governor distributed work among his advisors. Satish Chandra was allocated 12 departments and Qidwai 18 Departments.

The Janata Party Working Committee on May 10, 1977, appointed observers for 11 States and two Union territories going to polls with the authority to take a final decision in consultation with the President. Where the State Election Committee fails to arrive at a consensus on the selection of candidates. Accordingly Charan Singh was authorised to be observer for U.P. and to finalise the U.P. list.

The Election Commission on May 10, 1977 finalised the date for Assembly Elections to be held between June 10 and 14 and apart from other States, it was declared that Uttar Pradesh

1. The Times of India, New Delhi, May 3, 1977
will have three days polling.

On May 18, 1977, the All India Congress Committee released the list of candidates to contest elections on Congress tickets.

Till May 19, 1977 with only 48 hours left for the withdrawal of names - the Janata Party seemed nowhere near finalising a unanimous list of candidates for Uttar Pradesh. The problem was the Janata leaders then were not as united as they were when they contested the Lok Sabha elections.

On May 20, the Janata Party released the list of its candidates for U.P. State Assembly. Raj Mangal Pandey, Udit Narain Sharma and Ram Prakash Gupta, all former Ministers, were among the 421 candidates from U.P., which included 87 members of the dissolved State Assembly.

The Hindustan Times wrote: "The Janata Party in Uttar Pradesh is threatened with the defiance by a large number of Party men who appear to be keen to contest the coming Assembly elections as independents in disregard of the Party directives. This unusual situation has been largely created by the inordinate delay in declaring the list of Party candidates."

---

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, May 23, 1977
The Janata Party which decided to go it alone against the Congress - CPI combination fielded as many as 132 members of the dissolved House. While a large chunk of 425 party tickets went to the Bhartiya Lok Dal, the Jana Sangh earned the second position. There were 43 Muslim candidates in the list including Habib Ahmed, the State Chief of the Muslim Majlis.

The Congress on the other hand left 38 out of total 425 seats to its allies – 30 for CPI, 5 for RPI and 3 for National League. In a bid to regain power in the most populous and politically important state in the country, the party fielded a total of 160 members of the dissolved House including former Chief Minister N.D. Tiwari, nine Ministers and 12 Ministers of State. There were 41 Muslim candidates in the Congress list.

With hardly a week left for the three day polling to start in Uttar Pradesh, a hurried survey of the northern, western and central parts of the sprawling state, revealed that the Janata wave witnessed during the Lok Sabha election 10 weeks ago, was persisting. It had not evaporated; however for a variety of reasons, it was diffused, enabling a more objective assessment on the basis of individual candidate's merits. There was a fair possibility of the Congress consolidating itself as an opposition party.¹

¹. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 21, 1977
Even the best supporters of Congress could not persuade themselves to wish it better. Having derailed the whole nation during the emergency, the Congress leadership was living in its own paradise while imagining that the party was "staging a come back". Polling 195,31,434 votes, the Janata Party had secured 68.06 percent popular support in the March elections. The Congress had obtained 71,70,180 votes representing 25.03 percent of the valid votes polled.

1. Analysis of Assembly Elections (May 10 - 14, 1977)

The Janata Party won 350 of the 422 seats in U.P. The Congress could secure only 46 seats. Three more than the number required for being recognized as an opposition. The party had won 216 seats in the 1974 elections. Its poll ally, the CPI could secure only nine seats as against 16 in the last Assembly elections. The CPI(M) which got two in the last elections had to be content with only one this time.

Of the 20 members of the Tiwari Ministry who contested, as many as 16 were rejected. Only the former Chief Minister N.D. Tiwari, his former cabinet colleague, Laxmi Shankar Yadav and two former Ministers of State Chhed Ram Gangawar and Yash Pal Singh could get through. Those defeated included the UPCC President Mr. Mohsina Qidwai, former Agriculture Minister and
member of the Congress Working Committee, Virenda Verma, former PhD Minister, Baldeo Singh Arya, former LSG Minister, Rajendra Kumari Bajpayee and former Education Minister Ammar Rizvi.

The Janata rebels who had won, included Indiramani Badori, Babu Singh and Kanhai Singh. Most of the rebels were rejected by the people.¹

As many as 41 members of the dissolved House had been reelected. 110 of them belonged to the Janata Party, 26 to Congress, 4 to CPI and one to CPI(M). Banarsi Das was the only member of the Rajya Sabha to have contested and won. Among the candidates of national Parties who had forfeited their deposits, the Congress accounted for eight, the Janata Party two, CPI(M) 11 and CPI 3. Out of 1,380 independent candidates only 48 could manage to save their deposits.²

The newly elected seventh Uttar Pradesh state Assembly had 283 new faces of whom 242 belonged to the Janata Party, 20 to the Congress, 5 to the CPI and 16 Independents. Among the newly elected were 10 women members of whom 8 were new. This included two members Mrs. Qudsia Begum (Independent) and Shakuntala Nayyar (Janata) who had previously been members of the House.³

---

1. The Times of India, New Delhi, May 15, 1977
2. Ibid., June 19, 1977
3. Ibid., June 21, 1977
The Janata Party had also claimed the bulk of 82 out of 90 seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes while the Congress got only 7. One seat was won by an Independent. Among 82, 56 were new. 3 out of 7 Congress members and the one Independent elected from reserved seats were also new.

Three women also figured among the Janata Party's members elected from reserved seats. Two of them were new. Of the 49 Muslims elected to the House, 30 belonged to the Janata Party, 5 to the Congress, one to the CPI and 4 were Independents. Twenty-six out of the 39 Muslim members belonging to the Janata Party were new while two of them belonged to the Congress and four were Independents. 1

2. Yadav Elected Leader in U.P.

On June 21, 1977 Ram Naresh Yadav, M.P. was elected leader of the Janata Legislature Party, defeating his rival Ram Dhan, M.P. by a big margin. Yadav polled 277 votes as against Ram Dhan's 103. Two members were absent. Yadav was known to be Charan Singh's choice. It was obvious that he received the solid backing of the erstwhile BLD and Jana Sangh constituents. On the other hand, despite the open support of C.B. Gupta for Ram Dhan's candidature there was division in the Congress ranks, while the erstwhile Socialists were

1. *The Times of India*, New Delhi, June 21, 1977
Efforts were made in the morning of June 21, to avoid the contest. Raj Narain the Union Health Minister and Banarsi Das met C.B. Gupta in a bid to get the candidature of Ram Dhan withdrawn. But Gupta did not agree.

Ram Naresh Yadav, a lawyer by profession, was elected to the Lok Sabha in March, 1977 defeating Charanjit Yadav from the Azamgarh constituency. He earlier had worked for sometime in the Socialist party under the leadership of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. His rival Ram Dhan, a harijan, also came from Azamgarh and was also elected to the Lok Sabha.

On the evening of June 28, 1977 allocation of portfolios among the members of the new five men U.P. cabinet was announced. Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav held charge of as many as 17 departments and subjects including general administration, home, finance, planning, confidential, appointments, vigilance, election, home guards, economics and statistics, sales tax, registration, stamps, court fees and entertainment tax. He had also been allocated the portfolios of industries which included heavy industries, small industries, handlooms and handicrafts, habitations environment and ecology.¹

¹ The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 29, 1977
The first set of major administrative changes by the new Janata Government involved the transfer of over two dozen officers both at the State secretariat and district level. The officers had been transferred for administrative reason and in public interests.¹

R.N. Yadav, Chief Minister had a talk with the leader of opposition N.D. Tiwari on the choice of Speaker and there was unanimity on the name of Banarsi Das, who on July 12, was declared elected unopposed as the Speaker of the seventh U.P. Assembly.

The Uttar Pradesh Ministry was expanded on July 4, 1977 with 41 new incumbents. In all there were 21 Cabinet Ministers, five Ministers of State and 15 Deputy Ministers.

On May 2, 1978 Ram Naresh Yadav added 7 new Ministers and promoted another seven from the Deputy Ministership to the rank of Minister of State. With this, strength of the Ministry had gone up to 48 from 41.²

¹. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, July 1, 1977
². The National Herald, Lucknow, May 13, 1978
Among the seven new entrants three belonged to the erstwhile ELD group, two to the former Congress(O) and one each to the Jana Sangh and the Socialist constituents of the Janata Party. The expansion took the Cabinet strength to 24, Ministers of State to 15 and the Deputy Ministers to 9. In the fully expended 48 member Council of Ministers there were five Muslims, five Harijans and three women.

On May 2, 1978 all the 11 official Janata Party candidates were declared elected to the U.P. Legislative Council in the biennial elections from the Assembly constituency. The other two candidates were Congress(I) nominee Mrs. Indira Mohani and the Congress supported CPI member Dr. Z.A. Ahmed.

On August 4, 1977 the U.P. Governor Chenna Reddy, on the recommendation of the Chief Minister dropped Mr. Jogeshwar Deputy Minister of Health from the Council of Ministers. In his statement the Chief Minister said that Mr. Jogeshwar had sent him a conditional resignation following the development after his surprise inspection of the Kanpur Medical College, where doctors, Junior Doctors, Nurses and students had gone on strike. The Deputy Minister released the contents of his resignation letter to the press before the Chief Minister could arrive at any decision.

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, July 5, 1977
2. The National Herald, Lucknow, May 13, 1978
On September 28, 1977 the Deputy Minister for Excise, Arif Mohammad Khan resigned from the State Ministry in protest against the State Government policy in regard to the Shia Sunni situation in Lucknow.

On September 28, 1977 President N. Sanjiva Reddy, appointed G.D. Tapase, a former Minister in the Bombay State, as the Governor of Uttar Pradesh in succession to M. Chenna Reddy who had resigned. Tapase had to join from October 2, 1977.¹


On May 3, 1978 the dissident Janata Party legislators in Uttar Pradesh threatened open revolt unless the party High Command intervened by May 8 to remove Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav. In a joint letter to the party Chief Chandra Shekhar 22 legislators condemned as "Unconstitutional, undemocratic and dictatorial", Yadav's action in dropping from his Cabinet Satiya Prakash Malviya, Minister for Local Self Government.²

In reply to this threat the Party President Chandra Shekhar described the dismissal of Malviya as unfortunate and unparalleled in the history of parliamentary democracy. Chandra Shekhar said that he was upset because "the Chief Minister had chosen to ignore the Central Parliamentary Board

¹ The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Aug 5, 1977
² Mukhtar Anis, a Minister of State announced his resignation in protest against Malviya's dismissal. However he withdrew his resignation later.
in this matter; and also because this might lead to intensification of dissident activity in the State." The State Janata Chairman Abbas Ali announced on May 7, 1977 that he would ask the Chief Minister to clarify on what basis he had dropped Malviya from his Cabinet.

The crisis in U.P. was discussed on May 5, 1978 by the Party President Chandra Shekhar, with Prime Minister Morarji Desai, Party secretaries and some members of the High Command, who disapproved of any move by the dissidents in the Uttar Pradesh Legislature Party to bring a vote of no confidence against Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav in the State Assembly.¹ The High Command wanted the dissidents to air their views at a meeting of the Legislature Party and not impair party unity by forcing a showdown on the floor of the House.

Pandemonium broke out in the U.P. Assembly on May 8, 1978 while it was discussing the admissibility of an opposition adjournment motion on the dismissal of Local Self Government, Minister S.P. Malviya from the Cabinet. Three Janata dissidents were physically removed by the House Guards and one of them, Arif Mohammad Khan, a former deputy minister was suspended for the rest of the session; but later the punishment was reduced

¹. *The Times of India*, New Delhi, May 6, 1978
to three days only. The dissident whose protest spilled over in an organized and demonstrative manners on the floor of the House, shouted slogans like "S.P. Malviya Zindabad" and "Tana Shahi Naheen Chalegi" during the uproar which was sparked by the Chief Minister moving for the suspension of Arif Mohammad Khan.

On April 11, 1978 Union Health Minister Raj Narain held talks with about a dozen Ministers and some party legislators to resolve the tangle over the suspension of six party members for anti party activities.

The party president Chandra Shekhar had talks with the Chief Minister and the issue was resolved on a formula which provided that the suspended members will address a letter to U.P. Janata Legislature Party deputy leader Ram Prakash giving portions of their representation to Chandra Shekhar dealing with their replies to the charges against them contained in the show cause notices. The understanding was that on the basis of this letter the suspension would be revoked.

Union Home Minister Charan Singh, who arrived in Lucknow on April 17, 1978 had very brief talks with his close associates including Mr. Yadav and members of the Lok Sabha Madhav Prasad Tripathi and Gauri Shankar Rai. The purpose

1. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, April 12, 1978
2. *National Herald*, Lucknow, April 18, 1978
of Charan Singh's visit was, his wish to impress on Janata legislators the need for unity and cohesion.

On April 19, 1978 the executive of the U.P. Janata Legislature Party revoked the suspension of six party legislators, who were alleged for anti party activities; but with a warning that they should not indulge in anti party activities in future.¹

The Union Home Minister Charan Singh, on April 29, 1978 resigned from the Janata Party's National Executive and Parliamentary Board in protest against the High Command's move to oust the Chief Minister of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh.² He alleged that the dissidents in these states were being encouraged by a section of the central leadership of the party.

Though he had not mentioned the names of the High Command members, but his reference was, among others, to Chandra Shekhar, Party Secretary, Mahru Limaye, Jagjivan Ram, H.N. Bahuguna and others. He was also not satisfied with the attitude adopted by the Prime Minister in party matters.

¹ The Times of India, New Delhi, April 20, 1978
² Ibid., April 30, 1978
4. Crisis in the U.P. Janata Party

The Janata Party debacle in the three by-elections in a row in the State had deepened the crisis in the party. The Congress(I) on May 9, 1978 won its first Lok Sabha seat when its candidate Mrs. Mohsina Qidwai defeated her nearest Janata Party rival Ram Bachan Yadav by 35,385 votes in the Azamgarh by-election.1 The Congress also annexed the two Vidhan Sabha seats of Soron and Mankapur, the strength of the party in the Vidhan Sabha had risen to 40.

The State Janata Party President Abbas Ali had in a telegram to the party Chief Chandra Shekhar demanded his "immediate intervention" to resolve the grave crisis created by the party defeat in all the three by-elections, the dismissal of S.P. Molviya and the resignation of Mukhtar Anis.

The dissidents had held the Chief Minister responsible for the defeat and demanded his resignation if he did not go voluntarily. Meanwhile the Janata Legislature Party executive voted to remove Arif Mohammad Khan and recommended his expulsion from the State party organization since he campaigned for the Congress(I) candidate Mrs. Mohsina Qidwai in the Azamgarh

Lok Sabha by-election.

The Janata Central Parliamentary Board on May 10, 1978 decided to summon Chief Minister R.N. Yadav, State party president Abbas Ali and the dismissed Minister Malviya to Delhi to sort out the crisis which had caused doubts about the stability of the Government.¹

On behalf of the Parliamentary Board which was supposed to regulate the affairs of the various Janata Governments, two of its members A.B. Vajpayee and George Fernandes dealt with the Chief Minister and others involved in the dispute. They held consultations with Home Minister Charan Singh. Vajpayee, Fernandes and Abbas Ali later met Prime Minister Morarji Desai.

Yadav impressed upon the central emissaries the fundamental need of discipline at all levels for the smooth functioning of the Party, Legislature and Government. He had also stressed the need for evolving a code of conduct for partymen. There should be some norms for running the party and the Government, he said.

The Chief Minister H.N. Yadav in the Janata Legislature party meeting on June 4, 1978 secured 278 of the 388 votes. The voting took place under the party's High Command observer George Fernandes.¹

On June 29, 1978 the crisis in the Janata Party deepened further when the Prime Minister Morarji Desai asked Charan Singh and Raj Narain to resign from the Union Cabinet.² The Prime Minister objected in particular to Charan Singh's statement of a day before blaming the Government for delay in taking legal action against Mrs. Indira Gandhi and calling for her immediate arrest.

Rama Shankar Kaushik, Excise and Labour Minister and the Janata Legislature Party General Secretary warned that if Charan Singh resigned all the Janata ruled Governments would fall. Janata Party's General Secretary Ram Saran Das also warned that if there was a break in the party, the Central Government would collapse and nobody would be able to save it.

Chief Minister Yadav felt that the development at the Centre would not have any effect on the stability of U.P. Government. He spoke high of Charan Singh's efforts for the

---

1. *Dawat*, the Urdu Daily, New Delhi, June 5, 1978
2. 'Janata Count down to split', *Link*, July 1, 1978, p.21
uplift of the downtrodden and backward people and for the farmers generally. On the other hand Dr. Rakesh Chaturvedi, a dissident, congratulated the Central Cabinet and Party leaders for their "historic and timely decision." On July 1, 1978 Charan Singh announced that he would continue in the Janata Party. Confidence was expressed that he won't advise the Chief Minister R.N. Yadav to resign. A meeting of prominent BLD leaders held at U.P. Niwas at New Delhi on July 2, 1978 decided to organise a massive rally on July 17 to protest against the ouster of Mr. Charan Singh from the Union Cabinet. ¹

Atal Bihari Vajpayee, External Affairs Minister expressed a desire to step down from his government job to take up party work. ² Prime Minister Morarji Desai rejected Vajpayee's idea. Desai was keen on maintaining a balance among the various Janata constituents in the Cabinet. Charan Singh on the other hand in a letter to Party President Chandra Shekhar wrote that his resignation from the party Central Parliamentary Board and the National Executive was final.

On Charan Singh's organized rally move scheduled for July 17, it was feared that if any U.P. Minister takes part in the rally, and the Central leadership takes action against

---

¹ The Times of India, New Delhi, July 3, 1978
² Ibid.,
him, it would precipitate a crisis in U.P. too. The U.P. Ministers belonging to the former BLD faced a big dilemma whether to join the rally and face action or leave their leader Charan Singh in lurch.

Later on it was understood that section of Ministers and legislators, belonging to the erstwhile ELD, appeared to be determined to participate in the July 17 rally, even if the party High Command placed restriction against it. But as a surprise move Charan Singh declared on July 6 the cancellation of July 17 rally. Once again on July 7 Charan Singh threatened that the proposed Kisan Rally on July 17 would be held as scheduled unless the differences were ironed out by July 10 a day before the Janata party National Executive met.

The Janata Party National Executive on July 11,1978 made a determined effort to refurbish its image by unanimously adopting a resolution which called for unity with discipline. The resolution asked Charan Singh to withdraw his letter of resignation dated April 28,1978 from the National Executive and Parliamentary Board and continue to serve on these bodies. On July 12, Charan Singh communicated in writing to Chandra Shekhar that he was withdrawing his letter of resignation.

The division between supporters and opponents of RSS in the Uttar Pradesh Janata Party surfaced on December 25, 1978 when three party legislators, Sivanand Nautiyal, Lalji Tandon and Jayat Narayan, demanded the resignation of Cabinet Minister working for the proposed Kisan Rally in New Delhi on December 23.\(^1\) Party General Secretary, Ram Saran Das also criticised attempts by two of his colleagues to make the RSS synonymous with the Janata Party.

The U.P. Muslim League General Secretary Mukhtar Ahmed said in Moradabad that the reports of the two General Secretaries of the State Janata Party on the Aligarh riots had only tried to cover the misdeeds of the RSS in the Aligarh riots at a time when a judicial inquiry had already been ordered. In a signed statement, he said even Janata leaders like Prime Minister Morarji Desai and Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav had avoided comments. The statement of the Janata Panel at this juncture was a calculated attempt to influence the judicial commission, he said.\(^2\)

RSS Chief Balasaheb Deoras said it was unfortunate that RSS workers had been blamed for the Aligarh riots. He

\(^1\) *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 26, 1978

\(^2\) Ibid.
denied any RSS hand in the incident and said the people should wait for the judicial inquiry verdict. Addressing a rally of RSS workers of Faizabad and adjoining districts, Deoras said the RSS had been blamed for communal riots in the country without any basis.

5. Dissidence in U.P. Janata

On January 1, 1979 a meeting of the dissident Janata Legislators demanded in a resolution demanded the removal of Mr Yadav and said it was unfortunate and undemocratic that he had not immediately resigned. It said Yadav was in a minority now and the party image under his leadership was getting tarnished every day.

The meeting held under the Chairmanship of State Janata Party President Abbas Ali was attended by 163 Legislators, four Members of Parliament, four out of six State Party Vice Presidents, three General Secretaries and the Treasurer.

Ignoring the Party High Command publicly expressed reactions, Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav not only got accepted by the Governor the resignation of the four Ministers—two Cabinet Ministers and two Deputy Ministers, whom he had asked to quit, but also went a step ahead and elevated all the six remaining Deputy Ministers to the rank of Minister
of State.¹

The U.P. Ministry would then be a two tier one, and there was to be no Deputy Ministers. Its strength was reduced to 43 after the resignation of four Ministers. There would be 21 Cabinet Ministers and 22 Ministers of State. The Chief Minister declared that there was no possibility of any further reshuffle or addition to his Cabinet.

The campaign against Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav within the Uttar Pradesh Janata Party received a boost with the first joint meeting of leaders of practically all constituents except the BLD to plan their line of action. They had also consultation with C.B. Gupta, about the form of requisition to be submitted within a few days to the Chief Minister for a Legislature Party meeting, with copies to the Party President and the Prime Minister. Immediately thereafter a telegram signed by various leaders was sent to all the party legislators supporting the demand for the ouster of Chief Minister to meet at Lucknow on February 1, 1979.

An important development had been the coming out into the open of the Janata Sangh constituent against the Chief Minister. Their strength in the Lower House was 95 and in

¹. *The Hindustan Times*, January 28, 1979
the Upper House seven. In fact it was the Jana Sangh legislators who were most active in collecting signatures on the requisition for the party meeting. A fresh requisition had now been drafted as the earlier text, signed by about 70 members, was found defective. The Prime Minister and the Party President to whom copies were sent were requested to intervene immediately if the Chief Minister did not call a party meeting.

The four ousted Ministers held a joint news conference and levelled allegations against the Chief Minister. Meanwhile former Minister S.P. Malviya charged the Chief Minister with entering a "secret deal with the Congress to continue in power" and said the Janata Party would not permit him to form a Government with Congress support. Malviya also discounted the fear that the Chief Minister could get the Assembly dissolved.

The U.P. Janata Party Chief Abbas Ali had said that the ouster of four Ministers by Yadav was an unwise and unfortunate step which would have serious repercussions. He said that there was no doubt it was the Chief Minister's prerogative to demand resignation of any minister, but in the wider interest of the party it would have been better if the Chief Minister had consulted the persons involved as also the party leaders. He further said that the political crisis at the Centre which was settled after prolonged efforts could occur at the State and national level with such unwise action
by Yadav.  

A Lok Sabha member and two State legislators from U.P. supported Yadav's action in throwing out some Ministers. In a joint statement, Rasheed Masood, M.P. and Ajab Singh and Mrs. Bimla Rakesh, both MLAs expressed, the confidence that the Chief Minister would definitely secure majority support in the State Legislature party in a trial of strength. According to them the image of the State Government would improve after the exit of Ram Singh and other Ministers who had been removed by the Chief Minister.

The crisis in the Uttar Pradesh Janata Party further deepened on January 30, 1979 when 14 dissidents belonging to different constituents met the Governor G.D. Tapase, to handover a memorandum asserting that the Chief Minister was in minority and requesting that his advice on no subject be accepted until he proved his majority. The memorandum alleged that not only was the Chief Minister threatening to get the House dissolved but he was also offering inducements to members to

1. The Hindustan Times, Jan 29, 1979
2. Those who met the Governor included S.F. Malviya, Raj Managl Pandey, H.K. Srivastava and Muzafirar Hasan.
3. The Times of India, New Delhi, Jan 31, 1979
regain majority. Certain legislators had been nominated to corporations and boards in the last two days, it said.

A delegation of legislators, demanding a change in the party leadership, left for Delhi on the night of January 30, 1979 to submit a memorandum to party President Chandra Shekhar requesting him to direct Yadav to call a meeting of the Legislature Party at which the Chief Minister should test his majority. They also met the Prime Minister and other members of the Parliamentary Board.¹ Malviya stated that as mentioned in the memorandum to the Governor, more than 100 members had claimed in writing that the Chief Minister had lost the majority. Yadav had asserted that the dissidents were indulging in a "futile exercise". He said that he enjoyed the confidence of the party legislators. There was no need for him to seek a confidence vote on his own, he added. He denied that the four Ministers had been asked to resign because of "political malice". He warned that he would take action against those Ministers who were hatching a conspiracy to oust him.

The political crisis sparked off by Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav's action against four of his Ministers took a critical turn on the night of February 3, 1979 when all the

---
¹ The delegation which left for Delhi included Malviya, Moti Ram, Ramji Singh, Avsaan Singh Yadav, Budhu Ram, S.K. Srivastava and Shatrugh Prakash.
eight Cabinet Ministers belonging to the erstwhile Jana Sangh constituent of the Janata Party sent their resignation letters to the Party Chief Chandra Shekhar. The remaining five Ministers of State belonging to the erstwhile Jana Sangh group were likely to despatch their resignations letters to Mr. Chandra Shekhar by February 6.¹

The Ministers in their separate but identical letter wrote that they were unable to continue in the Ram Naresh Yadav Ministry in view of the atmosphere of "Lack of trust and suspicion". They maintained that the attitude of the Chief Minister towards them was not cooperative.

State Janata Chief Abbas Ali appealed to the party's central leadership and legislators "to liberate the State from Yadav's leadership as soon as possible."²

With the battle lines between Yadav and the growing number of dissidents, backed by a powerful Ministerial group, getting clearly drawn, the Janata Central leadership was now looking for a successor who could command fuller support of the party legislators and who did not have a sectional image. The dissident leaders present at Lucknow on February 6 declared that there could not be any compromise short of the

¹. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, Feb 4, 1979
ouster of the Chief Minister and complete freedom to the
Legislature Party to elect a leader of its own choice.

The Janata Parliamentary Board which met on February
7, 1979 in Delhi directed the Chief Minister R.N. Yadav to
call a meeting of the Janata Legislature Party on February
15 to seek a vote of confidence. The Board asked Railway
Minister Madhu Dandavate to act as the Central observer at
the meeting. Dandavate could decide in consultation with the
Party President whether, if necessary a new leader should be
elected at the meeting or later, depending upon the circum-
sstances.

According to Kaushal Kishore, one of the dissidents,
the memorandum against Yadav which the Board considered, was
signed by 187 Janata MLAs. Dissident leaders including former
Ministers, Ram Singh, Raj Mangal Pandey and Muzaffar Hasan,
in a joint statement welcoming the Parliamentary Board's deci-
sion appealed to the Party legislators to prove that Mr Yadav
did not have a majority by boycotting next day's meeting at
his residence. Ministers of the Yadav Government said that
they were sure of proving the Chief Minister's majority at the
February 15 meeting.

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Feb 8, 1979
Pro Chief Minister Janata Legislators of Uttar Pradesh at a meeting at Lucknow on the night of February 8, 1979 demanded the dismissal of 13 Ministers belonging to the erstwhile Jana Sangh without any further delay as they were trying to sabotage the working of the Government from within the Government. The members also urged the Chief Minister to direct the administration not to carry out order of those Ministers who had submitted their resignations to Party Chief Chandra Shekhar instead of sending them direct to the Governor or the Chief Minister.

They alleged that Ministers belonging to the erstwhile Jana Sangh were busy giving last minute orders to influence the legislators. This should not be allowed, they said. The Chief Minister assured the meeting that he would definitely take action against those Ministers very soon. The U.P. Janata Legislature Party General Secretary and Labour and Excise Minister Rama Shankar Kaushik claimed at the meeting that 239 of the 383 Janata Legislature Party members were with the Chief Minister.

Addressing the meeting former Union Health Minister Raj Narain said the current struggle was between democratic and dictatorial forces. He informed the legislators that Deputy Prime Minister Charan Singh had refused to give any

1. *National Herald*, Lucknow, Feb 9, 1979
advice to him on the current political crisis in the State and had authorised him to study the situation and take action that he (Raj Narain) deemed fit to deal with the crisis. Raj Narain advised the Chief Minister to take strong action against the dissident Minister. The Minister who had difference with the Chief Minister had no moral right to stay in office and fight against the leader, he said.

The Uttar Pradesh Governor G.D. Tapase was understood to have apprised the Centre, in a special communication on February 9, 1979 of the critical political situation in the State.

The Ministerial took a deeper plunge on the morning of February 9 when the Jana Sangh Ministers refused to give an explanation as demanded by the Chief Minister, Yadav, for siding with the dissidents in their attempt to oust him. While the Chief Minister declined to divulge the nature of his talks with the Governor at a 45 minute meeting on February 9 morning, it was believed that Yadav mentioned his intention to sack the 11 Jana Sangh Ministers. 1

The dissidents had already submitted a memorandum to the Governor urging him not to take any action on the advice of the Chief Minister since "he had been reduced to a minority

1. The National Herald, Lucknow, Feb 10, 1979
in the State Legislature Party." Kaushal Kishore describes Yadav's action as highly objectionable.

The U.P. Ministry was plunged into a first rate crisis on February 10, 1979, when Chief Minister Yadav advised the Governor to dismiss 13 Ministers belonging to the former Jana Sangh, on their refusal to resign. The Chief Minister called on the Governor, accompanied with Parliamentary Affairs Minister Madhukar Dighe and Labour Minister Ram Shankar Kaushik and handed over a letter advising him to dismiss the Ministers.

On February 11, 1979 the Governor accepted the resignation of 13 Ministers - all belonging to the former Jana Sangh on the advice of Chief Minister. Eight of them were Cabinet Ministers and five Ministers of State.

The resignation which had been sent to the Janata Party President Chandra Shekhar by these Ministers on February 4, were handed over to the Governor on the morning of February 11 by two State Janata Party Secretaries on instructions from Chandra Shekhar, though they were addressed to the Chief Minister.

1. *The Indian Express*, New Delhi, Feb 11, 1979
2. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, Feb 12, 1979
The Governor informed Yadav on telephone about the receipt of the resignations, and apparently summoned him. After meeting the Governor, Yadav disclosed that the latter had accepted the resignations. Yadav also said that dismissing the 13 Ministers, as advised by him yesterday, was now redundant in view of the receipt of their resignations.

The Janata Party General Secretary Madhu Limaye claimed that if Bahuguna and the Party President, Chandra Shekhar came out openly in favour of Ram Naresh Yadav, the U.P. Chief Minister would win the trial of strength with greater majority. Limaye appealed to all secular elements within his party to come together "to defeat the designs of the RSS." Limaye, who was known to be a supporter of Charan Singh also claimed that majority of the former Congress(O) and former socialist members of the Janata Party were supporting Yadav. This claim was contested by anti Yadav leaders.

The breakdown of different elements within the Janata Legislature Party (MLAs only) was BLD-155, Jana Sangh-93, Congress(O)-29, CFD-31, SP-19, Chandra Shekhar Group-9, and Majlis-8 and others-6 to make a total of 350.

There was a perceptible hardening of attitude at the top level of the constituent units of the Janata Party on the eve of the U.P. Janata Legislature Party meeting scheduled for V

1. The Statesman, New Delhi, Feb 14, 1979
February 16, 1979. At the end of a hectic day of meetings, Madhu Limaye, supporters of Cha\n an Singh, claimed that "we will win". The former CFD elements, on the other hand, expressed their determination to vote against Yadav.

Yadav lost the fiercely contested trial of strength in the Janata Legislature Party by a wafer thin margin of nine votes - 190 members casting their ballots for him and 199 against.

According his defeat at the State Janata Legislature Party meeting on the evening of February 16, 1979, Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav at late night submitted his resignation to Governor G.D. Tapase. On his resignation move, he said "I have submitted my resignation to uphold the democratic tradition." He further said that he was leaving the Government, he and his supporters would continue to fight against the RSS. He would have nothing to do with any Government which was dominated by "the RSS and other fascist elements."

Most leaders from the State as well as from the Centre appeared to favour a consensus candidate rather than a contest to choose a new leader of the Janata Legislature Party. Yadav was keenly interested to contest for U.P. leadership again as

was evident from his replied to questions at a news conference on the evening of February 18, 1979. He said he would contest again if the legislators wanted him to do so and that in that case "his victory was certain", for he said legislators themselves were taking vigorous initiative in this regard.1

Asked about consensus, Yadav said that it was not necessary in a democracy and the views of the majority should prevail. He said the Government to be formed would be quite broad based and every section would have adequate representation." But it would consist of secular elements and there would be no place for those associated with the RSS, he emphasised. He said: "There was no question of dissidents or separate camps of 199 and 190 members now. All were following the same line now."

Janata Party President Chandra Shekhar had a 90 minutes meeting on the night of February 19, 1979 with Deputy Prime Minister Charan Singh amid reports that the Central Party leadership and several Uttar Pradesh groups were nearing agreement on a consensus choice for the leadership of the State.2 All indications were that the choice was veering round to H.N. Bahuguna, Minister for Petroleum.

1. The National Herald, Lucknow, Feb 19, 1979
2. Ibid., Feb 20, 1979
Apart from being approached by Janata Legislators belonging to warring groups, Bahuguna was understood to have been sounded by Prime Minister Morarji Desai himself. However, Bahuguna was reluctant to undertake the responsibility. He reportedly told all those who requested him to shift to U.P. again that he would not be able to deliver the goods unless the Party legislators were prepared to give up their factional loyalties and that "there should be no wire pulling by anyone in any manner from the Centre."

A contest for the leadership of the U.P. Janata Legislature Party between Banarsi Das, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Raj Mangal Pandey, MLA, appeared to be inevitable. Banarsi Das was the nominee of the former BLD group which had ultimately decided against putting up Ram Naresh Yadav, the outgoing Chief Minister, again for the contest being held at Lucknow on February 1. Banarsi Das enjoyed the support of Charan Singh.

The pro changers on the other hand had decided to field Raj Mangal Pandey, a prominent leader of CFD. He was to have the support of 103-member-Jana Sangh group, crucial for any candidate for Chief Ministership.

1. Yadav resigned on Feb 16
The ministerialists were said to be divided over the selection of someone who was from upper caste (Banarsi Das is vaishya) and not from a backward community or Harijan. The pro rebel BLD leaders such as Ramdhari Rai, Shatrudra Prakash and H.K. Shrivastava felt that Satya Prakash Malviya was the most suitable candidate.

A three member committee consisting of H.N. Bahuguna, C.B. Gupta and Nanaji Deshmukh was to take the final decision on the pre changers candidate.

C.B. Gupta withdrew from the contest for party leadership on the evening of February 26, 1979. This withdrawal was on a technical objection, barely 18 hours before the voting next day, and instead named Raj Mangal Pande of the CFD as the candidate of the pro changers. Other leaders of the camp who had authorised Gupta to make the choice also announced their support for Pande.

The rival ministerialist candidate, Banarsi Das resigned from his office of Speaker on 26 Feb. and immediately swung into hectic canvassing. He was going from room to room in the legislators hostel commenting that probably the pre changers would change their candidate once again. He did not consider Pande as a serious candidate.¹

¹. *The National Herald*, Lucknow, Feb 27, 1979
The consultations among the Central Janata leaders and the new alignments in the offing, indicated that Banarsi Das would become the next Chief Minister. The exploratory talks between Charan Singh and H.N. Bahuguna on February 25, 1979, followed by Charan Singh's discussions with Jagjivan Ram on February 26 and subsequent consultations of Jagjivan Ram with Bahuguna seemed to have brought the BLD and CFD faction of the Janata Party considerably closure, atleast for the time being.

Jagjivan Ram and Bahuguna were assured that Banarsi Das would not act in the sectarian fashion that Yadav had tried to do. He would form a composite Government with the best talents available from all groups. No efforts from Delhi will be made to influence the Chief Minister in his day to day functions.

On February 27, 1979 the U.P. Janata Ministerialist turned their recent defeat into victory by a convincing margin of 35 votes, when their nominee, Banarsi Das, was elected leader of the Janata Legislature Party, defeating the dissident leader Raj Mangal Pande by 212 votes to 177.¹

¹ The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Feb 26, 1979
Banarsi Das described Raj Mangal Pande, his opponent in the leadership contest, as a valued colleague and co-worker and also appreciated the sportsman spirit of others who had differed with him on this occasion. He said the chapter was closed and everybody must forgive and forget and the party must work unitedly.  

Banarsi Das left for Delhi immediately after the oath taking ceremony for consultation in Delhi on Ministry making, particularly with Charan Singh, Jagjivan Ram, H.N. Bahuguna and Raj Narain. He also met Prime Minister Morarji Desai and Party President Chandra Shekhar.

About the significance of his election, Banarsi Das said the biggest achievement was that Charan Singh, Jagjivan Ram, H.N. Bahuguna and Raj Narain had come together at one place. He said the ultimate aim was transformation of the Party. "We are the true Janata Party", he remarked.

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Feb 26, 1979