Chapter - V

JANATA PHASE IN U.P.

(A) Crisis in Central Leadership

(B) Janata Government During Banarsi Das's Chief Ministership: Crisis in the Party, and its End.

(C) Some of the Decisions Taken and Promises made by the Janata Government in U.P.
(A) CRISIS IN CENTRAL LEADERSHIP

The Janata Parliamentary Party leadership remained unperturbed at the 13 resignation form the JPP, 10 in support of Raj Narain, reducing the ruling Party strength in the Lok Sabha from 302 to 289. The House had a total effective strength of 539. On July 10, 1979, 14 more MPs quit the Janata Party. By this no immediate threat to Morarji Government was seen. It reduced the party's strength from 302 to 275 in a House of 539, excluding five vacancies. The support of Nine Akali members was assured to Janata Party.

On July 11, 1979 the Morarji Government fell in minority as 19 more quit the Janata. Even with the party strength having dropped to 255 in a House of 539, Prime Minister Morarji Desai maintained that his Government was not in minority. Even as Morarji Desai confidently declared at the general body meeting of the Janata Parliamentary Party on the morning of July 12, 1979, that his Government would face the no-confidence motion being debated in the Lok Sabha, the party suffered another blow when Health Minister Rabi Ray and two Ministers of State resigned from office. This was followed by the resignation of 9 more MPs from Janata Party.

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1. National Herald, Lucknow, July 10, 1979
2. Ibid., July 11, 1979
3. Ibid., July 12, 1979
4. Ibid., July 13, 1979
As a result of continuous resignations of Ministers and defection of MPs, the leader of Congress Party Y.B. Chavan met President Sanjiva Reddy and discussed the crisis in Janata Party. He said that the Congress Party in the Lok Sabha would like to be asked to explore the possibilities of forming an alternative Government.

On July 13 the fate of Janata Party Government hung in balance as Petroleum Minister H.N. Bahuguna and two more Ministers of State resigned from the Council of Ministers. Earlier the same day Charan Singh and Bahuguna had told Desai that they could not continue in the Cabinet if the issue of dual membership was not resolved. Chandra Shekhar and Jagjivan Ram used their best efforts to dissuade Charan Singh and Bahuguna but failed. As soon as Bahuguna's resignation was announced some Congress leaders met him to try to persuade him to join the Congress but they failed.

1. Resignation of Morarji Desai

In a dramatic turn of events within the Janata Party, Prime Minister Morarji Desai found himself under great pressure to step down. Faced with an imminent adverse vote against it, the leaders of the various constituents of the party came to

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1. National Herald, Lucknow, July 14, 1979

2. One of the major issues which contributed to the split and downfall of Janata Party was the question of dual membership. Most members of the erstwhile Jana Sangh held on to their RSS membership and refused to give up the same.
the conclusion that the unity within the party could be
maintained only if Desai stepped down. The consensus among
them was that Deputy Prime Minister Jagjivan Ram should
succeed Desai as leader of the Party.

With the strength of the Janata Party in the Lok Sabha
depleting from 223 on the night of July 14 to a little over
200 in a House of 539 on July 15, Prime Minister Morarji Desai
decided to step down and tendered his resignation to President
Sanjiva Reddy.¹ The President accepted the resignation but
requested Morarji Desai to stay till a successor was found.
Judging from the consultations at various levels the most
acceptable name for leadership in the Janata Parliamentary
Party seemed to be Deputy Prime Minister Jagjivan Ram.

Janata Party President Chandra Shekhar strongly criticised
George Fernandes, H.N. Bahuguna and others who left the party.
Speaking of their resignations, he asked "is it political oppor-
tunism or expediency?" Chandra Shekhar rejected the suggestion
that the RSS was the cause of the resignations. He said: "the
RSS is not an issue before us."

On July 18, 1979 Y.B. Chavan, Opposition leader in the
Lok Sabha was asked by President Sanjiva Reddy to explore the

¹. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, July 16, 1979
possibility of forming a cohesive and stable alternative Government to replace Morarji Desai's caretaker Government at the earliest. Chavan requested the President to give him three or four days to form his Ministry. He was confident of forming a cohesive and stable Ministry in coalition and with the support of other secular and democratic parties.

2. **Congress-Janata(s) alliance**

A new grouping of Political Parties with the Janata (Secular) and the Congress was taking shape for the formation of a Government at the Centre. But the question of leadership had not yet been decided. Contacts had not been established with the CPI-M, the CPI, AIADMK and other like-minded groups which believed in secularism and were pledged to adopt progressive policies.

The only to stake his claim for the office of Prime Minister was Charan Singh who was elected as the leader of the breakaway Janata (Secular) soon after resignation from the Party of which he was the cofounder. Charan Singh told President Sanjiva Reddy that he had the support of over 360 members including 91 of his party.

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1. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, July 19, 1979
The Congress Parliamentary Party leader Y.B. Chavan reported to the President of India of the failure of his efforts to form a comprehensive and stable Government to replace the Desai Ministry. Driven to frustration by the Janata(S) insistence on Charan Singh being made Prime Minister of a coalition Government, Chavan gave up the efforts in desperation.

At a meeting at Desai's residence, Desai and Jagjivan Ram made a joint appearance when the latter announced: "we are together and will remain together". The members of the new Janata Executive who received the statements of Desai and Jagjivan Ram with jubilation were later told by Party functionaries that the reconciliation was "the result of day long efforts by the leaders of several Janata groups who helped bring about heart to heart talk between Desai and Jagjivan Ram." Charan Singh's supporters, nevertheless, were hopeful that the breakaway Janata(S) being the largest among the opposition parties, would be the next to be called by the President to constitute the Government.

Janata(S) leader Charan Singh's persistent efforts to seek Mrs. Indira Gandhi's support in forming an alternative Government were rewarded on July 23, 1979 when the Congress(I) decided to cast its lot with him.1

1. National Herald, Lucknow, July 24, 1979
Morajji Desai called on President Reddy in the evening of July 23, and maintained that he had the requisite majority support which included the support assured by other groups and independent members. He indicated that he would submit his list to the President within 48 hours. Charan Singh earlier in the day forwarded to the President a letter he had received in the morning from Y.B. Chavan, recognizing him (Charan Singh) as leader of the Congress–Janata(S) alliance.

Besides 75 Congress members, the Janata(S) had a strength of 79 in the Lok Sabha. The alliance also had the support of Bahuguna group and Socialist bloc. This raised their strength to 203. On July 24, 1979 Desai and Charan Singh submitted their lists to the President containing 279 and 289 names respectively. On July 27, 1979 Morarji Desai stepped down from the Janata Parliamentary party and said that he was disturbed by the recent developments which brought down to the lowest possible level political conduct and behaviour. He announced his decision to retire from active politics, indicating he might resign from membership of Lok Sabha also. However, when the leaders of the party Jagjivan Ram, Party President Chandra Shekhar, JLP deputy leaders, general secretaries and several MPs approached him with the request that he should continue to be available to the party to provide guidance as a respected leader, Desai agreed
to review his decision. ¹

A nine member coalition government headed by Charan Singh was sworn in on July 28, 1979. Y.B. Chavan, leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, who was the only nominee of his party to be sworn in, was later named Deputy Prime Minister with the portfolio of Home Affairs. ² H.N. Bahuguna had been appointed Finance Minister and S.N. Mishra Minister for External Affairs.

The other portfolios were to be announced later after Congress had resolved its differences over its nominee and after the second batch of Ministers was sworn in. The other Ministers sworn in were Zulfiqarullah, Rabi Ray, Ram Kinkar and Purushottam Kaushik, all members of Desai's Council of Ministers.

The Congress Parliamentary Board resolved the crisis by retaining all the earlier six names and adding four others for inclusion to the Charan Singh Ministry. ³ The new names had been so selected so as to give representation to the minorities, scheduled Castes and Women. The North-Eastern Region also found a place in the choice finalised. In addition to the six

¹. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, July 28, 1979
². Ibid., July 29, 1979
³. Ibid., July 30, 1979
names (Brahmanand Reddy, Hitendra Desai, Subramanyam, T.A. Pai, Karan Singh and K.C. Pant), the Board decided to recommend the name of Mohd. Shafi Qureshi for Ministership of the Cabinet rank. Henry Austin (Kerala) and Mrs. Rashida Haque Chaudhry (Assam), wife of the late Moinul Haque Chaudhary were to be the Ministers of State. The third name for Minister of State was left to be finalised in consultation with Karnataka Chief Minister Devaraj Urs.

In the allocation of portfolios of his Government, which was announced late on July 30, 1979, Prime Minister Charan Singh allowed most of the former Janata Ministers to retain their portfolios and gave C. Subramanyam, Defence, Brahmanand Reddy Industry, T.A. Pai Petroleum and Chemicals, Karan Singh Education and Hitendra Desai Commerce and Civil Supply. An unexpected addition to the Cabinet was former Supreme Court Judge and Law Commission Chairman H.R. Khanna who had replaced Shanti Bhushan as the Minister for Law, Justice and Company Affairs.

On August 5, 1979 Jagjivan Ram asked all "right thinking people to get together and bring down the Government of defectors and deserters" and said that the Janata Party itself would not mind voluntary help from any quarter including Indira

1. The Times of India, New Delhi, July 31, 1979
Gandhi's Congress.¹

On August 6, 1979 a Presidential Order summoning the two Houses of Parliament to meet from August 20 was issued. It was for a short session from August 20 to 24 for enabling Prime Minister Charan Singh to seek a vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha in term of the advice by President Sanjiva Reddy while inviting him to form the Government.² Leader of the Opposition Jagjivan Ram made it clear on August 9 that if Charan Singh's Government failed to win the confidence vote on August 20 in the Lok Sabha, the President was bound to call him to form an alternative Government.

The 24 day old coalition government headed by Charan Singh resigned on August 20, 1979 even before seeking the vote of confidence from the Lok Sabha which had been called for the purpose.³ Following the Congress(I) decision to oppose the Government, the coalition partners came to the conclusion that they would not be able to muster majority support. At an emergency session of the Cabinet in the morning of August 20, it was decided not to expose the Government to the judgement of the House.

1. The Times of India, New Delhi, August 6, 1979
2. Ibid., Aug 7, 1979
3. Ibid., Aug 21, 1979
Accordingly, as the Lok Sabha assembled to discuss the motion for the vote of confidence, Prime Minister Charan Singh drove to Rashtrapati Bhavan with the resignation of his Council of Ministers and its advice to the President to dissolve the House. The President accepted the resignations and asked Charan Singh and his colleagues to continue in the office till other arrangements were made. This communication from the President was read out by Speaker S.K. Hedge in the Lok Sabha after which he adjourned the House sine die.

On August 21, 1979 President Sanjiva Reddy rejected Janata leader Jagjivan Ram's claim to form an alternative Government. He dissolved the Lok Sabha and ordered fresh elections in mid-December 1979 to resolve the political crisis that has arisen following the resignation of Charan Singh's Coalition Ministry.¹

¹ The Times of India, New Delhi, Aug 22, 1979
(B) JANATA GOVERNMENT DURING BANARSI DAS'S CHIEF MINISTERSHIP: CRISIS IN THE PARTY AND ITS END

Banarsi Das, the newly elected Janata Party leader was sworn in on February 28, 1979 as the tenth Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. Six other Cabinet Ministers who were members of the outgoing Yadav Cabinet, were also sworn in by Governor G.D. Tapase. These Ministers were Jamuna Prasad Bose (erstwhile socialist) Madhukar Dighe, Ram Shankar Kaushik, Rajendra Singh (former Congress-O). Rest of the Ministers were to be appointed later on in consultation with the Central leaders.

Banarsi Das declared that he would not include anyone in his Ministerial team who had links with RSS. On March 6, 1979 he expanded his cabinet taking in 18 more Ministers including Ram Naresh Yadav who was made the Deputy Chief Minister, raising its strength to 25.¹

Of 25 Ministers the lion's share of 11 went to the BLD, eight to CFD, three including the Chief Minister went to the Congress(O) and one each to Muslim Majlis, Socialists and Jana Sangh dissidents. Banarsi Das proposed further expansion of his Cabinet. Dissident leader Raj Mangal Pande, meanwhile complained

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, March 1 and 7, 1979
to Prime Minister Morarji Desai and Party President Chandra Shekhar denouncing the expansion of the cabinet as "partisan and one sided" and demanded immediate intervention and appropriate action.

The Banarsi Das Cabinet was expanded again on March 7, 1979 to include two more Ministers S.P. Malviya and H.K. Srivastava, both well known BLD dissident leaders, raising its strength to 27.\textsuperscript{1} It was announced that Narayan Singh (CFD) would also be designated Deputy Chief Minister, the first Deputy Chief Minister being Ram "aresh Yadav. Narayan Singh, a trusted lieutenant of H.N. Bahuguna would also be the leader of the Upper House.

The portfolios were announced immediately after the ceremony.

The Cabinet was expanded for the third times on July 1, 1979 to include 16 more Ministers of State raising its strength to 43. Of these 16 Ministers 10 belonged to the erstwhile BLD, two to the Socialists, three to Congress(O) and one to the CFD. They included three Harijans and three from backward classes. None from the erstwhile Jana Sangh was included.

1. \textit{National Herald}, New Delhi, March 8, 1979
On August 2, 1979 the U.P. Council of Ministers passed a unanimous resolution declaring that they were members of the same party of which Charan Singh and Raj Narayan are the leaders and they had no connection with the party led by Chandra Shekhar. Chief Minister Banarsi Das said that they recognised the Janata(S) unit of which Ram Saran was the convener. The Council meeting which was attended by 25 of the 27 Cabinet Ministers and all 18 Ministers of States showed their loyalty to the Janata-S. Banarsi Das said that the Janata Legislature Party of the State would continue to be called so. Those who differed with him were free to leave, he added.

According to Banarsi Das it was a trial of strength between the RSS led dissidents and those who had elected him the leader, "In this the secular and democratic forces had won over the obscurantist forces", he said. He felt that the Janata Party had split both horizontally and vertically and that Chandra Shekhar and other leaders had failed to resolve the issue of dual membership and prove that the party was wedded to secular ideas.

On August 3, 1979 the Janata Party President Chandra Shekhar announced that Chief Minister Banarsi Das had been removed from the leadership of the Janata Legislature Party as well as

from the membership of the Janata Party. He said that he had no option but to take this unpleasant decision in view of Das's categorical statement that he owed his allegiance to the Janata(s).

The open confrontation between the Chief Ministers Legislature Party and the other Janata Legislature Party was carried a step further on August 4, 1979 when the Chief Minister's side announced as a retaliatory measure, the expulsion of 16 of its main opponents. The latter in turn, met the Governor and in a memorandum urged him to treat the Das Ministry as a Caretaker Government and not to allow it to take policy decisions.

Health Minister Ram Shankar Kaushik, General Secretary of the Legislature Party led by Banarsi Das issued a warning that disciplinary action would be taken against those party members attending the meeting of the Janata Legislature Party announced by the party president Chandra Shekhar for August 9 to elect a new leader.


Chandra Shekhar claimed that Banarsi Das would be reduced to minority, after the Janata Party MLAs withdrew support from him and elected a new leader on August 9. He said that at least 150 members of the 350 strong united JLP would attend the meeting. This would reduce the number of supporters of Das in the Assembly to about 200 in a house of 426 with two seats vacant.

Chandra Shekhar recalled that in the leadership contest in February 1979 Raj Mangal Kandey had polled 176 votes against Das of which about 144 were from the Assembly and 22 from the Council and that Banarsi Das had no chance of survival. On August 5, 1979 the Executive of the State Janata Party led by Chandra Shekhar passed a resolution calling upon the Governor to dismiss the Government led by Banarsi Das as he had by that time not been declared leader of the legislature party of any of the recognized political parties. The resolution said that Das was no longer the leader of Janata Legislature Party as he had been removed from the primary membership of the Janata Party by Chandra Shekhar.

Three General Secretaries of the U.P. Janata Party at a meeting with Governor G.D. Tapase reiterated their Party's

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1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Aug 3, 1979
2. Ibid, Aug 6, 1979
demand for the dismissal of the Banarsi Das Govt. The Governor discussed every issue raised by them in detail and assured them that he would take appropriate action. It was pointed out that since Banarsi Das had been expelled from Janata Party by Chandra Shekhar the Chief Minister not only was no longer leader of the Janata Legislature Party but had also lost his position as a member of the J.L.P.

On August 9, 1979, Raj Mangal Pande, who was unanimously elected leader of the Janata Legislature Party owing allegiance to Chandra Shekhar, had demanded from the Governor the dismissal of the Banarsi Das Government and a chance to form a new Government.¹

The split in Janata Legislature Party was officially and technically formalised when the U.P. Assembly Acting Speaker Jagannath Prasad, recognised Raj Mangal Pande as the leader of the Opposition, and the two factions as two distinctly separate parties to be known as the U.P. Janata Legislature Party (Banarsi Das) and the U.P. Janata Legislature Party (Raj Mangal Pande). N.D. Tiwari ceased to be the leader of Opposition as soon as Pande was declared as the leader.

¹. The Hindustan Times. New Delhi, Aug 19, 1979
Pande was recognised as the leader of the opposition after he submitted a list of 160 members, all (except one Independent) being members of the undivided Janata Party, which had a strength of 354 in the House. This left 195 Janata members for the Chief Minister's Party. Banarsi Das had also the support of 9 CPI members, seven from Congress and five Independents, the total came to 216 while he required only 211 for a majority.¹

On August 20, 1979 Raj Mangal Pande, leader of the opposition, moving a no confidence motion in the State Assembly said that there had been all round deterioration in the State ever since the Government led by Banarsi Das assumed office.² He said that "the political atmosphere had got polluted, the economy was in bad shape with drought in 26 districts, the crime rate had gone up alarmingly and the bad power supply was adding to the miseries of the rural people."

The Congress For Democracy, headed by H.N. Bahuguna decided on November 14, 1979 to join hands with Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the forthcoming elections.³ As a result Lok Dal General Secretary Madhu Limaye said if CFD ultimately joined

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Aug 29, 1979
2. Ibid., Aug 31, 1979
3. The Times of India, New Delhi, Nov 15, 1979
the Congress(I) and deserted the anti authoritarian front, the CFD Ministers in U.P. should quit the Government. But at the same time he appealed to Deputy Chief Minister Narayan Singh (belonging to CFD) and his friends to consider the whole position and not to leave the anti authoritarian front. In response to the appeal CFD Ministers in U.P. had informed Chief Minister Banarsi Das that they would resign from the Cabinet if they joined the Congress(I) but would continue supporting his Government from outside.

Seven CFD Ministers of Cabinet rank resigned from Banarsi Das Government on November 17, 1999. The same day Bahuguna said at Delhi that the CFD was not in favour of elections at Present because of unprecedented drought in the State. It would not be fair to ask the people to go to polls there now. CFD would support the present Government from outside. 1

A section of the top Central Lok Dal Leadership favoured dissolution of the U.P. Assembly and its mid-term elections simultaneously with the Lok Sabha Poll in early January, 1980. But Chief Minister Banarsi Das was dead set against it and conveyed his opposition to the idea to Prime Minister Charan Singh. Banarsi Das met the Prime Minister on October 28, 1979

1. The Times of India, Nov 18, 1979
and it was decided that the U.P. Assembly would not be dissolved.\footnote{National Herald, Lucknow, Oct 29, 1979}

The month long speculation about the dissolution of U.P. Assembly was set at rest on November 12, when all the 27 Cabinet Minister unanimously expressed the view that there should be no mid-term poll.

Zulfiqarullah, Minister for Communications, resigned from the Union Cabinet on December 3 and announced that he and the Muslim National Front of which he was the convenor were aligning themselves with the Janata Party in Uttar Pradesh.\footnote{The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Dec 4, 1979} The President of the U.P. Congress for Democracy Subedar Singh and General Secretary B.N. Singh announced the merger of their party with the Congress.\footnote{Ibid, Dec 9, 1979}

On December 24, Ram Singh, Former Home Minister and U.P. Janata Party General Secretary resigned from the party along with 18 other senior Saharanpur Partymen. They joined the Congress(I) on the plea that only Mrs. Gandhi would provide a stable and strong Government.\footnote{Ibid, Dec 25, 1979} Jamuna Prasad Bose Rural Development and Panchayat Raj Minister also resigned from the Banarsi Das Cabinet.\footnote{The Times of India, New Delhi, Dec 30, 1979}
He was the ninth Minister to leave. Eight CFD Ministers had earlier resigned and joined the Congress-I.

After January 1980 General Elections it was indicated that a number of State Assemblies dominated by non-Congress(I) parties would be dissolved in the second week of February so that fresh elections could be held in March. The U.P. Chief Minister Banarsi Das declared that the Janata Party and Lok Dal would jointly contest the Assembly elections, if the House was dissolved and mid-term polls held. He was sure "the Congress(I) would meet its Waterloo in this State."

After a three hour stormy debate on February 6,1980 the U.P. Assembly passed by voice vote without any dissent a resolution sponsored by all non-Congress(I) parties expressing the "definite opinion" of the House that there was no "appropriate basis" for its dissolution. Chief Minister Banarsi Das characterised the Prime Minister's Charges on the Narainpur issue against his Government as "misleading, baseless and politically motivated" and that they were aimed at frightening the members of State Assembly into defecting to the Congress(I)" by dangling the sword of dissolution on their heads.

1. The Times of India, New Delhi, Jan 29,1980
2. Ibid., Feb 3,1980
"Any Chief Minister who cannot protect the life and honour of the people has no right to continue in the office." said Sanjay Gandhi. Blaming the Janata leadership he said: "Women were raped in Naraipur, houses broken into, the men beaten up and even minor girls were molested. The Chief Minister should resign for these atrocities. Dissolution of Assembly was not because of Party reasons but on moral grounds. It was a game started by Janata Party."¹

On February 11, 1980, Banarsi Das sought President Sanjiva Reddy's intervention to save his Government which, according to him, continued to have the confidence of the people as demonstrated by the majority it enjoyed in the State Assembly.² At his 30 minutes meeting with the President Banarsi Das maintained that the dissolution of the U.P. Assembly in the existing circumstances would be "malafide and constitutionally untenable." He therefore wanted the President to advise the Prime Minister "not to embark upon the precipitous course", which could lead to a chain of unfortunate reactions.

In a dramatic move on February 16, 1980 President Sanjiva Reddy appointed C.P.N. Singh as Governor of Uttar Pradesh to succeed G.D. Tapase who was moved to Haryana. The Times of India

¹ The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Feb 11, 1980
² National Herald, Lucknow, Feb 12, 1980
commented that the "change in the Governorship was linked to political crisis, with the gradual unfolding of Centre's plan to dissolve the Legislative Assemblies of U.P. and some other States."  

On the night of February 17, 1980 President Sanjiva Reddy issued a proclamation dissolving nine non-Congress(I) ruled State Assemblies. The Assemblies dissolved were those of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Gujarat and Maharashtra. These nine States had come under President's rule.

Formalising the parting of ways with the Janata Party, delegates attending the convention called by L.K. Advani on April 6, 1980 constituted a new party which they christened Bhartiya Janata Party and elected with one voice Atal Bihari Vajpayee as its first President. The new party, it was decided, would have a separate constitution, separate flag and a separate election symbol. L.K. Advani M.P., Sikandar Bakht and Murli Manohar Joshi were appointed as General Secretaries of the party.

1. The Times of India, New Delhi, Feb 17, 1980
2. Ibid., Feb 18, 1980
3. The Times of India, New Delhi, April 7, 1980
Immediately after the Assembly elections (1980) in which Congress won with overwhelming majority, the UPCC(I) President Dharamvir met the Prime Minister and Sanjay Gandhi for consultations regarding leadership. It was believed that a senior leader would be sent from Delhi to take charge of U.P., if no satisfactory choice was available from among the newly elected members of the Assembly. The names being mentioned in that context included those of C.P.N. Singh, Vishwanath Pratap Singh and Dharam Vir.

Members of the Youth Congress elected to the U.P. Assembly had launched a move for making Sanjay Gandhi the Chief Minister of U.P. "in the larger interest of the State and the Country." But to this move Mrs. Gandhi ruled out the possibility of Sanjay Gandhi being inducted as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

Following was the Party position in the elections of U.P. Assembly:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Party Position</th>
<th>Seats Declared</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress (I)</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.C.S.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>J.P.</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cong. (U)</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>J.R.N.</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>17</td>
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1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 4, 1980
The U.P. Congress-I Legislature Party on June 6, 1980, unanimously elected Sanjay Gandhi as its leader, but authorised Mrs. Indira Gandhi to nominate any other suitable person in his place as the leader "in case Mr Gandhi's valuable services cannot be spared for U.P. in larger national interests". Mrs. Indira Gandhi rejected this unanimous plea.

This had further brightened the chances of Vishwanath Pratap Singh M.P. and former Union Minister whose name for Chief Ministership had earlier been suggested by Legislators. Vishwanath Pratap Singh flew to Delhi immediately after the Party meeting. N.D. Tiwari the other notable candidate, C.P.N. Singh, Union Minister of State for Defence, Sanjay Singh, U.P. Youth Congress President, Dharamvir UPCC(I) President and Lokpati Tripathi, Vice-President also rushed to Delhi.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's intervention had averted a contest for the Chief Ministership of U.P. which was decided to be led by Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh.

A fifteen member Ministry headed by Vishwanath Pratap Singh was sworn in on June 9, 1980 at Raj Bhavan which consisted of all Cabinet Ministers including the Chief Minister. This was

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1. National Herald, Lucknow, June 7, 1980
the 12th Ministry to be installed in U.P. since independence. The President's rule in the state came to an end with the installation of the new Ministry. There were 10 Cabinet Ministers besides the Chief Minister and five Ministers of State.1

(C) Some of the Decisions Taken and Promises Made by the Janata Government in U.P.

The Janata Government in U.P. took a number of decisions during its short tenure. Of all the decisions taken, some major decisions are being referred to in this chapter. The performance of the Government had an impact on the general administration in the State and also affected the people at large. Many decisions were welcomed by the people; but some were subjected to criticism.

Some of the policies laid down by the Janata Government could not be implemented due to the short tenure of the Government. The Government had to go very soon and most of the schemes had to be shelved. Decisions taken and promises made in the political, economic, administrative, social and other fields are given below:

1. The Hindu Times, New Delhi, June 25, 1977
Action against government officers

On June 25, 1977 the Janata Government declared that stern action would be taken against officers responsible for excesses under the Emergency in U.P. The Government emphasized on the need to establish the rule of law. Either the bureaucracy was demoralised under pressure or there was a compact between it and the politicians to protect each other. It believed the latter was true.

The benefits meant for the people at the lower level under the plans could not reach them as it was mostly eaten away on the warp which the Janata Government characterised as "daylight robbery". If the people were vigilant and kept a watchful eye on the implementation of Government policies and plans, it would be easier to solve their problems. The Government had pleaded with the people to have patience and to wait for the results of the work Janata Party had undertaken.

Relaxation to DIR and MISA Victims

The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh R.N. Yadav declared in a press conference that the Government servants arrested under DIR or MISA during the emergency would be taken back and paid full salaries and allowances during the period of their

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1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 26, 1977
absence.¹ Victimised employees would be rehabilitated to their original positions. Similarly labourers, whose services were terminated under MISA and DIR would be reappointed with a view to providing a clean and efficient administration. The vigilance establishment had been strengthened at the state and district levels to trap corrupt employees.

**District Magistrates to ensure courtesy**

All Divisional Commissioners and District Magistrates in the State were asked to ensure that Members of Parliament, State Legislators and other representatives of the people who call on them were shown due respect and courtesy by them and their subordinates. The instructions contained in the Chief Secretary's letter to all the Commissioners and District Magistrates also stressed that it was the duty of the Government servants to be polite towards all citizens and discharge their duties honestly and diligently.²

**Draft for Criminal Law changed**

The U.P. Government sent to the Centre for its clearance a draft ordinance providing for necessary amendments in Section

¹. *The Times of India*, New Delhi, July 30, 1977
167 of the Criminal Procedure Code to enable persons accused in criminal cases to surrender before courts. This was to overcome difficulties arising out of a High Court ruling that only those arrested by the police could be granted bail and not those surrendering voluntarily to the courts.¹

Orders Regarding Press Staff

The U.P. Government had ordered that no newspaper establishment shall terminate the services of any permanent non-journalist employee by dismissal, discharge, retrenchment or otherwise without the prior consultation with the Labour Commissioner of U.P. or any officer appointed by him in this behalf. This order prohibited suspension or reduction in rank of a permanent non-journalist employee as a measure of punishment by any newspaper establishment. This order which came into force from September 13, 1977 was to remain effective for one year.²

Advisory Panel for Districts

The Uttar Pradesh Cabinet decided to appoint an Advisory Committee in each district to offer advice in respect of the

¹ The Statesman, New Delhi, Aug 2, 1977
² Ibid., Sep 19, 1977
exercise of rights and duties of Zila Parishad. The Committee was to have the District Magistrate as its chairman. All the Legislators and Members of Parliament of the district, seven non officials including a woman and a scheduled caste member, all the district level officers and police superintendents were to be the members of the Committee.1

U.P. Lok Ayukta Act

The U.P. Governor Chenna Reddy in a joint session of both the Houses of State Legislature declared the enforcement of the Lok Ayukta Act from July 12, 1977 to ensure clean administration. This institution, he said "would not only look into the charges of corruption against high ranking public servants but also be able to take effective action in case of specific public complaints of injustice."2

Establishment of Labour Courts

Three The more Labour Courts were set up in U.P. to ensure disposal of industrial disputes. They were located at Ghaziabad, Kanpur and Bareilly. This raised the strength of such courts in U.P. to 12. About 6000 industrial disputes were pending in the State industrial tribunals and industrial courts.3

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1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Oct 20, 1977
2. Ibid., July 13, 1977
3. Ibid., March 27, 1978
Ordinance to curb strikes in essential services

The Uttar Pradesh Government issued an Ordinance under which the provisions of preventive detention could be used for causing disruption in any of the essential services including the generation and supply of power. Under this Ordinance titled "The Uttar Pradesh Essential Services (Prevention of Disruption) Ordinance 1979", a person could be detained for a period of six months. The detention would be subject to a judicial review within two months. Besides power supply and generation, the services covered under the Ordinance were water supply, health and sanitation, transport and workshops, Collection of revenue, public order and conducting of elections.1

Priority for Agriculture

The U.P. Chief Minister Ram Naresh Yadav said that his government was committed to fulfil all the promises made by the Janata Party during the elections.

Addressing his first press conference at the Council House, Yadav said that in keeping with the party line the State Government would accord priority to agriculture and ensure that availability of irrigation facilities and power were

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Nov 23, 1979
increased. As a first step, Yadav government had ordered that adequate power supply be provided to the farmers for irrigation of sugarcane crops.  

The other point of attention for the Janata government would be providing a clean administration to the state. Efforts were to be made to encourage the growth of small-scale industries along with an increase in agricultural production. Cases of all political prisoners would be reviewed, inquiries would be made into specific cases of excesses committed during the emergency. The government policy was to exempt all holdings having an area not exceeding 6.25 acres from land revenue.

Relief to Farmers

The Janata Party Supplementary Manifesto for the U.P. Assembly Elections promised that uneconomic holdings would be exempted from land revenue and all other direct taxes. The manifesto issued on June 8, 1977 also assured refixation of just and reasonable irrigation rates and land revenue on other holdings. It said that the rates were out on the eve of the last Lok Sabha polls but the farmers had not got full justice. It also promised adequate supply of agricultural inputs and

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 25, 1977
2. Ibid.
drinking water to each village.

The manifesto promised that the land grabbed illegally would be taken away and redistributed among the landless and needy. Efforts to take away land allotted to landless would be resisted and irregularities in land distribution removed. Arrangements would be made to ensure payment to cane growers within 15 days of supply. Small and cottage industries would be set up in villages to provide gainful employment in spare time.¹

Debt Relief for Weaker Sections

The State Assembly, on July 14, 1977, passed a Bill for debt relief to the weaker sections. While the Bill provided for complete liquidation of debts of landless agricultural labour, marginal farmers and villager artisans, it envisaged scaling down of the debts of small farmers according to their paying capacity. It also provided for debt relief to the rickshaw pullers, sanitation workers and urban labour.²

¹ The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 8, 1977
² Ibid., July 15, 1977
Directive to Sugar Mills & Loans

The State government took a very serious view of the non-clearance of arrears of cane price by a number of sugar mills. Proprietors of 18 Sugar Mills were called to a meeting held at Lucknow under the chairmanship of the Minister for the Sugar Industry and Cane Development, Chandrawati, and directed to pay the arrears of cane price outstanding against them by the end of July, 1977.¹

The Cabinet decided to give financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 3.50 crore as loan to 16 sugar factories under U.P. Government control, to meet the expenses of off season repair and for payment of wages to the workers during the year 1977-78. A loan of Rs. 85 lakhs had already been sanctioned to the four sugar factories taken by the government at that time.²

Subsidy on Fertilisers

On September 15, 1977 the Government had decided to give 20 percent, subsidy to all farmers and 30 percent to new allotees of land on the purchase of phosphatic and potassic fertilizers. These fertilizers had been found to be effective in increasing the production of pulses, gram, peas, arhar and masoor. A sum of Rs. 5 crore had been earmarked for the purpose.

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, July 15, 1977
2. The Times of India, New Delhi, July 18, 1977
Steps to aid small farmers

A sum of Rs. 22.42 crores had been spent till March 1977 to raise the income level of small and marginal farmers in 187 Development Blocks of 26 districts of Uttar Pradesh through various programmes launched under "small Farmers Development Agency." ¹

Amendment in Land Record Rules

The U.P. Government had decided that provisions relating to entries in the land record "Khasara" and "Khatauni" regarding illegal possession of land of the tenants be abolished. Earlier in 1970, the State Government had decided that entries regarding illegal possession of land in the remarks column of Khasara should not be made an experimental basis for two years. This was extended on an year to year basis. It was now made a permanent feature.²

Cheaper land for Industrial Units

The U.P. Industrial Development Corporation had decided to allot plots of land for industrial purposes at 50 percent reduced premium in Faizabad, Basti and Banda districts.³

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 30, 1978
2. Ibid., Sep 24, 1978
3. Ibid., May 9, 1978
Plan for Industrial growth in Villages

Under a programme of rural industrialization the U.P. Government proposed to set up 100 rural growth centres in different parts of the State. Each such centre was to cover about 20-25 villages. It was proposed to cover the entire rural area of the state over a period of five years with thousands of small scale and cottage industries established in an estimated 5000 rural growth centres. During 1977-78 60 rural growth centres were established with at least one in each district.¹

New rules for cement distribution

The State Government, in a bid to impose partial control on the distribution of cement, laid down rules and procedures for distribution of cement to the public. The District Magistrates were instructed to follow a certain procedure in the distribution of cement to the public so that they may not be put to any inconvenience. Under this procedure, distribution of cement was made only after gazetted officer had verified the stock received by the stockist.²

Water and Power Schemes

As many as 2,54,695 private tube wells and pumpsets had been energised in the State. The State Government had

¹ The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, July 26,1977
² Ibid., Aug 23,1977
started preliminary work on a Rs. 60 crore scheme for drinking water facilities for which an agreement had already been signed with the World Bank.

Power generation and supply in was to be augmented at a cost of Rs. 259 crores. Under the augmentation scheme, 40,000 private tubewells and pumpsets were to be energised and 5,000 villages and 5,350 Harijan bastis provided with electricity.

Development of Hill Districts

The U.P. Government had made an allocation of Rs. 66 crores for the development of 8 hill districts of Garhwal and Kumaun during the 1978-79 financial year. The State Government had plans to give top priority to the construction of roads. In all 807 Km of existing roads repaired at a cost of Rs. 18 crores. Rs. 9 crores were to be spent on providing drinking water for the sparsely populated 1200 villages. For the promotion of education facilities, a sum of Rs. 7.90 crores was to be spent. As many as 297 primary schools, 19 High Schools and 5 Intermediate Colleges were to be provincialised in 1978.¹

Smaller cinema Houses

In order to encourage the Cinema Industry in Uttar Pradesh the State Government had decided to provide incentives

¹ National Herald, Lucknow, June 1, 1978
for constructing mini cinema houses, having a maximum seating capacity of 350 in cities and other places to provide entertainment to a larger section of the population and also help in showing art films to a maximum number of people.\(^1\)

**Removal of Toll Posts on Highways**

The Government had decided to remove toll tax barriers on the national highways passing through the State. According to the Minister for Local Self Government Satya Prakash Malviya action had been taken to remove bottlenecks in road transport.\(^2\)

**Payment of Bonus**

The sugar mill workers in the State got bonus @ 8.33 percent for the year 1977-78. This decision was taken at the State Sugar Industry tripartite conference held under the chairmanship of Minister for Labour and Excise, Rama Shankar Kaushik.\(^3\)

**Modification of Sales Tax Rates**

To encourage trade and industry in the State, the Government had decided to modify, with effect from March 1, 1979

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1. *National Herald*, Lucknow, June 1, 1979
the rates of Sales Tax on certain commodities. Motor vehicles of all kinds would be taxable at the rate of 9 percent, soft drinks of all kinds at the rate of 10 percent, hosiery other than pure cotton at the rate of 7 percent at the point of sales and stationary at the rate of 4 percent.

Plea for more Central assistance

The U.P. Government on September 4, 1977 submitted to the Centre schemes with a total outlay of Rs. 2,802.59 crores for maximum possible share out of assistance from International Agencies. This included schemes for Rs. 1,406.66 crores in the power sector, Rs. 748.43 crores for area development, Rs. 315.44 crores for irrigation, Rs. 175.47 crores for road development, Rs. 58.82 crores in the agriculture sector, Rs. 27.20 crore for animal husbandry, Rs. 61.80 core in the horticulture sector and Rs. 9.65 crore in the urban development sector.

A Central team headed by P.K. Mukherjee, Project Economist, Union Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, had discussion with the State Chief Secretary and other concerned officials about the formulation of projects for IDA assistance in the agriculture and allied sectors.

1. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Sep 25, 1978
2. Ibid., March 2, 1979
3. National Herald, Lucknow, Sep 5, 1977
Distribution of Loans

The State Government launched a massive programme for the distribution of about Rs. 660 crores as loan to the people of various categories through cooperative societies. Of the amount to be distributed in 1978, Rs. 360 crores were for boosting agricultural production and investment in allied occupations and Rs. 300 crores for the supply of inputs and extending the network of cooperative marketing and consumer distribution agencies. With the completion of the first phase of elections in about 7000 panchayat level cooperative societies in the State, the cooperative movement had gained new vigour.1

Schemes for Employment

On June 1, 1978 - a Rs. 17,800 crores employment plan was being implemented by the Government. Explaining the State employment policy and steps taken under it, the Chief Minister Yadav said in a statement that this movement for the five years term (of the current plan) would meet requirements of only 4.48 million unemployed and underemployed people. Even then a backlog of about 1.6 million people would be left to be carried forward during the next plan.2

2. Ibid., June 2, 1978
Productive employment for about three lakh people in 15 districts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh during 1979-80 with a total investment of Rs. 28.50 crores was envisaged under a plan prepared by the State Industries Department. This was based on the recommendations of a seminar on industrial development of Eastern U.P., presided over by U.P. Industries Minister Ram Prakash and attended by Union Minister of Industries George Fernandes.¹

About 30,000 persons, according to this plan, were to be provided employment with an investment of Rs. 60 crores in the small scale sector while 120,000 persons were to be employed in the handicrafts sector with a total investment of Rs. 11 crores. The craftsmen would be mainly engaged in the production of woolen carpets, Benarsi Zari, wooden toys and artistic pottery. Similarly 90,000 persons were to be provided employment through Khadi and Village Industries with an investment of Rs. 5.50 crores and 60,000 people in the handloom sector with an investment of Rs. six crores. It was also decided to set up two spinning mills in the State sector for the benefit of the local weavers and to cater to their specific needs of cotton yarn.²

¹ The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Dec 29, 1978
² Ibid.
Recruitment of Teachers

The U.P. Cabinet had decided to remove the ban on recruitment to fill the vacant posts of teachers under the U.P. Basic Shiksha Parishad. So as to bring the student-teacher ratio to 40 to 1 - which was necessary to maintain the proper standard of teaching. As a result of this step 500 more teachers were to be appointed immediately in the primary schools under the U.P. Basic Shiksha Parishad.

The Government also decided that an additional teacher be appointed in 4,416 single teacher primary schools which were opened in 1973-74 and 1974-75. The number of students and classes had gone up in these schools and one teacher could not look after the teaching in all the five classes.  

Recruitment of Harijans

The State Government had decided to frame a comprehensive legislation incorporating all the existing orders relating to reservation in services of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The quota was to be proportionate to the population. No condition of experience in case of technical posts was to be laid for candidates of these communities.

1. The Times of India, New Delhi, July 30, 1977
Special recruitment for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes would be made against class I, II, and III services within the legal framework.¹

It was also decided that the services of these communities in class III and IV employees should not be terminated without the prior approval of concerned heads of department. Provisions would be made for associating an officer of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in selection committees constituted by all autonomous bodies.

Reservation quota for U.P. Services

The Government had decided to fix the percentage quota in the reservation for the backward classes in direct recruitment to the State Services. This was to be 15% for Class I, II and III and 10% for Class IV jobs.² It was also decided to reserve 25% of posts in Class III till the quota of 18% already reserved for Scheduled Castes was completed. In Class IV the quota was to be 30% till the percentage of the Scheduled Castes reached 18.

¹ National Herald, Lucknow, Dec 4, 1978
² The Statesman, New Delhi, Aug 28, 1977
Consequently the quota percentage for reservation for different Classes of services was to be:

**Scheduled Castes:** 18% for Classes I & II, 25% for Class III and 30% for Class IV.

**Scheduled Tribes:** 2% in each Class of services; Dependents of freedom fighters: 2% and 3% each in Class III and IV; incapacitated military officers, emergency commissioned officers, short service commissioned officers and ex soldiers - 5% each in Class I & II, 3% in Class III & IV.

**Backward Classes:** 15% in Class I, II and III and 10% in Class IV.

It was also decided that the dependents of political detenus under MISA during the period of emergency from June 1975 to March 1977 would also be included in the quota reserved for the dependents of freedom fighters. Only those persons among freedom fighters, who had served a Jail sentence of six months or above, were to be entitled to this privilege. These changes were to be implemented with immediate effect.

**Reservation quota withdrawn**

The U.P. Cabinet on February 15, 1980 decided to withdraw the reservation promotions in Government services for Scheduled
Castes and Tribes and backward Classes.\(^1\)

Also in direct recruitment, dependents of income tax payers and gazetted officers among Scheduled Castes, Tribes and backward classes would not have any special qualities and had to compete as general candidates. The same principle was to apply in admission to technical education and medical courses.

Further the minimum marks for eligibility were raised from 35\% to 40\% in the case of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and from 40 to 45\% for backward classes for these courses as against 50\% for general candidates.

Explaining the decision, Chief Minister Benarsi Das said, reservation had now been put on an economic and social basis. He said reservation in promotions was "unjust and inequitable", against which there were a lot of complaints. Also a person receiving one benefit should not get another.

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\(^1\text{The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, Feb 16, 1980}\)