SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Minister, would you like to say something?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will get back to the Secretary-General after half-an-hour, Madam.

"HE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Thank you very much.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA (Punjab): Madam, Vice-Chairperson,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Would you also like to say something on this issue?

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: It is not on that. Actually the Prime Minister expressed his desire that he would like to be present in the House when the discussion on UP starts. I would like to request Shri I.K. Gujral....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Singla, please don't waste the time of the House.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: The Prime Minister desired that...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Please don't waste the time of the House.

SHORT DURATION DUSCUSSION

On deteriorating law and order situation in Uttar Pradesh—(*contd.*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, it is really unfortunate....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): What? Because I have given you time.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, I am very fortunate because you have called me so early. But I must say that the situation is really unfortunate because the topic of Uttar Pradesh has been allowed to become so overpowering today that it overshadows the important, leading economic and political problems of the country. There is a problem of inflation. There is a problem of go-slow in investigations in a number of criminal cases. There is a problem of enactment of legislation for rural workers. All this has been pushed to the background because the question of Uttar Pradesh has been allowed to become so overpowering. If somebody is utilising this opportunity to take advantage of his own politics, then the Government has to be blamed for the situation that has been created. *(interruptions).*

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA (Punjab): Madam, if the Home Minister....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Singla, don't interrupt. (*interruptions*). Please sit down. Kindly don't waste the time of the House. Don't waste his time. I have given him a very little time. Please sit down.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: Madam, does he want what the Home Minister has said to be ignored?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Singla, this is not the way.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, my point is this. If the opportunity is being utilised by those who have an axe to grind, it is the Government which has to be blamed collectively and squarely. Things should not have been brought to such a level. The issue has been dragged on too far. A solution to this problem should have been found out much earlier. It would be an act of utter stupidity if anybody claims that the situation is far better during the Governor's rule in Uttar Pradesh. Statistics are sometimes illuminating. Statistics are sometimes deceptive. I don't want to go into the statistical jugglery. The point is, if there was a responsible Government in Uttar Pradesh, it should have been easier for them to hold in check the forces of anarchy and chaos. But this has not happened. Uttar Pradesh has been pushed into a situation of

agonising ordeal because the secular forces did not agree to combine before the elections or after the elections. The Governor's administration does not have any commitment to the people. It has a little accountability because there is no legislature. The absence of accountability and commitment to the people is the crux of the problem which is responsible for the deterioration. Things have turned worse. There have been cases of grave constitutional impropriety committed by a person occupying the highest position of administration under the President's rule. There are cases of irregularities. There are complaints of unapproachability by the people. There have been complaints ihat people cannot approach the administration. If a 14-party Government can take over the responsibility at the Centre, why can't the same experiment be repeated in Uttar Pradesh with a larger support and with the involvement of new political forces?

Why is that not possible? The destruction of Ba'bri Masjid, the continuous caste conflict, the lingering poverty, the lopsided economic growth have all contributed to the chaotic situation that is existing in UP today. The situation in UP is largely inherited and the people who are beating the drum of absence of law and lawlessness have also to share the responsibility for the situation that is existing in UP today. It is really a tragedy. It is really a tragedy that the largest State of the country which has given birth to the tallest political leaders who shaped and reshaped the modern history of the naton, today does not have even mediocre politicians who are capable of raising above personal ego and offering a stable secular Government so as to bring about a change in the political situation of Uttar Pradesh. This is where the crux of the crisis of UP exists.

There is another important aspect. That is, the Office of the Chief Minister under the Presidential rule does not automatically get transformed into an Office of the Governor appointed by the

Rashtrapathiji. This is the Constitutional position and people must understand it. A Governor does not automatically become Chief Minister of a State even if he is a political Governor heading the administration under the Presidential rule. If a person believes like that, it will be Constitutional impropriety. Then, there is a question of political significance, particularly when the country is going through a period of multiple party rule. A Governor appointed by the President cannot. therefore, usurp the functions of an elected Chief Minister. Reflecting the wishes of the makers of the Constitution, the normal conclusion, the only conclusion is that a Governor cannot behave like a political leader; a Governor cannot provoke political controversies; a Governor cannot indulge in political dialogue and a Governor cannot indulge in party politics. But the situation in UP is just opposite to this. A Governor believes that he is a political leader. A Governor believes that he is a Chief Minister nominated by the Rashtrapathiji. Therefore, he can afford to hold a Press conference virtually denouncing the pronouncements of a person occupying the exalted office of the Home Minister. We take serious objection to that. If this is condoned, it will send a wrong signal to the entire nation. Therefore, I submit that the Office of the Governor cannot be allowed to be abused by a person enjoying political patronage, of course, to denigrate the exalted office of the Prime Minister or the Home Minister. If a grave impropriety is sought to be condoned, a grave impropriety of this nature is sought to be condoned, it will send a dangerous signal to the nation at a time when the country is discussing secession, when the country is confronted with the problem of communalism and fundamentalism, when the country is facing the problem of national unity. At a time when the question of strengthening the Central Government is important, the offices of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister cannot be allowed to be

denigrated. If it is done, it is done at the national peril. My point is, while leading a multi-party Government and carrying forward the CMP, combating the forces of communalism and fundamentalism and working for the success of the programme for the economic uplift of the masses, the United Front Government cannot put up a divided show on a crucial issue like this.

This is a question of national interest. In a situation like this, a multi-party Government cannot be allowed to put up the show of a divided house. A multi-party Government, as is in office today, should not appear to be with impropriety compromising and wrongdoing. There are important elements running the Government, there are important national conventions, there are important postulates of national Constitution. While considering political interest or interest of any type, the fundamental issue should not be compromised with. A person around whom there is a dispute cannot rise above disputes. Therefore, if a person who has been found to be delinquent on a number of occasions in a number of States refuses to become disciplined, then the better course will be to dispense with that person.

Madam, I only wish that the present crisis or the present controversy should be brought to an end. We want success of the experiment of the present Government. We want the Government to be stable. We want the Government to carry out its Common Minimum Programme. We want the Government to sh"ow an alternative structure of power against communalism. In order to do that, it is essential that the Government is able to bring* about a solution, the Government is able to bring about a diffusion of the present crisis, which might have taken place to the advantage of the people who have an axe to grind.

I call upon the hon. Prime Minister to rise to the occasion and show to this nation how this baffling problem can be tackled in consonance with high standards of constitutional propriety.

डा. वाई लक्ष्मी प्रसाद (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : धन्यवाद उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया । मैं अपने वरिष्ठ मित्र गुरूदास दास गुप्ता जी के हर एक अक्षर से सहमत होते हुए इस पर ज्यादा बहस नहीं करना चाहता । यह कोई प्रसन्नता या संतोष का विषय नहीं है । केवल उत्तर प्रदेश में ही नहीं, पूरे भारत में एक कानून न होते और ला एंड आर्डर फेल होना यह पड़े दुर्भाग्य का विषय है। हर एक विषय के हम राजनैतिक चश्में से देखने के बजाय अगर वास्तिवकता में जायें तो दोषी कौन है यह हमें मालूम हो जाएगा । मैं उत्तर प्रदेश को बहुत आदर, सत्कार और सम्मान की दृष्टि से देखता हूं, क्योंकि विश्व के सबसे बडे गणतंत्र के लिए, भारत के लिए उत्तर प्रदेश ने ज्यादा प्रधानमंत्रियों को दिया है और उस उत्तर प्रदेश ने ज्यादा से ज्यादा प्रधानमंत्रियों को दिया है और उस उत्तर प्रदेश को ज्यादा से ज्यादा राज्यपाल देने वाला जो राज्य है वह है आंध्र प्रदेश । मैं इसी राज्य से आता हूं। महामहिम गोपाल रेड्डी जी.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Minister, we are discussing a very sensitive issue. I can hear from here what you and Mr. Bhandari are talking. Will you please stop your discussion? If you want to discuss, please go into the Lobby and discuss there.

डा. वाई. लक्ष्मी प्रसाद : आज सुबह इसी सदन ने भूतपूर्व राज्यपाल श्री गोपाल रेड्डी के आदर और सत्कार के लिए उनकी मृत्यु पर खेद प्रकट किया है। वे काफी समय तक उत्तर प्रदेश के राज्यपाल रहे थे। वहां से आने के बाद उन्होंने एक कविता लिखी थी। मैं उस कविता का हिन्दी अनुवाद यहां आपके सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हं:

उत्तर प्रदेश भारत का हृदय है, वह आर्यवर्त है, हिमाचल, विध्याचंल, गंगा, यमुना, सरयू, नदियां, अयोध्या, मथुरा, हस्तिनापुर, काशी प्रयाग, आगरा, लखनऊ, अलीगढ़, नगर बसे हुए है इसी प्रांत में,

बात्मिकि और व्यास को, कबीर और तुलसी को जन्म देने वाली तपोभूमि हैं, जन्म देने वाली तपोभूमि हैं, मालवीय, नेहरू, नरेन्द्रदेव की कर्म भूमि हैं..... मुमुक्षुओं का स्वर्ग – सोपान धाम है।

लेकिन दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि ऐसे उत्तर प्रदेश में ला एंड आर्डर की स्थिति के विषय में वहां ये बातें की जा रही है। इसका कारण यह है कि केवल राजनैतिक कारण से हर चीज को देखा जा रहा है। आतंकवाद और उग्रवाद के नाम से हम महात्मा गांधी को खो बैठे हैं, इंदिरा जी को खो बैठे हैं, राजीव गांधी जी तथा सैकड़ो-हजारों लोगों को खो बैठे हैं।

जम्मू और कश्मीर का उदाहरण हमारे सामने हैं। पंजाब का उदाहरण हमारे सामने हैं। हम उत्तर प्रदेश को पजांब और जम्मू-कश्मीर नहीं बनाने देंगे । हमें आज यह व्रत लेना है । राज्यपाल का व्यवहार, राज्यपाल ने क्या किया गृह मंत्री जी ने इस सदन में जो बयान दिया है उसके खिलाफ उन्होंने अखबार वालों के सामने वाणी उठाया । यह उन्होंने गलत किया है । लेकिन हमें क्षीर-नीर न्याय की दृष्टि से देखना है । हम उस पर विचार करेंगे. आज उसके हेलीपेड के बारे में. उसके गोल्फ के बारे में, पाईप पीने के बारे में, उसके गोल्फ के बारे में, पाईप पीने के बारे में, इस सदन का समय, द हाउस आफ एल्डर्स उस अपने स्तर को नीचे नहीं करने देंगे, उसने जो गलती की है हम उस पर विचार करेंगे । राज्यपालों के इस व्यवहार का दोषी कौन है? जो राज्यों में जनप्रिय नेता है, जो जनता से के लिए बैकडोर से राज्यपालों को भेजकर राज्यों में जो खेल खेला गया है पिछले को भेजकर राज्यों में जो खेल खेला गया है पिछले 50 साल से यह सब दोषी है। हमारे आन्ध्र प्रदेश में जब एन.टी.आर. मुख्य मंत्री थे राज्यपाल ने जो खेल खेला है उसके पीछे कौन है? दोषी कौन हैं? उसी प्रकार जनप्रिय नेता या मुख्य मंत्री, कोई भी हो, जनता से चूने गए हैं, उनके खिलाफ राज्यपाल से खेला है तमिलनाडु में। ये सब दोषी है। हम सब दोषी हैं। इसलिए हमें आत्म-मंथन करना है ।

मैडम, अंतिम बात है । यू.पी. में लॉ एंड आर्डर फेस होने का दोषी कौन हैं? बाबरी मस्जिद की वाल पर जब धक्का लगा तभी यू.पी. में लॉ एंड आर्डर पर धक्का लगा है । सोचेंगे कौन दोषी है, कौन कारण हैं? इसलिए मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से आप सब से प्रार्थना करता हूं कि आप सोचेंगे, आप विचार करेंगे उत्तर प्रदेश में क्या करना है, इस देश को क्या करना है?

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, मैं आपसे विदा लेता हूं । धन्यवाद।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : आपके लिए तो मैंने पांच मिनट का समय रखा था और आपने पांच मिनट भी पूरे नहीं किए डा. साहब, क्या बात हैं ? ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): He is co-operating with you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): He is cooperating with me. Thank you very much.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Madam Vice-Chairperson, I am fully aware of the constraint of time. Therefore, I would also like to cooperate with you, as my distinguished predecessor did, by making his observations brief. I know we have taken a lot of time on this. In fact, we have exceeded the time allotted for this discussion.

A large number of issues and facts have been brought up, have been marshalled, by the various speakers who have participated in this short-duration discussion. In this discussion, we are not going to take any decision. The House is not going to express its views in any confirmed way. We will listen to the observations of the Home Minister and, thereafter, the matter would end there, unlike in the other House where they are going to take a decision; the House is going to express its views through a substantive motion.

Madam, 1 am only going to raise a few issues for clarification by the, Hpme Minister. Normally., the law and order situation of a State is exclusively the jurisdiction of the State Government. Normally, Parliament does not discuss it, But in this discussion, we had to bring it up because the State Is under President's rule.

If my knowledge of the Constitution is correct, as per sub-clause (a) of clause (1) of article 356, all or any of the executive functions of the Governor are taken over by the President. Since these functions are taken over by the President, naturally, it is incumbent on the Union Home Minister, who is concerned with law and order and other administrative matters, to advise the President, or, to act in the. name of the President, as per article 74 of the Constitution.

What is happening, Madam, is not not merely a question of law and order, or, the question whether some individual functionary is behaving in a proper manner or not. The issue, to my mind, is a little deeper. If we look at what has happened, in UP, if we look at the developments, chronologically, first the Home Minister makes a statement on the floor of Parliament in regard to the law and order situation in the State.

The Governor of the State, as per newspaper reports, says something which is contrary tQ the observations of the Home Minister made on the floor of the House, and the Governor goes to the extent of indicating that the Prime Minister is fully satisfied with the observations made by the Governor in regard to the law and order situation of -U.P. In other words, the implication is very clear. The Governor wants to convey the message that the.. Prime Minister is in agreement with the assessment of the Governor and not with the assessment of the Home Minister. Had the matter ended there, we would have thought, some anyway, communciation or some gap misunderstanding was there. But again we find on the floor of the very House-I am not referring to the details but whatever appeared in the newspapers-one Union Cabinet Minister coming and stating something. Please don't look at the watch-I will finish in five minutes

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): No, no. Please continue.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Madam, perceptions differ. If a man sitting in Delhi has one perception, it may differ with the perception of another

20-468 GIPMR/W

person sitting near the spot. I have no quarrel over the difference of perceptions. But my question to the Home Minister is, can two Ministers belonging to the same Government publicly share their differences of perception on the floor of the^ House? When we want to have some information from the Minister, it is not to enhance our general knowledge. It is just to have the authoritative interpretation of the fact . and the assessment of the Government or the response of the Government authoritatively. That is why the statement of the Minister has a relevance.

And there comes the question of collective responsibility-a very serious question. I thought my good friend, Mr. Das Gupta, would elaborate on it but, perhaps, he didn't have the time. But the Home Minister should explain the position while replying to the discussion. Does the concept of collective responsibility differ because of the very simple fact that the Government is not a uniparty Government but it consists of 13 or 14 different parties? Does it imply that each and every constituent party can have a different perception of the fact, of the incident, of the matter, and publicly share their own perceptions? Then what would be the authoritative version, what would be the authoritative response of the Government? Here, about the law and order-situation, who is the competent authority to inform the House and, through the House, the people of this country? Surely it is the Home Minister, as per the allocation of business. Then how is it that another Cabinet colleague of his comes and says that he has a different perception and he is sharing that different perception? As 1 mentioned to you, Madam, we are not interested m enriching our general knowledge from the valuable information given by the Minister, but we want to have the authoritative response of the Government in regard to this-.

So far as collective responsibility is concerned, it is absolute, it is indivisible and it is collective. Whether the

composition of the Government is uni-party or multi-party, it does not matter so far as the constitutional position is concerned. We are having this practice for the last 50 years. When our Constitution was operationalised from 26th January 1950, from day one we have accepted collective responsibility of the Government and, as a result of that, a number of- Ministers differed and a number of Ministers resigned. Mr. CD. Deshmukh resigned because he disagreed with the decision of the Cabinet over the formation of States on the basis of language. Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari resigned on one occasion about the role of the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry. Therefore, you cannot simply throw collective responsibilitity to the winds on the plea that it is not a uni-party Government but a coalition. What happens to the collective responsibility? Decisions are taken by the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs. Many of the Members of the Cabinet, who do not belong to that particular Committee, have to accept its decision. Budget is presented to the Cabinet just one hour before its presentation to the House. Other Ministers are not consulted with the taxation proposals. But the tradition, convention, practice, spirit of the collective responsibility is that each and every Minister will have to agree with those proposals. Therefore, the basic issue which is emerging today is not whether two individuals are differing in regard to the assessment of the law and order situation. The Government it responsible to Parliament. They are responsible to Parliament collectively, and, they are responsible to Parliament severally. The Home Minister has his own responsibility to Parliament collectively as a Member of the Cabinet and also as an individual Minister holding the responsibility of the Home Ministry, We heard that he has said in some other fora that he would explain the position. This is an opportunity. Let him explain the position; let him clarify the situation. At I mentioned to you, it is just not a

question of individual opinion, individual perception. The matter has to be decided authoritatively.

Very serious issues are coming up. It is just not a small matter. It is with regard to the functioning of the Government of U.P. What is the implication of the President's Rule. It is not for the first time that we are having President's rule in a State. We are used to having good, bad or indifferent attitudes. Some of the constituent units of the United Front today are very vehemently opposed to the imposition of President's rule on this plea or on that pleas and, perhaps, rightly so. Therefore, we have enough experince of running States under President's rule.

So far as Legislative Business . is concerned, it is administered by Parliament. There is a Consultative Committee to help the Ministry concerned to formulate legislations. Normally, the practice is that various legislations are first discussed in the Consultative Committee consisting of Members of Parliament. Thereafter it is placed by the Minister concerned on the floor of the House. The entire administrative action is taken by the President. He-assumes the responsibility.

Here the Governor does not act in his individual capacity, but he acts at an agent of the Government of India. He has the responsibility to keep the Home Minister apprised of the situation, of what is happening everyday and of what he is expected to do. He has to go by instructions from the Home Minister. In that situation, it is really a serious matter.

Individuals are not factors, but the offices are surely important factors. The office of the Home Minister of this country cannot be compromised. The office of the Prime Minister of the country cannot be compromised, whoever may be the incumbent. These are great democratic institutions. What did we hear? We heard the Chief Secretary of the State, through the Press, telling the

people of this country that they did not agree with the perception of Delhi. Who the hell is he? To whom is he accountable,? From where does he derive his authority to share these things publicly? And everything goes scot-free! You settle by all means in your own way the internal problems between some of your constituent units. We have nothing to do with them. We are primarily concerned with the constitutional propriety. We are primarily concerned with protection of the dignity of the offices and the institutions.

Yes, it has happened once. Somebody may get up and say, "I remember that it has happened-ence in 1981." With this example, I will conclude my observations, Madam. We were in the midst of an election in West Bengal. Some figures were quoted by the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which were contradicted by the Chief Secretary of the West Bengal Government. Immediately I drew the attention of the Chief Minister. The Chief Minister agreed with me and said, "The Chief Secretary should not have responded to it. It would have been better if I would have responded to it." That is the constitutional propriety. Hon. Members will agree with me that when I was very strongly defending the GATT, a large number of State Governments Publicity _ Departments brought out leaflets opposing that.

...under .the publicity department of their own State Governments opposing the G.A.T.T. There may be different perceptions. There is nothing wrong in it. But, this is to be done by an elected Government, which is accountable to the people. Surely no...(*Timebell*) I am concluding in a minute, Madam. Surely it is to be done by the persons who are accountable to the poeple. To whom are they accountable today? They are accountable to Parliament so faT as the Legislation is concerned. They are accountable to the President through the Home Minister for their administrative action. They do not have any independent view in that matter. Though the State Administration fuctions in a way in which the entire activity of the State administration does not cease to operate immediately with the imposition of the President's Rule, but this Constitutional propriety and requirement cannot be thrown to the. wind. I hope the hon. Home Mjnister will clarify the position so far as his position vis-avis this unseemly behaviour and unseemly incident is concerned. Thank you, Madam, for giving me this time.

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खान (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मोहतरमा, जितनी मेहनत और ताकल राज्यपाल के सिलसिले में बहस वगैरह में लगाई जा रही हैं, उतनी मेहनत में वहां की सारी दिक्कत हल हो गई होती, अगर मेहनत इस तरफ लगी होती कि यू.पी. में पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बन जाए।

मोहतरमा, मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हं कि यू.पी. एक बहुत बड़ा सूबा हैं, वहां तरह-तरह की समस्यांए है। 40-40, 45-45 मिनिस्टर रहते हैं तब भी य.पी. की समस्यांए हल नहीं होती । तो गर्वनर को हटाने या रखने से यू.पी. की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती और तब तक हल नहीं हो सकती जब तक कि हम वहां पापूलर सरकार ने बनाएं। इस माहौल में, गवर्नर के हटने के बाद चाहे हिन्दुस्तान का कोई गवर्नर आ जाए, वहां ठीक से काम नहीं कर सकता क्योंकि हर आदमी बिल्कूल बंट गया है । लिहाजा मेरा सबसे अनुरोध है कि इस मसले को ज्यादा न उठाएं क्योकि गवर्नर क्या चीज हैं, 45 मिनिस्टर रहेंगे, तब जाकर वहां की समस्यांए हल होगी, इस वास्ते हमको पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बनानी चाहिए। आज वहां जनता ने अपना काम कर दिया है । जनता ने इलेक्शन में अपने नुमाइदों को चुन दिया, अब पोलिटिकल पार्टीज का काम था कि वहां पापुलर सरकार बनाई जाए। हमारे यहां पूरब में एक बात कही जाती है कि कभी-कभी खुंटा गाढने का झागडा होता है। पंचायत शिरोधार्य, लेकिन खुंटा वहीं गढंगा" । अभी हमारे गुफरान जहीदी साहब बोलेंगे, यह बोलेगें कि वाकई पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बननी चाहिए लेकिन सरकार हमारी बननी चाहिए । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि सरकार बनाने के लिए कुर्बानी करनी पडेगी, पापुलर सरदार बनाने के लिए कि खूंटा हमारा वहीं नहीं गढ़े । महोतरमा, सबसे बेहतरीन तरकीब है और वह यह है कि अगर केन्द्र में यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की सरकार है तो यू.पी. में भी यूनाइटेड

discussion 312

जाए ताकि सेंटर और प्रांत में कोई मतभेद न हो । तब देखिए कि वहां ला ऐंड आर्डर और हर चीज कितनी दुरूस्त होती है(व्यवधान) सरकार तो मजबूत रहेगी आप हां तो कहिए । आप सिर्फ यह कहिए कि हम इतनी कुरबानी दे रहे हैं कि युनाईटेड फ्रंट वहां सरकार बनाए। यही इसका हल है ।

श्री खान गुफरान जाहिदी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यहां भी कुरबानी और वहां भी कुरबानी ।

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खान : गुफरान जहीदी साहब ने तो आज तक हमसे कुरबानी ली । अब आप साल, दो साल, पांच साल कुरबानी देने के लिए तैयार नहीं होते । हम वह लोग हैं जो हर साल कुरबानी करते हैं । लिहाजा उनको जरा भी तरसना नहीं चाहिए ।

मेरा निवेदन है कि इसको बहुत ज्यादा चर्चा का मौजू ने बनाया जाए । प्रदेश के इंट्रेस्ट में, देश में इंट्रेस्ट में वहां युनाईटेड फ्रटं की सरकार कायम होनी चाहिए। एक चीज मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि जब मैं गांव में जाता हूं तो लोग पूछते हैं कि सरकार कायम होनी चाहिए। एक चीज मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि जब मैं गांव में जाता हूं तो लोग पूछते हैं कि सरकार कब तक बनेगी । तो मैं उनको बताता हूं कि जब मैं सातवें दर्जे में मैथमैटिक्स पढ़ा करता था तो उसको ज्योमेटी के मास्टर पढाते थे कि एक त्रिभज के 3 सांइड होते हैं और 3 साईड में 2 साईड मिल जाएगी तो तीसरे से बड़ी हो जाएंगी। तो मैंने कहा कि इत्तफाक से उत्तर प्रदेश में भी 3 साईड है. 2 साईड मिल नहीं रही है इसलिए जरूरत यह है कि गुफरान जहीदी साहब वाली पार्टी और यूनाईटेड फ्रंट वाली साईड मिल जाएं। हम तो इंडिपेंडेट हैं, इंडिपेडेंट रहेगें । जो अच्छा काम करेगा, उसको अच्छा कहेंगे । वाकई रोने से कोई फायदा नहीं है । जो दर्द हैं उत्तर प्रदेश का, उस दर्द को दूर करने के लिए वहां पापलूर सरकार बना लीजिए ओर देख लीजिए कि उत्तर प्रदेश की हर चीज ठीक हो जाएगी, लॉ एड आर्डर ठीक हो जाएगा । वरना एक करते हैं कि एक आदमी ठीक से नहीं चला रहा है यह सोचना ठीक नहीं है । जब 45 आदमी नहीं चला सकते तो एक आदमी के बस की बात नहीं है। आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए आपका धन्यवाद ।

तक समन्वय होता रहेगा और उसके बाद सरकार अच्छी चलेगी । खूंटा न गाढ़िए । जहां तय किए हैं वहीं खुंटा गढे, अगर इस तरह से रहिएगा तो समस्या का हल नहीं होगा । अगर वाकई हम अपने गिरेबान में मुंह डालकर देखें, गौर से देखें तो यू.पी. का दर्द है पापुलर सरकार का बनना और पापुलर सरकार बनाने के वास्ते जनता ने आपको हक दे दिया है कि आप पापुलर सरकार की बनाएं । जनता आपसे पुछेगी कि यह बताइए कि हमने वोट दिया, जिताया, एंटी बी.जे.पी. सरकार बनाने के लिए अपना मत दिया और आप लोग बैठकर खूंटा वहीं गढ़ रहा है, वहीं गढ रहा है, कर रहे हैं और इस तरह से यू.पी. को बर्बाद कर रहे हैं। तो पोलिटिकल पार्टीज पर इसकी जिम्मेदारी है। तो, मोहतरमा, मेरा यह कहना है, बहत साफ कहना है मैं कोई गवर्नर की बकालत नहीं कर रहा हूं, मैं यू.पी. की वकालत कर रहा हूं यू.पी. के दर्द को सामने रखकर कह रहा हूं कि गवर्नर को हटाने या न हटाने पर बहुत वाद-विवाद हो गया हैं। अखबारों भी बयान जा रहा है। इसके बाद अगर कोई भी गवर्नर आए, वहां गवर्नर राज रहा तो वहां की समस्याओं का हल नहीं होगा, वहां की समस्याओं का हल है कि हम वहां पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बनाएं।

फ्रंट की सरकार बना दीजिए, सैंटर से लेकर प्रान्त

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि गवर्नर राज को इस तरह से बेअंकुश छोड देना बड़ी खतरनाक बात है । हमने देखा है कि सलाहकार समितियां बनती है, पावरफुल सलाहकार समितियां बनती हैं । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि यू.पी. के लिए क्यों नहीं बनी ? मैं भी, कश्मीर में जब गवर्नर राज था, सलाहकार समिति का मैम्बर था । लेकिन तरस गया कि कोई मीटिंग हो । तो ऐसी सलाहकार समिति की जरूरत नहीं है । पावरफुल समिति की जरूरत है । कोई अजेंडा नहीं आया उस कमेटी का । मैं तरसता रहा कि इसी कमेटी की मीटिंग के बहाने कश्मीर देख लूंगा लेकिन कोई अजेंडा नहीं आया । तो ऐसी समिति की जरूरत नहीं है ।

होना तो यह चाहिए कि अगर गवर्नर पब्लिक इंट्रस्ट के खिलाफ काम कर रहा है तो रिपोर्ट आने के बाद वह चर्चा का मौजू न बने बल्कि वह गवर्नर फौरन हटा दिया जाए और दूसरा गवर्नर वहां आए। अंत में मैं सिर्फ यही कहना चाहता हूं और गुफरान जहीदी साहब से अपील करना चाहता हूं कि इस समस्या का हल यही है कि वहां सरकार बनाई जाए और युनाइटेड फ्रंट की सरकार बनाई شری محمد مسعود خاں "اترپردیش": محترمہ ۔ جتنی محنت اور طاقت راجیہ پال کے سلسلے میں بحث وغیرہ میں لگائی جا رہی بیے۔ اتنی محنت میں وہاں کی ساری دقت حل ہو گئی ہوتی۔ اگر محنت اس طرف لگی ہوتی کہ یوپی میں پاپولر گورنمنٹ بن جائے۔

محترمہ۔ میں آپکویاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کریو۔پی۔ ایک بہت بڑا صوبہ بے۔وہاں طرح طرح کی سمسیائیں۔40-40-50-50 منسٹر رہتے ہیں۔ تب بھی یو۔پی کی سمسیائیں حل نہیں ہوتیں۔ توگورنر کو ہٹا نے یاد رکھنے سے یو۔پی کی سمسیا حل نہیں ہو سکتی۔ اور تب تک حل نہیں ہوسکتی جب تک ہم وہاں پاپولر سرکار نہ بنائیں۔ اس ماحول میں گورنر کو ہٹنے کے بعد چا ہے ہندوستان کاکوئی گورنر آجائے۔ وہاں ٹھیک سے کام نہیں کر سکتا۔ کیونک ہر آدمی بالکل بنٹ گیا ہے۔ لہٰذا میرا سب سے انورودھ ہے کہ اس مسئلے کو زیادہ نہ انھائیں۔ کیونک گورنر کیا چیز ہے۔45 منسٹر رہیں گے۔ تب جاکر وہاں کی سمسیائیں حل ہونگی۔ اس واسطے ہمکو پاپولر گورنمنٹ بنانی چاہئے۔ آج وہاں

جنتا نے اپناکام کردیا ہے۔ جنتا نے الیکشن میں اپنے نمائندوں کو چن دیا۔ اب یالیٹیکل یارٹیز کا کام تھا کہ وہاں یایولر سرکار بنائی جائر۔ ہمارے یہاں یورب میں ایک بات کہی جاتی ہے کہ کبھی کبھی گاڑ نبر کا جھگڑا ہوتا ہے پنچاپت ہوتی ہے۔ تولوگ اسمیں کہتے ہیں کہ جو ینچ کہیں۔ شرودھارے لیکن کھونٹا وہیں جڑ ہے گا۔ ابھی ہمارے غفران زاہدی صاحب بولینگے۔ یہ بولينگركه واقعى پاپولرگورنمنٹ بننى چايئے ليكن سركار ہمارى بننی چاہئے۔ میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ سرکار بنا نے کیلئے قربانی کرنی یڑے گی۔ پایولر سرکار بنانے کیلئے کھونٹا ہمارا وہیں نہیں گڑ ہے۔ محترمہ۔ سب سے بہترین ترکیب ہے اور وہ یہ ہے کہ اگر کیندر میں یونائیٹیڈ فرنٹ کی سرکار بے تو یوپی میں بھی یونائیٹیڈفرنٹ کی سرکار بنا دیجئے۔ سینٹر سے لیکر پرانت تک سمنوے ہوتا ر ہے گا اور اسکے بعد سرکار اچھی چلے گی۔ کھونٹا نہ گاڑئے۔ جہاں طے کئے ہیں وہیں کھونٹا گڑ ہے اگر اس طرح سے ریئے گا توسمسیا کا حل نہیں ہوگا اگر واقعی ہم اپنے گریبان میں باتھ ڈالکر دیکھیں۔ غور سے

†[]Transliteration in Arabic Script

دیکھا ہے کہ صلاح کار سمتیاں بنتی ہیں۔ پاور فل صلاح کار سمتیاں بنتی ہیں۔ میں جاننا چاہتا ہوں کر یوپی کیلئے کیوں نہیں بنی۔ میں بھی کشمیر میں جب گورنر راج تھا۔ صلاح کار سمیتی کا ممبر تھا۔ لیکن ترس گیا کہ کوئی میٹنگ ہو۔ تو ایسی صلاح کار سمیتی کی کوئی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔ پاورفل سمیتی کی ضرورت ہے۔ کوئی ایجنڈا نہیں آیا اس کمیٹی کا۔ میں ترستا رہا کہ اسی کمیٹی کی میٹنگ کے بہا نے کشمیر دیکھ لونگا لیکن کوئی ایجنڈا نہیں آیا۔ تو ایسی سمیتی کی ضرورت نہیں ہے۔

ہونا تو یہ چاہئے کہ اگرگورنر پبلک انٹرسٹ کے خلاف کام کر رہا ہے تو رپورٹ آنے کے بعد وہ چرچا کا موضوع نہ بنے بلکہ وہ گورنر فورا ہٹا دیا جائے اور دوسرا گورنر وہاں آئے۔ آخر میں میں صرف یہی کہنا چاہونگا کہ غفران زاہدی صاحب سے اپیل کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس سمسیا کا حل یہی ہے کہ وہاں پر سرکار بنائی جائے

ديکھیں تو یوپی کا درد ہے پاپولر سرکار بننا اور پاپولر سرکار بنا نے کے واسطے جنتا نے آپکو حق دے دیا ہے کہ آپ پاپولر سرکار کو بنائیں جنتا آپ سے پوچھے گی کہ یہ بتائیے کہ ہم نے ووٹ دیا۔ جتایا۔ اینٹی بی۔ جے۔پی سرکار بنا نے کیلئے اپنے مت دیا اور آپ لوگ بیٹھکر کھونٹا وہیں گڑھ رہا ہے۔ وہینگڑھ رہا ہے کرر ہے ہیں اور اسطرح سے یوپی کو برباد کر رہے ہیں۔ تو پالیٹیکل پارٹیز پر اسکی ذمہ داری ہے۔ تو محترمہ۔ میرا یہ کہنا پالیٹیکل پارٹیز پر اسکی ذمہ داری ہے۔ تو محترمہ۔ میرا یہ کہنا ہوں۔ میں یوپی کی وکالت کر رہا ہوں۔ یوپی کے درد کو سامنے رکھکر کہ رہا ہوں کگورنر کو بٹا نے یا نہ ہٹا نے پر بہت واد وواد ہو گیا ہے۔ اخباروں کے ذریعہ سے گورنر کا بھی بیان آرہا ہے۔ اسکے بعد اگر کوئی گورنر آئے۔ وہاں گورنر راج رہا تو وہاں کی

دوسری بات میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ گورنر راج کو اس طرح سے بے انکوش چھوڑ دینا بڑی خطرناک بات ہے۔ ہم نے اور یونائیٹیڈ فرنٹ کی سرکار بنائی جائے تاکہ سینٹر اور پرانت میں کوئی مت بھید نہ ہو۔ تب دیکھئے کہ وہاں لاءاینڈ آرڈر اور ہر چیز کتنی درست ہوتی ہے۔...."مداخلت".... سرکار تو مضبوط رہیگی آپ ہاں توکہئے۔ آپ صرف یہ کہئے کہ اتنی قربانی مضبوط رہیگی آپ ہاں توکہئے۔ آپ صرف یہ کہئے کہ اتنی قربانی حل ہے۔

شرى غفران زاېدى: يىا قربانى اور وېا بەي قربانى -

شری محمد مسعود خاں: غفران زاہدی صاحب نے تو آج تک ہم سے قربانی لی اب آپ سال دو سال۔ پانچ سال قربانی دینے کےلئے تیار نہیں ہوتے۔ ہم وہ لوگ ہیں جو ہر سال قربانی کرتے ہیں۔لہٰذاانکو ذرابھی ترسنانہیں چاہئے۔

میرا نویدن ہے کہ اسکو بہت زیادہ چرچا کا موضوع نہ بنایا جائے۔ پردیش کے انٹریسٹ میں دیش کے انٹریسٹ میں وہاں یونائیٹیڈفرنٹکی سرکار قائم ہونی چاہئے۔ ایک چیز میں یہ بھی کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب میں گاؤں میں جاتا ہوں تو لوگ پوچھتے میں ساتویں در جے میں میتھ میٹکس پڑھا کرتا تھا تو ہم کو جیومیٹری کے ماسٹر پڑھاتے تھے ایک تری ہوج کے تین سائڈ ہو جائیگی۔ تو میں نے کہا کہ اتفاق سے اتر پردیش میں بھی تین سائڈ ہیں۔ دو سائڈ مل نہیں ہیں اسلئے ضرورت یہ ہے کہ غفران زاہدی صاحب والی پارٹی اور یونائیٹیڈ فرنٹ والی سائڈ مل جائیں۔ ہم تو انڈ پینڈینٹ رہیں گے۔ جو اچھا کام کریگا اسکو اچھا کہینگے واقعی رو نے سے کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہے۔ جو درد ہے اتر پردیش کا اس دردکو دور کرنے کیلئے وہاں پاپولر سرکار بنا لیجئے اور دیکھ لیجئے کہ اتر پردیش کی ہر چیز ٹھیک ہو جائے ورنہ ایک آدمی کے بس کی بات نہیں ہے کہ اتنے بڑے صوبے کو ٹھیک سے چلائیں۔ جو لوگ سوچ

कि यह एक दिन का काम नहीं है। जन्हूरी कदरें टूटी। जैसा कि हमारे साथी गुरूदास दासगुप्त जी ने कहा कि उच्च न्यायालय के फैसले को कुडेदान में डाला गया, बेकद्री की गई, हलपनामा देकर गड़बड़ की गई और यही नहीं बल्कि असेंबली में भी मारपीट की गई और वहां गैस्ट-हाऊस में भी हंगामा किया गया।

म0 प0 3.00

तो यह सब मिलाकर एक तरफ "ए" और एक तरफ "बी" यह सिलसिला चलते-चलते आज जब इस बात पर निगाह नहीं जाएगी मरज मालूम नहीं होगा तो इलाज की तरफ भी रूख नहीं जाएगा...(व्यवधान) मैं तो आप दोनों को देख रहा हूं कि आप लोग क्या कर रहे हैं और हंस रहे हैं आपकी तरफ यह भी ठीक है।

मैडम, इस बात को भी देखा जाए कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में यह जब-जब 356 बनाने वाले, जब आईन बन रही थी, आइनसाजी हो रही थी तब यह फैसला लिया गया कि 356 लाया जाए और यह नहीं सोचा गया था कि इस तरह की हंग असेंबली या हंग पार्लियामेंट आ जाएगी । अवाम पर पूरा भरोसा रखा गया। लेकिन इसको इसलिए रखा गया था कहीं खुदा न खास्ता कोई ऐसी बात हो जाए कि यह फैसला-स्टाप गैप अरेंजमेंट पोलिटिकल क्राइसेज को दूर करने के लिए स्टाप गैंप अरेंजमेट में यह बात की जाए और कुछ दिनों एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चलाने के लिए कोई रास्ता बन जाए और वैक्यम क्रिएट न हो । लेकिन जब यह शौर्ट टर्म प्रेजीडेंट रूल लांग टर्म में जब-जब बदला है तो कश्मीर बना है और पंजाब बना है और यही सूरत उत्तर प्रदेश में भी हो रही है । वहां तो उससे भी बढकर हो गई । असेंबली का इलेक्शन भी हआ और असेंबली के इलेक्शन में होने वाली मुखतलिफ पार्टियां आई और यह पार्टियां आने के बाद और उसके बाद भी सरकार न बनी और फिर आपको एक्सटेंड करना पडा, जो भी सिचुएशन बनी । तो इस पोलिटिकल क्राइमेज को बचाने के लिए आपने एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव क्राइसेज भी और फाइनेंसियल क्राइसेज भी क्रिएट कर दिया और एक सूरते हाल ला एंड आर्डर की भी क्रिएट हो गई । मैं आकडों पर नहीं जाऊंगा, बिल्कुल नहीं आऊंगा । ...(समय की घंटी)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, कभी-कभी तो बहुत

آدمی ٹھیک سے نہیں چلا رہا ہے۔ یہ سوچنا ٹھیک نہیں ہے۔ جب 45 آدمی نہیں چلا سکتے تو ایک آدمی کے بس کی بات نہیں ہے آپ نے مجھے بولنے کا موقع دیا اسکے لئے آپکا دھنے واد۔ ''ختم شد''

श्री खान गुफरान जाहिदी (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूं । मैं मोहतरम प्रणव मुखर्जी साहब के ख्यालात से अपने को आम करते हुए यह बात कहना चाहता हूं कि एंकाएक वहां के हालात खराब नहीं हुए है, इसमें 2 राये नहीं है । महोदया, 1989 से पांच-पांच सरकारें वहां बनी. ...(व्यवधान)... 1986 से क्यों ले लें क्योंकि ...(व्यवधान)... अब वह टोकाटाकी न करें तो अच्छा है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : अगर आप टोकाटाकी में फंस जाएंगे तो आपका समय निकल जाएगा।

श्री खान गुफरान जाहिदी : मैं अपना समय ले लूंगा महोदया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : नहीं मैं नहीं दूंगी आपको समय । टोकाटाकी में आप इंडल्य मत होइएगा ।

श्री खान गुफरान जाहिदी : अगर वह उधर से शुरू होगे तो ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडे) : आप उनको रिस्पांड मत करिएगा, मेंरा निवेदन यह है।

श्री खान गुफरान जाहिदी : यह ठीक है, मै नहीं कंरूंगा लेकिन वे करते रहें । महोदया, मैं कह रहा था

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें) :

ठीक है, आप कभी-कभी बोलते हैं ।लेकिन मेरे पास समय की कमी है और होम मिनिस्टर साहब को जवाब देना है और 3-4 लोग बोलने वाले हैं । आप मुद्दे पर बोलिएगा, बाकी आप छोड़ दीजिएगा।

श्री खान गुफरान जाहिदी : बहुत अच्छा । अब मुझे मालूम हुआ है, दो बातें हैं। एक पक्ष यह कह रहा है सब हालात दुरूस्त है, कोई बुरी बात नहीं हैं, और अगर यह पक्ष जो यह बात कह रहा है सही है तो -आइए, सारी पोलिटीकल पार्टियां यहां उठकर यह फैसला ले लें कि वहां का अमन और कानून बहुत अच्छा है इसलिए सब लोग अपनी सिक्योंरिटी वापिस करें और कांग्रेस पार्टी के तमाम मेम्बरान अपनी सिक्योरिटी वापिस करने के लिए तैयार है, आप सब भी अपनी सिक्योरिटी वापिस कर दीजिए और कहिए कि लॉ एंड आर्डर बहुत अच्छा है और किसी आदमी की कोई दुख नहीं है और सब बड़े मजे से अपना वक्त गुजार सकते हैं। चलिए, यह फैसला ले लीजिए अगर ला एंड आर्डर अच्छा है। दूसरी बात, यह कहना कि किसी एक पार्टी को उन्होनें सरकार बनाने की बात नहीं करने दी है । तो 177 पर तो सरकार बनी थी । तब तो हम लोगों ने मुलायम सिंह जी की सरकार बनाई थी। सब लोगों ने मिलकर एक वायदा किया कि हम एक सेक्युलर सरकार बनाएंगे। मुलायम सिंह जी की सरकार बनी और हमने उसको सपोर्ट किया । आज यह सिचूएशन क्यों हैं ? मैडम दरसल बात यह है कि जो दिल्ली में फैसला किया गया वही फैसला अगर जमीन पर लखनऊ में हो जाता तो बहुत अच्छा होता, जिस फैसले के नतीजे में आज हम आपके सामने मौजूद हैं । काश, यही फैसला चला होता और वहां एक सेक्यूलर सरकार बन जाती है । मैडम, दो शब्दों में अपनी बात कहने की कोशिश कर रहा हूं कि जब तक चैक एंड बेलेंस वहां पर नहीं है, यह बहुत इम्पोटेंट बात आपसे कहने जा रहा हूं । आपने एक ऐसे व्यक्ति को जो सरकारी मुलाज़मात से थे, गवर्नर बना दिया । मेरी उनसे कोई पर्सनल लड़ाई नहीं है और न मुझे कहना है, एक हाई क्लास आदमी है, ठीक है। उनका करना है । क्लौस के ऊपर क्लास । इससे कोई बात नहीं है । अब मेरा कहना यह है कि चैक एंड बेलेंस कहां है। न तो आपने आवाम की कमेटी, बनाई,न वहां के लोगों को आपने एडवाइजर बनाया। जिन आई.ए.एस. अफसर की चैंकिंग करनी चाहिए थी एडवाइजरी लेविल पर वहां भी

सब एडवाइजर अपने आई.ए.एस.बना दिए । उसके ऊपर भी हो गया तो वह भी वही अफसर हो गया। तो यह 3-4 चीजें करके यह पोजिशन बन गई है और इसी के नतीजे में अब एक्शन प्लान बनाया है होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने । इस पर एक शेर ही पढ़े देता हूं :

"जहां में हैं (उत्तर प्रदेश में) आज कुछ होने वाला.

हुकुमत की तवोज्ज्ह हामिला है।"

अब तवोज्ज्ह हुई है और शायद होगी, लेकिन तवोज्ज्ह कैसे होगी । होम मिनिस्टर साहब कुछ और बोल रहें हैं और प्राईम मिनिस्टर साहब कुछ और बोल रहें हैं और गर्वनर साहब कुछ और बोल रहें हैं । यह 14 नुमाती प्राग्राम तो 13 पार्टियों का एक प्रोग्राम हो गया और 14वां गवर्नर साहब का भी प्रोग्राम हो गया । 14वां गवर्नर साहब का भी प्रोग्राम हो गया ।14वें गवर्नर साहब का भी प्रोग्राम हो गया। तो मिनिमम प्रोग्राम १४ प्लाइंट का चल रहा है । तो उपसभाध्यक्ष जी ...(व्यवधान)... इसलिए हम सब अभी तक उन्हीं के साथ हैं और इस हुकूमत का साथ दे रहें हैं । इसकी वजह यह है कि दरवाजे पर हमारे सिकन्दर बख्त साहब, हमारे बुजुर्ग खड़े हुए हैं और जिस पार्टी का नेतृत्व कर रहें हैं, उस पार्टी ने इन हालात को यहां तक पहुंचा दिया है कि कोई कदरें बाकी नहीं रह गई हैं और चुंकि दरवाजे पर आप खड़े हैं, आप कुछ और ही नजर से देख रहें हैं और आपने कानून अपने हाथ में ले लिया है,मैडम, मैं अखबार का एक टूकड़ा पढ़ने जा रहा हूं –

''जब तक भाजपा सत्ता में नहीं आती, हत्याएं होती रहेंगी।"

यह कल्याण सिहं जी का बयान है और नरेन्द्र मोहन जी के अखबार में छिपा है। तो अगर सत्ता में आने के लिए हत्याएं करते रहोगे और यहां पर यह हंगामा करते रहोगे तो हम हमेशा इधर का साथ देते रहेंगे इसलिए कि हम सेक्युलरिज्म के साथ है और इसी की बुनियाद पर हम सरकार चला रहें हैं।

> "तकें ताल्लुकात को बस लम्हा, चाहिए लेकिन तमाम उम्र मुझे सोचना पड़ा।" महोदय, आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

श्री आर.एन. आर्य (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के मथूरा जिले से आया हूं । माननीय सदस्यों ने सदन में उत्तर प्रदेश के लॉ एंड आर्ड vb र के संबधं में अपने विचार रखें हैं। महोदया, लॉ आर्डर का सवाल अकेले नहीं आता है। अत्याचार हो रहें हैं, लॉ एंड आर्डर डिटीरियोंरेंट हो रहा है लेकिन उसकी सूचना तो हमें होनी चाहिए । सदन के माध्यम से

जनता पार्टी के कार्यकताओं की नृशंस हत्या कर दी गई 24 जनवरी को लखनऊ के आलमबाग के व्यस्त इलाके में 5 लोगों की दिन-दहाड़े गोली चला कर हत्या कर दी गई । जनवरी में ही कानपुर देहात में बी.जे.पी. के नेता अनिल यादव की हत्या कर दी गई । जनवरी में ही गोरखपूर में दो व्यक्तियों की दिन-दहाड़े हत्या कर दी गई । वहां के नेता नीलेन्द्र पांडे और कई लोगों को घायल कर दिया गया । जनवरी में ही गाजियाबाद में एक बहुत बडें व्यापारी विनीत जैन का अपहरण कर दिया गया। मान्यवर, मेरठ जनपद में जनवरी महीने के एक पखवाड़े मे जातीय हिंसा में 12 लोगों की हत्या कर दी गई हैं। और एक महीने में 41 लोगों की निमर्म हत्या कर दी गई है। केवल लखनऊ में, जनवरी के महीने में 35 लोगों की हत्या कर दी गई । जनवरी के महीने ही में मुजफ्फरनगर में 27 लोगों की हत्या कर दी गयी। मैं केवल जनवरी महीने के आंकडे आपको बताना चाहता हूं । जनवरी में, पुलिस रिकार्ड हैं,गृह विभाग के रिकोर्ड के अनुसार 633 लोगों की हत्यायें की गई हैं ...(व्यवधान)... उत्तर प्रदेश में हत्याओं में 11 प्रतिशत का इजाफा हुआ है, डकैतियों में 38 प्रतिशत का इजाफा हुआ है, दंगों में 8 फीसदी का इजाफा हुआ है, रोडहोल्डर्स-अप में 132 फीसदी का इजाफा हुआ है, मान्यवर, आपको सुनकर बहुत दुख होगा कि बलात्कार की घटनाओं मे 36 फीसदी का इजाफा हुआ है । दहेज हत्याओं में 116 फीसदी का इजाफा हुआ है । यह पिछले एक महीने , जनवरी के आंकड़े हैं । मैं आपको 15 दिन की और रिपोर्ट देना चाहता हूं । फरवरी के प्रारंभ में एटा में कांता प्रसाद और उनके घर के चार लोगों को गला घोंट कर हत्या कर दी गई ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें) : मेरा

निवेदन है कि हत्याओं का सिलसिला चलता रहेगा तो आप मुद्दे की बात नहीं कर सकेंगे ।मुद्दे की बात करें तो आपका समय जायज होगा नाजायज नहीं होगा ।

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा : मैडम, मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि पिछले डेढ़ महीने में 900 अधिक हत्यायें उत्तर प्रदेश में हुई हैं, 200 से अधिक बलात्कार हुए हैं, 28 से अधिक अपहरण हुए हैं, 800 लोगों पर गोली और चाकू से हमला करके उनको घायल किया गया है, रोडहोल्ड-अप में 150 फीसदी की वृद्धि हुई हैं । मान्यवर, आप स्वयं जानती है कि ग्रामीण इलाकों के लोगों की रिपोर्ट लिखी नहीं जाती है । मान्यवर, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश को पहली बार जातीय युद्ध में

जब हम यह पूछना चाहतें हैं तो माननीय मंत्री जी के और गवर्नर के विचार प्रतिकल हो जाते हैं । ऐसी अविश्वास की स्थित में गवर्नर को हटाने का प्रस्ताव अगर कोई पार्टी लाती है तो बहुजन समजावादी पार्टी के रूप में हमारी पार्टी उनको वापस लाने के लिए अपनी मंजरी देगी । हम जानतें हैं कि लॉ एंड आर्डर की स्थिति गड़बड़ है उत्तर प्रदेश में, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के ऊपर अत्याचार हो रहें है और ऐसी स्थिति में मासिव लेवल पर, आज मार्च के महीने में जब यू. बोर्ड के एक्जामिनेशन हो रहें हैं, तब वहां तमाम अधिकारियों के ट्रांसफर हो रहें हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में जब मासिव ट्रांसफर्स हो रहें है, लॉ एंड आर्डर को कौन संभालेगा ? अधिकारी आश्वस्त नहीं हैं कि मेरा यहां पर स्थायित्व हैं । मेरे बच्चे यहां डिस्टर्ब हो रहें हैं, वे उनकी तरफ नेग्लिजेंट हैं। रोज अत्याचार हो रहें हैं, रेप बढ़ रहें हैं, लूट-पाट बढ़ रही हैं और रिपोर्ट कम हो रही है । रिपोर्ट करने वाला पुलिस स्टेशन में जब रिपोर्ट करना चाहता है तो डायरी मेंटेन करने के लिए कि अत्याचार की कम रिपोर्ट लिखी जाएं, वह रिपोर्ट लिखता ही नहीं है ।ऐसी स्थिति में जब लैक आफ कान्फिडेंस होगा, जब हमारा विश्वास ही टूट जाएगा, शासन चलाने वालों और शासन वालों के बीच का तारतम्य ही टूट जाएगा तो उसका क्या हश्र होगा ? इसलिए मैं माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश में अत्याचार बढ़ रहें हैं...(व्यवधान)... मैं पहली बार बोल रहा हूं । आप लोग शोर मचाएंगे तो मैं उसके लिए भी आपका आभारी रहूंगा। उत्तर प्रदेश में जो अत्याचार हो रहें हैं और हत्यांए और बलात्कार बढ़े हैं, उसे हमें शर्मिन्दगी के साथ स्वीकार करना पडेगा कि वहां हमारी अव्यवस्था है, हमें उसकी तरफ ध्यान देना होगा । मैं बहुत शुक्रगुजार हूं कि आपने मुझे समय दिया । धन्यवाद ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें) : प्रो.राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा । मैं आपको दो मिनट का समय दें सकती हूं । बहुत संक्षेप में बोलिए ।

प्रो. राम बख्झा सिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदया, बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया । मै अपनी का बात कहने से पहले बहुत ही संक्षेप में उत्तर प्रदेश की कुछ घटनाओं की तरफ आपका ध्यान और इस सद का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा। महोदया, 4 जनवरी को बुलन्दशहर में 4 लोगों की हत्या कर दी गई । 23 जनवरी को वाराणसी में वहां के व्यापारी और विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के नेता रूंगटा का अपहरण कर लिया गया । 24 जनवरी को हम्मीरपुर में 5 भारतीय

झोंक दिया गया है । प्रदेश में सामहिक बलात्कार और हत्याओं को दौर शुरू हो गया है। इसके कारण उत्तर प्रदेश बिहार की रास्ते पर आकर खड़ा हो गया है । मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां एके-47 राइफलों का इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है । वहां के माफिया सरगना इनका इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं लेकिन उनको पकड़ा नहीं जा रहा है । एक भी एके-47 राइफल बरामद नहीं हुई है । वहां पर कानून और व्यवस्था की स्थिति बरमरा गई है । प्रदेश के हर भाग में लूट हो रही है, डकैतियां हो रही है, बलात्कार हो रहे हैं रोडहोल्ड और हत्याओं का दौर चल रहा है। प्रदेश की जनता भयग्रस्त है और वह एक आतंक के साये में जी रही है । मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से बताना चाहता हं कि....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : वर्मा जी, जरा आप एक मिनिट मेरी बात सुनिए । देखिए, आपके लिए स्पेशल वक्त मांगा गया था और मैंने आपको स्पेशल वक्त दिया जब कि आपकी पार्टी का वक्त खत्म हो चुका था । इसके बावजूद में अगर इस तरह हत्याओं के बारे में सिलसिला शुरू रखेंगे तो मुझे फिर घंटी बजाकर आपको बिठाना पडेगा। Please come to the point. I wouldn't allow this. Please come to the point.

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा : महोदया, मैं यू.पी. से आता हूं,वहां का रहने वाला हूं । मैं अपनी बात को कन्क्लूड करने जा रहा हूं ।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इन आंकडों का सोर्स क्या है ...(व्यवधान)... जब आप हाउस में स्टेस्टिक देते हैं तो आपको बताना पडेगा कि इसका सोर्स क्या है।...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा : मैं यह आंकड़े उ0 प्र0 के गृह विभाग से दे रहा हूं।

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): Can you substantiate what you say? खड़े होकर मैं भी कुछ भी कह सकती हूं।...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : चत्त्वेदी जी आप अपने सदस्य से कहें कि

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह : मान्यवर, ये मुझे अपने बात नहीं कहने देना चाहते । मैं दो मिनट में कन्कलूड करता हूं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) ः चतुर्वेदी जी, आप अपने सदस्य को कहें मैंने आपके कहने पर उनको वक्त दिया है।

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह : मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के राज्यपाल महोदय की जीवन शैली पर कोई टिप्पणी नहीं करना चाहता हूं और न ही कि वह किस खेल में इटरेस्टेड हैं या खेलते हैं, मैं इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता । लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश पर एक टिप्पणी जरूर करना चाहूंगा कि जिस तरह से जब रोम जल रहा था तो नीरो बंसी बजा रहा था, वही हालात आज उत्तर प्रदेश में हैं जो कि मैं आपके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूं।

महोदया, एक तरफ तो यह स्थिति है और दुसरी तरफ निर्दोष नागरिकों को ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : आपने कह दिया। रोम की स्थिति के बारे में बता कर आपने वहां की स्थिति का बयान कर दिया। मुझे लगता है कि अब मैं मंत्री जी को जवाब देने के लिए कहूं कि वह जवाब दें।

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा : महोदया, मैं एक मिनट में अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूं । ...(व्यवधान)... एक तरफ तो उत्तर प्रदेश की यह स्थिति है और दूसरी तरफ उत्तर प्रदेश के जो निर्दोष नागरिक है उन्हें परेशान किया जा रहा है । अभी जनपद इटावा में वहां की बिजली की अव्यवस्था को ले करके जब नागरिक आन्दोलन कर रहे थे तो वहां पर लोगों को, भा0ज0पाइयों0 को चिन्हित करके रात के अंधेरे में, अर्द्ध रात्रि में उनके घरों के दरवाजे तोड़ करके उनको गिरफ्तार किया गया ...(व्यवधान)... यही नहीं, आज तक जिन लोगों के खिलाफ पुलिस में 323 तक का भी मुकदमा कायम नहीं है । उनको ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रामगोपाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम, मैं यह इंटरवीन करना चाहता हूं कि इन्होंने इटावा का जिक्र किया, बी.जे.पी. के लोगों ने बिधूना करबे में पूरे सब स्टेशन को जला दिया और इंजीनियर्स को मारा। उनके परिवार वालो उनकी पत्तियों को घर से निकाल कर बाहर कर दिया और उनके पत्नियों को घर से निकाल कर बाहर कर दिया और उनके टेलीविजन सैट घर से उठा लिए गए। ...(व्यवधान)... कंप्लीट सारा काम किया। एवरीथिंग इज आन् रेकार्ड।...(व्यवधान)... वहां जितने अपराध कर रहे हैं। वह इनके साथी करवा रहे हैं । ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : वर्माजी, अब इस बात को यही पर खत्म कर दीजिएगा । अब मैं मंत्री जी को कहूंगी कि वह इस डिसकशन का जवाब दें । ...(**व्यवधान**)... प्लीज, बैठिएगा । प्लीज, बैठिएगा । ...(**व्यवधान**)...

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा : महोदया...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): If you don't listen to the Chair, nothing will go on record.

प्रो. राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा : महोदया, बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया । हालांकि मैं अपनी बात को नहीं कह पाया इसका मुझे थोडा दुख है। में उत्त प्रदेश से आता हूं ...(व्यवधान)... फिर भी आपने मुझे जो बोलने का अवसर दिया उसके लिए मै आपको धन्यवाद देता हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : वर्मा जी, आपने तीन बजकर नौ मिनट पर शुरू किया है और अभी तीन बज कर सोलह मिनट हो रहे हैं...(व्यवधान)...

SHR1 SAN AT AN BISI (Orissa): Madam, I want to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Your name is not there before me. (*Interruptions*). I have called all the names according to the list which is before me. Now the Home Minister would reply to the debate. I request the Home Minister to kindly reply to the debate. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SANATAN BISI: Madam, I want to speak.

THEVICE-CHAIRMAN(MISSSAROJKHAPARDE):Plesesitdown.Pleasecooperatewithme.(Interruptions).

SHRI SANATAN BISI: Madam, kindly allow me to say something.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Bisi, you are a very cooperative Member. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Madam, kindly allow him. He speaks to the point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Renukaii, if you

want me to allow him, I will give him two minutes. (*Interruptions*). Renukaji, now you can see. if I allow him, many hon. Members would also like to speak from this side. Mr. Raj Babbar also wants to speak. There would be no end to it. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Madam, I leave it to your discretion.

SHRI SANATAN BISI: Madam, I will take only one minute. When the dicussion started, at that time, the impression given was that every Member would be given a chance to speak. My name is there in the list.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Bisi, would you listen to me?

SHRI SANATAN BISI: Yes, Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): There are two minutes left for your party. I will permit you for ony two minutes.

SHRI SANATAN BISI: Madam, I will take only two minutes.

SHRI SUR1NDER KUMAR SINGLA: Madam, I will take only one minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Singla, your party has consumed all the time. I am not going to allow you.

SHRI SANATAN BISI: I thank you for giving me this opportunity. Mdam, so far as Article 351 of the Constitution is concerned, many hon. Members have mentioned about it. After the assumption of the functions of the State by the President, the Governor is merely an agent and he functions purely as per the advice of the Union Government. Secondly, what is the difference between a Short-Duration discussion and a substantive motion? Here the Short-Duration Discussion confines to the State of Uttar Pradesh and to the law and order order situation in Uttar Pradesh. Where is the question of a substantive

motion? In the case of a substantive motion, you can raise objections about a Governor's behaviour, about a Minister's behaviour or about what a Chief Secretary or others tell to the Press. When there is no substantive motion, our effort should be to suggest to the Minister concerned the measures to be taken, the endeavours to be made in so far as the question of law and order in UP is concerned. The knowledge we gained should be applied and suggestion made to the Minister as to how we should make our e/ideavours.

1 have been listening to all the discussion in the House on this subject. But the difference between a Short Duration discussion and a discussion on a substantive motion should be taken note of. Several members have spoken on this as if this is a substantive motion. I don't want to hurt them. I have great respect for them. The other thing which I would like to mention is that in the case of UP, several leaders, including Mr. V.P. Singh, have stated that so far as UP is concerned, a solution can be found provided the State is divided. This is my concluding point.

Madam, I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Thank you very much, Mr. Bisi. You are really within your time and I appreciate that.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: That is why I recommended his name.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Thank you very much, Mrs. Renuka. Now, Mr. Home Minister

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA): Madam, I feel that the discussion which is taking place here today, a very important discussion, of course, is a sort of prelude or a curtain-raiser, shall I say, to the discussion which is scheduled to take place later this week in Lok Sabha because the discussion in Lok Sabha is going to be on a substantive motion under rule 184 requiring a decision at the end and which specifically calls for removal of the Governor of Uttar Pradesh. Here we are discussing no resolution as such, no motion as such. We are only discussing a certain situation which has arisen in UP and we have to express different views and perceptions regarding that. Now the statement which I had made in the other House on 24th February seems to have set off all this commotion, controversy and so on. if you allow me just to refresh the memory of the hon. Members, I will refer once again to the statement, a very brief statement, which I had made and which is on record. Madam Vice-Chairman, may I just read out?

> "Everybody is deeply concerned and worried over what is happening in the largest State in our country. It is heading for anarchy, chaos and destruction. What can we do in order to stop this? It is a matter for discussing various aspects, various factors and various forces which are involved and to try to reach some kind of a consensus in this House as to what kind of urgent measures and steps are required to be taken."

Madam, you will note that in this statement there are two things. One is, I made no reference whatsoever to the Governor. There was no mention of the Governor. Secondly, I did not confine this general observation about UP to the question of crime and law and order, of course, crime and law and order are very important factors and today we are discussing here the law and order situation, whether it has deteriorated and so on and so forth. But I had not in my statement either mentioned the Governor's rule or stated that the situation must be measured in terms of the graph or the curve or the number of crimes which have been committed or which were committed earlier.

irrespective of various types of crimes. I had not referred to that at all. This I felt necessary to clarify because, of course, we have no control over the media. The media has gone to town in the last few days. According to them I had made some kind of a criticism or attack on the Governor, the Governor had retaliated and the whole thing has been projected as 'Bhandari versus Gupta' or 'Gupta versus Bhandari'. How this comes out of my statement, I do not understand.

Madam, hon. Members have actually expressed their concern here on crime and the law and order situation. I should say that, as the Speaker himself said in the course of his ruling, the statistics of crime are not the only factor on which you can analyse or assess the general situation in a State. The other factors, the perception of the people, the perception of the public, have also to be taken into account.

In my opinion, Madam, the degree to which crime is being perpetrated in the State of Uttar Pradesh is something which shocks and horrifies anybody. But in my opinion, this incidence of crime is not the real disease. This is a symptom of the disease. These crimes are a symptom of a much deeper disease and malady which has afflicted the State. And we are worried about it because, as I said earlier, it is the largest State in the country, it is a State which has given seven, eight or, perhaps, nine Prime Ministers to this country. We are all well aware of the traditions and the history and the great record of this State in the freedom struggle. And therefore, it is all the more painful to see what is going on there now.

Madam, I do not believe personally that any kind of President's Rule or Governor's Rule or anything else can be a substitute for a popular Government. Under our democratic system when there is a popularly elected Government, there are a whole lot of checks and balances. At present under the President's Rule in UP, the whole structure of checks and

balances has been demolished. It does not exist. And I would say that the greater the uncertainty prevailing in a State-in this case, the UP-the greater the encouragement given to criminals and antisocial elements to run amok. And therefore, I want to plead. My whole object was to plead and I am pleading. I am pleading to all parties and all leaders including my own, if we have a will, if we have a determination to save UP from the impending doom towards which it is rushing headlong, then the responsibility rests on us also. It is not the responsibility of only one individual who is the Governor sitting there in Raj Bhawan. He may be doing many wrong things. I do not want to repeat all that is being said here by so many Members-their grievances and complaints against the Governor. But I also do not agree with those Members who have said that if we replace this Governor by another Governor and do nothing else-if this is the only change which has to be madethen UP will be saved. I don't think it is such an oversimplified thing at all. The Governor may have to be changed, he may not be changed. That is a different matter. That is for the Government to decide. That is for the Prime Minister to decide. But certainly by replacing him with another Governor. I do not think the maladies which have afflicted UP are going to be solved.

So, as far as purely law and order situation or control of law enforcement is concerned, there is no doubt that that is also very important. Some hon. Members here speaking the other day had accused the Central Government of failure to intervene in this situation. He said that the situation is getting worse because there is no intervention from the side if the Centre to remedy the situation. I wish to point out—I said it the other day also—that we have not intervened, in terms of removing the Governor and replacing him by another. It is true. But it is not true to say that no intervention is taking place.

As far as the question of the law-enforcing agencies is concerned, as far as the question of toning up the whole administration is concerned, we have intervened. High-level meetings have been held. High-level meetings have been held in which an action plan has been worked out. This action plan was not the result of the Governor's or any of his officers' ideas. It was an action plan which was proposed by my Ministry. A high-level meeting was called. I am glad to say that most of the. proposals which were made for an action plan have been accepted by the present Government of UP. They have promised to implement those things. I am not going into the details of the action plan. It has appeared in all the papers and all that. If necessary, I can again repeat those things.

Of course, this, by itself, would not cure the whole situation. I understand that very well. But still, the people in that State, after all, want some security. They want some safety. There are so many complaints. Even today, I am getting complaints from hon. Members of this House about the members of their families having been kidnapped, having disappeared. There is no further information about them. They have made repeated representations to the authorities concerned: whether it be the District Magistrate or the SSP or whoever, but nothing has happened. In one particular case of an hon. Member of this House, there is no further trace to be found of his family. He does not belong to my party. This is a human problem.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN (Uttar Pradesh): He is a Lok Sabha Member; not a Rajya Sabha Member.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Sorry, This kind of thing is continuing. Somebody said the other day that if a person goes to Haridwar for some pilgrimage or something, and he wants to return to Delhi from Haridwar, by road, he can never be sure that he would reach safely. Highway hold-ups and highway robberies have increased, no doubt. They are bound to increase, in my view, if there is no popular Government for months on end; if there is a total political uncertainty as to what is going to happen tomorrow. The field is being left clear for anti-social elements and criminals to do whatever they like.

By the way, Madam, I would say this. I am sorry to say this. But I do not think that my hon. friends belonging to the Bharatiya Janata Party have got any right to talk about law and order. The whole process of degeneration which has taken place during the last few years was started in 1992 when the biggest single act of vandalism was prepetrated at Ayodhya. It has opened the floodgates for all kinds of lawlessness, all kinds of gangsterism, and all kinds of communal frenzy to be aroused by one community against another. We are now paying the price for that. This has not happened in one day. it has snowballed over the years.

What I want to say is this. I am appealing to all the parties and all the leaders. We have got experienced, mature, sagacious, leaders of different parties. I do not rule out any party. Are we, or, are we not, interested in saving UP? This is the question which should bother us. Of course, we can talk about the merits and demerits of the various parties. We can talk about the merits and demerits of different leaders. Whom would I like to see as the Chief Minister of the State? Whom would you like to see as the Chief Minister of the State? Maybe, we differ in our perceptions. But should this single point be made such a matter of prestige and of ego that no kind of agreement or compromise can be brought about at the expense of what is happening in the State? I do not say that it is a very easy task now to perform, but a determined effort, in my opinion, should be made. If it fails, well, it will fail. If it fails, we may again have to go for another election. And people are now

saying everywhere that even if another election is held, the same result will follow. I do not know whether the same result will follow or not, but the point is that before we come to that stage a determined effort should be made by all parties concerned to sit together. Sometimes they don't want to sit together, they don't want to see each other's face. They only want to address each other through statements and so on. This way we cannot save Uttar Pradesh from disaster.

I want to make it clear that when I used these words, they have been misinterpreted to a large extent. When I said "anarchy", I meant political anarchy, Does anybody dispute that there. is political anarchy in Uttar Pradesh? When I said "chaos", I meant social chaos. Can anybody dispute that there is social chaos and the forces of casterism and divisivness have been allowed to come to the surface and divide the people and so many crimes have been committed which are essentially castebased? So, when I say that these things are happening there, I think we should take more serious notice of this.

Just now my friend, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, has concentrated on one particular point. He has pointed out that it is very unfortunate and constitutionally very incorrect that one Cabinet Minister and another Cabinet Minister, speaking on the floor of the House, should ventilate different perceptions of what is happening in U.P. Well, it has happened, it is true; it is unfortunate. May be it is one of the mistakes, if you like to call it that. We are learning from experience because we never had the good fortune that Mr. Mukherjee had of running a one-party Government. We having a new experiment in this country and, if by that, something is done or said which is not in conformity with the conventions and norms of the Constitution, well, it requires to be corrected. And I am sure, in this particular case, if it is necessary, it will be gone into and it will be corrected

by the Cabinet. It is only, the Cabinet which can correct that.

Madam, then there was a point raised—Mr. Das Gupta raised it particularly-about the fact that the Governor, the Chief Secretary of U.P. and the DGP of U.P. came out publicly in the press, virtually contesting what the Home Minister had said about the situation in U.P. Now this also, I think, is not strictly in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution. When a State is under President's Rule, it is not strictly in conformity with the conventions which should be followed. Certainly, if the Governor had any complaint or grievance about what has been said by me, he had every right to come to me. to come to the Prime Minister if he so thought fit and lodge his complaint, but to go publicly to the press creates a situation which, I am sure you will understand, is not desirable at all.

Now, with your permission, I would like to read out a letter dated 7th of March addressed by the Governor to me, in which he says: I quote:

"On reading some reports about a message having been sent by the Chief Secretary on the law and order situation in U.P. as also a reference made to this by the hon. Speaker in his decision to permit a debate under Article 184, I sent for the papers. I myself am most surprised that the Chief Secretary sent that message. I want to clarify that this message went without my knowledge, leave aside my instructions, I agree that it was not properly worded. 1 can only extend apologies on my personal behalf. 1 am taking action separately in this regard.

Yours sincerely,

Romcsh Bhandari"

....(Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): The Home

Minister has not finished his reply yet. Please have some patience... (*Interruptions*).

We must have some decency when any Minister replies in the House.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: This was sent on the 7th of March.

Earlier, Madam, on the 5th of March, the Governor had addressed two letters to the hon. Speaker, with copies to me, of course. Some of my friends who know much more about the Constitution and law than I do, tell me that the Governor when the State is under President's rule, should not directly address a letter to the Speaker at all. Well I do not know: I will go into that matter. In these two brief letters, both dated the 5th of March, he says:

> "Hon. Mr. Speaker, the law and order situation in U.P. is under discussion in Parliament. In this regard, I would like to clarify that I hold the hon. Home Minister in high respect. He is an outstanding and distinguished parliamentarian".

Leave that aside. He further says:

 "When asked by the Press about the law and order situation, I merely revealed the statistics and information in my possession. I am arranging to separately submit to you all facts in a document. It was in no way meant to either contradict or criticise the hon. Home Minister. There was no intention to show any disrespect to him."

This is one letter. On the same day, the 5th of March, he has written another letter to the Speaker, saying,

"Please forgive this further communication to my letter of today. The Press misquotes and even manufactures. There is a report in THE PIONEER of today that I have- alleged that the Union Home Minister 'misguided the nation about the law and order

22-468 GIPMR/%'

situation in the state and that he did not have up-to-date information about this.' I never made any reference to the hon. Home Minister, leave aside talking about his not having up-to-date information. In fact, no reference was made to the law and order situation prevailing now. Here is a classic example. Much misunderstanding is being cause by the way reporting is being done."

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: What a good scapegoat the Press is!

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Scapegoat or no scapegoat, you can make anybody a scapegoat. ...(*Interruptions*).

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: You also said in the very beginning that you had never referred to the Governor... (Interruptions).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: 1 don't think that this is a subject which has to be taken so lightly and frivolously that we descend to this limit that may convert it into a quarrel between two individuals. That is what I am bothered about. I do not wish to descend to that level where somebody may think that the Governor and the Home Minister are fighting against each other. I think this is a question which diverts attention from the main problem.

The main problem is what I have mentioned in my original statement. I would like the House to pay more attention to that and to give their well thought-out, considered proposals. Some proposals, one or two, have been made in this House. It is not that nobody has made any proposal. I do not know whether those proposals are workable or not, whether they can be implemented or not. It is subject to deep consideration and consultation between different parties and their will to show that they are prepared, if necessary, to make some sacrificics, some compromises in order to bring about a situation where Uttar

Pradesh gets a popular Government and is rescued from this.

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्री : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय......(व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्षय (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : आप बाद में बोल लीजिएगा।

Let him complete the reply. So, I only wish to say that statistical figures about crimes are not always dependable. One set of figures has been given by my hon. friend. Mr. Sikander Bakht. I don't know the source of those figures, but he has given some, about how many murders have taken place, this and that. Another set of figures has been circulated by the Uttar Pradesh Government. I think it has been circulated to all Members also.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Anyway. If you like, I can give them to you. That also I suppose is from their own source. Naturally they differ somewhat from the perception that is given by the figures of Mr. Sikander Bakht. (*Interruptions*) I do not attach importance to figures, because, as somebody has said rightly here, figures can always be manipulated. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Chaturvedi Ji, the Minister never says Mr. Bakht. He says Bhakt.

अब अपने-अपने कानों का फर्क होता है।

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I respect you very much. You are a former CAG, who helped us also very much at one time.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: He is a former Home Secretary also.

SHRITRILOKINATHCHATURVEDI(Utter Pradesh):I have thehigheit regard for you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But, now-adays I find you are active in interrupting people.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH

CHATURVEDI: I have been active wherever I have been.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But, all these reports or figures'tfre agreed on one point; that is during this period there have been some unusual cases or incidents, which are sensational in the sense that they involved very many leading or important poeple. That is true. For example, political leaders have been murdered. I have got the full facts about that, in 1991, two people were murdered. If you want, I can give you the names. In 1992 also, two political leaders were murdered, in 1993 again, two leaders were murdered. In 1994, three leaders were murdered. In 1995, three leaders were murdered. In 1996, four leaders were murdered. In 1997, so far one leader has been murdered. That means in all 17 leaders belonging to different parties have lost their lives as a result of murderous attacks on them. Then, there have been some caste-based attacks in which large numbers of people were involved, whether they were Gujjars or Dalits or people belonging to other castes. Then there have been kidnappings and so on. During every one of these periods, that I referred to, this type of crime has been taking place. It is very difficult to show that they have raised their heads or they have become very prominent in the present period only. If you study the figures, you will find in some cases there is a slight increase, in some cases there is slight decrease; but to my mind this does not prove anything, because the general atomosphere and environment which is prevailing now is most conducive to widespread incidents of crime taking place, because the people who commit these crimes know there is nobody to check or stop them. Therefore, I do not know what I should say now. My point was entirely different. I would say that it is essential for us, the political parties, to decide the issue of deadlock in U.P. so that normal governance can be resumed, In 1996 the number of criminal cases which were pending disposal in lower courts and

sessions courts in Uttar Pradesh was more than 12V4 lakhs. At the present rate, the pending cases would be disposed of only in 10 years; and approximately 8,00,000 cases were pending disposal in the Allahabad High Court as on 30.6.1995. We have taken steps—*-as* I told you earlier— and I hope to ensure that they are implemented properly.

Regarding tightening up of the law enforcing agencies, the police and other security agencies, we are prepared to help the Uttar Pradesh Government and also with some financial aid and all that. They are complaining about lack of equipment and lack of vehicles because this highway patrolling has become very important. Without adequate number of vehicles, police cannot patrol these highways and ensure some safety for people who are travelling along these routes. They want such things. No doubt, we will certainly help them.

Honourable Members are aware that Uttar Pradesh has been under President's rule since October, 1995 and for various reasons The political parties have not been able to come to a consensus on the formation of a popular Government. I am mentioning this in the context of law and order and development works in the State because the checks and balances available in a democratic form of Government are missing in the case of Uttar Pradesh. The absence of these checks and balances inevitably leads to responses from the bureaucracy which may be in. line with the expectations and interests of the people or their representatives. A related issue is that the greater the degree of political instability, the greater is the advantage derived by criminals and anti-social elements. Added to this, there may be increasing interference in the functioning of bureaucracy. So, there are a large number of postings and transfers of IAS officers and IPS officers which have been going on during each period under regimes of different Chief Ministers. It is alleged that many of these transfers and

postings are being done on the basis of certain pressures being exerted by certain political forces and also due to the expenditure of large sums of money which I cannot prove. Members belonging to that State can tell us better. I think this is not a problem which is insoluble, it is a problem which can be solved provided we get together and try to do it. So, what I had stated in my original statement was correct. Many Members have supported my statement, but from their point of view, from their own angle. I had made it clear that this is the general malady, the general situation in Uttar Pradesh which has deteriorated to a large extent and unless it is checked, I think, Uttar Pradesh would head towards destruction by which I mean destruction of the economy, destruction of the whole democratic set-up. Therefore, this is what I really wished to say. There are many other things that I have to say, but T am reserving them for the larger debate on a larger issue which directly concerns the Governor, that is, the motion which has been brought in the other House. Many things will have to be discussed and talked about there. For the moment this is what I wanted to say and I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Thank you very much.

विपक्ष के नेता (श्री सिकन्दर बख्त) : सदर साहिबा, मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि यह इसके दोहराने की जरूरत नहीं है कि मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब को जाति तौर पर बहुत एहतराम की नजर से देखता हूं, मगर आज मुझे इन्होंने बेहद मायूस किया, मुझे बहु तकलीफ हुई, क्रिस-क्रॉस करते रहे, किसी एक डाइरेक्शन में नहीं चले । कभी इधर मशरिक को, कभी मगरबि को, मैं सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मैं ज्यादा मायूस हुआ कि मौजूदा सूरत-ए-हाल पर अपनी हो कोताहियों पर पर्दा डालने के लिए जब इन्होंने 1992 का जिक्र किया तो मुझे बहुत धक्का लगा । अब हमारे पास इसके अलावा कोई चारा नहीं है कि हम इस स्टेटमेंट के खिलाफ वाक आउट करें ।

نيتا ورودهی "شری سکدر بخت ": صدر صاحبہ ۔ ميں يہ
عرض کررہاتھا کہ یہ اس کے دوہرا نے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے کہ
میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب کو ذاتی طور پر بہت احترام کی نظر
سے دیکھتا ہوں۔ مگرآج مجھے انہوں نے بیحد مایوس کیا۔
مجھے بہت تکلیف ہوئی کرس کراس کرتے رہے۔کسی ایک
ڈائریکشن میں نہیں چلے۔کبھی ادھر مشرق کوکبھی مغرب
کو۔ میں صرف یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ کہ میں زیادہ مایوس ہواکہ
موجودہ صورتحال پر اپنی ہی کوتاہیوں پر پردہ ڈالنے
کیلئے۔جب انہوں نے1992کا ڈکر کیا تو مجھے بہت دھکا
لگا۔ اب ہمارے پاس اسکے علاوہ کوئی چارہ نہیں بسے کہ ہم
اس اسٹیٹمنٹ کے خلاف واک آؤٹ کریں۔

(At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber.) THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Now, I think that discussion on U.P. is over. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI N. GIRI PRASAD (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I would like to.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Do you want to raise it again?

SHRI N. GIRI PRASAD: Madam, I am on a different point. There was an announcement by the Home Ministry or some authorities that in order to improve the law and order situation in U.P., a

*†[] Transliteration in Arabic script.

Consultative Committee or Standing Committee was being proposed by the Government. We are directly discussing the law and order problem under the Governor's or any other rule. With reference to this aspect, I think it is incumbent on the part of the Home Minister to clarify this point. What is the structural arrangement he has proposed, before a popular government comes in, for a better governance or a better law and order situation?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): I think the discussion on this particular subject is over.

SHRI N. GIRI PRASAD: I am only seeking a clarification.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): I have to finish the business by 5 p.m.

SHRI N. GIRI PRASAD: He can make a clarification if he is willing, Madam. If he is not willing, it is all right. But please do not rule him out, Madam. That is the only request I make.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): The Minister is not ready. The Minister is not willing to respond to your query now. Let us move on to the next item of business.

THE LALIT KALA AKADAMI (TAKING OVER OF MANAGEMENT) BILL, 1997

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): The Statutory Resolution disapproving the Lalit Kala Akadami (Taking Over of Management) Ordinance, 1997 and the Lalit Kala Akadami (Taking Over of Management) Bill, 1997.

Shri Ram Jethmalani. Not here. Is he here anywhere? No, not seen. Shri Ram Gopal Yadav.

श्री रामगोपाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम, मुझे नहीं बोलना है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) : आपको