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

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

THE 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 that people cannot approach 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?

that not possible? The of Babri destruction Masiid. 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

Rashtrapathiii. 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, is a question of political significance. particularly when 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, 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 Rashtrapathiii. 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 United Front masses, 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 compromising with impropriety 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 issue should fundamental 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 show 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॰ वार्ड लक्ष्मी प्रसाद (आन्ध्र प्रदेश)ः धन्यवाद उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया। मैं अपने वरिष्ठ मित्र गुरुदास 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। कैवल उत्तर प्रदेश में ही नहीं, पूरे भारत में एक कानून न होने और ला एंड आईर फेल होना यह बड़े दर्भाग्य का विषय है। हर एक विषय को हम राजनैतिक चश्में से देखने के बजाय अगर वास्तविकता में जायें तो दोषी कौन है यह हमें मालम हो जाएगा। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश को बहत आदर, सत्कार और सम्मान की दृष्टि से देखता है क्योंकि विश्व के सबसे बड़े गणतंत्र के लिए, भारत के लिए 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 हं। महामहिम गोपाल रेड़डी जी...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN 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॰ वार्ड॰ लक्ष्मी प्रसाद: आज सबह इसी सदन ने भूतपूर्व राज्यपाल श्री गोपाल रेड्डी के आदर और सत्कार के लिए उनकी मृत्य पर खेद प्रकट किया है। वे काफी समय तक उत्तर प्रदेश के गुज्यपाल रहे थे। वहां से आने के बाद उन्होंने एक कविता लिखी थी। मैं उस कविता का हिन्दी अनुवाद यहां आपके सामने प्रस्तृत करना चाहता है:

उत्तर प्रदेश भारत का हृदय है, वह आर्यवर्त है, हिमाचल, विध्यांचल, गंगा, यमुना, सरयू नदियां, अयोध्या, मधुरा, हस्तिनापुर, काशी प्रयाग, आगरा, लखनक, अलीगढ़ नगर बसे हुए हैं इसी प्रांत

बाल्पिक और व्यास को, कबीर और तुलसी को जन्म देने वाली तपोभूमि है, मालवीय, नेहरू, नरेन्द्रदेव की कर्म भूमि है... भमक्षओं का खर्ग-सोपान भाम है।

लेकिन दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि ऐसे उत्तर प्रदेश में ला एंड आर्डर की स्थिति के विषय में यहां ये बातें की जा रही हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि केवल राजनैतिक कारण से इर चीज को देखा जा रहा है। आंतकवाद और उग्रवाद के नाम से हम महात्मा गांधी को खो बैठे हैं, इंदिरा जी को खो बैठे हैं, ग्रजीव गांधी जी तथा सैकडों-हजागें लोगों को खो

जम्म और कश्मीर का उदाहरण हमारे सामने हैं। पंजाब का उदाहरण हमारे सामने है। हम उत्तर प्रदेश को पंजाब और जम्मू-कश्मीर नहीं बनाने देंगे। हमें आज यह व्रत लेना है। राज्यपाल का व्यवहार. राज्यपाल ने क्या किया गह 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, इस सदन का समय, द हाउस ऑफ 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 चने गए हैं मुख्य मंत्री उनके खिलाफ राजनीति करने के लिए बैकडोर से राज्यपालों 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 हैं? दोषी कौन हैं? उसी प्रकार जनप्रिय नेता या मुख्य मंत्री, कोई भी हो, जनता से चने गए हैं. उनके खिलाफ राज्यपाल से खेला है तमिलनाडु में। ये सब दोषी हैं। हम सब दोषी है। इसलिए हमें आत्म-मंथन करना है।

मैडम, अंतिम बात है। य॰पी॰ में लॉ ऐड आर्डर फेल होने का दोषी कौन है? बाबरी मस्जिद की वाल पर जब धक्का लगा तभी यु॰पी॰ में लॉ एंड आईर पर धका लगा है। सोचेंगे कौन दोधी है. कौन कारण है? इसलिए मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से आप सब से प्रार्थना करता है कि आप सोचेंगे, आप विचार करेंगे उत्तर प्रदेश में क्या करना है, इस देश की बधा करना है?

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

उपसभाष्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें): आपके लिए तो मैंने पांच मिनट का समय रखा था और आपने पांच मिनट भी परे नहीं किए डा॰ साहब. क्या बात है?...(व्यवधान)

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

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS KHAPARDE): He is co-SAROJ operating 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 did. by making predecessor 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 shortduration 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, I am only going to raise a few issues for clarification by the Home 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 to 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, anyway. some communciation 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 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 person sitting near the spot. I have no quarrel over the difference perceptions. But my question to the Home Minister is, can two Ministers belonging to the same Government publicly share their differences 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 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. the concept of collective responsibility differ because of the very simple fact that the Government is not a uni-party 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 I mentioned to you, Madam, we are not interested in 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 uniparty 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. C.D. 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 uniparty 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 is 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. As 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 There is a Consultative Parliament. Committee to help the Ministry formulate legislations. concerned to 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 as 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 once 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, Indira Gandhi. which 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 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...(Time-bell) 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 far as the Legislation is concerned. They are accountable to the President through the Home Minister for their administrative They do not have 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 Minister will clarify the position so far as his position vis-a-vis this unseemly behaviour and unseemly incident is concerned. Thank Madam, for giving me this time.

श्री मोहम्पद मसूद खान (उत्तर प्रदेश)ः मोहतरमा, जितनी मेहनत और ताकत राज्यपाल के सिलसिले में बहस वगैरह में लगाई जा रही है, उतनी मेहनत में वहां की सारी दिकत हल हो- गई होती, अगर मेहनत इस तरफ लगी होती कि यूप्पी॰ में पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बन जाए।

मोहतरमा, मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हं कि यु॰पी॰ एक बहत बडा सबा है, वहां तरह-तरह की समस्याएं हैं। 40-40, 45-45 मिनिस्टर रहते हैं तब भी यु॰पी॰ की समस्याएं हल नहीं होती। तो गर्वनर को हटाने या रखने से यु॰पी॰ की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती और तब तक हल नहीं हो सकती जब तक कि हम बहां पापलर सरकार न बनाएं। इस माहौल में, गवर्नर के हटने के बाद चाहे हिन्दुस्तान का कोई गवर्नर आ. जाए, वहां ठीक से काम नहीं कर सकता क्वोंकि हर आदमी बिल्कुल बंट गया है। लिहाज़ा मेरा सबसे अनुरोध है कि इस मसले को ज्यादा न उठाएं क्योंकि गवर्नर क्या चीज़ है, 45 मिनिस्टर रहेंगे, तब जाकर वहां की समस्याएं हल होंगी, इस वास्ते हमको पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बनानी चाहिए। आज वहां जनता ने अपना काम कर दिया है। जनता ने इलेक्शन में अपने नुमाइंदों को चुन दिया, अब पोलिटिकल पार्टीज़ का काम था कि वहां पापुलर सरकार बनाई जाए। हमारे यहां पूरब में एक बात कही जाती है कि कभी-कभी खंटा गाढने का झगडा होता है। पंचायत होती है, तो लोग उसमें कहते हैं कि "जो पंच कहें. शिरोधार्य, लेकिन खंटा वहीं गढ़ेगा"। अभी हमारे गुफरान ज़हीदी साहब बोलेंगे, यह बोलेंगे कि वाकई पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बननी चाहिए लेकिन सरकार हमारी बननी चाहिए। मैं कहना चाहता हं कि सरकार बनाने के लिए कुर्बीनी करनी पडेगी, पापलर सरकार बनाने के लिए कि खंटा हमारा वहीं नहीं गढ़े। मोहतरमा, सबसे बेहतरीन तरकीब है और वह यह है कि अगर केन्द्र में युनाइटेड फ्रंट की सरकार है तो यु॰पी॰ में भी युनाइटेड

फ्रंट की सरकार बना दीजिए सैंटर से लेकर प्रान्त तक समन्वय होता रहेगा और उसके बाद सरकार अच्छी चलेगी। खुंटा न गाढिए। जहां तय किए है 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 य॰पी॰ का दर्द है पापलर सरकार का बनना और पापुलर सरकार बनाने के वास्ते जनता ने आपको हक दे दिया है कि आप पापुलर सरकार को बनाएं। जनता आपसे पुछेगी कि यह बताइए कि हमने वोट दिया, जिताया, एंटी बी॰जे॰पी॰ सरकार बनाने के लिए अपना मत दिया और ओप लोग बैठकर खंटा वहीं गढ़ रहा है, वहीं गढ़ रहा है, कर रहे हैं और इस तरह से यू॰पी॰ को बर्बाद कर रहे हैं। तो पोलिटिकल पार्टीज़ पर इसकी जिम्मेदारी है। तो, मोहतरमा, मेरा यह कहना है, बहुत 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 है। अखबारों के ज़िए से गवर्नर का भी बयान आ रहा है, उनका 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 पापलर गवर्नमेंट बनाएं।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि गवर्नर राज को इस तरह से बेअंकुश छोड़ देना बड़ी खतरनाक बात है। हमने देखा है कि सलाहकार समितियां बनती हैं. पावरफुल सलाहकार समितियां बनती है। मैं जानना चाहता हं कि यू॰पी॰ के लिए क्यों नहीं बनी पावरफुल समिति, और जगह 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। पावरफल 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 इंटस्ट के खिलाफ काम कर रहा है तो रिपोर्ट आने के बाद वह चर्चा का मौज न बने बल्कि वह गर्क्नर 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 युनाईटेड फ्रंट की सरकार बनाई

जाए ताकि सेंटर और प्रांत में कोई मतभेद न हो। तब देखिए कि वहां ला ऐंड आर्डर और हर चीज कितनी दरुस्त होती है...(व्यवधान) सरकार तो मजबत रहेगी आप हां तो कहिए। आप सिर्फ यह कहिए कि हम इतनी क्रबानी 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 खानः 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 क्रबानी करते हैं। लिहाज़ा उनको ज़रा भी तरसना नहीं चाहिए।

मेरा निवेदन है कि इसको बहुत ज्यादा चर्चा का मौजू न बनाया जाए। प्रदेश के इंट्रेस्ट में, देश के इंट्रेस्ट में वहां यनाईटेड फ्रंट 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 कब तक बनेगी। तो मैं उनको बताता हूं कि जब मैं सातवें दर्जे में मैथमैटिक्स पढा करता था तो हमको ज्योमेट्री के मास्टर पढ़ाते थे कि एक त्रिभुज के 3 साईड होते हैं और 3 साईड में 2 साईड मिल जाएंगी तो तीसरे से बड़ी हो जाएंगी। तो मैंने कहा कि इत्तफाक से उत्तर प्रदेश में भी 3 साईड हैं, 2 साईड मिल नहीं रही है इसलिए वहां सरकार नहीं बन रही है। इसलिए जरूरत यह है कि गुफरान जहीदी साहब वाली पार्टी और युनाईटेड फ्रंट वाली साईड मिल जाएं। हम तो इंडिपेंडेंट है, इंडिपेंडेंट रहेंगे। जो अच्छा काम करेगा, उसको अच्छा कहेंगे। वाकई रोने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। जो दर्द है उत्तर प्रदेश का, उस दर्द को दूर करने के लिए वहां पापल्र सरकार बना लीजिए और देख लीजिए कि उत्तर प्रदेश की हर चीज ठीक हो जाएगी, लाँ एण्ड आईर 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 मझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए आपका धन्यवाद।

النفری محد صعده دخال " تربر درشن" : محترم - جتنی محدنت اور طاقت داجیه پال کے معدلست عیں محدث ویؤه میں دکائی جا میں ہے ۔ اتنی محدنت میں وہاں کی مسادی دفت حل ہوگئے ہوتی - اگر محدنت اس الموف میں یا پوتر گور تمعدنت بن جائے ۔

محترمه-ميس كيكوياد ولاناچاستا میول کہ کیو- ہی ایک بہت برا اصعوبہ سے۔ وبال في المرة في مسمسياتي بين- در-در ن در ۱۵ د مندوریت بین - تب بی یو- بی ى سىسا يى حلىين بوتى-توگورنر كرمستان يا ديميسي يو-يى كالسمسيا حل بنين بموسعكتي- اورتب تك حل بنين بعوستكتى حبب تمك بم وبال بايورسر كار در بنا رئی - اس ماحول میں لگورٹر کو معقدے بعرجاب معغدوستان كاكوج يوونرا جائے۔ وہاں عقید سے کام بیس کوسکتا۔ ليونك برازدى بالكل بنث كياب - بهندا ميراسيسع (نورو ده بعدد اس مستد كوزياً ده د اعما مِن -كيونك كورزكيا چيزهد هد منسورس الم- تب جا برکوبان ک مساير عل بونتي-(س واسعط بعمد بابدر گورنمنده بناخی جاسمے کے مہاں

جنتك درينا كام ترويا بيد-جنتك (ميكتن میں دینے نما مخدوں کو حیوں ویا۔ (پسیالیٹیکل بارئته كالحام تماكه وبإربا بوبرسس كاربنائ ملئ - بعارے بیاں بورب میں ایک بات ingletines was a willend العبرواب تاج بنمايت بعن بع - تو وك اسمين كيتة بين لأجوينج كيس -ىنىرورھادىدىكى كىھونىئا وبىيى جۇھے گا-ابعی بیمارے غزاں زاہری صاحب بولینے۔ یه برمینیگا در همی با پوترگورنمنشانسی چا ہے لیکن سرکارہماری بننی چلہے۔ مس بهاجاسها می در سرکار بنان کیلا قربانى برى بورى - يا يورسر كاريدان ليكي عُونِ المارا ويس بنين كرفي -معترمه-سب سي بيترين تركيب بي اورق يديدك الركيندرمين يونا يستند خرمنع كاسركاريب تريوري ميس ميي يوماً مينيند فرنت كي سركاربنا وسيحا-سنديعه بيارين تك سمنو يه تا م بعين اوداس موسركاداهي يلي -محق نبانه كالمريح -جهال مفي يوس ويوس كوننا كرميعا كراس كم يساكا تو معسسيا مكرحل بيويموكا الرواضي بهليغ كريبان مير) في فظ للرويكيد بالموسي

<sup>†[]</sup>Transliteration in Arabic Script

ويكيس تريوب كادردسيه بايولرسركا ربخ بنغا اوديا يوارمعر كاربنك يحوا مسطع جنتك فيكو مق دے دیک ہے کہ آپ یا پونرسر کالدی نالی جنتا آب سعيوهي كركديه بتاييع كريم ن ووت دیا - جنایا - اینٹی بی عے - پی مسركار بناندكيك إيناست ديا اورازب داك بمنتقار عكوننا ويس كرامه سراب وبين ترمه و المعلمية يس اور اسم حس يدبى كربرباد كرديع بين-توبالبينيكل بادیتر برانسی ذبه دروی سے توجوترمه-ميرايه بمنابع-ببت معاف بكنابع - ميريكي كؤونوك وكاكت يني وكرما يلي-يس يوي ئەكالىت كەرباپلى- يو- يى ئەدروي what had for your یان معتلزیر بہت وادووا دمولیاہے۔ اخبادوں کے ڈریسے سے گورنر کامبی بیان 27/26/2016/19/2014/1 وبان گردنرددج د با تووبان ئى مىمسىياۋى كاحل بع تهم وبال بإ بوركو تمني بناري دوسترى بات مين يه بهماجا ميتا يورد كورنورج كواس الصيعب الكوش چیوود ینابوی خرناک باکت بے۔ ہمنے

دیکه به که صلاح کاد سمتیان بهتی ہیں۔
باور خل مسلاح کاد سمتیان بهتی ہیں۔
میں جاننا جا ہتا ہی کہ یوی کیلئے کیوں
ہیں بنی -میں بھی کشیر میں جب گورنر
درج عفا - صلاح کادسمتی کا حمیر عما۔
لیکن ترس گیا کہ کوی میفنگ ہو- تو
ایسی صلاح کا دسمیتی کی کوئی خورت
ہیں ہے۔ باور فل سمیتی کی کوئی خورت
ہیں ہے۔ باور فل سمیتی کی کوئی خورت
ہیں ہے۔ باور فل سمیتی کی کوئی خورت
کا حمین ترسما دبالو جسی کمیسی کی کئی کا کہ میں کا کہ میں کا کہ کا کہ میں کا کہ کی کا کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کو کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کا کہ کی کہ کا کہ کا کہ کا کہ کا کہ کا کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کا کہ کی کہ کا کہ کی کہ کی کہ کا کہ کا کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کوئی کی کا کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کا کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کی کہ کی کی کہ کا کہ کی کہ کی کہ کا کہ کی کی کی کی کوئی کی کہ کی کہ کوئی کی کی کی کی کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کی کی کی کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کی کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کی کی کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کی کہ کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی کہ کی

میونا تویه چابید که اگر گورنیسلک انسمکه بعوه چرچا کا موضوع نه نیدید می گورنرفورد گعنا دیا جلی اورد وسرا محود نرویا ب تری - از فرمین میمی عرف میمی میما چاب و نگا که غیران زدیمی صاحب میما چاب گرناچا بهتا بهی که اس سمسیا کا حل بسی میم که ویا ن پر سرکار بنان مجائے حل بسی میم که ویا ن پر سرکار بنان مجائے

لوريونا بتووفرنث كي سركاربنا وإجلا تأكه سينتزا وديرانت ميس كؤك مت يجعيد لذمهو-تب ديكي كومال لا الدوارة اور برجيز لتن حررمعت بموتى بع يجموافلت بسركاد تومعنبيط ربسيكي أب بال توكيك -

اب موف يه كهؤكد اتنى قربان وعدي بسي الميونا تطييع فرنث وبال مسركار بناج يري سكاهليد -

متری خان عفران زامعدی: بران بی قربان اورمهان بموقربان-

مغرى محدمسده دخان: غغران دايوى صاحبت تواج تک بم سے قربانی می دب در سال د وسال - یا نیج مسال قربائ وينع كيلغ تيام بيس بعوت- بموه نوك بعن جمهرسال قربا ی کمشیس- کمذا انتوزدا بي ترسنا بنيں چاہيئے۔

ميل نويون بيع دكر استعربهت زياده چرجا کامومنوی مربنایا جائے۔ بردرسندیج (نىچىسىن مىن دىش كەنىيىسىت مىرم بال يونا متيعيدة فرنث كاسركا دعام بمون جليمة

(يت چيزمين يه بي کښاچا ښامي که ه مين كاوس مين جا تا مين تو نوك بوهيق ميومعاثرين درج مين ميعقوميثكس يرفتها كونط خانوم كاجيوم يروى كالسرء بوصات تقاديك ترى بوج كأثين مرادع بموته بين اورش سانو يس وسايوس جائينى توتىسى سى بوى بوجايلى- ت صیرے کہا کہ اتفاق سے اتر پر حیش میں مي تين سائع بين جوسائع ما بني دىبى بى المسلخ حزودت يەبىدۇغزان زايدى صاحب واى بارغى اوريونا يبنيو خرنة ودى مساكة مل جايئى - بم توانة بينتين ربيرك -جواجعا كام كريكا استواجعا لينك واحتى يون سي كوكافا لأه بين بيع-جو وروسها تربرويش كالس ورو وكروراك كيكيشوبا والإبرمسمارينا يبجية اودديك ليبعثه أكرا تزير ويستس ئ برجعز عيك بمعط ورمذايف آء محصيس كابات يليس به دا اتف بوس موس كوهيك سع چلانى -جود كل موج كر تكليف كم شي كايك

श्री खान गुफरान ज़ाहिदी (उततर 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 एकाएक वहां के हालात खराब नहीं हुए हैं, इसमें 2 रायें नहीं हैं । महोदया, 1989 से पांच-पांच सरकारें वहां बनीं... (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 जाहिंदी: मैं अपना समय ले लुंगा महोदया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कमारी सरोज खापडें): नहीं मैं नहीं दूंगी आपको समय। टोकाटाकी में आप इंडल्ज मत होइएगा ।

भी खान गुफरान जाहिदी: अगर वह उधर से शुरू होंगे तो...(व्यवधान)

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

श्री खान गुफरान ज़ाहिदी: यह ठीक है, मैं नहीं करूंगा लेकिन वे करते रहें। महोदया, मैं कह रहा था कि यह एक दिन का काम नहीं है। ज़म्हरी कदरें टूटीं। जैसा कि हमारे साथी गुरुदास दासगुप्त जी ने कहा कि उच्च न्यायालय के फैसले को कड़ेदान में डाला गया. बेकद्री की गई, हलफ्नामा देकर गडबंड की गई और यही नहीं बल्कि असेंबली में भी मारपीट की गई और वहां गैस्ट-हाऊस में भी हंगामा किया गया।

म॰प॰ 3.00

तो यह सब मिल मिलाकर एक तरफ "ए" और एक तरफ "बी" यह सिलसिला चलते-चलते आज जब इस बात पर निगाह नहीं जाएगी मरज मालम 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 एडिमिनिस्टेशन 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 जाएंगी। 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 अरॅजमेंट पोलिटिकल क्राइसेज को दूर करने के लिए स्टाप गैप अरेंजमेंट में यह बात की जाए और कुछ दिनों एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चलाने के लिए कोई रास्ता बन जाए और वैक्यूम 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 बढ़कर हो गई। असेंबली का इलेक्शन भी हुआ 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 पड़ा, जो भी सिच्एशन बनी। तो इस पोलिटिकल क्राइसेज 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 आंकड़ों पर नहीं जाऊंगा, बिल्कुल नहीं आऊंगा।...(समय की घंटी)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष कभी-कभी महोदया.

discussion

मुश्किल से मौका मिला है। मैं आपके सामने पहलें दफा बोल रहा हं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे): 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 और बोलने वाले हैं। आप मुद्दे पर बोलिएगा, बाकी आप छोड दीजिएगा।

श्री खान गुफरान ज़ाहिदी: बहुत अच्छा। अब मुझे मालूम हुआ है, दो बातें हैं। एक पक्ष यह कह रहा है सब हालात दरुस्त हैं, कोई बुरी बात नहीं है और अगर यह पक्ष जो यह बात कह रहा है सही है तो- आइए. सारी पोलिटिकल पार्टियां यहां उठकर यह फैसला ले लें कि वहां का अमन और कानून बहुत अच्छा है इसलिए सब लोग अपनी सिक्योरिटी वापिस करें और कांग्रेस पार्टी के तमाम मेम्बरान अपनी सिक्योरिटी वापिस करने के लिए तैयार हैं, आप सब भी अपनी सिक्योरिटी वापिस कर दीजिए और कहिए कि लॉ एंड आर्डर बहत अच्छा है और किसी आदमी को कोई दख 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 उन्होंने 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 सिचुएशन क्यों है? मैडम् 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 है। काश, यही फैसला चला होता और वहां एक सेक्युलर सरकार बन जाती। मैडम् 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 मुलाजमात से थे, गवर्नर बना दिया। मेरी उनसे कोई पर्सनल लडाई नहीं है और न मुझे कुछ कहना है. एक हाई क्लास आदमी हैं, ठीक है। उनका करना है। क्लीस के ऊपर क्लास। इससे कोई बात नहीं है। अब मेरा कहना यह है कि चैक एंड बेलेंस कहां है। न तो आपने अवाम की कमेटी बनाई, न वहां के लोगों को आपने एडवाइजर बनाया। जिन आई॰ए॰एस॰ अफसर की वैकिंग करनी चाहिए थी एडवाइजर लेविल पर वहां भी

सब एडवाइजर आपने 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 हः

"जहां में है (उत्तर प्रदेश में) आज कुछ होने वाला, हकुमत की तबोजह हामिला है।"

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

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

यह कल्याण सिंह जी का बयान है और नरेन्द्र मोहन जी के अखबार में छंपा 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 सेक्युलरिज़म के साथ हैं और इसी की ब्रियाद पर हम सरकार चला रहे है।

''तर्के ताल्लुकात को बस लम्हा चाहिए लेकिन तमाम उम्र मुझे सोचना पडा।" महोदया, आपका बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

श्री **आर॰एन॰ आर्य** (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के मथ्रा ज़िले से आया हूं। माननीय सदस्यों ने सदन में उत्तर प्रदेश के लॉ एंड आईर के संबंध में अपने विचार रखे हैं। महोदया, लाँ आर्डर का सवाल अकेले नहीं आता है। अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, लॉ एंड आर्डर डिटीरियोरेट हो रहा है लेकिन उसकी सचना तो हमें होनी चाहिए। सदन के माध्यम से

जब हम यह पछना चाहते हैं तो माननीय मंत्री जी के और गवर्नर के विचार प्रतिकृत हो जाते हैं। ऐसी अविश्वास की स्थित में गवर्नर की हटाने का प्रस्ताव अगर कोई पार्टी लाती है तो बहजन समाजवादी पार्टी के रूप में हमारी पार्टी उनको वापस लाने के लिए अपनी मंजरी देगी। हम जानते हैं कि लॉ एंड आईर की स्थिति गडबड है उत्तर प्रदेश में, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के ऊपर अत्याचार हो हे हैं और ऐसी स्थिति में भासिव लेवल पर, आज मार्च के महीने में जब यु॰पी॰बोर्ड के एक्ज़ामिनेशन हो रहे हैं. तब वहां तथाम अधिकारियों के टांसफर हो रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में जब मासिव ट्रांसफर्स हो रहे हैं, लॉ एंड आर्डर को कौन संभालेगा? आधकारी आश्वस्त नहीं है कि मेरा यहां पर स्थायित्व है। मेरे बच्चे यहां डिस्टर्ब हो रहे है. वे उनकी तरफ नेग्लिजेंट हैं। ग्रेज अत्याचार हो रहे हैं. रेप बढ़ रहे हैं. लट-पाट बढ़ रही है और रिपोर्ट कम हो रही हैं। रिपोर्ट करने वाला पुलिस स्टेशन में जब रिपोर्ट करना चाहता है तो डायरी मेंटन 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 चाहने वालों के बीच का तारतम्य ही टूट जाएगा तो उसका क्या हश्र होगा? इसलिए मैं माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया से निवेदन करना चाहंगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश में अत्याचार बढ़ रहे हैं...(व्यवधान)... मैं पहली बार बोल रहा हूं। आप लोग शोर मचाएंगे तो मैं उसके लिए भी आपका आभारी रहंगा। उत्तर प्रदेश में जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं और हत्याएं और बलात्कार बढ़े हैं. उसे हमें शर्मिन्दगी के साथ खीकार करना पड़ेगा कि वहां हमारी अव्यवस्था है, हमें उसकी तरफ ध्यान देना होगा। मैं बहुत शुक्रगुज़ार हूं कि आपने मुझे समय दिया। धन्यवाद ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कमारी सरोज खापडें): प्रो॰ राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा। मैं आपको दो मिनट का समय दे सकती हं। बहुत संक्षेप में बोलिए।

प्रो॰ राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश): महोदया, बहत-बहत धन्यवाद कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया। मैं अपनी बात कहने से पहले बहुत ही संक्षेप में उत्तर प्रदेश की कुछ घटनाओं की तरफ आपका ध्यान और इस सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहुंगा। 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

जनता पार्टी के कार्यकर्ताओं की नृशंस हत्या कर दी गई। 24 जनवरी को लखनक के आलमबाग के व्यस्त इलाके में 5 लोगों की दिन-दहाड़े गोली चला कर हत्या कर दी गई। जनवरी में ही कानप्र देहात में बी॰जे॰पी॰ के नेता अनिल यादव की हत्या कर दी गई। जनवरी में ही गोरखपर में दो व्यक्तियों की दिन-दिहाड़े हत्या कर दी गई। वहां के नेता नीलेन्द्र पांडे और कई लोगों को धायल कर दिया गया। जनवरी में ही गाजियाबाद में एक बहुत बड़े व्यापारी विनीत जैन का अपहरण कर दिया गया। मान्यवर, मेरठ जनपद में जनवरी महीने के एक पखवाड़े में जातीय हिंसा में 12 लोगों की हत्या कर दी गई है और एक महीने में 41 लोगों की निर्मम हत्या कर दी गई है। केवल लखनऊ में, जनवरी महीने में 35 लोगों की हत्या कर दी गई। जनवरी के महीने ही में मुजफफरनगर में 27 लोगों की हत्या कर दी गयी। मैं केवल जनवरी महीने के आंकड़े आपको बताना चाहता हं। जनवरी में, पुलिस रिकार्ड है, गृह विभाग के रिकार्ड के अनुसार 633 लोगों की हत्यायें की गई है...(व्यवधान)... उत्तर प्रदेश में, गह विभाग की रिपोर्टों के अनुसार वहां एक महीने 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, रोडहोल्ड्स-अप में 132 फीसदी का इजाफा हुआ है, मान्यवर, आपको सुनकर बहुत दुख होगा कि बलात्कार की घटनाओं में 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 हं। फरवरी के प्रारंभ में एटा में कांता प्रसाद और उनके घर के चार लोगों की गला घोंट कर हत्या कर दी गई।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें): मेरा निवेदन है कि यह हत्याओं का सिलसिला चलता रहेगा तो आप मृद्दे की बात नहीं कर सकेंगे। मृद्दे की बात करें तो आपका समय जायज होगा नाजायज नहीं होगा।

प्रो॰ राम बख्श सिंह वर्मा: मैडम, मैं आपको बताना चाहता हं कि पिछले डेढ़ महीने में 900 अधिक हत्यायें उत्तर प्रदेश में हुई हैं, 200 से अधिक बलात्कार हए हैं, 28 सें 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 है। मान्यवर, आप स्वयं जानती हैं कि ग्रामीण इलाकों के लोगों की रिपोर्ट लिखी नहीं जाती है। मान्यवर, मैं कहना चाहता हं कि उत्तर प्रदेश को पहली बार जातीय युद्ध में

झोंक दिया गया है। प्रदेश में सामूहिक बलात्कार और हत्याओं का 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 एकड़ा नहीं जा रहा है। एक भी एके-47 राइफल करामद नहीं हुई है। वहां पर कानून और व्यवस्था की स्थिति करमर गई है। प्रदेश के हर भाग में लूट हो रही हैं, 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 साथे में जी रही है। मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से बताना चाहता हं कि...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें): वर्मा जी, जय आप एक मिनिट मेरी बात सुनिए। देखिए, आपके लिए स्पेशल बक्त मांगा गया था और मैंने आपको स्पेशल बक्त 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 पड़ेगा। 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 कन्क्लड करने जा रहा हूं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम (उत्तर प्रदेश): इन आंकड़ों का सोर्स क्या है ...(च्यवधान)... जब आप हाउस में स्टेटिस्टिक देते हैं तो आपको बताना पड़ेगा कि इसका सोर्स क्या है। ...(ट्यवधान)...

प्रो॰ राम बख्श सिंह वर्माः मैं यह आंकड़े उ०प्र॰ 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 खापडें): चतुर्वेदी जी आप अपने सदस्य से कहें कि...

प्रो॰ राम बख्श सिंहः मान्यवर, ये मुझे अपने बात नहीं कहने देना चाहते। मैं दो मिनट में कन्कलूड करता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें): चतुर्वेदी

जी, आप अपने सदस्य को कहें मैंने आपके कहने पर उनको वक्त दिया है।

प्रो॰ राम बख्या 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 इंटरेस्टेड 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 नीगे बेसी बजा रहा था, वही हालात आज उत्तर प्रदेश में हैं जो कि मैं आपके थ्यान में लाना चाहता हूं।

महोदया, एक तरफ तो यह स्थिति है और दूसरी तरफ निर्दोध नागरिकों को...(ब्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें): आफ्ने कह दिया। रोम की स्थिति के बारे में बता कर आफ्ने 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 बर्मा: महोदया, मैं एक मिनट में अपनी बात खल्म कर रहा हूं। ...(व्यवधान)... एक तरफ तो उत्तर प्रदेश की यह स्थिति है और दूसरी तरफ उत्तर प्रदेश के जो निर्दोष नागरिक हैं 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, भा॰ज॰पाइयों को चिन्हित करके रात के अधेरे में, अर्द्ध-ग्रत्न 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 मुक्दमा कायम नहीं है उनको ...(व्यवधान)...

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

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापडें): वर्मा जी, अब इस बात को यही पर खत्म कर दीजिएगा। अब मैं मंत्री जी को कहूंगी कि वह इस डिसकशन का जवाब र्दे। ...(व्यवधान)... प्लीज, बैठिएगा। प्लीज़, बैठिएगा। ...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो॰ राम बख्श सिंह वर्माः महोदया...(च्यवधान)...

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

प्रो॰ राम खख्श सिंह वर्माः महोदया, बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया। हालांकि मैं अपनी बात को नहीं कह पाया इसका मुझे थोड़ा दुख है। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश से आता हूं।...(व्यवधान)... फिर भी आपने मुझे जो बोलने का अवसर दिया उसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हं।

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

SHRI SANATAN 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.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Plese sit down. Please cooperate with me. (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): Renukaji, 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 SURINDER 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 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 endeavours.

I 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 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 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 made-then 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 lawenforcing 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 There is disappeared. no further information about them. They have made repeated representations 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 Avodhva. 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 divisivness have been allowed to come to the surface and divide the people and so many crimes have been committed which are essentially caste-based? 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. Mukheriee 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 Das Gupta raised it raised---Mr. 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 with strictly in conformity 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. I can only extend apologies on my personal behalf. I am taking action separately in this regard.

Yours sincerely,

Romesh Bhandari"

....(Interruptions).

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

Minister has not finished his reply vet. 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 savs:

> "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,

> forgive "Please 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

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 having un-to-date not information. In fact, no reference was made to the law and order situation prevailing now. Here is a example. misunderstanding is being cause by the way reporting is being done."

SURINDER 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 sacrificies, 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)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (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.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI (Utter Pradesh): I have the highest regard for you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But, nown-days 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 are 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 Guijars 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 OF 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 121/2 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 whole democratic Therefore, this is what I really wished to say. There are many other things that I have to say, but I 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

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

(At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber.)

VICE-CHAIRMAN THE (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Now, I think that discussion on U.P. is (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 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?

VICE-CHAIRMAN SAROJ KHAPARDE): I think the discussion on this particular subject is

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

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.

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

VICE-CHAIRMAN 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 (कमारी सरोज खापर्डे): आपको

tl 1 Transliteration in Arabic script.