

[श्री राजनारायण]

पर अंकुश लगाए, उसकी स्वतंत्रता को काटे—चाहे किसी वहाने से भी काटे—उस सरकार को हटाए। इसलिए मैं अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग प्रैस कौंसिल विधेयक के पक्ष में बोलें वे इस बात को बहुत ही हिम्मत के साथ कहें कि प्रैस की स्वतंत्रता की सुरक्षा के लिए जो भी कदम उठाना पड़ेगा, जो भी कर्वाणी देनी होगी उस के लिए सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य तैयार हैं।

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176—Reported harassment, Victimization etc. of Railway Employees for Participation in Recent Strike.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rabi Ray.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Before you take this up, I had made a request that the assurances given in the month of May in this House by the hon. Minister should be circulated from the proceedings of this House and, if necessary, from the proceedings of the other House. Now, we have not got anything . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rabi Ray.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You will be seeing that the Government has violated all the major assurances that were give. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Rabi Ray.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are entitled to have them circulated in order to debate it in the most effective manner.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rabi Ray.

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : आज जिस सवाल पर मैं बोलने जा रहा हूँ वह एक इस प्रकार का सवाल है जो कि लाखों की तादाद में हमारे देश के रेलवे कर्मचारियों से संबंधित है। उप-सभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि रेलवे हड़ताल को ले कर एक ऐसी चीज हो गई जिससे पता

लगा कि यह किस तरह का गम्भीर मामला है और रेलवे मजदूरों के साथ किस तरीके से खुलमखुल्ला बर्ताव किया गया। इसी सिलसिले में राष्ट्रपति गिरी और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के बीच में खुलमखुल्ला मतभेद भी हमारे सामने आ गया।

उप-सभापति जी यह इसलिए किया गया कि राष्ट्रपति श्री गिरि रेलवे मजदूरों के सभापति रह चुके हैं और उनके नाम से “गिरि मैदान” खड़कपुर में अभी भी है। इसलिए गिरि साहब का भारत सरकार से और प्रधान मंत्री से यह कहना था कि लाखों की तादाद में रेलवे मजदूर हिन्दुस्तान के चारों तरफ गांवों, जिलों और सब स्थानों में फैले हुए हैं, उनके साथ सहानुभूति के साथ आप बर्ताव करें। लेकिन भारत सरकार ने उनकी सलाह को नहीं माना और उसको ठुकरा दिया। यह बात सब लोगों का मालूम है कि राष्ट्रपति श्री गिरी की इस प्रकार की मान्यता थी और वह चाहते थे कि रेलवे मजदूरों के साथ अच्छी तरह से बर्ताव हो। लेकिन भारत सरकार द्वारा रेलवे मजदूरों के साथ उसी तरह से बर्ताव किया गया जिस तरह से दुश्मनों के साथ बर्ताव किया जाता है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि रेलवे मजदूरों की मांग आर्थिक सवाल पर थी। रेलवे मजदूरों की सब संगठनों की प्रतिनिधि सभा आज इंडिया रेलवेमेन फेडरेशन की तरफ से मांग दी गई थी। उनकी छः मांगें थीं और वे मांगें इस प्रकार हैं :—

“(a) All railwaymen be treated as industrial workers with full trade union rights including the right to negotiate.

(b) The working hours of railwaymen shall not exceed eight hours per day.

(c) There shall be job evaluation of all railwaymen through a scientific system to be followed by their reclassification, re-gradation with the need-based minimum wage as the wage for the lowest-paid worker.

(d) Pending the completion of job evaluation and reclassification, immediate parity in wages with those of workers in

the Central undertakings, viz: HMT, BHEL, HSL, HAL, etc.

(e) Dearness allowance linked to the cost of living index with full neutralisation for every rise of 4 points in a six-month period.

(f) Bonus at the rate of one month's wages for the years 1971-72 and 1972-73.

(g) Decasualisation of all casual railwaymen and their confirmation in service with all benefits given to them with retrospective effect.

(h) Adequate and subsidised food-grains and other essential commodities through departmentally-run shops.

(i) All victimisation cases should be withdrawn."

उप-सभापति जी, ये छः मांगें आर्थिक सवाल पर थीं। वर्तमान स्थिति में जो आर्थिक कठिनाइयां रेलवे मजदूरों की थीं। वर्तमान स्थिति में जो आर्थिक कठिनाइयां रेलवे मजदूरों को थीं उसी सिलसिले में ये मांगें थी। आप जानते हैं कि रेलवे मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधियों के साथ अप्रैल 30 तारीख को कुरेशी साहब की बात होती है और आप इस बात का भी अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि 30 तारीख को बात होती है और सुबह हम लोगों को खबर मिलती है कि रेलवे मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधि श्री जार्ज फर्नान्डीस को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि रेलवे मजदूरों के ऊपर यह एक बहुत बड़ा हमला हुआ और इसके परिणामस्वरूप 30 तारीख को जो वार्तालाप चल रही थी वह भी आगे नहीं चल सकी। सरकार रेलवे मजदूरों को अपना दुश्मन समझने लगी और इसलिए उन्होंने इनके ऊपर इस प्रकार से हमला बोल दिया। आप जानते हैं कि 30 अप्रैल से 28 मई तक सारे देश में हड़ताल चली। मैं आपको यह भी बताना चाहता हूँ कि जो हड़ताल हुई थी उसके अन्दर जिस तरीके से मजदूरों के ऊपर अत्याचार हुए, उसने हिटलर के जमाने को भी मात कर दिया। हिटलर के जमाने में भी इग तरह के अत्याचार नहीं हुए थे। इसी सिलसिले

में मैं सदन के सामने इंगलिस्तान का उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ पर कोल-माइन्स के अन्दर मजदूरों की हड़ताल हुई थी। इस हड़ताल से ही सरकार सहमत नहीं थी, लेकिन हीथ सरकार ने इस प्रकार के हिटलरी अत्याचार मजदूरों पर नहीं किये। इसके विपरीत हीथ सरकार ने उनकी मांगों को लेकर अपने देश में ग्राम चुनाव कराये। एक तरफ इंगलिस्तान की सरकार मजदूरों की मांगों को लेकर और हड़ताल के कारण अपने देश में ग्राम चुनाव कराती हैं और उसमें कंजर्वेटिव पार्टी की हार होती है, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ हिन्दुस्तान में मजदूरों पर घोर अत्याचार किये जाते हैं। रेलवे मजदूरों के ऊपर और उनके बच्चों के ऊपर इस बार इतने अत्याचार किये गये कि इस बात को सब मानते हैं कि इस तरह के अत्याचार मजदूरों के ऊपर पहले कभी नहीं हुए हैं। हड़ताल जब वापस हुई तो 30-40 हजार कर्मचारियों को नौकरी से निकाल दिया गया और इसी प्रकार लगभग 50 हजार कैजुअल कर्मचारियों को नौकरी से हटा दिया गया। इस प्रकार से लगभग एक लाख कर्मचारियों को नौकरी से हटा दिया गया। इसके फलस्वरूप रेलवे के अन्दर नार्मलसी अभी तक नहीं आ पाई है। सवाल यह है कि इस सत्र में इसी सवाल पर उस रोज जब हम चर्चा कर रहे थे तो सदन में रेलवे मंत्री की तरफ से यह आश्वासन दिया गया था कि हम विक्टिमाइजेशन नहीं करेंगे। और विक्टिमाइजेशन के सिलसिले में खुद रेल मंत्री एल० एन० मिश्र जी द्वारा 28 मई को आल इंडिया रेडियो के जरिए कहा गया कि :-

"Railwaymen have been assured that there will be no victimisation".

फिर यह भी कहा गया कि :-

"The Railway Minister has said that there will be no victimisation to the employees who participated in the strike."

[श्री रबी राय]

उपसभापति महोदय, बाकायदा 28 तारीख को सरकार की तरफ से रेल मंत्री यह ऐलान करते हैं कि जो मजदूर हड़ताल में हिस्सा लिए हैं उनके ऊपर हम कोई विक्टिमाइजेशन नहीं करेंगे और यह भी आपको मालूम है कि जब वार्तालाप विरोधी दलों के साथ चल रही थी प्रधान मंत्री के साथ उस वक्त खाद्य मंत्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद, जो अभी राष्ट्रपति पद के उम्मीदवार हैं, उनकी तरफ से एक फार्मूला निकाला गया। फार्मूला में यह था कि जो रेलवे मजदूर रेल हड़ताल वापस लेंगे उनके ऊपर हमारी तरफ से कोई विक्टिमाइजेशन नहीं होगा। यह फार्मूला भारत सरकार की ओर से आया। लेकिन यह सब होते हुए भी, रेलवे मजदूर हड़ताल वापस कर लिए थे मई को। फिर उसके बाद रेलवे मजदूरों के ऊपर जो अत्याचार हुए वे अभी भी जारी हैं। सरकार ने 28 मई को जो आम तौर से एश्योरेन्सेज दिए थे कि हम उन मजदूरों के साथ कोई रिप्राइजल नहीं करेंगे जो हड़ताल पर गए, उन पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई।

श्रीमन्, अभी क्या स्थिति है? आप जानते हैं, दिल्ली में जो एक बड़े आफिसर है रेलवे मंत्रालय के जो जोनल मैनेजर हैं, जनरल मैनेजर हैं, उनका एक सर्कुलर रेलवे की तरफ से निकाला गया, वह मैं पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ जिससे पता चलता है कि रेल विभाग के जो नीचे तबके के आफिसर हैं वे उनके साथ अत्याचार जारी रखते हैं :

"It has been observed that despite the issue of Shri Gôel's D. O. no appreciable progress has been made either in regard to the processing of cases of condonation of break in services or disposal of appeals preferred by May 1974 strikers against their dismissal, removal, termination. The Board have also expressed their concern on their account."

सवाल यह है कि जो आफिसर नीचे के तबके के हैं उनको चाहिए कि सरकार की तरफ से जो ऊपर से सर्कुलर निकाले जाते हैं कि सहानुभूति के साथ बर्ताव करो, वह नहीं हो पाता है जिससे

कर्मचारियों के ऊपर अत्याचार जारी रहता है। मैं आपको दिल्ली के आंकड़े देना चाहता हूँ। दिल्ली में एक सक्सेना साहब हैं जो अभी दिल्ली डिविजन के सुपरिन्टेंडेंट हैं, इन सक्सेना साहब के खिलाफ कई रिपोर्टें ह, और यह भी निकल चुका है कि भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप में उनके खिलाफ इन्क्वायरी चली है। यह क्या करते हैं? जो इनके नीचे के तबके के बलकें जो सारा भ्रष्टाचार का केस दिए हुए हैं, उनके खिलाफ वे जान बूझकर रिवेन्ज ले रहे हैं, पर्सनल वैन्डाटा के तौर पर, जिससे दिल्ली में जानबूझ कर ये लोगों को तंग करते हैं और उनके आर्डर के अनुसार 750 रेलवे कर्मचारी डिस्मिस हुए हैं, 575 जो टेम्परेरी कर्मचारी हैं वे डिस्मिस हुए हैं ...

श्री महावीर त्यागी : आन् ए पोइन्ट आफ आर्डर। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर भ्रष्टाचार द्वाँरह के चाजेंज किसी आफसर के खिलाफ है तो उनका नाम लेकर यहां जिक्र नहीं करना चाहिए।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I suggest his name and his father's name also should be taken so that the whole pedigree is known. The whole pedigree should be known of this bureaucracy running the railways of this country. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him continue his speech.

श्री रबी राय : 27 अक्टूबर 1973 के फ़ोट फ़ार्वीडिंग में यह निकल चुका है कि ये भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप हैं। तो इस तरह से उप-सभापति जी, मैं कह रहा था कि यह सक्सेना साहब जानबूझकर रेलवे कर्मचारियों के ऊपर अत्याचार कर रहे हैं और उनके आदेश पर इस तरह की चीज चल रही है।

इसी तरह से मैं बेजवाड़ा के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं नहीं जानता कि रेलवे मंत्रालय को यह जानकारी है या नहीं? बेजवाड़ा में मीसा के अन्तर्गत 14 आदमियों को गिरफ्तार किया गया, डी० आई० आर० के अन्दर 5 आदमियों को गिरफ्तार किया गया।

जिन लोगों ने हड़ताल में योगदान दिया था, केवल हड़ताल में योगदान किया था, उनमें से 19 को डिसमिस कर दिया गया है। समरी ट्राइल करके 33 आदमियों को जुर्माना कर दिया गया क्योंकि वे हड़ताल में शामिल थे। इसी तरह से आप देखेंगे कि हर एक जोनल डिविजन में इस तरह के अत्याचार जारी हैं, विक्टिमाइजेशन जारी है और आफिसरों के जो पर्सनल वैनडिटा है, उसके आधार पर वे अत्याचार कर रहे हैं और यह चीज अभी तक जारी है।

उपसभापति जी, सवाल यह है कि हड़ताल वापस हो गई है और सरकार का कहना है कि वह एन० सी० सी० आर० एस० की जो संस्था है, उसके साथ बातचीत नहीं करेंगे। सवाल यह है कि 30 तारीख को कुरैशी साहब ने चन्द बातें कही थीं कि सरकार की तरफ से रेलवे वालों की 6 मांगें पूरी हो चुकी हैं। सवाल यह कि अब तक वे 6 मांगों के बारे में कह रहे थे। 6 मांगों पर आल इण्डिया रेलवे मैन्स फंडरेशन के किसी भी पदाधिकारी ने दस्तखत नहीं किये। इस तरह से देशवासियों को गुमराह करने के लिये सरकार की तरफ से यह कहा जाता है कि हगने रेलवे मजदूरों की 6 मांगों को पूरा कर दिया है इसमें कोई तथ्य नहीं है।

कल सदन के मामले सवाल आया था और कुरैशी साहब ने वह दिया कि जब स्ट्राइक के लिये बैलट हुआ था, उस समय मजदूरों की जो मांगें थी उसमें बाद में बैलट के बाद परिवर्तन हो गया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की बातें कहकर वे सदन को गुमराह कर रहे हैं। सवाल यह है कि अब तक बोनस और पफिट्टी की जो मांग थी, वह मैंने आपकी खिदमत में पढ़कर सुना दी और वही मांग रेलवे मजदूरों की है। इस मांग को लेकर सरकार की जो अपनी संस्था रेलवेमैन्स फंडरेशन है, उसके साथ बातचीत करने के

लिये सरकार आग क्यों नहीं आती है ? अब तो रेलवे में हड़ताल समाप्त हो गई है तो उसके बाद सरकार इस तरह का रूख क्यों अपना रही है। सरकार की ओर से यह कहा जा रहा है कि रेलवे में नार्मलसी आ गई है, लेकिन हमको यह जानकारी मिली है कि पिछले साल जुलाई में जिस तरीके से ट्रेनें चल रही थी उस तरह से आजकल नहीं चल रही है। और उस तरह की नार्मलसी अभी तक नहीं आई है। सरकार जनता को गुमराह करने के लिये सदन को गुमराह करने के लिये कह रही है कि नार्मलसी आ गई है जब कि अभी तक कितनी ही ट्रेनें बन्द हैं और नार्मलसी नहीं आई है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को रेलवे कर्मचारियों के साथ प्रजातन्त्रीय ढंग से बर्ताव करना चाहिये जो वह नहीं कर रही है। आज सदन को इस तरह का मौका मिला है कि वह रेलवे कर्मचारियों के बारे में बहस करें और इसीलिये मैं आपके जरिये मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्ट्राइक करना यह रेलवे कर्मचारियों का जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार है। प्रजातन्त्रीय तरीके से यह बात मानी जा चुकी है कि रेलवे कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल करने का अधिकार है और जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार है।

हड़ताल अब वापस हो चुकी है और उसके बाद भी मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ रेलवे कर्मचारियों की जो प्रतिनिधि संस्था है उनके साथ फौरन बातचीत करनी चाहिये और जो उनकी मांग है उसके सम्बन्ध में बातचीत होनी चाहिये। सवाल यह है कि जो कैसेज रेलवे कर्मचारियों के खिलाफ है, जिन्हें डिसमिस कर दिया गया है, जिन्हें सस्पेन्ड कर दिया गया है, उनको काम पर ले लिया जाय ताकि रेलवे में नार्मलसी की सिचुयेशन पहिले की तरह फिर कायम हो जाय। यह सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है कि रेलवे में नार्मलसी कायम करे और सरकार को इस चीज को प्रैस्टीज का मामला नहीं बनाना चाहिये।

[श्री रबी राय]

सरकार को इस तरह नार्मलसी लाने के लिये सोचना चाहिये और हाउस को आश्वासन देना चाहिये कि कल से रेलवे मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधियों के साथ हम बात करेंगे, सारे कैंसेज को वापस लेंगे और जो ब्रैक-इन-सर्विस है उसको पूरा करेंगे और नार्मलसी को लाने के के लिये जो वातावरण पैदा करना चाहिये उस तरह का वातावरण पैदा करेंगे। मैं आशा करता हूं कि आज हाउस को चाहिये जो इस विषय पर बहस करने का मौका मिला है उसका हम फायदा उठावेंगे। सरकार से मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति गिरी ने जैसा प्रधान मंत्री को कहा था कि उस ढंग से बर्ताव करें और सरकार ने जो यह कहा था कि विक्टिमाइजेशन नही करेंगे उससे सरकार तनिक भी इधर उधर न हो सरकार ने इस हाउस में जो आश्वासन दिया था उसको देखते हुए मैं आशा करता हूं कि हाउस के उठने से पहले सरकार इस बात का आश्वासन देगी कि वह हम लोगों की इस मांग पर विचार करेगी।

श्री कमल नाथ झा (बिहार) : उप सभापति महोदय, हमारे मित्र माननीय रबी राय जी ने यह कहा कि मजदूरों का यह जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है कि वे हड़ताल करें अपनी मांगों के लिये। जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार क्या होता है बर्थ-राइट क्या होता है, मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन हमारे देश में जहां जनतांत्रिक व्यवस्था है, मजदूरों को कानूनी अधिकार हड़ताल करने का अवश्य है। मैं अपने मित्र को बताना चाहता हूं कि जैसे मजदूरों को कानून में अपने हक के लिये हड़ताल करने का अधिकार है, वैसे ही सरकार को भी कानून में अधिकार है कि अगर वह किसी हड़ताल को जनहित के विरुद्ध समझती है तो उस हड़ताल को अवैध करार दे सकती है। ये दोनों अधिकार कानून से मजदूर और सरकार को प्राप्त है। अगर किसी

यूनियन या किसी दल को ऐसा महसूस हो कि सरकार ने कानून का नाजायज उपयोग करके किसी उचित हड़ताल को अवैध करार दिया है तो हमारे संविधान में, इस जनतांत्रिक संविधान में जहांगीर के घन्टे के डुलाने का हक है और वे सुप्रीम कोर्ट में याचिका दाखिल करके सरकार के इस एलान की वैधता को चुनौती दे सकता है। अगर सरकार ने जनहित में रेलवे की हड़ताल को गैर कानूनी घोषित किया तो ये लोग, अगर इनकी संविधान और कानून की मर्यादा में थोड़ी भी आस्था होती, सरकार की इस घोषणा के विरुद्ध सुप्रीम कोर्ट में याचिका दायर कर सकते थे और वहां से फैसला करा कर हड़ताल पर जा सकते थे, लेकिन इन्होंने ऐसा नहीं किया क्योंकि इनकी विश्वास था कि अगर हम न्यायलय में जायेंगे तो वहां मुंह की खांयेंगे। कानून पर इनकी आस्था नहीं, संविधान पर इनकी आस्था नहीं और जनतंत्र पर इनकी आस्था नहीं, इसलिये इस हड़ताल को कोई कानूनी हड़ताल मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं है और न होगा। हड़ताल की वैधता की जांच करने का एक दूसरा मेजरिंग राड भी होता है क्योंकि कानून ही सब कुछ नहीं है, कानून से अलग भी कुछ चीज होती है जैसे मान लीजिए इस हड़ताल के पीछे सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र की जनता की सदभावना होती क्योंकि डेमोक्रेसी में, जनतंत्र में जनमत भी बहुत अहमियत रखता है। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूं—कानून की दृष्टि से तो आपने नाजायाज काम किया ही—कि क्या इस रेलवे हड़ताल के पक्ष में इस 56 करोड़ के भारतवर्ष में आपको किसी तबके का समर्थन प्राप्त हुआ? क्या गांवों में काम करने वाले खेत के मजदूरों ने आपकी हड़ताल का समर्थन किया?

क्या खेतों में काम करने वाले किसानों ने आप की हड़ताल का समर्थन किया? क्या शहरों में काम करने वाले औद्योगिक मजदूरों ने आप की हड़ताल का समर्थन किया? क्या बुद्धि जीवियों ने, वकीलों ने, डाक्टरों ने, पत्रकारों ने, मवयुयकों ने, यूथ ने, आप का समर्थन किया? आप

सीने पर हाथ रख कर कहिये कि 57 करोड़ में लोगों ने आप की हड़ताल का समर्थन किया। एक भी तबका नहीं। बल्कि मैं उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप के माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह हड़ताल कुछ और दिन तक चलती तो जनता इन से इतनी उब गयी थी, उस का आक्रोश इतना बढ़ गया था कि जनता स्वयं कानून को अपने हाथ में ले कर इन हड़ताल करने वाले लोगों से निपटना शुरू कर देती। इसलिये इन की हड़ताल को न कानून का समर्थन था और न जनता का समर्थन था। अब यह मजदूरों के हामी बनते हैं। जिन मजदूरों के यह प्रतिनिधि होने का दावा करते हैं उन के लिये मैं तीसरी बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी हड़ताल को रेलवे में काम करने वाले दस लाख मजदूरों में से एक छोटे हिस्से का ही समर्थन प्राप्त था। अगर उनको बहुमत का समर्थन प्राप्त होता, अगर उन के झंडे के नीचे दस लाख रेलवे मजदूर आते तो उन को एसिड बल्ब फेंकने की कोई जरूरत न होती, उन को तेजाब फेंकने की कोई जरूरत न होती और उनको फिसप्लेट्स उखाड़ने की जरूरत न होती, उनको आग लगाने की और छुरे और बम ले कर रेलवे कालोनीज में घूमने की जरूरत न होती। यह मायनारिटी वायलेंस के बल पर, अत्यामत के हिंसा के बल पर बहुमत मजदूरों को डरावमका कर उन के दिल में दहशत पैदा कर के उन को काम से दूर रखना चाहते थे। मैं इस हड़ताल के सिलसले में एन० एफ० रेलवे में गया जहाँ कि नक्सलाइट लोगों का डेन है और जब मैंने सिलीगुडी में, कटिहार में मीटिंग की और उन को आश्वासन दिया तो आंकड़े बतायेंगे कि पांच, दस दिन के बाद भी वहाँ के मजदूर काम पर आने लगे और 12, 14 दिन में ही वहाँ का सारा ठप्प काम चलने लगा, तो मैं आप के माध्यम से उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह हड़ताल जिस को कानून का समर्थन नहीं, जिस को जनता का समर्थन नहीं, जिस को मजदूरों का समर्थन नहीं, सिर्फ एक देश की स्थिति को डिस्टर्ब करने के लिये एक डिस्टर्ब मोटिव

से जो चलाई गई ऐसी हड़ताल का आप ने आवाहन किया, और अब आप बनिये की दकान की तरह बैठ कर यह तलपट बिठाते हैं कि इतने मजदूर डिस्मिस हुए, इतने मजदूरों की सर्विस ब्रेक हुई, और इतने मजदूरों को मीसा में अरेस्ट किया गया, इतने आदमियों पर मुकदमा चलाया गया, और आप यह लेखा जोखा मिला रहे हैं, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि नाटक में जैसे सूत्रधार होते हैं, जैसे नाटक का एक स्टेज मैनेजर होता है, हिन्दी में उस को सूत्रधार कहते हैं और वह परदे के पीछे बैठ कर प्राम्पटिंग करता है, उसी प्रकार ये विरोधी पक्ष के लोग इस हड़ताल के सूत्रधार हैं और उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह ठीक है कि आप तलपट बिठावें। आप तलपट बिठावें कि कितने डिस्मिस हुए, कितनों का ब्रेक-इन सर्विस हुआ, कितनों पर मीसा लगाया गया और कितनों को जेल भेजा गया, लेकिन इन के साथ साथ आप यह भी तलपट बिठावें कि इस के साथ ही इस हड़ताल के कारण इस देश का, गरीब देश का कितना नुकसान हुआ। आप यह भी तलपट बिठावें कि इस हड़ताल से इस रेलवे को कितनी क्षति हुई। आप यह भी तलपट बिठावें कि इस हड़ताल से इस देश के करोड़ों लोगों के साथ कितना अन्याय हुआ। यह भी तलपट बिठावें कि मजदूरों के ऊपर इस के कारण आप ने कितना जुल्म ढाया और फिर दोनों को तगजूर पर रखें और अपने ईमान को साक्षी रख कर देखें कि पलड़ा किस का भारी है। इस लिये मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इन बातों पर ध्यान कर के इस सदन में अपने दिल के पट खोलिये। बात उठती है विक्टिमाइजेशन की किस का विक्टिमाइजेशन। आज विक्टिमाइजेशन किस का हुआ मुठी भर रेलवे के मजदूरों का जो हिंसा पर उतारू थे या विक्टिमाइजेशन हुआ इस गरीब देश का जहाँ आज दो तिहाई आफ दि टोटल पापुलेशन भूख से तड़प रही है।

उस देश की इंडस्ट्री को आपने विक्टिमाइज किया, आपने उन करोड़ों लोगों को,

[श्री कमल नाथ झा]

जो स्टेशनों पर आपके द्वारा रोक कर रखे गये पानी के बिना, बिजली के बिना, विक्टिमाइज किया। आपने उन लाखों उद्योगों को विक्टिमाइज किया जो कि कोयले के बिना, बिजली के बिना स्टा^क करते रहे और आपने उन करोड़ों रोगियों को जिनके पास दवा नहीं पहुंच सकी, विक्टिमाइज किया। आपने उन लोगों को जिनके पास अनाज नहीं पहुंच सका क्योंकि रेलवे लाइन बन्द थी, विक्टिमाइज किया। इसलिए अपने मुल्क के खिलाफ यह साजिश की कि मुल्क को जनता को आपने विक्टिमाइज कराया मूठ्ठी भर मजदूरों को भड़का कर। इस बात को इतिहास से आप नहीं मिटा सकते।

उप-सभापति जी, आपके माध्यम से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, कि इतिहास यहीं खतम नहीं होता है। यह तो पहला अध्याय है। जिस इतिहास का राजनारायण जी, सी० पी० आई० वाले और जनसंघ वाले दोस्त लिखना चाहते हैं, मैं भूपेश गुप्त को धन्यवाद दूंगा कि एक बार इनके चंगुल में पड़ गये हों लेकिन इसके बाद अपनी जान छुड़ाकर भागे, उसके लिये इनका 3 पार्ट प्रोग्राम चल रहा है—डिसरप्शन डिस्सल्यूशन और डिफेमेशन। ये 3 पार्ट प्रोग्राम है—डिसरप्ट, डिस्सल्यूट और डिफेम। इन्होंने पहला प्रोग्राम चलाया डिसरप्ट करने का बिजली घरों को बन्द करो, रेल को बन्द करो, उद्योग धंधों को ठप्पा करो और देश को पैरेलाइज करो। लेकिन...

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, on a point of order. We are now discussing, according to the List of Business, "the reported harassment, victimization and break in service of thousands of the railway employees for their participation in the recent strike". But the honourable Member is going off the point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. I know who is going off the point and who is not. Several members have gone off the subject quite often. So, please take your seat.

श्री कमल नाथ झा : लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में और उनके निर्देशन में भारत सरकार ने ठोस फैसला किया कि ऐसे तत्वों को, डिसरप्शन करने वाले तत्वों को इस बात का मौका नहीं दिया जाएगा और हमारी सरकार ने देश की जनता ने, कांग्रेस पार्टी ने इसका डटकर मुकाबला किया और इनको घुटने टेकने पड़े और देश की सोशल लाइफ में जो डिसरप्शन की इन्होंने साजिश की जब उससे ये नाकामयाब हो गये तो फिर विक्टिमाइजेशन का नारा लाते हैं।

दूसरा इनका परमहंस का नारा है कि इस देश की सरकार बेइमान है, इसे देश के अफसर भ्रष्ट है। सावन के अंधे को केवल हरा ही सूझता है। उसको सारे देश में बेईमानी ही सूझती है केवल अपने को छोड़कर। इसलिये उप-सभापति जी, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मजदूर और देश के गरीबों के प्रति हमारी सरकार की हमदर्दी है और वह रहेगी और मजदूरों के इस देश के दुश्मन दूसरी तरफ बैठे हुए हैं। वह जो कुछ कर रहे हैं वह जनता के सामने है। हमारी सरकार और हमने कभी भी मजदूरों का विक्टिमाइजेशन करने की बात स्वप्न में भी नहीं सोची और आज जो सर्कुलर पड़ार रवीराय जी ने बताया, वह इस बात का प्रमाण है कि रेलवे मंत्रालय उन सारे कसेज को सहानुभूति के साथ, सद्भावना के साथ रिव्यू कर रहा है, जिनके ऊपर किसी परिस्थिति से मजबूर होकर देश हित में और देश की रक्षा के तकाजे में हमको अफसोस के साथ कार्यवाही करनी पड़ी। (Time bell rings) मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ आपके माध्यम में रेलवे मंत्री महोदय से कि आज जो मजदूर गुमराह हो कर या दवाव में पड़ कर या किसी भय और आतंक से काम पर आने के लिये मजबूर हुए उनके साथ सहानुभूतिपूर्वक वर्तनी होना चाहिये और जिन लोगों ने जानबूझ कर देश की सम्पत्ति को नष्ट करने की कोशिश

को, जिन्होंने जानबूझ कर रेलवे की सम्पत्ति को बर्बाद किया या जान-माल पर हमला किया और आतंकवादी प्रवृत्ति को ट्रेड यूनियन में घुसाने की कोशिश की ऐसे केंसों के विरुद्ध जो उचित कानूनी कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए, वह करनी चाहिए। जिनके विरुद्ध ऐसा संगीन मामला नहीं है, जिन्होंने दवाब में पड़कर या बहकावे में आकर या किसी तरह से गलती की है ऐसे केंसों पर सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करना चाहिये क्योंकि हम समाजवादी हैं और हम लोग मजदूरों का अपना एक अंग मानते हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the railway strike was conducted, and it is over. I am here to make an appeal to the Prime Minister of India and to the Minister concerned, that all those people who have participated in the strike and who have been punished or victimized, whatever the terms may be, should be reinstated. If our Government is a National government, having socialism as its aim, they must deal with the trade union activities in a different way. But they have dealt with the trade union activities as though this country is a colonial country, ruled by foreigners. In any country, where there is a national government or a socialist government, these trade union activities are not taken so seriously as has been done by the Government of India. Recently, in England there was a very big strike of coal-miners, but not a single employee was victimized there. In any other country, this is the way how they deal with strikes. But here, unfortunately, in our country which is the 'Bharath punnia bhoomi', that is India, thousands of families are in the streets today. The Minister concerned is taking his food and is dressing himself properly, and he is coming to this House. The Railway Minister is the first employee in the Railways. The State Minister is the second employee, and the Deputy Minister is the third employee. They have put their own employees in the streets. And they are here. They should not sit here when they

are the first employees and their own colleagues, with whose co-operation only they are running the Department, are in the streets.

The strike was organized, and now the Minister says that it is an illegal strike. They have had negotiations with Mr. Fernandes and they have allowed that strike. If it is an illegal strike, they should not have held negotiations with Comrade Fernandes. But they held negotiations. They allowed the strike. But when they found that in spite of their propaganda and other attacks unleashed against the workers the strike took a very serious shape and the strike was organized very well and the workers rallied and they successfully conducted the strike, and now they come and say: It is an illegal strike. Sir, when you punish an employee, the whole family is punished. That you must take into consideration. In reply to a question yesterday it was stated that a man, who is involved in sabotage or something like that, is arrested and he is in the prison, according to the Government but he is given a subsistence allowance, whereas some people who are not arrested but who are dismissed by the officers do not get any subsistence allowance, they are in the streets. It is not the mistake committed by the minor children or the marriageable daughter or the wife of that employee. When you take such drastic action against our own citizens, it is not becoming of a national or a socialist government. Therefore, I would appeal on behalf of the families of these thousands of employees not to stand on prestige. After all, our Government is a very powerful Government. Nobody can do any underground work in this country. Nobody can unseat the Government. If at all they do it, they will do it as they have done in Gujarat or as they are doing in Bihar. Our people are so cultured. They may belong to any political party. I may say that the Indian people are the most cultured and the most civilised people in the world. Therefore, the Government should not be afraid of these poor employees. After all, they cannot do any underground work and they cannot unseat the Government. Therefore, the Government should not stand on prestige and these employees must be reinstated.

[Shri G. Lakshmanan]

I think our hon. Railway Minister is following the footsteps of our revered Prime Minister. Our Prime Minister has raised the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao'. I do not know Hindi. But the English translation is 'We will wipe out poverty. Therefore, Mr. Mishra, a true follower of our Prime Minister, wants to wipe out poverty by killing these poverty-stricken people. I make this charge that thousands of people are going to die in two or three months. If 'Garibi Hatao' has to be implemented by hon. Mishra, it should not be this way. I think the Prime Minister also does not mean it this way. Now, how these railway employees who are in the streets were treated? How were they arrested and how were they removed from service? You heard the speech of my predecessor. I do not know his name. He said that he was so very angry because the strike was led by Mr. Fernandes. The workers who followed him did not belong to any political party. As 'Government servants, they cannot belong to any political party. That is in the Government Servants' Conduct Rules. You have had no legislation in this country to the effect that no outsider should be the leader of a trade union organisation for the past 25 years. It has only been talked out in this House. But you have not brought in any legislation to the effect that no outsider should lead any trade union movement in this country. If such a legislation had been there, Mr. Fernandes would not have been allowed to lead the railway employees. You did not bring forward such a legislation because you have your own wing in the Railways, that is the Indian National Trade Union Organisation. The INTUC people gave lists of the Railway employees who were to be arrested. It is the Indian National Trade Union Organisation which gave the lists to the officers and the officers in turn sent the lists to the Police Department in each State and the Police arrested these people. That is why my predecessor did not show a merciful attitude. He was only talking in terms of revengeful attitude. All these people are the persons whose lists were given by the respective parties, especially the ruling party in all the States to the General Managers who sent the lists to the Police De-

partment. That is how these people were arrested. When the Minister spoke on the Calling Attention, he said that this strike was politically motivated. But when the strike was going on, you behaved in a politically motivated way. You instructed your rank and file and partymen in all States to give the lists. This is the method that they followed to organise the INTUC. Now, they will victimize all these people because they were not with them but they were with the All India Railwaymen's Federation and some other unions. And now all these people will go to the INTUC leaders because they have got to earn their bread. They will go to them and request them or prostrate before them and say that they want jobs.

When the strike took place, you have behaved in a politically motivated way, and therefore, if the strike had been conducted in a politically motivated way, you cannot blame them. Whatever be the merits or demerits of the case, now the question is that you have to discharge your responsibility as a citizen to another citizen. Therefore, I would make an appeal on behalf of my Party to the hon. Minister and to the Prime Minister of India that this kind of victimization and harassment is unbefitting of a national government in power today. And you are punishing whom? I have said already that you are punishing the children of the employees, you are punishing the wives of the employees, you are punishing the daughters and sons of the employees. Suppose one man is arrested and removed, what happens? He is penniless. How can he get milk to his children? So, it is a humanitarian thing. The Ministers know it. But they have their Party and their party discipline and they can be guided only by the Party. And, Sir, they want to organize trade union in the Railways where they are powerless. And they cannot organize trade unions there and that is why they use such methods to organize trade unions there. That is why this victimization is taking place. I would appeal to the hon. Minister and to the Prime Minister of India to forget whatever that might have happened. In the interest of the nation and in the interest of the people in this country, you must act in a noble

way. When I spoke on the Calling Attention motion on the arrest of Mr. Fernandes, I said, "It is a cowardly act on the part of the Government to arrest Mr. Fernandes." If the Government wants to be noble in its approach, if they want to be humanitarian in their approach, taking into consideration the lives of the people involved in this, I would say that they should reinstate all the employees. You are the Minister in charge of the Railways. You have taken the oath of affirmation that you would discharge your duties to the public and that the interests of the employees are protected. Now, you are going against it. Whatever the mistakes they might have committed, you can excuse them, if they are mistakes. But, according to me, the strike is a complete success. The late lamented leader of our country, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once said, "Any strike in a public undertaking or a government organization cannot be a success. If it is a success, then, I will not remain here as the Prime Minister." So, Sir, this is not the way to act. I say, Sir, the strike is a success. After the strike only, you have brought in certain ordinances to cut down inflation. Wage freeze, credit freeze and so many other ordinances have come. This is because of the organized agitation of the Railway employees. You have brought in these ordinances; they have got their own merits and demerits. You have taken certain action only because of the organized agitation. So, as far as the Indian working class is concerned, the strike is not a failure. The strike has brought senses to the powers that be that something should be done. They have brought in something, of course, in their own way. In a capitalist economy, this is the maximum that could be done by our reverted Prime Minister. So, the strike is not a failure; it is a success. Therefore, I would appeal to the hon. Minister and the Prime Minister that without following a revengeful attitude, they should see that all these employees are reinstated immediately. My earlier speaker said that some people indulged in sabotage and this and that. And no train was derailed when there was such a nation-wide strike. Nothing happened. However, the strike was a success. They have conducted the strike in the most peaceful manner, in the Gandhian way. In a vast country like ours, the strike has been con-

ducted very peacefully and I salute the entire working class though they were intimidated through the radio and the press. In every possible way, they tried to pull down the strike. But, still they stood as a rock and successfully conducted the strike. Now, the nobility in the Government of India should help them and all those employees should be reinstated irrespective of the charges or anything against them. So, I would make a fervent appeal to the Railway Minister on behalf of the families of the Railway employees who are citizens of this country of ours and who are responsible for the Minister sitting here as a Minister in this House, to reinstate all these employees and meet them again in the year 1976 when he will know his fate.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: That is already known.

श्री नत्थी सिंह (राजस्थान) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी सदन में इस ओर से यह बात कही गई कि रेलवे की हड़ताल के कारण हजारों लोग बेरोजगार हो गए, उनकी आजीविका चली गई, उनके परिवार हैं, छोटे बच्चे हैं उनके गुजारे का मवाल है जबकि मंहगाई का यह दौर है कि जो लोग अच्छे रोजगार पर हैं वे अपना जीवनयापन नहीं कर पाते तो जिनको बेरोजगार कर दिया गया है वे कैसे अपना जीवन निर्वाह करेंगे। सदन में इस ओर बैठने वाले किसी माननीय सदस्य का यह मत नहीं हो सकता कि किसी को बेरोजगार कर दिया जाय, भूख के कगार पर खड़ा कर दिया जाय। पर यह सोचना होगा कि जो रेलवे के कर्मचारी आज बेरोजगार हैं, जिनको डिसमिस किया गया है, जिनकी सर्विस में ब्रेक आया है उनको इस स्थिति में लाने की जिम्मेदारी किस पर है? क्या वह जिम्मेदारी रेलवे मंत्रालय पर है, रेलवे बोर्ड पर है कि उसने उन्हें डिसमिस कर दिया है उनके खिलाफ एक्शन लिया और आज वे इस स्थिति में हैं या उधर बैठने वाले माननीय सदस्यों के ऊपर वह जिम्मेदारी है जिन्होंने स्ट्राइक का

संचालन किया ? जिन्होंने यह स्ट्राइक कराई उनकी भी कुछ जिम्मेदारी है या नहीं, आज हमको इस बात को सोचना पड़ेगा । स्ट्राइक हो जाय, जनता कण्ट में पड़े और उसक कुछ दिनों बाद हम यह कहें कि सारा दोष सरकार का है, कर्मचारी कण्ट में है, उनके खिलाफ जो एक्शन लिया गया है उसको वापस कर लीजिए तो ऐसा कहने वाले लोग या तो अपने राजनीतिक अज्ञान का परिचय देने हैं या उन्होंने राजनीतिक परिणामों को सोचा नहीं । उन्होंने यह सोचा नहीं कि किन राजनीतिक परिस्थितियों में यह हड़ताल हुई ।

अगर हड़ताल के फलस्वरूप जो परिणाम निकले हैं उनसे आंखें मूंदी जाती हैं तो आगे भविष्य में देश के सामने जो संकट है उसकी हालत क्या होगी । कोई भी जिम्मेदार राजनीतिज्ञ, कोई भी जिम्मेदार शासन करने वाले इन तथ्यों को नजरन्दज नहीं कर सकते । जब देश में यह हड़ताल हुई थी उस वक्त देश की परिस्थितियां उनको मालूम थी । देश आर्थिक संकट से गुजर रहा था, देश में इस बात की जरूरत थी कि सूखा पीड़ित लोगों तक अनाज पहुंचाया जाय । देश में ऐसे प्रदेश थे, जैसे राजस्थान जहां से मैं आता हूं और जहां लोग लाइन बांध कर खड़े देखते हैं कि रेलगाड़ी आएगी तब पानी लेकर दूर दूर गांवों में जाएंगे । राजस्थान ही नहीं और भी ऐसे प्रदेश हैं । जब इस बात की जरूरत थी कि हमारा इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन बढ़े उस वक्त रेल की हड़ताल आज के परिणामों को सोच कर नहीं की गई । उस वक्त मोचा गया था कि एक हफ्ते के अन्दर रेल का चक्का जाम हो जायगा और इस देश की अर्थव्यवस्था पूरी तरह लड़खड़ा जायगी, इस सरकार को घुटन टेकने होंगे और देश में अराजकता की स्थिति पैदा हो जाएगी । यह सोचा था उन राजनीतिज्ञों ने जो इसग्रान्दोलन का संचालन कर रहे थे, यह सोचा था उन ट्रेड यूनियन के नेताओं ने जो इन परिणामों को जानते थे लेकिन यह नहीं सोचा था उन मजदूरों ने

जो इन परिणामों को भुगत रहे हैं, यह बात मैं मानता हूं । इसलिए आज के दिन, जब हम कोई फैसला लेने जा रहे हैं, हमारे सामने स्थिति साफ है । हम भूल नहीं सकते गुजरात और बिहार में जो घट रहा है और उसके पीछे जो इरादे हैं । आज भी देश में हड़ताल की धमकी दी जाती है, अनेक संस्थाओं एयर इंडिया, एयर नाइन्ज व अन्यों में दी जाती है ।

और आज भी रेलवे में हम रोजाना सुन रहे हैं कि अभी हम गो-स्लो कर रहे हैं । इस के बाद जरूरत पड़ेगी तो दुबारा हड़ताल भी की जा सकती है । इन सारी धमकियों के पीछे, इन सारी स्थितियों के पीछे सरकार को निश्चित रूप से यह सोचना होगा कि हम कोई ऐसा गलत कदम न उठाएँ कि जिससे उस स्थिति की पुनरावृत्ति हो और इसलिए मैं विरोधी दल के सदस्यों से कहता हूं कि आप की जिम्मेदारी ज्यादा है इस देश में वातावरण पैदा करने की । ऐसा वातावरण कि जिस से यह सरकार सोचने और समझने पर बाध्य हो कि अब विरोधी दल भी इस देश के आर्थिक संकट को पूरी तरह से महसूस करते हैं और वह चाहते हैं कि इस देश का आर्थिक संकट टले, देश में उत्पादन बढ़े । तो क्या आप इस के लिए तैयार हैं कि दो साल के लिए अब हड़तालों पर ब्रेक लगा दिया जाय और इस बीच में कोई हड़ताल नहीं करेगा और गो-स्लो एवं 'लाक आउट' पर भी ब्रेक लगे और ऐसी स्थिति में मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि चाहे किसी ने कितना भी अपराध किया हो, जो हिंसा में लिप्त हों उन को छोड़ कर बाकी के लोगों की माफी के प्रश्न पर आप विचार करें । अगर आप इस बात के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं तो सरकार को निश्चित रूप से इस बात को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए कि जानबूझ कर अराजकता फैलाने के लिए जिन लोगों ने काम किया और जिन की तादाद अभी लाखों में बतायी गयी कि जिन की सर्विस में ब्रेक हुआ है, यह भी बताया गया कि इस ब्रेक से उन की वरिष्ठता पर कोई असर नहीं पड़ता, उन की नौकरी पर कोई असर

नहीं पड़ता, लेकिन जो बेरोजगार हुए हैं उनके लिए सरकार ने जो रुख लिया है कि जो लोग उन के पास आयेंगे जो अपने केसेज को रिप्रेजेंट करेंगे उन पर वह सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करेगी और इस प्रकार सरकार के सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करने में जो उन की हजारों लाखों की तादाद है वह सैकड़ों में ही रह जायगी, तो जो लोग वास्तव में इस इरादे के साथ आयेंगे उन के साथ न्याय होगा, लेकिन जो लोग इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को लड़खड़ाने के लिए तैयार थे, जो देश की सरकार के घुटने टिकाना चाहते थे और जो देश में राजनीतिक अव्यवस्था लाना चाहते थे उन को अवश्य पनिस किया जाना चाहिए और बाकी लोगों को राहत मिले इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं है। लेकिन मैं माननीय सदस्यों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप भूल गये कि जब मोगलसराय पर गाड़ी को रोक लिया गया और उस में यात्री जनता के लोग थे और कड़कड़ानी धूप में उन पैसंजर्स को घंटों तक बिना पानी के रोके रखा गया और उस के लिए विरोधी दल सिर्फ आरोप लगाता है। अभी माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे, राजनारायण जी कह रहे थे कि आज निक्सन के खिलाफ उन की पार्टी के लोग कहते हैं कि उनके विरुद्ध महाअभियोग चलाओ। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या विरोधी दल जिम्मेदारी निभाता है जब जनता को किसी तरह का कष्ट दिया जाता है? 28 मई को खड़गपुर में अधिकारियों पर तो हमला किया ही गया परन्तु महिलाओं को नंगा कर के प्रदर्शन किया गया, तो उस के लिए आप क्यों नहीं बोले कि यह गलत बात है। यह ऐसी बात है जो निहायत शर्मनाक बात है। इस की निन्दा की जानी चाहिए थी आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि जिम्मेदारी के साथ इस देश के दोनों पक्ष इस बात को सोचें कि पिस कौन रहा है। पिस वह गरीब रहा है जिस ने आप के राजनीतिक इरादों को पहचाना नहीं लेकिन वह आपके राजनीतिक हथियार बन गये। और इसलिए आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम सोचें कि क्यों इस सदन

में भी और इस सदन के बाहर भी जनता के केवल एक वर्ग के लिए ही चिल्लाहट होती है, चाहे वह रेलवे का मजदूर हो या कारखाने का मजदूर हो, वह हमारा एयर इंडिया का पायलट ही हो या इंडियन एयर लाइन्स का पायलट हो, जो आर्गनाइज्ड लेबर है, जो प्रदर्शन कर सकता है, जो हमारा हामी बन सकता है उसके लिए चिल्लाहट जरूर होती है, लेकिन जो करोड़ों की तादाद में जनता है, जो अनआर्गनाइज्ड लेबर है, जो इस देश का 80 फीसदी से ज्यादा भाग है उस के लिए हमारे मन में कोई चिन्ता नहीं रहती। यह रेलवे की हड़ताल हुई, उस से पांच अरब के करीब इस देश को नुकसान हुआ और इस नुकसान को किस को उठाना पड़ा उस खेतिहर मजदूर को, उस किसान को जिस के लिए कानून बनाने के बाद भी 31 मई के बाद लेवी ली गयी। उस ने गल्ला बेच दिया, लेकिन जब व्यापारी ने देश को धोखा दिया तो उस के घर से फिर वह निकाला गया। उस के मुंह में जबान नहीं है और इसलिए डिसआर्गनाइज्ड लेबर के लिए आप कुछ नहीं कहेंगे। आज देश में वह स्थिति है कि जिस में हर एक को कमर कसनी पड़ेगी चाहे वह किसी जगह पर हो और जब हर एक को कमर कसनी पड़ेगी तो निश्चित रूप से इस देश में अगर आप चाहते हैं कि ऐसे काम न हों तो उस के लिए बराबर का दायित्व आपोजिशन का भी है कि वह आर्थिक व्यवस्था सुधारने के लिए ऐसी स्थिति पैदा करे कि जिसमें हड़तालें न हों और अधिक उत्पादन के लिए सब लोग जुट जायें और देश के आर्थिक संकट को समझ कर उस को हल करने की कोशिश कर और इसके लिए आप के साथ हम भी सरकार से कहेंगे कि रेलवे मजदूर ने अगर कुछ ऐसा काम कर दिया है तो उस को माफी दी जानी

चाहिए। लेकिन यह कह नहीं सकते और 4 P.M. ऐसी स्थिति आप पैदा करें नहीं और इधर

सरकार आपकी बातें मानकर उनको माफी दी जाए तो रोज हड़ताल होगी, सारे देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था एकदम लड़खड़ा जाएगी।

[श्री नत्थी सिंह]

इसलिए दोषी लोगों को दण्ड देना जरूरी हो जाएगा। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि गम्भीरता से इस बात को आप सोचें। क्या यात्री जनता से इस बात को आप सोचें। क्या यात्री जनता जिसको कष्ट हुआ उसको कोई कंपेंसेशन मिला? कभी आवाज उठाई आपने उनकी कि कितने लोगों का काम का हर्ज हो गया? आप घरों में जाइये, मैं गावों में गया हूँ, गांव के लोग कहते हैं कि अगर भारत सरकार ने कोई हिम्मत का काम किया है तो रेल हड़ताल का मुकाबला कर के किया है। वह जनता इस बात को कहती है जिसको खाना नहीं मिल सका। आप चलिये मेरे साथ, उत्तर प्रदेश में, राजस्थान में, वह जनता जिसकी वाणी कोई नहीं बोलता आज कहती है कि अब तक सरकार झुकी रही। पहली बार सरकार ने हिम्मत की है और सही बात के लिए उत्तर दिया है।

श्री राजनारायण : वेह्याई और बहादुरी दो अलग अलग शब्द हैं। आप वेह्याई की बात कर रहे हैं। . . .

श्री नत्थी सिंह : मैं राजनारायण जी की भाषा को अच्छी तरह से समझता हूँ। मैं उनके साथ रहा हूँ। उन्होंने कितने रूप बदले हैं, यह भी मैं जानता हूँ। कल मैं जब लोक दल की घोषणा पढ़ रहा था कि वह कहते हैं कि नेशनलाइजेशन नहीं होगा तो सोचा कहां से कहां पहुंच गये हैं आप। इस देश में तो मेहरबानी करके इस देश को बनाने के लिए हिम्मत करिये कि दो वर्षों के लिए उत्पादन कार्य में लगेंगे और इस तरह के बेकार के कामों में नहीं लगेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपसे विशेष रूप से और सरकार तथा विरोधी दल के लोगों से अपील करता हूँ कि इस संदर्भ में इन सारी बातों को सोचें। अगर विरोधी दल हमारा साथ नहीं देता है तो जितने अधिक लोगों को हम अक्रोमोडेट कर सकें, सहानुभूति से कर सकते हैं वह करें। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, if the suppression of the railway strike was brutal and barbarous, the manner in which the Government is dealing with the railwaymen, after the strike, is cynical, cowardly, mean and vindictive. We are discussing here not the strike. The railwaymen's strike will ever shine in the annals of our working people's struggle as a glorious milestone and landmark, just as the Government's behaviour in that context would shame generations of Indians born and yet unborn.

At the moment we are not going to discuss the railway strike because the last word has to be yet said on it. I know the Congress Government, the Prime Minister and others and more so the tyrants who sit on the Railway Board are mightily happy that they have suppressed with a heavy hand one of the glorious class actions of their own working people, the like of which we have rarely seen in this country either after or before independence. This strike opened the eyes of many in this country. The Government has been moving to the right, handing out concession after concession to the monopolists and the multimillionaire class, and the suppression of the strike was an expression of its loyalty to the capitalist class and betrayal of the working people.

Today, I get up here to urge upon the Government, if it has any conscience left with it, to understand the sorrow and suffering of lakhs and lakhs of railwaymen and their families who have been robbed of their bread, who have been thrown on the street and are unemployed, who have been humiliated and humbled and who have been thrown into prisons. Still about 700 people are in prison. They face in many ways a dark and dismal future.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bipinpal Das) in the Chair]

But those rulers who came down heavily upon them shine on the misery of the masses and on the sorrow of the people, on the agency of the man in the street and above all, of our working people.

Sir, we are dealing with victimisation in this discussion. But before that, I should

only like to say what has happened to Shri L. N. Mishra's very facile statement in this House last May that their demands had been conceded. Let him spell them out. What exactly has been conceded, I do not know. Many people do not know. The railwaymen certainly do not know.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: They know.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Even with regard to the demand for the supply of foodgrains to the railwaymen through fair price-shops, it will be remembered, I hope, that the Minister here in this House gave an assurance that he would take the full responsibility for making foodgrains available through fair price shops to the railwaymen. What happened? Today it is not being done and other kind of direction has been given and the Government has broken its commitment—it is a breach of faith—even on this matter. Starvation stares the railwaymen in their faces.

Now, with regard to the other commitment—well, I am not a trade unionist, I would not like to go into this—I urge upon the Government that they should start and resume the discussion from the point where it was left, with the representatives of the railwaymen. We were given to understand by the Prime Minister at the meeting of the Opposition leaders, not once or twice, but at least three times, that the Government was not opposed to negotiation. Today we find that the Railway Minister and the other Ministers are telling the nation that they would never negotiate with them. They have dealt with the railwaymen in a cruel and violent manner and they have got them down; they want to get them further down. But, Sir, history will take revenge on this kind of attitude. All the same, I would urge upon them to negotiate with the railwaymen and their leaders before it is too late, and it should be done immediately. That is according to their own commitment. We are never told under what circumstances they would not negotiate. They always told us that they were in favour of negotiation with the railwaymen and their leaders, and they wanted to blame us. But we know that they broke off the negotiation. Is it not their duty today to start, to resume, the negotiation and bring about a better situation

in the railways by meeting the legitimate and just demand of negotiation? There should be the approach of human decency. I am not talking about the other bigger considerations of democracy and others. Human decency demands of this Government that it resumes the negotiation with the leaders and the representatives of the railwaymen.

With regard to victimisation, what shall I say? This Government has set a record. Somebody from London sent me a cutting from the Daily Telegraph of 17-5-74 wherein Lord Mason wrote a letter to the editor, in order to have a jibe at the labour leaders of London—"Look here! See what the Indian Government is doing. You are asking the people not to send goods to Chile. Why don't you ask your people, the workers, not to send goods to India?" India was defamed like that. I do not say that our Government is like the Government of Chile. But you see how you have defamed our country. The Guardian and all other papers wrote things which should not be complimentary to this Government. They published stories of the brutal repression, of what was happening in a bourgeois democracy which has indulged in such a terror, victimisation, humiliation and vulgarity, in dealing with the strike of the working people. The right to strike given under the Constitution has been declared illegal arbitrarily by the administration in order to take revenge on the railwaymen. This is not the way to function in a democratic institution or even to project yourself as if you are a civilised government.

With regard to the victimisation, how many have been victimised, we do not know. Today in the Lok Sabha the hon'ble Minister in reply to a question declared that about 40 per cent. of the staff whose services were terminated have since been reinstated on representation or appeal. But he did not reveal how many of them are permanent employees, and how many of them are casual employees. Nor did he say how many appeals for reinstatement have been rejected. Yet these are material points. Sir, casual workers have been very badly hit. In each railway there are 5,000 to 6,000 casual labourers. Many of them were removed from service. This includes daily rated workers, monthly rated workers whose services in

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

many cases ranged from 10—15 years have been taken back on daily wage. The Mianbhai Committee about which we heard so much had recommended that those casual labourers who had put in four months' service should be treated as temporary employees. Now what they are doing is something in the opposite direction. I do not know how many they have dismissed and victimised in this manner. But their number would not be less than 10,000 to 12,000. According to our reckoning and estimate not even one-third have been reinstated.

Sir, we are told that the Government has given guidelines. What is preventing the implementation of these guidelines? Guidelines are being implemented by the bureaucrats who are trying to wreak vengeance on the railwaymen. They are putting them to all kinds of humiliation. I have got an interesting example from Baroda. In some Division workers are being humiliated in a strange manner. In the Baroda Division particularly some dismissed employees were called for interview by the Divisional Officers and asked whether he was married. If he was married he would be asked to go home. He was told to go back home with that chappal and he should ask his wife to beat him on the head with that chappal as many times as he had children. Is it the way human beings should be treated? Has any enquiry been made into this and similar other allegations? Such things are happening. In other cases black-legs have been given double, triple, multiple promotions. A regime which feeds on black money will certainly worship black-legs, that we understand.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Not black-legs.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is a regime which encourages black money and now it encourages black-legs to rule our society. Black-legs have been rewarded. Black-legs were also recruited and now they are being rewarded and being given promotions over the heads of many others. You can imagine what a situation will be created resulting in constant friction and tension. Do you mean to say that those railwaymen who had gone on strike, who worked for the cause of their class, are going to submit to the treacherous people who have been elevated to high positions or brought

in anewin order to keep them down. Treachery shall not be allowed by them to go unpunished. It is bound to give rise to constant tension and friction. Is it the example you are setting before the country?

Sir, in our country we have black-leg Governors, black-leg Ministers, black-leg politicians, black-leg bureaucrats and, I would not say, black-leg Railway Minister. But the Railway Minister is now all the same thriving on black-legs. He is the master of black-legs. Mr. Mishra today commands the largest number of black-legs in the whole world. Mr. Lalit Narain Mishra can certainly get the international award of the underworld for maintaining inservice such a large number of black-legs. We do not need an enquiry commission for that. It is stated there. It is seen there. It is a shame. This is not the way to discharge public duty.

Sir, there are other things also with regard to the way in which the railwaymen are being treated. They are being made to give undertakings. They are asked by the Divisional and other officers who are interviewing them for reinstatement "You sign that you went on strike because you were forced to." This kind of thing is being done. So, on the one hand, workers are instantly humiliated; on the other, cases are built against others in order that they could be kept out of their jobs. This is cowardice; this is immoral. This does not conform to any standard of elementary moral decency, to behave with the railwaymen in this manner. Yet, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told us on the 18th May—on the day on which there was explosion of a nuclear device in our country—at a meeting in South Block that she would not humiliate the railway workers. I do not know the bourgeois sense of humiliation or decency, but any decent man would feel humiliated if you behave with him in the manner in which you are behaving with your railwaymen.

Sir, these officers are implementing the guidelines according to their temperament, according to their wish. As you know, the Railway Board presided over by one gentleman called M. N. Bery. Why don't you send him somewhere? He belongs to the Mafia. He does not belong to any

civilised administration. He belongs to the Mafia.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Very unfair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: His place is the Chicago underworld, not New Delhi or the Railway Bhavan. That is what I say. He is corrupt, degenerate, tyrannical oppressive, and has let loose a reign of terror and vendetta against the railwaymen. Sir, I will share with you a little interesting information which they kept secret. During the strike, a Control Room was set up in New Delhi as if they were in a war. The Control Room consisted of representatives from the Railway Board, Steel, Mines and Coal Ministries and the police. From that Control Room the Mughal Sarai strike was suppressed. When the Mughal Sarai strike was successful, instructions went from here through a special telephone connection that the workers should be surrounded and they should be taken back to work. They were taken to a camp, beaten up there, humiliated there and forcibly taken to work. This was done. Let him deny it. I do not know who was the Commander-in-Chief of that Control Room, or the Field Marshal. Maybe Mr. M. N. Bery was the Field Marshal. I do not know. Or if Mr. L. N. Mishra took that position, well, he can say so. I do not grudge him that honour or distinction.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Does he also belong to the Mafia?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, I would not include him in the Mafia. He is not of that type. He is not of the Mafia type because there are four rings in his hand and the Mafia does not do that. He is a very nice person that way, but I do not know what his smile means.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am just finishing. This is how the strike was dealt with. That story is a story of shame, a story of horror, a story of disgrace. We even hate to remember it. But they flourish on their achievement in suppressing this strike in so cruel a manner. One or two instances I will give. In one office, the

superior officer has put a ban on employees visiting the toilet during working hours. They have to go only in the interval. Employees in the administrative offices should not go if the superior says they should not. Medical facilities have been put out for those who suffer break in service. This has led to untold suffering. There is one case of death of a new-born child of a train examiner in Gauhati, your place, Sir. The doctor refused to treat the child and the child ultimately died. Now, do I understand that Mr. L. N. Mishra would promote this method for purposes of family planning? Kill the children. What can you say of this Government's behaviour. Arrests are taking place all over the country. Even now many people are being arrested. In the name of screening witch-hunting is going on. Most of the popular people among the railwaymen have not been reinstated. In this matter it is interesting that the NFIR services under the command of redoubtable A. P. Sharma are being used. I wish A. P. Sharma were sitting in between Mr. Qureshi and Mr. Lalit Narain Mishra. I would be prepared to pay Rs. 500 as fine if you could bring this gentleman and make him sit here between those two persons so that everyone could see the trio in its proper composition. Now, that is what is happening . . . (Time-bell rings) Yes, I am finishing. You have been ringing the bell and you have been advised to ring the bell. When some people advise you to ring the bell, you ring the bell. It is disgraceful that some people advise you to ring the bell as if you do not know when to ring the bell, as if you do not have a watch to note the time, as if you cannot see the time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): You have exceed by five minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If you do not have a watch, then take my watch and see the time. It does not look good to ring the bell when you are advised to ring the bell. Everything is ugly here, including the manner in which we conduct our proceedings in the House. If the Chair does not have a watch, there are wall-clocks here . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Please conclude now.

SHRI BUPESH GUPTA: Sir, before I sit down, I would suggest that the Government should no longer delay restoring normalcy in the railways. All the people who have been removed should be reinstated as a matter of policy; and this will not be done unless at the highest level. A policy decision is taken to reinstate immediately all the victimised workers, dismissed or removed from service or otherwise not taken back. This decision will not be taken until the Prime Minister gives her blessing to it. The Prime Minister owes responsibility in this matter. Railway strike was a national issue. Many of the Members, from that side also, have been demanding reinstatement and stopping of victimisation. Is it not the duty of the Prime Minister of the country to listen to us? She accused us, the Opposition, of not listening to her, of not cooperating with her, and so on. I am not going into all that now. But on this point, despite our serious political differences, we on the Opposition are all one and many on the other side are sympathising with us at least on this point that there should not be any victimisation and that all those victimised should be reinstated without pre-conditions. Why is not such a policy decision taken at the instance of the Prime Minister? The Railway Minister himself should see that necessary administrative arrangements are made in order that such a decision is faithfully and loyally carried out, not sabotaged as many of the decisions are being done by this Government. There is one of the most important of my suggestions. I do not wish to say more. *(Time-bell rings)*. Now two things are clear. The first is reinstatement without pre-conditions for which you need a policy decision and necessary administrative arrangements. The Minister of Railways should be personally responsible for telling the House from time to time how the decision is being implemented. This is number one. The second point is very essential. The Government should not stand on prestige. Hardly has it any prestige left. You travel on the railways and see how they are being talked about this Government in the country. And these black

legs should not be put where they are. Seven 'A' grade drivers have been transferred or degraded to B grade in Vijayawada. Thirteen drivers from B grade have been reverted to 'C' grade and certain 'C' grade drivers have been reverted to Foremen. Such things are happening. It is very, very essential today that in the interests of the Railways you should come to some understanding. One thing I might tell you. There was black money given to many people during strike. We have information that during the strike every Divisional Officer was supplied with unaccounted money. It was not to be accounted for. In order to break the strike they were given Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 lakhs. This was the secret money given to them. We have also information that this money has been misappropriated and has not been used even for the purpose for which it was given. This money was misappropriated by the Divisional officers. This was black money. Everything black over this matter . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Please conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are asking me to stop. I do not feel like stopping. I wish all of us get up and start speaking. Damn with this Short Duration Discussion. We shall discuss as long as we can because we all feel aggrieved over this matter. We ourselves feel humiliated over this. Only your Party has prestige and only your Party has a sense of honour to be protected! And you seem to think that all that we say from this side of the House even on behalf of the workers has no relevance and has no meaning. You brush that aside as if we are saying something nonsensical and something which should not be uttered by men. You just ignore the voice of workers. This is the arrogant attitude of this Government which is shifting recklessly day after day to the right. It is carrying out the behest of the Tatas and Birlas and that is why you are placating Tatas and Birlas. You read Birla's memorandum. You read Tata's memorandum demanding anti-working class posture to be adopted by the Government and with the support of K. K. Birla the Government has taken that posture and has tried to prove grateful to

them at the bar of the big money by taking measures, one after another, attacking the working class people. The working class today is the main target of their attacks . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Working class today is being assailed on all sides by bureaucrats, who can never reconcile to any democratic norms, supported by some Ministers. Unfortunately Shri L. N. Mishra is helping some people to rum amock among the railwaymen and in the Industrial sector of our country. Therefore, we strongly protest against the behaviour of this Government. I would ask again and again my friends opposite. You had differences with us over the railway strike. But that is over . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): You have made your point.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now you should join with us as honourable men and women. At least join with us in implementing the pledge of your leader whom you flatter everyday in the House, namely, there will not be any victimisation and there will not be any humiliation of the workers and ask for immediate resumption of talks to end all victimisation.

श्री जगदीश जोशी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति जी, काफी अरसे से माननीय भूपेश गुप्त जी का प्रवचन सुना जा रहा था। बंगला में तो उनकी वाणी मधुर और रसमय रहती है लेकिन जब वे अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं तो लगता है कि धारा उल्टी चल रही है और कभी कभी तो इतनी उल्टी चलती है कि उनके जैसा विद्वान, वरिष्ठ, सुयोग्य, कर्मठ, नीतिवान व्यक्ति लगता है क्या बोल रहा है, क्या विषय है, क्या सार है, क्या मर्म है।

बहुत गर्व से कहा कि जो सदन के उस तरफ बैठे हैं क्या उन को कोई आत्मसम्मान नहीं है? क्या उन की बात को न माना जाय? मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार की बात तो उतनी नहीं कह सकता जिम्मेदारी से, लेकिन जहाँ तक

रेलवे मंत्रालय का सवाल है, रेलवे मंत्री ने माननीय सदस्य को सब से बड़ा आदर समय समय पर दिया है और मुझे यह भी इतिमिनान है कि माननीय मंत्री जी माननीय भूपेश गुप्त को सर्व सम्मानजनक आदर देते रहेंगे। लेकिन मैं माननीय गुप्त जी से और माननीय रेल मंत्री साहब से, दोनों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह सम्मान देश के 59 करोड़ लोगों के मूल्य पर नहीं दिया जा सकेगा। कोई भी सम्मान कोई सब से बड़ा पराक्रमी व्यक्ति भी चाहे पराक्रमी ताकत भी चाहे, देश के 59 करोड़ लोगों की कीमत पर नहीं दी जा सकती। जो आज भुवमरी की मीमा रेखा के नीचे रह रही हैं उन की जिन्दगी के साथ खेल कर मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिए, मुट्ठी भर नेताओं के स्वाभिमान की रक्षा नहीं की जा सकती। देश बड़ा है अगर देश रहेगा तो सब रहेगा देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था रहेगी तो सब रहेंगे। अगर देश डूबेगा, देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था डूबेगी तो सब डूबेंगे। सारी बात एक पक्षीय दृंग में कही गयी है और शायद आज से 50, 60 वर्ष पुरानी बात है। नजीरों दाहिने और बायें तरफ की है। दाहिना बायां फ्रांस की संसद में एक शब्द निकला था और फिर बहुत से लोगों ने दाहिना बायां ले लिया। दाहिने बायें का तखल्लुम चल गया सारी दुनिया में—दाहिना बायां, दाहिना बायां, दाहिना बायां इस देश में बायें का बड़ा महत्व है। बायां हिस्सा जो वामांग है वह सब से अच्छा माना जाता है। तो कोई बायें का अपमान तो कर ही नहीं सकता। अब भूपेश जी बायें का क्या मतलब लगाते हैं यह उन पर निर्भर करता है, वह जो चाहें लगा सकते हैं, लेकिन जिस संदर्भ में वह बायें दाहिने की बात कह रहे हैं वह आज के ऐतिहासिक संदर्भ में आक्सलीट हो चुकी है, वह चीज दकियानूसी हो चुकी है, वह सारा कथानक इतिहास की वस्तु हो गया है। जिन बड़े बड़े मोनोपोली हाउसेज की बात कही गयी और जो वह कह रहे हैं उन का यह सदन सम्मान करता है या यह सरकार सम्मान करती है और उस के हिसाब से यथासंभव वह आचरण भी करती है। उसके

[श्री जगदीश जोशी]

एक नहीं अनेक प्रमाण हैं, लेकिन जिन लोगों ने सबसे बड़ा प्रहार इस सारी व्यवस्था पर किया, जिन्होंने सारी दुनिया की क्रान्ति की रोशनी दी उन देशों को भी राक फेलर और फोर्ड्स को दावत देनी पड़ी अपने देश के आर्थिक पुनर्निर्माण के लिए। यह तथ्य है और यह इतिहास के तथ्य हैं। इन तथ्यों को आज नकारा नहीं जा सकता। एक कंगाल मुल्क की हर बात पर अगर मोनोपोली कैपिटलिज्म, हर बात पर एडवंचरिज्म, हर बात पर पूंजीवाद, हर बात पर रिएक्शनरी कह देना बहुत आसान है। हम बहुत गरीब लोग हैं, बहुत टूटे हुए देश हैं और सैकड़ों सालों की गुलामी से निकले हुए मुल्क हैं। आज आप हमारे ऊपर उंगली उठा सकते हैं पुरानी दर्शन की पुस्तकों को लेकर, लेकिन दर्शन के बनाने वालों ने आज जो आर्थिक विकास का नया ढंग, नया चरण उठाया है उस की तरफ आंख बंद कर के समाज नहीं चल सकता है। पीछे देखू समाज बनने से काम नहीं चलेगा। बगल देखू समाज बनने से भी काम नहीं चलेगा, आगे देखू समाज बन कर कदम उठाना पड़ेगा। समय कहां जा रहा है, मुल्क कहां जा रहा है, देश कहां जा रहा है, कौन क्या कर रहा है। कई बार सुनाई पड़ता है मोनोपोली कैपिटलिज्म लेकिन इस देश में पूंजी है कहां? जो थोड़े से लोगों के पास है उसको राज्य को देखना चाहिए। लेकिन जो शक्ति है जो कुशलता है उसका संग्रह करना अनिवार्य है इस देश के अन्दर। उसका संग्रह आप नहीं करेंगे तो फिर आपको दूसरों पर अवलंबित रहना पड़ेगा सारे औद्योगीकरण के लिए, सारे विकास के लिए। आप उनको मुनाफा मत कमाने दो, लेकिन जो मेघायें हैं उनका सही इस्तेमाल करने की शक्ति पैदा करो तब यह देश चल सकता है। अगर ऐसी कोई तकनीक होती तो वह समझा जा सकता है, लेकिन व्यक्ति द्वेष से राजनीति नहीं चल सकती है देश नहीं चल सकता है। बड़े आदर्शों को लेकर चलने वाले लोग, बड़ी चीजों को लेकर चलने वाले छोटे और संकुल हृदय के लोग आगे की

योजनाओं को बनाने में असमर्थ हो जाया करते हैं। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस हड़ताल के प्रश्न को एक परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखना चाहिए।

जो रबी राय जी ने कहा है बहुत साफ ढंग में कहा है, गो कि उन्होंने अपनी टूटी फटी भाषा में कहा, वह अहिन्दी भाषी है, लेकिन बहुत शक्ति के साथ कुछ मुद्दों को प्रतिपादित किया है। जो इश्यूज हैं उनको सामने लाने की कोशिश की है। लेकिन भूपेश गुप्ता जी इतने अधिक भावावेश में थे सारी बातें एक धारा में नहीं आ सकी कई चीजों को तोड़कर समझना पड़ा। उन्होंने कई बातें कहीं। मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इंग्लैंड की बात माननीय रबी राय और भूपेश जी दोनों ने कही है दोनों ने कहा कि इंग्लैंड में कोयले की हड़ताल हुई, एक आदमी पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि पश्चिम के किस मजदूर आन्दोलन में सेवोटान हुआ है? फ्रांस, ब्रिटेन, जर्मनी, नार्वे, स्वीडन और अमरीका को लीजिए, कभी किसी मजदूर आन्दोलन ने दुनिया के, मजदूर संगठन में अपने देश की शिकायत करने की जुर्रत की? वह देश ऐसा नहीं किया करते। मैं सुनना चाहता था कि रूस की, जर्मनी की, चकोस्लोवेकिया की, पोलैंड की, चीन की बातें, वहां के मजदूर आन्दोलन की बातें क्योंकि मेरा दिल, दिमाग और हृदय उनके साथ है जो समाजवादी क्रान्ति के हिस्से रहे हैं भले ही कुछ प्रयोगों में हमारे और उनके विचारों में थोड़ा फर्क हो। लेकिन वह कैसे पैदावार करते हैं? क्या वह भी हड़तालों को तरजीह देते हैं। जो वहां गये हैं, मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि वह वहां क आर्थिक साधनों को जोड़ कर बताएं। ब्रिटेन की बात कहना बहुत आसान होगा, फ्रांस की बात कहना, जर्मनी की बात कहना बहुत आसान होगा। लेकिन रूस, पोलैंड और अमरीका जैसे किसी देश की प्रति व्यक्ति आमदनी, न्यूनतम आमदनी और एक श्रमिक की आमदनी, इन तमाम फर्कों को भी देखना पड़ेगा। वहां के आर्थिक साधनों को भी देखना पड़ेगा, औद्योगीकरण

को भी देखना पड़ेगा, राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति को भी देखना पड़ेगा और वहां के अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्धों को भी देखना पड़ेगा। तब जाकर वहां के श्रमिक आन्दोलनों की परम्पराओं से आप इस देश की तुलना कर सकते हैं। केवल कपोल कल्पनाओं से आप वहां की बातें नहीं कह सकते। हर बात में विलायत की नज़ीर सुनने को मिल जाती है। मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान का आदमी थोड़े दिनों तक इस देश के अन्दर एक नज़ीर ढूंढने की कोशिश करे, इस जमीन के नीचे में कोई चीज तलाशने की कोशिश करे तो यह मुल्क बन सकता है। अगर थेम्स नदी के किनारे, पो नदी के किनारे या मिशिगन के किनारे ये चीजें तलाशने की कोशिश करेंगे तो इस देश की धरती नहीं बन सकेगी। इस देश की संस्कृति और औद्योगीकरण बनना मुश्किल होगा।

इसलिए मैं आपसे निवेदन कर रहा था कि जब आप ब्रिटेन की नज़ीर दें तो उसके साथ अपने देश की आर्थिक, भौगोलिक संदर्भ को भी सामने रखकर देखना पड़ेगा। मैं आपसे निवेदन कर रहा था कि मुझे रेल मंत्री जी से गिना इस बात की है कि उनको कोई आवश्यकता नहीं थी कि मजदूर नेताओं को बुलाकर वह निर्णय करते।

जब रेलवे बोर्ड आटोनामस वाडी बन गया है, वह गलत या सही और रेलवे बोर्ड का जो चेयरमैन है—हो सकता है भूपेश जी उन पर अपनी अलग राय दें—जिसे भारत सरकार ने नियुक्त किया है, वह अयोग्य है या योग्य, इस बात पर वहस नहीं करनी चाहिए। उस आदमी पर यकीन करना चाहिए और यकीन करके सारी बातचीत रेलवे मंत्रालय के माध्यम से की जानी चाहिए।

आपने देखा होगा रेल मंत्री जी अपनी उदारता से, राजनीतिक उदारता के भाव में तमाम लोगों को बुला लेते हैं और बुलाने के बाद बात शुरू

हो जाती है। बातचीत की टेबल खुल जाती है जब वहसें हो रही हों, वहस के दौरान नेगोसिएशन चल रहे हो, चर्चाएं चल रही हों और अभी यह तय न हो कि सरकार की नीति क्या होगी तब आपकी ओर में ब्यान जाता है कि हड़ताल 8 तारीख को जरूर होगी। दुनिया की कोई ताकत हड़ताल को रोक नहीं सकती। बात भी चल रही है और हड़ताल का फैसला भी चल रहा है, अजीब माहौल है।

जब पहली तारीख को जार्ज साहब गिरपतार हुए तब आपने लखनऊ में जाकर शरण मांगी और शरण भी मांगी अंतर्राष्ट्रीय ट्रांसपोर्ट वर्कर्स फ़ेडरेशन से। यह तां गज और गिरह वाली बात हुई। मैं आपको एक किस्सा सुनाना चाहता हूं। एक हाथी था उसको पकड़ा मगर ने और जब वह पकड़ा गया तब चिल्लाने लगा : 'भगवान बचाओ, बचाओ'। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हाथी कभी भी अपना शरीर नहीं देता। जब भी वह पकड़ा जाता है भगवान को ही पुकारता है। इस देश में भी इनकी यही हालत है। जब इनको अपने देश में कोई ताकत नहीं मिली तो विदेशी ताकत को बुला लाए। उनको यह कहा गया कि इस देश की सरकार तानाशाह है इसलिए फौरन हमारी रक्षा कीजिए। पता नहीं इन्होंने उथांट साहब, जो कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के महासचिव हैं, को तार दिया या नहीं, या मुरक्षा परिषद को खबर भेजी गई या नहीं कि आप रेलवे हड़ताल में हस्तक्षेप करें।

मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि जब आप तोड़ फोड़ की कार्रवाई कराएं तो क्या मंत्री महोदय इनको न रोकें। गाड़ियों को उलटने पलटने दें, कारखानों को टूटने दें और उसक लिए कोई कार्रवाई न करें। अगर इसके बावजूद भी कोई कार्रवाई की गई है तो मैं समझता हूं कि वह बिल्कुल नगण्य है, न्यूनतम है मुझे फिर भी इतमीनान है रेलवे मंत्रालय और भारत सरकार दोनों सहिष्णु और दयालु हैं।

[श्री जगदीश जोशी]

मैं थोड़े अंश में दुःसाहस करके कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह इतने दबैल है कि वे इनमें से अधिकांश लोगों को क्षमा करेंगे।

आप जानते हैं कि हम लोगों की बात तो सुनी नहीं जाती क्योंकि हमारा समय भी उधर के लोग ले लेते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह लोकतंत्र कतई नहीं है। उस तरफ अगर कोई आदमी बोलने लगता है तो 25-25 मिनट बोलता रहता है तब भी हमें कोई गिला नहीं रहती, हमारे लोगों का तकलीफ नहीं होती इस सारे संदर्भ को देखते हुए जो भी निर्णय रेल मंत्रालय ने अभी तक किया है वह बिल्कुल नगण्य है। मुझे उम्मीद है वे दया और कृपा के बल पर, जिन लोगों के केस आते जाएंगे उनको क्षमा करते जाएंगे। मैं सिर्फ एक बात अंत में कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक बार फिर भूपेश गुप्त जी को मौका दे दिया जाए ताकि वे अपनी वेदना का प्रकटीकरण कर सकें।

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, before I come to the subject proper, I must make one clarification. Approaching the International Transport Workers Federation is not tantamount to seeking foreign intervention. Otherwise, India's membership of the United Nations also would be treated as such. So, that misunderstanding should not be there.

Sir, you must have been amused at the bravado of some of the Members on that side. All of us know that the strike was imposed upon the Railway employees, who wanted a negotiated settlement with the Railway Ministry. We also know that there was no sabotage or violence anywhere in the country. So, the strike was nationwide and continued for 20 days in some places it was for more than 20 days for which the Railway employees should have been congratulated by the other side. We also know that while the railway employees went in for industrial action, the Government greeted them with semi-military operation and tried to crush them as if it was an army of China or Pakistan, and not their own brethren, flesh of their flesh

and blood of their blood. And then, our friends on that side boasted here of suppressing the railway strike as if they have suppressed a rebellion or a revolution. It is quixotic. Sir, you must have heard the story of Don Quixote as you are well versed in all these things. Now, the Government has said that the strike was illegal and technically they can say so. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You said that he is well-versed with Don Quixote. I think, after having seen exhibition of Mr. L. N. Mishra, he must have forgotten this story.

SHRI D. THENGARI: He has out-Quixoted Quixote.

Sir, this strike has been declared as illegal. Yesterday, I was surprised to hear from Mr. Qureshi that it was illegal because the strike ballot was not taken on the demands for which the strike was launched. In the first place, this is a misrepresentation or a misunderstanding because whatever might be said in the course of negotiations, one thing is certain that the demands for which the strike was launched were precisely the demands for which the strike ballot was taken. That is one thing. Apart from that, I want to know whether according to the hon. Minister the strike would have been legal had the strike ballot been taken afresh on the same demands because, according to us, the strike became illegal as there was a Notification from the President that the railways are the essential services. And on the strength of that Notification, it was declared illegal. Does the hon. Minister mean to say that had the strike ballot been taken, notwithstanding the Notification by the President, the strike would have been considered as legal? Against this background, I want to ask, can there be any occasion or any period or any circumstance under which the railwaymen in our country would have an opportunity to stage a legal strike because, every time when there is a likelihood of a strike by the railwaymen, some such notification by the President would be there. And, therefore, virtually the railway employees have been deprived of their legitimate trade union rights because strike is a legitimate trade union right. And I would like the

hon. Minister to specify the circumstances under which they will have an opportunity to stage a legal strike.

Now, Sir I will not go into all the details of the Government action during the strike. But I should like to inform the House that even after the strike was called off, victimisation is persisting. Yesterday I said, and it was not contradicted by either of the Ministers, that on July 18, the services of four lady employees of Tinsukia in Assam were terminated while there was no sabotage or violence in the vicinity. And in mid-July, the services of three members of the running staff in Kanpur were terminated. And there are reports from other places also. Sir, the hon. Minister has given some information about victimisation. But, it is not a total picture of victimisation. He has gone on technicalities. Only the number of dismissed employees has been given by the hon. Minister. It was ten thousand and odd. But, Sir, victimisation comprises not only dismissal but removal, termination, discharge, compulsory retirement, discontinuance without any sort of communication, etc. Now, Sir, if the Members of Parliament inquire as to what is the total number of dismissed employees, they are not going into the technicality of difference between removal and termination and discharge and dismissal. They want to know the total picture of victimisation. But, standing on technicality, only the number of dismissed employees has been given which is not only inaccurate and incomplete but misrepresents the total picture. To give one example only, in the Ajmer Division, in this month, i.e., two months after the strike is over, notices for compulsory retirement have been served on about 180 employees. Now, Sir, according to rules, it is true that there can be compulsory retirement and notices can be given but I would like to know when that rule was made. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had assured that it would be used very sparingly and only in cases of corruption and gross inefficiency and in cases of danger to national security. But, in the case of these 180 employees it has not been proved that either they suffered from corruption or gross inefficiency or that they constituted danger to national security. Not even a committee for scrutinising their cases was constituted.

Arbitrarily they were served with notices for compulsory retirement which is also as much victimisation as dismissal.

Now, Sir, the Railway Establishment Code says that transfers should not be ordered by way of punishment and here, after the strike, a large number of employees have been transferred without rhyme or reason by way of punishment.

SHRI MONOANJAN ROY (West Bengal): They will say that it was done for administrative purposes.

SHRI D. THENGARI: It is a convention that transfer in the same grade can be ordered normally before the academic year starts. But, after the strike there have been large-scale transfers even before the commencement of the academic year. Even gangmen, who are normally not transferred, are being transferred. The implication of this should be properly understood. In the case of certain Divisions, transfers within the same Division also mean inter-State transfers. Take, for instance, Ratlam Division. It comprises areas from three States—Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. So, the medium of instruction, text books, curriculum, etc. changes. This certainly causes great hardship to the children of the employees.

Now, in the event of a transfer, the administration has to give Rs. 200 to each employee and they are giving it. This is an unnecessary expenditure on the part of the administration and it is only to satisfy the personal vendetta of some of the officials. All these cases should have been gone into by the Railway Ministry.

Sir, the extent of vindictiveness can be understood by the fact that there are cases where people have been dismissed on the ground of having gone on strike while, in fact, they were arrested before the commencement of the strike. That will just give the idea as to how vindictiveness is playing its own part.

Sir, there are cases of employees who have been refused permission to occupy their quarters during the pendency of their appeals. While the appeals are pending, employees are employees and as such they should be allowed to occupy their residential

[Shri D. Thengari]

quarters. But, they are being evicted, thrown out bed and baggage though their appeals are still pending. There are also cases where employees were thrown out. Again they were asked, giving a latitude, to re-occupy their residences and once again they are served with notices that before 15th of August they must quit; otherwise they will be thrown out forcibly.

Sir, we had in this House and also, in the other House reported a number of cases of police atrocities. Even there were man-handling of females in railway colonies but no enquiry has been instituted in all such atrocities which any civilized Government should have done by now.

Sir, after the strike though it has been said by the Railway Minister that the railways constitute one family, he is just ahead of the family of the railway employees and now the free movement of railway employees, which was a normal feature till the strike has been restricted. They are not allowed to move. You will be wonder struck, Sir, they are not allowed to move out of the office buildings or workshop buildings even during lunch hours. Virtually, they are prisoners during office hours. The employees were normally required to mark their attendance once in a day but they are required to mark their attendance thrice i.e. at 10 a.m., at 13.35 hours and at 17 hours. Probably, as some psychologist said that whatever is in sub-conscious mind is revealed by unconscious gestures. A very significant gesture has been there in Delhi that the boundary walls of the office of the Divisional Superintendent at New Delhi have been raised after the strike further by six to ten feet. Probably they are strengthening the walls between themselves and the employees. Names of all the employees attending gate meetings are noted and reported by railway intelligence. At Jagadhari some employees are being charge-sheeted for attending gate meetings which is a normal trade union right.

Sir, there was no system of appealing in 1960 and 1968. Now this appeal system has been introduced. But in appeals it was decided, we were told, that no humiliation would be inflicted upon the employees. It

was a gentleman's agreement that what is to be given in writing should be that I have been dutiful and I will continue to be dutiful; I have been loyal and I will continue to be loyal in future. But in practice, in order to break the morale of the re-instated workers, they are compelled to write something humiliating. Those whose break-in service has been condoned after due consideration are also forced to give similar humiliating undertakings. I may say with confidence that the number of those suffering from break in service was much higher than 2.5 lakhs when the Minister declared that figure on the floor of the House. Subsequently, the officials had to hurry up the process of condoning in order to bring down the number to 2.5 lakhs. In the process, they got this in writing from the poor employees mere as a face saving device for themselves.

Sir, personal venom of officials is playing havoc in appeals. The cases are rejected in spite of earlier clearance after scrutiny.

According to the policy now 'hard core' is to be kept out but what is 'hard core'? In a number of cases, we know, important office-bearers are being taken back while ordinary workers are kept out just to satisfy the sense of personal revenge. With whomsoever they have quarrels, officers are keeping them out and some of them are described as 'hard core', the others as black-listed but it is just venom and nothing else.

5 P.M.

Quite unusually the SPs and District Magistrates have been required to consult the D. S. of Railways for the purpose of finalising as to which cases should be withdrawn in spite of the fact that the group of workers is charge-sheeted and, apart from F. I. R. earlier screening by the Departmental Security Officer and Police Department, nothing new can now be added. Even there are cases in which the entire group thus charge-sheeted is categorised for being taken back and then, subsequently, a few of them have been omitted on the advice of railway officials. For example, at Agra, two employees, Ranbir Singh and Man Singh, have been left out deliberately, while the entire group, whose members were

charge-sheeted together, has been taken back. Temporary staff, who can be taken back, have been deliberately kept out, describing them as casual or substitutes. In workshops or open lines there can be no substitutes. Still they are so described and maliciously kept out. Preferential treatment to the so-called loyal workers in bound to create a permanent division among employees, which is not in the interests of the smooth running of the administration. Recently there has been *en masse* upgradation of officers, while simultaneously reduction has been effected in certain categories such as stenographers, etc. I should like to know whether the Labour Ministry has become defunct so far as railway officials are concerned. It is not functioning in the normal way. R.L.Cs. are not taking cognisance of the complaints of railway employees. P.N.M. meetings are not being held and thus all the doors are closed. This is bound to aggravate discontent further.

It is very unfortunate and unusual that the Railway Ministry is trying to interfere in the democratic trade union movement. You will be surprised to hear that at every level, from top to bottom, the office-bearers of the recognised unions are told that they must throw out Mr. George Fernandes from the Presidentship of AIRF. Otherwise, victimisation will not be withdrawn. I must say that this is quite undemocratic and dictatorial. It is for the workers to decide who should be their President. Still I should like to announce here that if the legitimate demands of the workers are met, i.e., all the arrested persons are released; the victims' families are compensated; all victimisation is withdrawn; all the notices for the de-recognition of unions are withdrawn, negotiations with the NCCRS are resumed, if all these demands are conceded by the Railway Ministry, here and now M. George Fernandes is prepared to resign from the Presidentship of AIRF. I want to know from the Government whether they are prepared to concede these legitimate demands, instead of interfering like a totalitarian State in the democratic trade union rights of the railway employees. Thank you.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA SHANKAR ADVAREKAR (Maharashtra): Sir, the railway

strike ended in a rather unexpected manner than visualised by its organisers and so it looks that the opposition Members are extremely agitated over the outcome of it and the consequences of it. Nobody denies the role of trade unions or its right to go on strike. Trade unions are meant to agitate for better conditions of work for their workers and demand and protest when necessary. Strike is a weapon to be used sparingly and as a last resort. But recently the railwaymen have made it a regular practice to go on strike very frequently. The last strike was the most unprecedented one at a time when the country was passing through a very critical economic crisis. But those expert critics of the Government and its economic policies, leading to innumerable hardships to the common man were the first to forget the interests of the country or its people. To them the national loss or the common man's hardships had no consideration, when they so loudly gave a nation-wide call for strike. Sir, do we not all know what irreparable damage the strike has done to our country? India's rail network is literally our lifeline. The call to strangle this lifeline was most unfortunate and most ill-timed. This has crippled all our industries, large or small, for want of fuel, for want of raw materials. Sir, about 60 per cent of India's materials are carried by goods trains. Once need not be an economist to imagine what could have been its wider impact if the Government had not decided to take timely steps.

It is a well-known fact that it was with deep reluctance that the Government intervened, not in the traditional way to appease the opposition party leaders but in the most effective way, to reduce the impact of this most uncalled for strike. The massive walk-outs by railwaymen and the stopping of thousands of trains have threatened the country with devastating economic dislocation that one can ever think of. It was not just the stopping of the trains. But, Sir, it was the stopping of our country's economy. When our country is reeling under rising prices, high inflation, shortages of essential commodities, was this call of strike justifiable? The

[Shrimati Sushila Shanker Adivarekar]

Government knew that under no circumstances could it allow any such move to paralyse the economy.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur in the Chair)]

The Government which is always known for its extremely lenient and sympathetic attitude towards the workers and their trade unions had to deviate a bit from the usual course by taking a real firm stand. This move represents a decisive break from the past practices, especially when the opposition leaders were not in a mood to concede any persuasive and negotiating methods. No doubt, Sir, there were a number of economic grievances of the railway workers which required solution and attention. But it is also equally true that the Government was not in a position to afford to pay the total emoluments that were demanded. The opposition leaders, instead of pressing the workers to work hard to increase the productivity of the country, to fight inflation, etc. chose the path to make political gain out of it. In other words, I may say that it was nothing short of political adventurism.

Sir, it was for the first time that the opposition parties and their trade unions were facing a resolute Government, and that is the real harsh truth for all the bitterness and rancour and so, these talks about victimisation and intimidation. But really the story has the other side to it. The opposition leaders were touring and inciting the railway staff to violence and acts of sabotage. And there were a number of such acts that were reported, like placing of boulders, logs and explosives on the railway track and also the harassment of the workers who were not prepared to participate in or associate with the strike. When the strike organisers were planning such massive sabotaging activities, did they ever take into consideration the safety of the travelling public? What can the Government do in these circumstances except to arrest them and take disciplinary action against those who indulged in unlawful activities? It just cannot allow this to pass as unnoticed in the larger interest of the country. Which Government in the world can sit with folded hands silently witnessing the drama of dragging the country to-

wards chaos and misery to millions of people? Sir, I earnestly wish that these opposition Members and other leaders of the strike had been the victims of this situation and had travelled along with the other lakhs of citizens of Bombay and other cities in trucks, buses, tempos, etc. with all the inconveniences and the hazards to life, not to speak about the tremendous suffering of women and children travelling in open trucks in sun and rain. Sir, we just do not know what the nation has lost during this strike. It might be colossal in terms of production. But when these people were planning to jeopardise the industries of the country, did they ever think of the plight of a poor self-employed person like a hawker or a shoe-shine boy or even a singer or a beggar who has to depend on his meagre daily earnings?

There is a lot of talk by the strike organisers about the repressive measures adopted by the Government and the police excesses in the railway colonies to harass the workers and their families. After the strike failed to achieve the desired results, these types of talks have become the face-saving device. The just and ordinary actions of the Government against any violent activity are criticised by them. But they conveniently forget what assaults and humiliation they have inflicted upon the workers who reported for duty during the strike. Just because their genuine desire was to keep the wheels of the railway moving so that the economy of the country is not stranded. The Opposition Members also forget that the militant elements of the strikers have also left a saga of sad stories of their behaviour which I need not narrate. And even today we read and hear about labour leaders still exhorting the railwaymen to violate the law and adopt go-slow tactics.

One side, Sir, they have to indulge into practising all that is anti-national and on the other side they are keen to criticise the Government for its, just, appropriate actions by naming it as victimisation, harassment etc. How far this game of face-saving is to continue? The people have no sympathy with them and that has been proved during the strike. It is always true

that when you overplay your part and when you repeat your actions too often, it loses its charm, it loses its importance and, of all the things, it loses the sympathy of the public that you want to win. No doubt the Government has given assurance that it is prepared to look very sympathetically into the cases and even set an inquiry where there is any justification about it. Sir, I can in my own humble way only appeal to the Opposition Members that instead of being critical for political reasons let us all strive together to meet this critical crisis of the country as this is our real prestige issue.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, I do not give any credence to the public announcement of either the Prime Minister herself or our Railway Minister. The Prime Minister said that they had no intention to crush either the strike or to victimise any employee. Sir, the Railway Minister on 24-7-74 told in Lok Sabha that "there was no question of victimisation at all". I do not know what he means by victimisation. The dictionary shall have to give a different meaning. Also he said that except those who had been convicted all others would be taken back and had been taken back. I am not saying this on my own. This is from the synopsis of the debate in the Lok Sabha over the No-Confidence Motion.

Sir, I would give the latest figures that I could collect till 1st August, 1974 pertaining to only one Division. This is in respect of the Eastern Railway:—

Division	Removal	Reinstated	Removal as on 1-8-74
Headquarters ..	89	44	45
Howrah Division	854	428	426
Sealdah Divn. ..	472	178	294
Asansol ..	252	23	229
Dhanbad ..	74	21	253
Danapur ..	674	33	614
Jamalpur Workshop	17	Nil	17
Kanchrapara W.S.	20	3	17
Lilooang W.S. ..	43	4	39
Mugalsarai Plant Depot	17	Nil	17
	2,512	734	1,778
Casual labour dismissed	4,476
Reinstated	Nil
Total removed— permanent and casual=6,254 as on 1-8-74			

And he says that they had all been taken back. Sir, I will now show the attitude of the Railway Ministry, the Government of India and the Prime Minister herself. We are living in a mad house. The workers are being dealt with by the mad house itself, I would say. The attitude is not only vindictive, but it is sadistic. How are they carrying out their guidelines? The Divisional Mechanical Engineer (P), Chakradharpur (SER) in his confidential letter No Con/MP/EMER/74, dated July 6, 1974, advises his loco Foremen that the appeals submitted by the staff could not be considered because "the same were not apologetic and proper" and circulated a sample copy of appeal which the employees were asked to submit. I would ask the Railway Minister to hear me and tell us whether this is their guideline, this is their attitude and policy. This sample appeal reads:

"I was totally misguided and misled over the issue . . ."

This is to be written by the permanent worker who has been removed from service.

" . . . and declare that I did not have any subversive motive behind my absence. I was totally out of my mind . . ."

If it is not a mad house, why should they have written like that?

" . . . and had no control over my thought".

This is to be written by a removed employee because he took part in the absolutely legal strike. The strike was forced upon the heads of the workers and they were forced to go on strike. Now they will have to write:

"I was totally out of my mind and had no control over my thought and therefore resorted to erroneous methods . . . I firmly declare that in future I will not take part in any such strike".

In regard to break in service, another form has been circulated in which the employees concerned have to give reasons for their absence with documentary evidence like sickness certificate, etc., and state that they

[Shri Manoranjan Roy]

had no intention to join the illegal strike. It should have been "join any strike" because the strike was not illegal under the existing law of the land, under the Industrial Disputes Act which should guide the workers and also the employers. For getting the break in service condoned, he shall have to write that he "solemnly assures that in future he would not join any illegal strike and give any cause for complaints against his behaviour or performance". If this is not a slave condition, I do not know what a slave condition is. In future, he should give no cause for any complaint against his behaviour or performance.

Now, Sir, there was a circular that as far as the casual labourers were concerned, they should be taken back because the tracks continued to remain unsafe. Then the casual labourers who were almost regular, were asked to forgo their wages, their status, and work as daily labourers, thereby reducing their wages by Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per month. That is another condition for casual labourers to be condoned and be reinstated as daily labourers.

Then, Sir, I would cite another circular. In a joint circular No .ELS(T)/3/4/ dated June 15, 1974, issued in the Adra Division (SER), the authorities planned to run trains without brake-vans and without even guards. That is most dangerous. A letter was sent by one of the Lok Sabha Members, Mr. Samar Mukherjee to the Railway Minister in this connection.

Because of a mass deputation in Tatanagar, a number of workers were charge-sheeted and dismissed. After the strike was withdrawn, a member of the Staff Council, A. Dilli, has been dismissed from service on July 10 for an offence allegedly committed by him in 1972. Is it not a mad house? Now I would read out another circular. The people who have been evicted from their quarters include not only those who have been removed from service but those who are in service till now; they have also been removed from their quarters. I do not know under what rule they do it. The District Judge of Jalpaiguri during the strike period delivered a judgement declaring eviction illegal. Despite that, they are doing it. Do they care for the law of the land? Do they

care for the judgment of the courts? Did they go to the High Court and the Supreme Court for eviction of the workers? No. They have got the force and they are doing these things. The Divisional Superintendent of Chakradharpur, wrote a confidential letter to the Superintendent, Railway Police—vide letter No. GKP/COM/1/74 dated July, 1974—stating—there was a small deputation of the workers against illegal victimisation, illegal transfers, mass transfers and illegal promotions; because of that this confidential letter was written by the Divisional Superintendent, Chakradharpur, to the Superintendent of Railway Police, Tatanagar—"Soon this will swell into a bigger demonstration and a bigger issue unless immediately their plans are nipped in the bud". You see the audacity of this man to write this letter. He writes that the rights of the workers should be nipped in the bud. "I would, therefore, be grateful if you could kindly take necessary action to see that these men do not come in groups anywhere near the station premises or any other workshop". The railway authorities are also using all sorts of nefarious and vicious words and instigating the workers. I would like you to note this from the Loco Foreman, Steam Loco Shed, Tatanagar. In a top confidential DO letter dated June 1, he asked for transfer of sixteen workers on the ground that "anti-national elements"—the workers—were mixed with political parties like the CPM and tried their best to collapse the Steam Loco Shed. Since when is the CPM declared as an illegal party? Even now the CPM is the major Opposition Party in the Lok Sabha, it is the biggest Opposition group in the Lok Sabha. And this petty officer has got the check to write that railway workers are mixed with CPM workers and so they should be transferred immediately because they are a danger to the administration. Yes, the railway workers are dangerous to the bureaucrats, to this Ministry. There is no doubt about it. That is why these bureaucrats are taking all sorts of steps against the railway workers. I want a reply from the Minister as to what authority that Foreman or that Assistant Foreman got to write such things in such a language. Is it the Prime Minister's reaction that if railway workers are mixing with the CPM, they should be immediately transferred or

dismissed? Is it your direction that only they should mix with Congressmen and should be enrolled with the Congress? What is your reaction? I am giving you the numbers and dates of these confidential letters. You please inquire into them and let me know. Please tell me how this man got the audacity to write like that. I may tell you still workers are being hounded, still warrants are kept in abeyance and workers are being searched here and there; still workers are being arrested. Victimisation is continuing. Large-scale transfers, demotions and all sorts of things are taking place. Everyday more and more workers are put in jail. That is how they are dealing with workers. Sir, the Divisional Superintendent and General Manager now boast that they have got the power in their hands. The District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent have been asked by the Home Minister here in the Centre that all arrests or release should be done in consultation with the Divisional Superintendent or the officer incharge of the Railways and according to their directions. So far as railwaymen are concerned, the officers can get any man arrested and keep him in prison for months and months, if not years. This is the condition under which the railways are now working. And the Minister says normalcy has come. What specimen of normalcy has come? Yesterday I was coming by Kalka Mail. In the First Class there was no light and there was no switch. The poor workers tried to rectify it. But what could they do? There was no connection at all. The battery was exhausted. With that battery the train started. This is the condition of all the trains. Late running of trains has become usual. It has become normal. Not only the railwaymen but the passengers are also being harassed and put under all sorts of inconveniences. They will continue to harass them if they think of doing this. What they do is all illegal because under the law of the land, the Industrial Disputes Act, the railwaymen gave notice. But you forced them to go on strike. Shri Mishra himself announced in the House that stoppage of 200 trains long before the strike started was his strategy in the ensuing fight. That was his declaration of war on the workers. This strategy put a number of passengers to unheard of diffi-

culties. After that you declared another war by clamping DIR on the workers. This could be done only in an emergency. But you declared that the strike was illegal and threatened the workers that they would be arrested under the DIR and not under the ordinary law of the land. What authority you had to declare such a strike illegal? Could you not have talked to the workers? But you did not prefer to do that. They wanted only a paltry sum. I will give some figures. Due to this strike how much did the country lose? The Minister said in the Lok Sabha that the loss was about Rs. 60 crores. But it was much more than that and the country lost Rs. 600 crores. The workers wanted only Rs. 350 crores. But that the Railway Administration and the anti-working class Government would not give anything to the workers. I would read out what some of the capitalist countries have given to their workers when the prices have gone up. These figures will show how the wages of workers have gone up. In the United States during the last five years the prices rose by 25 per cent. The wages rose by 37.5 per cent; In U.K. prices rose by 45 per cent; the wages rose by 67.5 per cent; In France prices rose by 32.5 per cent; Salaries rose by 65 per cent. In Italy prices increased by 47.5 per cent; the salaries went up by 62 per cent. In Belgium prices rose by 10 per cent; but salaries went up by 75 per cent; in West Germany prices went by 37.5 per cent; but the wages went up by 40 per cent; in Canada the prices rose by 37 per cent; the wages of workers went up by 45 per cent; in Australia prices went up by 30 per cent and the wages were increased by 52 per cent; in Japan the prices went up by 40 per cent and the wages were increased by 87.5 per cent; and in India prices rose by 125 to 300 per cent during the last decade. And, Sir, in India, the workers' wages were raised from 20 per cent to 30 per cent only! It is a matter of shame for those people and the Government who call themselves as progressive people and progressive Government. Sir, in this connection, I would like to reiterate the demands of the railwaymen here. They go on speaking anything but truth inside the House and outside. Sir, they say that they have accepted six demands. Firstly, they talk about the Miabhoi Tribunal. Are they not ashamed

[Shri Manoranjan Roy]

over the fact that two years ago when the award came they kept silent and sat tight over it? The Tribunal's award was not in the demands of the railwaymen. Was it a demand? Not at all. But they say that they have accepted the award of the Tribunal and thus say that they have accepted one of the demands! What about the demand for eight-hour work? It was never the demand of the NCCRS with whom they have been talking and who gave the call for the strike for the removal of anomaly only. Their demand was for job evaluation outside the scope of the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission. It was not accepted and not a single demand has been accepted. Then the demand was for subsidised ration shops in every railway area so that the railway employees can be assured of their foodgrains and also at a subsidised rate. This was not accepted and instead the Railway Board is supposed to have accepted the question of fair price shops. Then, what about bonus? I have explained how in the capitalist countries they have increased their wages and here how they have decreased their real wages. Sir, in conclusion, I would like to reiterate my demands:

Start negotiations with the NCCRS immediately and unconditionally; withdraw all warrants; release all those people who have been arrested unconditionally; reinstate all the victimised employees; revoke all the transfer orders; and pay compensation to the families whose womenfolk have been injured and who have been beaten up brutally and whose properties have been looted.

Sir, a girl of 14 years of age of Kancharpara, Krishna Chatterji by name, of the City Bazar Workshop Colony was attacked. On the 16th of May, 1974, Sir, she was brutally assaulted and the hair on her head was torn and the whole head was full of blood and she had to be taken to the hospital in an unconscious state! Who did that? It was the goonda elements who were sent by you and the police forces were behind them. This is a fact. Can you deny that? I have given the name of the girl and you can make an inquiry and tell us how she was sent to the hospital and why. Her mother, while she was bathing, was beaten tip and taken in that condition to the police

station and while being taken to the police station, she was being dragged almost naked. A number of women who were related to the railway employees as mothers or sisters or wives were also beaten up and sent to the hospitals in a number of places in Assam, in North Bengal, in the NF Railway, in the Eastern Railway and the South-Eastern Railway Zones and also at other places and their properties were looted. When they were evicted from their houses, Sir, their properties were also looted and, therefore, every such family must be compensated for this. This should be done if they want normalcy to be restored. But I know that neither the Railway Board nor the Government is interested in bringing normalcy. They do not bother about the loss of money because it is the tax-payer's money and they need not bother. They are thriving on black money and they are sitting here in the Parliament and in the Ministry only because of black money and they can use it in the elections and they are not afraid of the people today. But the people will show them the road. Mr. L. N. Mishra, if you want really normalcy to be restored, which I doubt very much, you have to do what I have asked for. But you do not want normalcy. Otherwise, you would not have brought forward the many Ordinances one after another and every Ordinance hits the people and the working-class people will not tolerate for long and you should be aware of it. I warn that if you continue with this, you will have to face the consequences in the future and you must know that every action has its reaction and you will have to face the consequences if you do not accept the demands that we have put forward. These are all very simple demands. Bring normalcy and start negotiations. Thank you, Sir.

श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन् पिछली रेलवे की हड़ताल देश के लिये एक दुखद घटना है और हम आज इस सदन में इस हड़ताल पर विचार कर रहे हैं तो मेरी दृष्टि से अच्छा यह होता कि हम शान्ति से विचार करते और उस के अन्दर बहुत ज्यादा गर्मी पैदा करने का प्रयास जो हमारे विरोध पक्ष के कुछ मित्रों ने किया वह न होता। हड़ताल किसी के लिये सुख

की बात नहीं थी, दुख की बात थी और इस से देश को कष्ट हुआ, देश को तकलीफ हुई, देश की जनता को कष्ट हुआ और मजदूरों को भी कष्ट हुआ। अब जहाँ तक हमारा पक्ष है, हम ने हड़ताल का विरोध किया और हम आज भी इस बात को मानते हैं कि वह हड़ताल अनुचित थी, हड़ताल उचित नहीं थी। मजदूरों की मांगें थी कुल मिला कर 450 करोड़ की, उस में से सरकार ने 190 करोड़ दे दिया। इतनी कठिन आर्थिक स्थिति होते हुए 110 करोड़ पे कमीशन की रेकमेंडेशन के मुताबिक दिया और 80 करोड़ किसी और मद में दिया। इस के बाद हड़ताल का फिर भी चलाना, इस के मायने हैं कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को सामने नहीं रखा गया। दूसरी एक और बात इस हड़ताल के सिलसिले में सामने आयी। हमारे जार्ज फरनान्डीस साहब, जिन्होंने इस हड़ताल के द्वारा बहुत बड़ा नेता बनने का प्रयास किया था उन के साथ एक अजीब सा जमघट हो गया। जमघट हो गया हमारे जनसंघी भाइयों का जिन का कभी मजदूर आंदोलन से कोई संबंध नहीं रहा, इस के चलते वह भी मजदूर आंदोलन में आ गये, उन के साथ हो गये और मार्क्सिस्ट भी हो गये उन के साथ। और इस में इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि उस हड़ताल के पीछे पोलिटिकल मोटिवेशन था। इस से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि देश में आर्थिक संकट है, देश में कष्ट है, देश में तकलीफ है, उस का लाभ उठाया विरोधी पक्ष ने। देश की जो जरूरत थी, देश को जो चाहिये था, देश का जो हित था उस को सामने नहीं रखा गया। एक बीमारी है, एक मर्ज है। क्या किया जाय कि किसी प्रकार से कांग्रेस का राज खत्म हो, किसी प्रकार से अव्यवस्था हो, किसी प्रकार से इंदिरा गांधी का प्रधान मंत्रित्व जाय। यह एक पोलिटिकल दृष्टि कोण है और इस के नाते सब कुछ चलता है। इस में जहाँ तक हमारे कम्युनिस्ट दोस्तों का संबंध है वह इस हड़ताल में कुछ अजीब सी स्थिति में रहे। उन्होंने हड़ताल के अंतिम काल में, समाप्ति के समय जरूर कुछ कंस्ट्रक्टिव

प्रपोजल्स रखे, रचनात्मक प्रस्ताव रखे। वह इस हड़ताल में यूँ पड़े कि उन का रेलवे मजदूरों में वेस बहुत कम था। वह अपनी ताकत वहाँ बढ़ाना चाहते थे और हालांकि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग फरनान्डीज जैसे अपार्चुनिस्टों से या मार्क्सिस्ट जैसे लेफ्ट एक्सट्रीमिस्ट या जनसंघी जैसे प्रतिक्रियावादियों से अच्छी तरह से वाकिफ हैं मगर वे किसी प्रकार से उन की लपेट में आ गये। दूसरी बात जो मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट दोस्तों से कहूँगा वह यह है कि उन्होंने अपने मार्क्सवादी या अपनी पार्टी के सिद्धांत को, बुनियादी उसूल को भुला दिया कि मजदूर वर्ग को बिल्कुल इकोनामिज्म की तरफ जुटा देना, आर्थिक प्रश्नों पर ही जुटा देना गलत होगा, उन के अन्दर एक राजनीतिक चेतना डालनी भी आवश्यक होती है। एक यह कंपिटिशन है, एक लागडाट है अपनी ताकत जमाने के लिये, तो वह उसमें उस की लपेट में पड़ गये और उस वजह से उन्होंने इस पड़ताल में अपनी ताकत लगाई। अब हड़ताल दुखद हुई। हड़ताल के बारे में तरह तरह की बातें कही जाती हैं। अभी हमारे मित्र श्री मनोरंजन राय ने कुछ बड़ी गम्भीर बातें बतलायीं कि किस प्रकार से मजदूरों पर अत्याचार किया गया, किस प्रकार से उनका विक्टिमाइजेशन हो रहा है।

उन्होंने सर्कुलर भी पढ़ कर सुनाया। वह बात अगर सही है तो चिन्ता की बात है। फिर दूसरा पक्ष भी है। हमने भी बहुत से रेलवे मजदूरों से बात की। जो हड़ताल पर नहीं गये उन पर भी अत्याचार हुए। वह कहते हैं कि उनके घरों पर भी हमले किये गये, उनकी औरतों को, बच्चों को तंग किया गया जब वह काम पर गये। तरह तरह की बातें हैं। अब इनको तोलना, इनका लेखा-जोखा करना शायद अच्छा नहीं होगा। कहते हैं 'बीती ताहि विमार दे आगे की सुधि ले'। इसमें अगर हम पड़ जायेंगे तो बुरी बात होगी। मैं समझता

[श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय]

हूं कि दोनों तरफ से ऐक्ससेज हुई, दोनों तरफ से गलत बातें हुई। हड़ताल में दोनों तरफ से ज्यादातियां हुई। ...

श्री मनोरंजन राय : हड़ताली जो थे उनके साथ बी० एस० एफ० पुलिस और सी० आर० पी० नहीं थी।

श्री हर्ष देव मालवीय : जो राज्य की शक्ति थी उसने ज्यादाती की होगी, इससे मैं इंकार नहीं करता। परन्तु हमको एक बात ध्यान में रखनी होती है कि शासन का कुछ दायित्व होता है। शासन इस बात का अधिकार नहीं दे सकता कि चन्द लोग या फर्नांडिस जैसे नेता चाहे आग लगा दें, मजदूरों को भड़कायें चाहे कुछ करें। शासन तत्त्व ऐसी परिस्थिति में बैठेगा नहीं। तो उसमें इधर से भी गलतियां हुई होंगी, उधर से भी गलतियां हुई। मैं किसी पर दोषारोपण नहीं करता। मगर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आज इसका लेखा जोखा करना, बैलेंस करना बहुत गलत होगा। हमको देखना है कि आइन्दा हम क्या करें। सवाल यह है कि आगे क्या करना है। अभी मनोरंजन बाबू ने आंकड़े दिये कि 2 हजार या 4 हजार लोग निकाले गये। सरकारी आंकड़े क्या हैं ये हमको पता लगना चाहिये। सरकार के लोग कहते हैं कि हमने 34 आदमियों को क्वार्टरों से निकाला एक वर्णन हमने यह सुना। मगर मैं यह चाहता हूं कि इस चीज को समाप्त करना चाहिये। बात यह है कि जब हड़ताल समाप्त हुई तो हमारे माननीय रेल मंत्री ललित नारायण मिश्र ने कहा कि बहुत अच्छा हुआ। हम सब एक परिवार के लोग हैं, 'बी आर वन फैमिली' और परिवार के तरीके से हमको अपने मामलों को तय करना चाहिए। यह भावना अच्छी भावना है और इसके अनुरूप काम होना चाहिये। यह बात जरूर है कि जैसे कहते हैं कि एक विनम्र और एक दृढ़ दृष्टिकोण। दृढ़ कहते हैं अंगद का पैर।

जब हड़ताल का मुकाबला करने के लिये दृढ़ता से इन्होंने काम किया तो अब हड़ताल समाप्त हो गई तो उसको छोड़िये। अब दूसरी बात है विनम्रता। मैं यही कहूंगा कि एक नया अध्याय बदलना चाहिए। रेलवे के मजदूर हमारे देश के अर्थतंत्र में बहुत मूल काम करते हैं, बहुत महत्व का काम करते हैं। रेल के मजदूर परिश्रम करते हैं, रेल चलाते हैं, लोहे के आगे, कोयले के आगे, बैठना, कितनी ही समस्याएँ उनके सामने पेश रहती हैं, इसको भी हमको मानना चाहिए। देश का मजदूर वर्ग जो है उसमें रेलवे मजदूरों का बहुत बड़ा हाथ है और इस रेल मजदूर वर्ग को आप सदैव के लिये नाराज करके बैठे रहें, वह भुननाते रहें, यह चीज देश के हित में नहीं है।

इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि अब इस मामले में हमारे रेल मंत्री और हमारी सरकार को अपने खर्चों में मुलायमित लाना बहुत आवश्यक है। अगर आप विक्टिमाइजेशन करेंगे, ब्रेक इन सर्विस करेंगे तो इसका खात्मा होने वाला नहीं है। स्थिति खराब होती जा रही है। मंहगी बढ़ती जा रही है। हर आदमी दांत पीसकर खिसियाता है। यह तरीका इस्तेमाल करके आप रेल को सम्भाल नहीं सकते।

आज नहीं तो कल फिर उवाल आयेगा। यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि अभी हड़ताल समाप्त हो गई है। हड़ताल के बाद आशा थी कि बातचीत शुरू होगी, रेलवे के अधिकारियों, रेलवे के मंत्री की मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधियों से बातचीत होगी परन्तु उसके बाद हमारे फर्नांडिस माहब, जिनको हम बहुत बड़े तीस माहबा समझते हैं फिर घूम रहे हैं हड़ताल कराने के लिये। कहते हैं—गैट रेडी टू फाइट टिल दी लास्ट। यह जो गीदड़ की तरह भभक रहे हैं यह गलत बात है। यह हड़ताल दोनों तरफ से खत्म हो सकती है अगर हम यह चाहें कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को देखते हुए रेल का काम ठीक प्रकार से चले। अपने फर्नांडिस माहब को समझाएं

कि वे रेल के मजदूरों को और देश के आर्थिक संकट को अपने फायदे के लिये इस्तेमाल न करें, अपने पालिटिकल एडवांसमेंट के लिये इस्तेमाल न करें बल्कि देश की स्थिति को सामने रख कर सोचें ।

मैं दो-तीन बातें कहना चाहता हूँ । सबसे पहले ब्रेक इन सर्विस की बात है । मैं यह समझता हूँ कि ब्रेक इन सर्विस को खत्म कर देना चाहिये । जो हुआ सो हुआ । काफी शक्ति आपने दिखा दी । आपकी ताकत का लोहा जम गया । मजदूर समझ गये कि अगर फिर गलत काम करेंगे तो इस शासन में इतनी शक्ति है कि वह उनके साथ सख्ती का व्यवहार कर सकता है । मगर अब दया भावना से, न्याय की भावना से आप अपना रवैया बदल लीजिए । और ब्रेक इन सर्विस को खत्म कर दीजिए ।

इसके बाद विक्टीमाइजेशन की बहुत सी बातें आती हैं । मैं उनकी तफसील में जाना नहीं चाहता । हमारे ठेंगड़ी साहब ने और मित्रों ने भी कहा है कि विक्टीमाइजेशन को भी खत्म कर देना चाहिये । मेरा भी निश्चित मत है कि इसको खत्म कर देना चाहिये । अगर कहीं सेबोटेज किया गया, अगर कहीं हिंसा की गई तो उसे माफ नहीं करना चाहिये । मैं इसके सख्त विरोध में हूँ । जो सेबोटेज की गई, हिंसा की गई, राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति को नुकसान पहुंचाया गया इन सब के लिये मेरा आपसे निवेदन है इस बारे में आप जरूर सख्त रहें । पर मजदूर जमात को आपको अपने पास घसीटना चाहिये ।

अंत में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज रेलवे मजदूर खफा हुए बैठे हैं, नाराज हुए बैठे हैं, इसका अन्दाजा आप रेलवे के इन कामों से लगा सकते हैं कि आज गाड़ियां लेट चल रही हैं, उनमें विजली नहीं रहती, पानी नहीं रहता । वहां की हालत बड़ी खराब हो गई है । एक प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा है कि जब मैं अपने

प्रदेश से राजधानी दिल्ली के लिये जाता हूँ तो गाड़ी तीन घंटे लेट हो जाती है । वह रेलवे के वर्कर्स लेट करते हैं । इसलिये मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि इस स्थिति को सम्भालने के लिये आपको अपने रवैये में तबदीली लानी होगी । उनके साथ-साथ कोई न कोई समझौता करना होगा । समझौता कैसे हो ? इसके लिये आप एन० सी० सी० आर० से बात मत करिये । एन० सी० सी० आर० एक भानुमति का कुनवा है जिसमें जनसंघ भी है, मार्क्सिस्ट भी हैं और दूसरे लोग भी हैं, जो अलग-अलग अपनी गाड़ियां खींचते हैं । मैं समझता हूँ वह गलत चीज है ।

यह बात भी आई है रेलवे के अन्दर एक यूनियन होनी चाहिये । इस दिशा में हमारे माननीय रेल मंत्री श्री कुरेशी जी ने इस सदन में और दूसरे सदन में भी इस बात की चर्चा की है । तो इसकी तरफ हम प्रयास करें, एक यूनियन बनाएं, और हमारी कोशिश यह हो कि जहां तक मुमकिन हो हम सहूलियत दें, जितना हम सहानुभूतिपूर्वक रेलवे वर्कर्स की मांगों को समझ सकें, जो कुछ उनकी मांगों को पूरा कर सकें वह करें, और इसी तरीके से चलकर आगे एक नया सौहार्द का वातावरण हो, अच्छी भावना का वातावरण पैदा हो । झगड़ा टंटा करने से चलने वाली चीज यह है नहीं । जैसा आप जानते हैं, ऐसी गालियां चलती हैं कोई कहे कि “तुम्हारी ऐसी की तैसी” और दूसरा कहे “तुम्हारे बाप की ऐसी की तैसी”, तो यह नहीं चलने वाला है । तो मैं इस समय माननीय मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे कृपा करके इन बातों पर ध्यान दें और प्रयास इस प्रकार का करें कि मजदूरों का विक्टीमाइजेशन समाप्त हो, जो ब्रेक इन सर्विस हुआ है उसको कन्डोन किया जाये और एक विशाल हृदय से मजदूरों को समझाने का प्रयास किया जाये । मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर ऐसा किया जायेगा तो जरूर रेलों फिर अपने ढंग पर काम करेंगी और देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के विकास में रेलवे का जो महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है वह योगदान पुनः प्राप्त हो सकेगा ।

SHRI, N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): Sir, I had almost given up the hope of opening a new chapter so far as the relation between the Railway Board or the Railway Ministry and the Railway employees are concerned. Sir, I was very much disappointed when I listened to the speeches made by many of my friends from the other side. Our former colleagues, Shri Kamalnath Jha and Shri Jagdish Joshi, talked in such a fashion that I had an impression that they were egging on the Railway Minister to be more ruthless with the Railway employees, as if they had thought that what he had done was not enough. They had some strange ideas about the functioning of democracy, some strange ideas about the trade union rights. Sir, so far as I am concerned, so far as I understand democratic functioning, it is not that democracy does not allow any confrontation, it is not that it does not allow any conflict, it is not that it does not allow any strikes or agitations. But, the main characteristics of democracy are that in spite of these confrontations, in spite of these conflicts, as soon as they are over the healing process starts. Very soon the conflict is forgotten and those issues which had divided man from man are forgotten and the whole people, all the citizens, come together as citizens of one nation. I would like to ask Mr. Mishra whether he and his Ministry are really helping this particular process of healing or they are determined to take such steps that will keep the wound open that this sore will faster?

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: They will say that they are helping this process but do otherwise.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: This particular feeling of bitterness will continue and either they will become victorious or the workers will become victorious. Is that the feeling with which we are going to continue?

Sir, I was very much encouraged when I heard Shri Harshdeo Malaviya's speech. That was the only silver lining that I came across. That was the only silver lining. Sir, what has he asked the Minister to do? Sir, he has asked the Minister to end this chapter of victimisation and what he has asked the Minister to do is not something

which the Minister himself had not promised to us.

Sir, if I may recall, it was he who used the words that the entire railway is a family. I believe that he still holds to that view. What are these sad stories, endless sad stories of beating, manhandling, victimisation, eviction, break in service and dismissals? What are these things? Sir, when I went to talk to the Prime Minister about these things, I told her that in these days when the prices are sky-rocketing, to dismiss a man is to condemn the entire family to death. It is nothing short of that. Do you still call yourself a democracy when you say that it had to be done because they went on a strike? It may be a legal strike or it may be an illegal strike. For the sake of argument I accept that this was an illegal strike. All right. If I go on an illegal strike, does it mean that for the rest of my life I am on the streets? That is one question which Mr. Mishra will have to answer and ponder seriously over.

Let him not be guided by the Railway Board. I am not talking about any particular Member of the Railway Board. But he must understand that, after all, Railway Board consists of officials. And officials always will have their blinkers; they cannot think of anything beyond discipline. Orders are orders: That is how they look at it. It is futile to expect from them that will treat a trade union strike or an agitation as if it is a fundamental right of the workers to strike when he wants to, when he is forced to. They will not look at it from that point of view. But we are here. Why is Mr. Mishra, the Minister here? Why are we here? Why are the Treasury Benches there and the Congress Party people are there? Because, it is we who can look at it from a political point of view, from a democratic point of view, because we understand what is sanctioned by a democratic system and what is not sanctioned under a democratic system. This is the larger point of view that I would beg of you to adopt. That is number one.

Number two is, Sir, we know that the economic system is in a state of collapse. This has been admitted by the Finance Minister. This is the burden of whatever

the Prime Minister is saying on the tours throughout the country: That economically we are stagnating; we must have more industrial production; we must have more agricultural production; we must have a better communications system and transportation system. All this is absolutely necessary if we want to take this country out of the bog or stagnation. Now, in this context I would like to ask whether the particular policy which you seem to be determined to follow so far as the railway workers are concerned, is going to be conducive to development or is it going to be counter productive? How do you adjust this particular policy to the total picture of a revival of economy, our national economy? Does it in any way help to revive the national economy? I would have liked some Member from that side to stress this point.

The railway workers did strike work but why all these fulminations against Fernandes? Fernandes has been in politics for the last 25 years. I was very much sorry when I heard Mr. Malaviya describe him as an opportunist. What do you mean by that? An opportunist is a man who turns his coat to suit his convenience. And if I may be pardoned for saying so, Sir, many of the speakers who talked and fulminated against Fernandes, six months back or a year back they were totally with Fernandes. Now it is they who are prejudiced against Fernandes. But I won't call anybody an opportunist. I say, in these fast changing times, these revolutionary times a man may feel compelled to change his creed, to change his ideology. Perfectly all right. But don't turn round and say Bhupesh Gupta is wrong. Don't turn round and say that Jana Singh is wrong. Don't turn round and say Fernandes has become an opportunist. The point is that so far this has been an accepted thing in this country that the workers have a right to strike. What you want to say is that they have a right to strike provided they do not strike. This is what it comes to. You have a right to strike, but I will see to it that you do not strike at all. And if you strike, then you will be punished for doing so. This is what it comes to. Otherwise, what are these dismissals, thousands

of them? Even the Railway Minister will not deny the fact that thousands of them have been dismissed. Does it mean that all these thousands of people were bent upon some sabotage or violence? Then, I would say that if 30,000 or 20,000 people were out to sabotage, your railway system would have broken to pieces. If 30,000 people were engaged in sabotage, what will happen to this country? The very fact that the railway system is intact shows that they never indulged in sabotage. May be one or two people five or ten. Yes, that is possible, but please tell me. "I have participated in every single campaign by Ghandhiji himself, non-violent, peaceful campaigns, right from 1930. Will you show me a single campaign, a country wide campaign in which there was no violence anywhere? There was violence in some corner or in some places, but that does not prove that the entire character of the movement was violent. If you look into facts, right from one end of Assam to the other end of Kerala, right from Dwaraka to Puri, the entire railway workers were on strike, but to point out a few instances, five or ten instances, where there was some sabotage, does it mean that these 25,000 people or 40,000 people were indulging in sabotage and violence? It is simple arithmetic. Therefore, I would beg of you, do not try to prolong this chapter, a sad chapter, an unfortunate chapter, a chapter of bitterness and hostility. I am not begging on behalf of the railway workers because strikes are common everywhere in capitalist countries. Mr. Jagdish Joshi said there is violence whenever there is some strike in the capitalist countries. I am very sorry that Mr. Jagdish Joshi is absolutely ill-informed. In America, England and France there have been any number of cases where violence occurred. That does not mean that the strike was violent. That does not mean that the workers are to be dealt with with such severity. Therefore, I would again and again say, keeping in view our democratic traditions, consistent with our democratic professions, also in order to help the process of economic regeneration and industrial advancement, it is very necessary to close this chapter. You must not give powers to your junior officers, divisional and subdivisional, because they have

[Shri N. G. Goray]

scores to settle and they do it. They have their likes and dislikes. Therefore, a very general directive must go from here. Tell them very frankly that this chapter is over. There ought not to be any more victimisation, any more dismissals. We must forget what happened in the meantime. Unless this is done the railway worker will never co-operate with you. I want Shri Mishra to answer this simple question. In spite of the fact that the strike was withdrawn two months and fifteen days back, on the 28th of May, why is it that normalcy does not come back to railways? It is because the railway worker is not satisfied. He is nursing a grievance. He is perhaps waiting for the day when he can strike back. Only a few days back you said that if there is any strike, we shall again deal with it firmly. Why do you say that? You think perhaps there may be another strike. Mr. Malaviya went so far as to say that Mr. Fernandes is going round. Of course, he will go round. Do you mean to say that he will sit in one place? Why should he not go round? Have you created an atmosphere where Mr. Fernandes will feel that he has some direct connection with the Minister and the Railway Board? Again and again you have said that you will not talk with the NCCRS. But are you ready to talk with the AIRF? No. He has written to you. He has written to the Chairman of the Railway Board. No reply.

Now, if you bang the door on the face of the All India Railwaymen's Federation or on the face of the NCCRS, do you mean to say that all these people will sit quiet? You must create an atmosphere where people will feel, all right the confrontation is over. And now it is time to sit round the table. But Mr. Mishra has not done even a little bit to create this atmosphere. Again and again, he is trying to warn the workers that indiscipline will not be tolerated. We are not asking for indiscipline. The strike was withdrawn. That phase is over. Now, are you going to entrust the entire thing into the hands of the Railway Board and its subordinates? It is a very wrong policy. The Minister must function as Minister. He must give

the guidelines. He must lay down the policy, and as soon as the situation changes, the policy also must change. Admitting for debate's sake that you were correct; when the strike situation was there, you took certain measures. But I would like to ask you: When the strike situation was over and when these people are asking for some negotiations, why is it that you do not open your door? Why is it that you are sitting tight? Why is it that you are threatening the workers? Why is it that you are taking from them such humiliating declarations? I was really ashamed that the employees had to say, "I was out of my mind." What is it? Are you a totalitarian country that anybody who goes on strike is out of his mind and he has to be sent to a mental asylum or something? It will not happen in a country which is truly democratic. I do not say do this or that. Any number of grievances can be settled across the table, if you are ready to talk across the table. But you are not ready to talk across the table. And if you allow this discontent to percolate down to the commonest man, to the gangman, and to the station-masters and the assistant station-masters, etc. then please do not blame anybody if there is another explosion. I do not want another explosion . . .

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: It is a threat also.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: There is no threat. These are the natural consequences of your own policy. After all, what did they ask from you? They said, we should have parity with those workers who are working in the public sector undertakings. For God's sake, I would like to know: What is wrong in this demand? You have got so many plants and establishments; workers are working there. Here also they are working like the workers in other establishments. What is wrong in their saying that they should have parity with them? What is wrong in their saying that they should get bonus. The hon. Labour Minister only the other day declared that all the workers will be given 8.33 per cent bonus everywhere, irrespective of the fact whether a plant is running at a loss or profit. Now, if these workers come to you

and say, "All right. You give us bonus", is it anti-national? Is it disrupting the economy of the country? Is it a step so that others would starve? So many times it has been said that these workers are asking this and that while the other people are starving. All right, if others are starving because of the workers, you do not give bonus to any category. But you want one set of rules for them and another set of rules for yourselves. This is the dichotomy, this is the contradiction in which you have put yourself, and that is why you are inviting so much trouble.

I do not want to go into details, I will not take long. But I would say that I am very much concerned over this. The railway workers are a vital link; without their total cooperation, it is impossible to revitalise the economy of this country. It will be admitted by everybody whether it is food or coal or other commodities, unless they are transported from one place to another in a smooth manner, the economy of the country can never be set right. Therefore, it is not only that you should face the reality, but you should really work in a manner which will strengthen the economic structure of this country. Therefore, your responsibility is greater than others and therefore your heart must be larger. It must not be a narrow heart. You must not have a narrow concept of your duties and your responsibilities. You must look wider that you are an essential part of the entire national economy of this country. If that stops, the entire economy stops. Therefore, I would plead with you. Please set an example. When you say, "Forget and forgive", it is you who should start the negotiation because you are in a position of domination. You are in a dominant position. You are the Minister and you must, therefore, give guidelines to your own subordinates with a view that the efficiency of the railways will be restored to the old good days when such a conflict and confrontation was not there. Thank you.

श्री कल्प नाथ (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय, उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन में जो चर्चा की जा रही है यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है।

उस दिन जब रेलवे पर बहस चल रही थी तो प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा —

—Railways have got less and less. How can we give more and more?

उस समय के बाद भी विरोधी दलों ने रेलवे की स्ट्राइक को वापस नहीं लिया। एक तरफ कहते हैं कि बंगला देश को मान्यता दो, दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि हमारे देश में क्राइसिस है। मैं नाना साहब गोरे की बातों से सहमत हूँ। हमारे देश के अन्दर 175 रक कोयले की आवश्यकता होती है, लेकिन 7 रक कोयला भी नहीं पहुँच पाया। एक तरफ हमें बिजली के स्टेशन चलाने हैं, फिटिंग्स का उत्पादन करना है, हमें भूखे लोगों के लिये गेहूँ ट्रांसपोर्ट कर पहुँचाना है, एक तरफ हमें काश्मीर से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक, सारी बातों को करना है, दूसरी तरफ हम कहते हैं कि इनफ्लेशन हो रहा है, नेशनल इकानामी कोलेप्स हो रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ मान लीजिए हमने 15 सौ करोड़ रुपया आप को दे दिया, फिर उतना ही उत्पादन रहा फिर चीज जहाँ 5 रुपये की मिल रही है वह 20 रुपये की मिलेगी। आपको यह कहना चाहिये कि एसेशल कम्पोजिटीज के दाम बांधो, हमें इतना ही पैसा दो, लेकिन हमें जितनी चीजें मिलनी चाहिए वह मिलें। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछली रेलवे स्ट्राइक जो हमारे देश में हुई वह पोलिटिकली मोटिवेटेड थी। कुछ लोग यहाँ अपार्चुनिज्म की बातें कर रहे थे। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सी० पी० आई० के भूपेश गुप्त जी भाषण कर रहे थे। एक तरफ वह पार्लियामेंट में शाना हो तो रूलिंग पार्टी से ऐडजस्टमेंट की बात कहते हैं, मीनिंग-फुल डायलोग करते हैं, लेकिन जब हिन्दुस्तान की इकानामी को चौपट करने की बात आती है तो हड़ताल कराने हैं। कहते हैं—

बागवां ने आग दी जब आशियाने में मेरे जिन पत्तों पे तकिया था वोही ही हवा देने लगे। एक तरफ एल० एन० मिश्रा साहब के दिल पर यह बीत रही होगी कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के

[श्री कल्प नाथ]

लोगों ने मेरे साथ क्या किया। जार्ज फर्नांडिस अपने बन्द कमरे में कहते हैं कि हमारे साथ सी० पी० आई० ने क्या किया। तो इन लोगों का क्या रुख है। 600 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा इस रेलवे स्ट्राइक के कारण हिन्दुस्तान की इकानामी को हुआ है। 600 करोड़ के कारण 2,600 करोड़ का घाटा हिन्दुस्तान की इकानामी को होगा। दूसरी तरफ 400 करोड़ रुपये की चोरी मुगलसराय से लेकर केरल तक होती है। हिन्दुस्तान में 27 वर्षों में बहुत से रेलवे मिनिस्टर आये, लेकिन रेलवे की चोरी को रोक नहीं पाये। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि यह हमारी नौकरशाही का दोष है, मैं कहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की पूरी नौकरशाही, रेलवे बोर्ड की नौकरशाही नीचे से ऊपर तक इस चोरी में सम्मिलित है। हमारी मांगों में यह नहीं होता कि 400 करोड़ रुपये की चोरी बन्द की जानी चाहिए। हम आदरणीय मिश्रा जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि :

—I let us not negotiate out of fear but let us not fear to negotiate.

हमें डर के कारण समझौता नहीं करना चाहिए, लेकिन समझौता करने से डरना भी नहीं चाहिए। हम समाजवाद में विश्वास करते हैं। कोई भी समाजवादी सरकार लेबर से कंफ्रंटेशन नहीं लेना चाहती है क्योंकि लेबर के बल पर हमें अपनी बिजली का उत्पादन करना है, देश में थर्मल पावर स्टेशन चलाने हैं, फटिलाइजर के कारखाने चलाने हैं, देश के उत्पादन को बढ़ाना है, मुल्क की इकानामी को डाइनेमाइज करना है, हम उनको निराश नहीं करना चाहेंगे।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारे बहुत बड़े अफसर हैं उनको छोटे अफसरों से नाराजगी हो गई है उस नाराजगी के कारण उनको सस्पेंड किया जा रहा है, उनके खिलाफ कार्रवाई की जा रही है। मैं रेलवे मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जो इस तरह का विक्टिमाइजेशन सारे देश में हो रहा है वह बन्द होना चाहिये।

दूसरी और जो कर्मचारी हैं जो इस वजह से हड़ताल करते हैं कि रोजी बढ जाएगी तो आपको इस प्रब्लम पर सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करना चाहिये।

तीसरे, जिन लोगों ने वायलैस में, सेवोटेज में हिस्सा लिया है किसी भी कीमत पर ऐसे कर्मचारियों को नौकरी पर रखा गया तो एक नहीं हजारों हड़तालें होगी। फिर पार्लियामेंट भी बंद होगी और सारा देश तबाह हो जाएगा। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे कर्मचारियों को जिन्होंने सेवोटेज किया है, वायलैस किया है उनको माफी नामा देकर दूसरी जगह नौकरी दे सकते हैं लेकिन ऐसी एसनशियल रेलवे डिपार्टमेंट में इस तरह के लोगों को नौकरी नहीं देनी चाहिये।

अभी नाना जी गौरे साहब कह रहे थे यह कंटरी का सवाल है। कंटरी केवल सरकारी पार्टी को नहीं है, कंटरी विरोधी पार्टी की भी है। कंटरी के विभिन्न दलों के जो नेता लोग हैं उन सब की कंटरी है। रेलवे के एक छोटे से वॉरे से लेकर रेलवे मिनिस्टर तक की कंटरी है। इसलिये सब को इस पर विचार करना चाहिये। अगर रेलवे की स्ट्राइक के पीछे सारे देश की इकानामी को पैरालाइज करने का सवाल है, अगर उसके पीछे पालिटिकल मोटिवेशन है, देश की सरकार को उखाड़ फेंकने का सवाल है तो यह बहुत गलत चीज है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा रेलवे डिपार्टमेंट रेलों का ठीक से संचालन करने में असफल रहा है इसलिये रेलवे विभाग का डिन्सैन्ट्रलाइजेशन होना चाहिये। हिन्दुस्तान में चार रेलवे विभाग हों। ईस्ट, वैस्ट, नार्थ और साउथ ताकि हमारे हिन्दुस्तान की रेलें ठीक ढंग से चल सकें।

आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधानमंत्री जी ने पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर कहा था National wage policy we are going to consider. मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और भुट्टो साहब को वधाई देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि उन्होंने अपने देश में,

पूरे पाकिस्तान में 9 सर्विसिज बना दी हैं। जब तक हिन्दुस्तान में नेशनल वेज पालिसी बना कर सर्विसिज का बटवारा नहीं हो गा तब तक हमारे देश की समस्याओं को निराकरण नहीं हो सकता।

आपने देखा एयर पायलेट्स की स्ट्राइक हुई। आठ-आठ हजार रुपये तनख्वाह पाने वाले लोग आज स्ट्राइक पर हैं। एक तरफ हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग कहते हैं कि हमारे देश की 60 परसेन्ट पापुलेशन विलो पावर्टी है। 27 करोड़ लोग 4 आने, 6 आने रोज की आमदनी पर अपना जीवन गुजार रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की 18 करोड़ जनता एक रुपया रोज की आमदनी पर गुजारा कर रही है। और मुट्ठी भर लोग 50 रुपये से लेकर 3 लाख रुपये रोज की आमदनी पर गुजारा कर रहे हैं। हमें उन 27 करोड़ लोगों पर मदद नजर रखनी चाहिये जो 4-5 आने रोज कमाते हैं। अगर खेतीहर मजदूर मांग करते हैं, हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता कोई मांग करती है तो कह देते हैं यह व्हाइट कालर क्लास है। The white-collar class has done this to the country. एक तरफ तो हम हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को खराब कर रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ हम यह कहते हैं कि रेलवे में 800 करोड़ रुपया और बढ़ाओ तो ऐसा कह कर हम उन नौजवानों का गला घोटते हैं जिनको हम एम्पलाइमेंट देने की बात करते हैं। अगर हम यह कहते हैं कि रेलवे में 1200 करोड़ रुपया बढ़ाओ तो हम मुल्क की इन्फ्लेशन को बढ़ाते हैं। जब हम कहते हैं 1200 करोड़ रुपया हिन्दुस्तान के रेलवे कर्मचारियों को दो तो हमारे देश की मुद्रा-स्फीति और इकानामी स्टेट आफ अफेयर्स आन दी प्रिंक आफ कालेप्स के नजदीक लाई जाती है।

हमें यह मांग करनी चाहिये कि चीजों के दाम बांधो और सस्ते दाम पर चीजें लोगों को मुहय्या हों। रूस का निर्माण लेलिन ने किया था और आप जानते हैं कि माऊत्स तुंग ने चायना का

निर्माण किया। इन लोगों ने अपने देश का निर्माण हड़ताल कराकर या लीडरशिप सेन हीं किया। अमेरिका और योरोप के देशों में जो तरक्की हुई वह दुनिया को लूटकर की गई। दुनिया के गरीब मुल्कों को लूटकर साम्राज्यवादी शक्तियों ने अपने देश का निर्माण किया। लेकिन आज की स्थिति में जो पिछड़े हुए देश हैं, जैसे लेटिन अमेरिकी देश हैं या जो अन्डर-डैवलप देश हैं उनको अपनी मैन पावर इस्तेमाल करनी होगी और सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न पर अपनी इकनोमी को चलाना होगा। मैं चाहता हूं और रेलवे बोर्ड और हमारे रेलवे मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूं कि :

We should not negotiate out of fear, but we should not fear to negotiate. हमें स मझौता करना चाहिये और समझौता करके कोई एमी केवल सैटलमेंट करके इस मुल्क में उत्पादन बढ़ाने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये ताकि हमारा देश मजबूत हो, ताकतवर हो और हमारे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था सुदृढ़ हो सके। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको बधाई देता हूं।

[श्री कल्प नाथ]

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): Sir, at the outset I would like to say with all respect to the House and honourable Members that this debate on this question of railway strike has become a stale one. During the last Session we discussed it for about 24 hours—17½ hours in the Lower House and 6½ hours here. And after that there was a No-Confidence Motion in the Lok Sabha during the current session in which also eleven to twelve hours were devoted to railway strike. Therefore, there is nothing new that I can say in this House. But I would like to say and make it very clear that we still hold the view that this was not a trade union movement nor a trade union struggle. Every logic that has been put forward by the Opposition I am prepared to accept so far as trade union part of it is concerned. But if it is politically motivated, if it is a scheme for doing something else, if it is to paralyse the

[SHRI L. N. MISHRA]

national economy, if it is a political conspiracy, then I cannot treat it as a trade union struggle or trade union movement and naturally any Government will have to take some extraordinary measures. It is in this background that this Government had to take some extraordinary measures to fight this menace. Its leadership was in the hands of such people . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now in retrospect what convincing evidence have you produced in the country or what has been seen during the strike to indicate that it was all politically motivated, that it was not an industrial action of the railway workers?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I will tell you although I am not expected to reply to interruptions. You have been associated with trade union movement though from some distance and I on my part was associated with the administration of trade unions for a number of years. I must say that in any trade union strike or call for a strike there are certain demands for certain settlements, and in this strike eight demands were put forward. Negotiations went on, discussions went on, with my colleague, Mr. Qureshi, Members of the Board and later with me, and out of eight demands six were conceded. We gave them a rise of 40 per cent of the wage in one year's time. Nowhere in the world in one settlement does any labour get an increment of 40 per cent in one year's time. That was conceded. And then the other points were also there. That could have been discussed. Bonus we could not concede because it was under the Bonus Review Committee. Therefore, only two demands were left: one was bonus; the other was parity of wages. Mr. Goray was asking: What is wrong about it? Yes, there is everything wrong about it. The Railway Administration can never pay as much as any public sector undertaking does because it is giving other facilities to its workers. I say if it had been purely an innocent, honest, trade union movement, I would have agreed . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no, you cannot . . .

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Please don't disturb me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am here to disturb you. This is not your assignment. This is my assignment. Let me do my duty.

Upto 30th April you were talking to them. Then it was all a trade union movement. It was not then politically motivated. After you had arrested their leader and you broke the negotiations, you came with the argument that it was politically motivated. It only proves your mentality.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Till 30th April or may be 31st—I do not remember the correct date. Yes till the 30th April we were negotiating . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Even the greatest fool knows that April has only 30 days.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: My memory is not as sharp as yours.

Only the minutes were to be finalised. It was to be signed on the 1st of May. For working class people May 1st is a great day and we thought that the settlement should be arrived at on the May Day. But the leader of the group did not agree. He said he had some business in Lucknow. Sir, some motive was imputed for his arrest. If we had any plan to arrest this gentleman, why did we delay it and why we took all the trouble of sending a special plane to Lucknow? Something happened in between which I am not in a position to say . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order. This is a new element. You know that we had debated this in this House. We are not discussing the actual strike today. The hon. Minister said that something happened between his presence in Lucknow and his arrest. He said he will not divulge it to the House. What happened? I should like to know whether the Minister has claimed protection under the Rules. If he does claim protection, he should ask for protection under the Rules. Otherwise I would regard it as a mere bluff to

bamboozle the public and also to hide the real facts. Shri Mishra, at this late hour you should not try new gimmicks.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: No, no. You cannot force me to say that.

श्री रबी राय : उप सभाध्यक्ष, मेरा यह सवाल आपसे है कि मंत्री महोदय कह रहे हैं कि जो उनके पास इस तरह की सूचना है उसको वे डाइवल्ज नहीं करेंगे, तो आप मंत्री महोदय से पूछिये कि क्या वह डिफेंस का कोई मामला है कि डाइवल्ज नहीं करेंगे ? क्या जार्ज फर्नांडेस की दो-चार घण्टे की अनुपस्थिति के बीच उनके पास खबर आ गई कि वायलेन्ट काण्ड के जरिये सरकार को उखाड़ फेंकना चाहते थे ? यदि उनके पास कोई सूचना है, आप उनको बाध्य करें, उसको वे सदन के सामने रखें ।

SHRI N. G. GORAY: I would like to ask Shri Mishra one question. He himself admits that the negotiations were carried on in a smooth atmosphere and he was eager to come to some sort of settlement and he sent a special plane for Fernandes. After that plane was sent, I do not know what happened in the meanwhile. It is something like Nixon's tapes . . . (Interruptions). We know that within four or five hours something happened which changed the trade union matter to a political matter so much that he had to arrest the main man in the meeting.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Shri Mishra said that something happened . . .

(Interruptions)

Sir, something happened . . . (Interruptions). He says that something happened . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I am on a point of order.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Mr Bhupesh Gupta, just wait. I am on a point of order.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH: What is the point of order?

AN HON. MEMBER: What is the point of order they are raising?

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SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, the honourable Minister needed blacklegs. Surely, Sir, he does not need them now. Then, why are they getting up like this?

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Sir, my question is this: Taking it for granted that there was something on the morning of the 1st which necessitated the arrest of Mr. Fernandes, what happened in Assam to arrest some women who had nothing to do with the railways? What happened there? I was there in Assam on the 1st of May?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): Please do not go to other points.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Why was it that the arrests started not only in Lucknow, but done elsewhere also? Why was it done? Not only Mr. Fernandes was arrested, but others also. Why?

(Interruptions)

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: This question I had already answered in May also when Mr. Fernandes was arrested. I did not want to go into that subject again nor do I want to go now into it. I was only trying to explain how a trade union movement turned into a political one. This is what I was explaining. Now, out of the eight demands, six have been accepted. . .

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: No demand has been accepted . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Will you please allow me to go on? . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: What were the demands . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Please let me have my say.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): Mr. Roy, please wait.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: What were the demands and what were the demands which were accepted?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Kindly take your seat.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Why should I?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Six demands were accepted. If the honourable Members were so keen as to know what they are, I thought of informing them later on. But the whole thing is known to every body and everybody knows it.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH: The whole country knows it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, he says the whole country knows it. Of course, it is known. But now that you are in the Chair, we have to ask him as to what happened then.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: That I have already said.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You tell us now.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I listened to you with great patience? Can't you have patience for five minutes? Have some patience. I was trying to say that it was not purely a trade union movement, but it was a movement which was politically motivated and started by political adventurers . . .

SHRI RANBIR SINGH: Yes.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I was trying to say this. Let others be provoked . . . (*Interruptions*) . . . These demands were conceded. I do not want to say what those demands were. Everybody knows it and everybody knows that six demands were conceded . . .

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Never.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Out of the two important demands, Sir, one was regarding bonus and it was before the Bonus Commission and the other was with regard to parity which we could not agree. Now, in the trade union movements, nowhere demands are conceded hundred per cent

and perhaps, in a very rare case the demands may be conceded hundred per cent. Then, Sir, I wanted to tell the whole thing. We were very keen to start the negotiations. But on the 1st and on the 2nd, we came to the judgment on the basis of the facts available with us then, which I cannot lay on the Table of the House, that there was something, that there was going to be some kind of movement or something in the name of trade union movement which would paralyse the national economy and something should be done to prevent it and, therefore, this had to be done. This was the decision and it was taken on the basis of the facts available with us then. He asked why the people of Assam should be arrested. Of course, they were also in that game and they were in the game to paralyse the economy of the whole country and they were to be arrested and they were, therefore, picked up. Not only Mr. Fernandes was picked up, a large number of people were picked up. A total of 19,000 people were picked up, rather it is about 20,000. In all, 19,883 people were picked up and Mr. Fernandes was, of course, the leader of the NCCRS and he was also to be picked up. What I was trying to do was to prove our *bona fides* that we had no intention to take this as a political movement, but only as a trade union movement and that was why the negotiations went on. But, later on, when we detected something, we came to the conclusion that there was something and we thought, that it was the responsibility of this Government to protect the interests of the people of this country and that was why we acted in good faith and, Sir, if such a thing arises again, we shall act like that again . . .

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, even on the basis of his statement that there was something. . .

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I have already answered that point and I can't explain it further. Then, Sir, there are a number of points . . . (*Interruptions*). I am not prepared to say everything that you like me to say here.

Some Members wanted to know about victimisation. I would like to say that there could be nothing further from our minds than to victimize our railway men. As I said on the 27th of May, they are members of our family. I still treat them as members of our family. I assure you that maximum possible consideration, or whatever you call it, will be shown to genuine trade union people who are involved in this. There is no prejudice in our mind. We do not want to victimize anybody . . .

(Interruptions)

Then the number of railway men arrested was 19,883. The number of those released up to 5-8-74 was 19,286. The number of released staff taken back to duty 15,535. The number of railway employees whose services were dismissed, removed or terminated is 16,749. The number of railway employees taken back to duty up to 5th August, 1974, is 6644 . . . *(Interruptions)*. The number of casual labour discharged was about 18,500, and out of these those who have subsequently been taken back to duty up to 5th August, 1974, was 9458 . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How can they be taken back? They were on daily basis . . .

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Your Party member, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, has made this point. That is under consideration. Kindly take your seat. That has been made and that is under consideration.

About the break in service, It will apply to about 5.5 lakhs. But individual appeals are being reviewed by the Administration and so far break in service in the case of 1,40,000 employees has been condoned. During the last fortnight, the number of break in service condoned has gone up from 60,000 to 1,40,000 . . . *(Interruptions)*. It is expected that the number of staff who will eventually have a break in service will be only about 2.5 lakhs. But this is a mere guess. Individual cases will be gone into in appeal and they will be very carefully looked into. This much assurance I can give. We will give

them all possible consideration. As Mr. Goray just now pointed out, if one member is penalised, the whole family suffers. This point we do appreciate, and we will take a sympathetic view of the case. But the question is those people who have committed some crimes cannot be condoned . . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY: What is that crime? Going on strike is not a crime . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The hon. Member has stated that some people are guilty of acts like sabotage and others. Some may be or may not be. I do not know. But why are they not being paid half the wages as in other cases. Unless they are proved guilty, they are not guilty. Meanwhile, they should be treated as suspended workers and should be given half the wage. This is the normal practice.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have made a point. I will look into it. If it is being done in other cases, there is no reason why it should not be done in this case. We are not going to take any vindictive attitude. This much I can tell you as a Minister. But there cannot be a general amnesty. *(Interruptions)* As hon. Members know, the total number of people who went on strike was 5.5 lakhs. But before 27th May or by the 20th of May, about 3 lakhs had joined duty. Therefore, the actual number of people who went on strike till the 27th May, when the strike was called off, was only 2.5 lakhs out of 14 lakhs of railway employees.

Sir, some questions were made about arrests, etc. I have already explained about that.

Many friends used the words 'black legs' for dedicated workers. I will pay tribute to them. A large number of railway workers stood by the nation in the most difficult times and they did a splendid job. We are thankful to them and they will get their due compensation. Loyal workers will get their recognition and the Government will not forget their services and special recognition will be given to them.

[SHRI L. N. MISHRA]

I have already explained about casual labour. (Interruptions). Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I warn you that if you do like this, I will not allow you to speak. Please let me speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, the Minister says that he will not allow me to speak. He is welcome to do it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please take your seat.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Would you kindly hear? Recently, two of your R.P.F. men have been killed by anti-social elements and they have not been given any compensation to their families as yet.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: If they have been killed on duty, of course they will be given compensation. A number of people have been given compensation. A gangster was also killed. The compensation was given on the spot.

About police excesses, no case has been reported to us. On the other hand, I will like to pay a special tribute to all the State Governments who co-operated with us during these difficult times. I will make a special mention of West Bengal and Maharashtra. All the other States also gave us their co-operation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I talked to a State Chief Minister and he said that he would not have acted like this but for the direction of the Central Government. He is congratulating them.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Sir, one thing which is coming in the speedy way of settlement of the problem is the post-strike activity of the leaders of the strike, especially the top man, Shri Fernandes. Sir, if you have a look at the speeches that he has been making, it looks as if some such strike is coming in six months time. Unless this atmosphere is changed and they help us in changing the atmosphere, it will be very difficult for us to do what we want to do. We want to be fair to everybody. We want to do justice to them. But utmost

patience is required. Making speeches everywhere and saying that when the next strike takes place those who will not join the strike will be liquidated, does not help. This kind of irresponsible remarks have been made at a number of places. I will request the hon. Members to prevail upon him. He has every right to make speeches. He can make a speech but this kind of speech does not help . . .

(Interruptions)

श्री रबी राय : श्रीमन्, मेरा पाइंट आफ़ ऑर्डर यह है कि अभी ललित नारायण मिश्रा जिस बयान के बारे में जिक्र कर रहे हैं जार्ज फरनांडिस का वह बयान हमारे अखबार में आ चुका है। उन्होंने कहा है कि मैंने कभी नहीं कहा कि मैं कुछ दिन में स्ट्राइक पर जा रहा हूँ। इस तरह का बयान जार्ज फरनांडिस ने नहीं दिया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) : यह पाइंट आफ़ ऑर्डर नहीं है। मगर आपकी बात उन्होंने सुन ली है।

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Sir, Mr. Goray talked about the victor and the vanquished. Sir, we are not working in that spirit. No one is a victor and no one is a vanquished. There were some differences in the family and I am glad that these are being settled. Our approach is this, Sir. We do appreciate the feelings of Mr. Goray and I will say again that there is no victor or vanquished . . .

(Interruptions)

Sir, this is also not correct to say that we want to deny the right to strike to anybody. I am one of those who believe in the trade union movement. It is an integral part of a democratic system of Government. Sir, when the trade union movement is suppressed in any country, democracy is gone. I am one of those who believe that the trade union is a very strong pillar of democracy. Therefore, no impression should be created that we are at any place or anywhere or in any situation against the trade union movement as such. But under the garb of trade union movement, some political game is to be played, as a

Government, we will have to fight it out and we shall fight it out.

Lastly, Sir, I will read an appeal to the railwaymen. And through this House, and through you, Sir, I would make an appeal to the railwaymen to create better atmosphere in the country. And I hope this is the last discussion on the subject and so, I thought I should make an appeal to the railway worker.

Now that the railway strike is over, the paramount need of the hour is that all the railwaymen should put in their best and increase the productivity on the railways. Our nation and the world all over is passing through the effect of inflation caused by various factors. This is not the time when any patriotic Indian should think in terms of go-slow, work-to-rule or any such national crippling measure when maximum productivity is called for. All railwaymen should sink their differences and work for the common cause of improving railway transportation and service to the public. They should channelise their trade union activities through constitutional means and should correct that leadership which is either adventurist or political in character. Here, I would like to make it clear that the Government is not in the least opposed

to normal trade union functioning. The railwaymen have their recognised unions. And over and above these, the Railway authorities have not hesitated to take up any grievance of any section of railway workers. The so-called Nation Co-ordination Committee of Railwaymen's Struggle has no *locus standi* at all.

The objective for which it was set up, namely, waging a strike struggle was specifically banned by the Government and the strike was a failure. The Government has always held that it would be prepared to negotiate—and I repeat, Sir—the Government has always held that it would be prepared to negotiate with recognised different unions on normal trade union basis. Hence, there is no place for N.C.C.R.S. so far as the Government is concerned. Unless this body is dissolved, it will be difficult to achieve complete normalcy.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fiftyone minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 7th August, 1974.