

THE CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1974

(To Amend Articles 344, 345, 346 etc.)

SHRI T. K. SRIVASAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI T. K. SRINIVASAN: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1974

(Amendment of the Seventh Schedule)

श्री ओम् प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि भारत के संविधान का और संशोधन करने वाले विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करने की अनुमति दी जाए।

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

श्री ओम्प्रकाश त्यागी : मैं विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करता हूँ।

THE HINDU SUCCESSION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1974

(Amendment of Section 24)

श्री ओम्प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि हिन्दू उत्तराधिकार अधिनियम, 1956 के और संशोधन करने वाले विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करने की अनुमति दी जाए।

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

श्री ओम्प्रकाश त्यागी : मैं विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करना हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have half-an-hour discussion at 5.30. There may be several Members wanting to speak about

the railways. The House stands adjourned till 2.15 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-four minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at eighteen minutes past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176— SITUATION CREATED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RAILWAYMEN BY THE ARREST OF SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES AND OTHERS

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up discussion under Rule 176. Shri Bhupesh Gupta—not here; Shri S. M. Chowdhury—not here; Shri Sardesai.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, since we discussed this issue here yesterday, a lot of more light has been thrown on what happened in the early hours of last morning, and the facts which have come out not only underlined the extreme gravity of the situation but proved to be high-lighting the extremely reprehensible and condemnable aspect of the action taken by this Government to deal with the railway workers' demands. But before coming to this question, I deem it my duty first to pay homage to Comrade V. R. Malgi, General Secretary of the National Railway Mazdoor Union of the Central Railways. Sir, Mr. Malgi is the first martyr in this noble and just cause for which the railway workers have been fighting. So, it is with these feelings, with these deep feelings, that I have got up today to speak on this question.

Now, Sir, coming to the issue itself, as I said, much more information has come out. What does it indicate? It indicates the utterly nefarious fashion in which this Government last morning, in the early hours of last morning, almost like a thief I

would say, went out to arrest not only George Fernandes but a very large number of members of the National Co-ordinating Committee of the Railwaymen and any number of activists of the railway workers and railway unions in various parts of this country, who associated with them.

Sir, I almost said in so many words yesterday and I repeat it with greater emphasis today that now the die is cast. I said yesterday that anyone who knows anything about the trade union movement of our country or any other country knows it for a fact that when negotiations are going on between the leaders of workers and may be employers or may be Government, and if in the course of the negotiations the Government launches a repressive attack by attacking a very large number of leaders of workers concerned by actually arresting them, i.e., those very persons who are members of the negotiating committee, then such a Government itself is immediately provoking a strike. This is what I said yesterday. And, today's morning papers, though I did not know the facts last morning, corroborate the same thing, which is an old experience of the working class movement and which I anticipated yesterday.

Sir, in a large number of Railway centres in this country the strike has already begun; the strike which has been imposed on them, the strike which has been forced on them by this very dastardly attack of the Government in arresting so many leaders of the railwaymen. Already this morning's papers say that in large parts of India the trains have stopped. This is the situation which has developed as a result of the action taken by this Government yesterday morning.

Sir, what shocked me even more—I was pained. I was angry and I am more angry today than I am pained—is that by your unilateral action you accuse one of the leaders of bringing about the strike by provocative speeches which were made openly and which were available to everybody. But, instead of discussing the matter with him you are doing all these kinds of things.

You just come out with an accusation and after having arrested such a large number of comrades, such a large number of leaders of the railway workers, you have the temerity to come out and say that if the railwaymen want any further negotiations, then let them first withdraw the strike notice. It is an amazing thing to say. You took the initiative to launch the attack, you arrested the leaders and on top of it you say that if the railwaymen want any further talks, then the strike notice should be withdrawn. It cannot be withdrawn. I have just got with me a statement issued by the Co-ordinating Committee today and they are absolutely right in saying that if any negotiations are to commence then let the Government, first of all, release all the leaders unconditionally. If you release them then only the question of negotiations comes up. Negotiations were not broken by the railway workers. Negotiations have been broken by this Government and on top of it you come forward and say that if negotiations are wanted then the strike notice should be withdrawn. This is absurd. It is something which no leaders of any working class have ever accepted in the past.

Now, Sir, I had also occasion to meet various members of the Negotiating Committee. There may be differences among them but the negotiations were proceeding. They were talking to Government. What I have come to know from all of them is that there is absolutely no reason for this Government to have come to the conclusion that nothing can be gained by further negotiation. A certain statement has appeared this morning of Comrade Dange, one of the important members of the negotiating committee. He has issued a very long statement in which point by point he has dealt with the various stages of the negotiations. Undoubtedly there were differences—some of them very serious—between the negotiating committee and the Government but at the same time there were indications that if further negotiations had gone on, may be, on his point or that point there might be agreement and the differences between the two negotiating sides becoming less and less possibly some kind of an agreement could have been arrived at. Can anyone

say that no agreement was possible at all? Is it the position of the Government that no agreement was possible? That is not the position so far as I know. Sir, I am amazed that the Government goes on repeating *ad nauseum* negotiate, negotiate, talk, talk, talk. It will go on saying it million times and at the same time when negotiations are going on, when on certain points differences were being reduced, at such a moment you come out like this and arrest the leaders. You take such action all over India. Sir, I do not at all understand why this Government should have taken such a precipitate action unless—and I repeat this—the Government itself wants to provoke the strike.

Now take the question of foodgrains. I just cannot understand why this Central Government—I am not talking of the State Government—could not take the responsibility once they have accepted that food-grain shops should be there. The demand is very right. It is very necessary for the running of the Railways which is a vital sector of the economy. You have said that you cannot take the responsibility of providing foodgrains. Then who is going to supply foodgrains? Are they to be purchased in the black market? You take up a certain position and then you try to evade that by taking up certain other position and make your stand utterly untenable.

With regard to other demands we have been told so many times by the Railway Minister himself and by other spokesmen of Government that they cannot accept all the demands of the workers because that would come to 450 crores, 500 crores or 550 crores. All sorts of figures have been given in this connection. If from what I have come to know from the members of the negotiating committee is a fact—and I know it is a fact; I am sure it is a fact—a certain kind of agreement on principle was being arrived at that the question of the resources of the Railways should be investigated. Can they be augmented? Can there be certain kinds of economy? Can the so many concessions that have been given by the Railways to the big capitalists be withdrawn or not?

If the Government is at all sincere, if the Government is at all serious, this should have been pursued. They say all the time, we do not have sufficient resources. As I said a certain kind of agreement in principle was being arrived at. The Railway workers themselves will sit with you, will discuss with you and will try to find out how new resources could be raised. All these things were there and things were progressing but in the midst of all this suddenly you throw a bombshell and you go and arrest all of them. Sir, this is not the time for making a long speech and I am not accustomed to making long speeches. I only definitely and most deliberately want to say that with this kind of action by the Government the strike will be there. I want to assert that the strike is going to be there. It is a just strike; it is a correct strike; it is a noble strike; it is a strike for a very correct cause and it is going to be there. If that means a confrontation with the Government, let the Government have it and if we have to stand firmly by the genuine and proper demands of the working class, then so many of us, so many trade unions, not only the Communist Party but every trade union will stand firmly by the workers and see to it that an effective and a proper kind of strike comes about. There is no other way of avoiding it except by releasing all those who have been arrested and starting, if the Government wants, negotiations in a proper way. Sir, all these issues are there. That is why I really wanted to know what the Government was going to do. Just now a friend of mine asked a question—asked Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in fact—whether the Government's attack on the workers is reactionary or not. I say it is 100 per cent reactionary. It is 101 per cent reactionary. I would go a step further and say that this Government has forfeited the right to talk of fighting reaction and Fascism. They are all the time saying fight Fascism, fight Fascism. It has become a *mantram* with this Government that day in and day out they are talking of fighting Fascism. We communists who are allied with the worker's movements should know what fighting Fascism means. All over the world it is the working class that has fought Fascism.

But you talk of fighting Fascism and come out and attack the workers in India like this. No Government anywhere in the world which attacks the working class can ever successfully fight Fascism. Comrade Dange this morning has given a warning that other workers in India, the industrial workers will join it. He has given a warning: Beware, this is the beginning. Once the railway workers are attacked, all the rest of you are going to be attacked. Whom are you hitting? You are hitting yourself. You are pitted against yourself. Every industrial worker to a man will be united and they will stand by the railway workers until their demands are conceded. My friend from Congress-O said: Sardesai said that sixty crores of people will rise. I did not say sixty crores, but the entire working-class will stand by the railway workers. His contention is that the entire people of India will be against the railway workers. I was shocked to hear that. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Howling will not help you.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please wait. I want a single Member from the Congress Benches to get up and say whether any Government, whether any political party in the history of the world has fought fascism if it attacks the entire working-class. Get up and reply, if you dare to.

(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: How can you say that?

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI (West Bengal): Is it not a very fantastic claim on the part of Mr. Sardesai that they represent the entire working-class?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will get your chance. Let him have his say.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): Is it his monopoly?

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Even at this late hour, for God's sake, think. You can-

not attack the working-class—I repeat it ten times—and fight fascism. So, my point is even at this late hour, are you prepared to think and think of the country? The Railway Minister has made a statement that the strike of the railway workers will be against the nation. May I know what it is? Is it his contention that the working-class is not in the nation? It is a strange kind of situation in which the toiling masses are not part of the nation. You take away the working-class. You take away the suffering and toiling people. You take away the middle-class. What remain are the big bourgeois and the big landlords. Is that the nation which you have in view? So, if you think that something is in the interests of the nation, it should be in the interests of the working-class and peasantry. This is the nation. The railway workers today are not fighting for themselves. It is they who are fighting for the nation. Do not fling the word 'nation' in their face. This is also past experience. Time and again this Government have been told: You are surrendering to the rightists, you are surrendering to the capitalists and you are surrendering to the big landlords. Then you bring the economy to this crisis, inflation and all that. When the workers come forward and say that they are not responsible for inflation, they are not responsible for the rise in prices and it is your policies which are responsible for the rise in prices, you want to sermonise to them. Oh, if your demands are granted, it will mean Rs. 500 crores. But who brought about inflation? Of course, the economic consequences are there. At the end of it when the workers ask for mere justice, for their right to live, for their right to survive, you want to give a lecture to them: We want to fight fascism. You are against the nation. Think and think ten times before you talk like this. I want to say that since the achievement of independence many events have taken place in India about which it can be said that they have left their imprint on the development of the national economy, but I have no hesitation in saying that the consequences of this policy of the Government of suppressing and crushing the working-class are more dangerous. It is going to be far deeper and it will have a very long-range impact on our economy and on our

politics. I will go a step further and say that it will have an impact on our national independence, more than anything done by the Government in the past. So grave is the situation. You talk of gravity. What is the gravity? The gravity lies precisely in this—that unless you take a correct attitude onwards their demands, unless you do justice to them, unless you negotiate and settle in a reasonable way—and the workers' representatives want only a reasonable settlement—you are going to put yourselves in the hands of the workers' exploiters. There will be a deep crisis in the economy of India which will endanger our democracy, which will endanger our national independence. That is the situation. I want to warn the Government—you have come to a turning point. Think ten times even now. If you pursue a wrong course, not only the railway workers, the entire nation is going to suffer and you are going to repent. I know there are many honest people on the other side. You will repent later on for this kind of a policy of total repression and suppression of the workers. The only thing that I will say in the end is that the history of the working class movement all over the world has proved that you may crush them once, you may crush them twice, you may crush them thrice, but they will rise up, sooner or later they will rise along with the other toiling people, and the last laugh will be with the workers, not with the crushers.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kamal Nath Jha. Let me tell you that there are a number of speakers and I would request the speakers to confine themselves to ten minutes each.

SHRI KAMALNATH JHA (Bihar): Fifteen minutes, Sir.

उपसभापति महोदय, गत एक वर्ष से जब से हमारे देश के सामने एक आर्थिक संकट पैदा हुआ है, मैं देखता हूँ कि एक विशेष तरह की नीति हमारे देश में हमारे माननीय विरोधी दल के लोग चलाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। रेल की जो बड़ी हड़ताल अभी होने वाली है, जिस की चर्चा हम आज इस सदन में कर रहे हैं, एक साल से इस की

रिहर्सल हो रही थी। कभी पूर्व रेलवे में, कभी उत्तर रेलवे में, कभी दक्षिण रेलवे में और कभी मध्य रेलवे में और इस एक साल के रिहर्सल और ट्रायल के बाद यह उन की फाइनल तैयारी थी संपूर्ण देश की अर्थ नीति को और संपूर्ण देश के उद्योग को और संपूर्ण राष्ट्र के जन जीवन को अस्तव्यस्त करने की।

The cat is out of the bag.

उपसभापति जी, आज मैं आप के माध्यम से अपने मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं किसी को षडयंत्रकारी, किसी को देशद्रोही, किसी को सैबोटियर कहना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन इतिहास उन की जो कार्यवाही है आज देश में, उस पर आज नहीं तो कल, अपना वर्डिक्ट जरूर देगा। आज देश की स्थिति क्या है।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It will give its verdict in due course.

श्री कमला नाथ झा : एक तरफ हमारे देश में कृषि और उद्योग को हमें बढ़ाना है, उस में हम पीछे हैं और यही देश के दो आधार हैं। एक तरफ हरियाणा, पंजाब और पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश जहां पर हमारी कृषि संपदा है, जहां पर खेती में सरप्लस गेहूँ और दूसरा अनाज पैदा होता है जहां वहां से हम निकाल कर 57 करोड़ हिन्दुस्तान के भूखे लोगों को खिलाने की, उन का पेट भरने की कोशिश हम करते हैं, वहां पर हमारी संपूर्ण कृषि व्यवस्था को पैरेलाइज करने के लिये आज वहां के बिजलीघरों में हड़तालें करायी जा रही हैं और बिजली की भट्टियां तोड़ी जा रही हैं ताकि देश की कृषि को पूरी तरह से समाप्त किया जा सके। हमारे इस्पात कारखाने को कोयला न मिले बिजली न मिले, हमारे जूट कारखाने को कोयले न मिले, हमारे दूसरे उद्योगों को कोयला न मिले इसलिए रेल को बंद करो, उद्योग जहनुम में जाए खेती जहनुम में चली जाए, आज इसकी खुली साजिश, आज इसकी खुली कार्रवाई हो रही है यह छिपाने की बात नहीं है। आज डेढ़ हजार, दो

हजार बिजली भट्टियों को तोड़ रहे हैं, आज बिजली और रेल दोनों पर हमला हो रहा है। इसके साथ-साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कृषि और उद्योग के साथ-साथ अपनी खून की कीमत चुका कर हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने जिस आजादी को हासिल किया और जिस पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी की स्थापना की जिसके कारण बहुत से राज्यों में और केन्द्र में एक शक्तिशाली बहुमत हुआ उस पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी सिस्टम को रेल करने के लिए आज पार्टीलेस गवर्नेमैन्ट काम कर रही है। प्रिंस बोना पार्ट ने कहा है कि सोसाइटी विद आऊट गवर्नेमैन्ट विना राज्य के, विना सरकार के एक समाज की कल्पना प्रिंस बोनापार्ट ने की। यानी पार्टियों को तोड़ो और जनता के चुने हुए प्रतिनिधियों को ज़बर्दस्ती दस्तखत कराओ, नंगा करो, उसको पीटो। यही काम मारी अपोजिशन पार्टियाँ मिल कर करा रही हैं।

उपसभापति जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से इस सदन के तमाम माननीय सदस्यों को, और देश की 50 करोड़ जनता की अदालत में यह कहना चाहना हूँ कि जिस प्रतिनिधि को जनता ने अपने मत से चुनकर भेजा है उसको यह कहते हैं फोर्सफुली कि रिज़ाइन करो। आपके माध्यम से देश की 50 करोड़ जनता के सामने सदन के माननीय सदस्यों से कहना चाहता हूँ जो देशभक्ति की बात करते हैं उनसे कि जिस देश की कृषि खत्म हो जाए, पावर हाउसिज टूट जाए, रेलवे बंद हो जाए उस देश में कौन 'वाद' आएगा। सिवाय अराजकता-वाद के और कोई 'वाद' नहीं आएगा। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार बड़ी है और सरकार से देश बड़ा है। आज भले ही मेरी सरकार हो और कल आपकी सरकार हो परसें तीसरे की सरकार हो। लेकिन देश की खेती अगर मर जाएगी, देश में डेमोक्रेसी अगर मर जाएगी तो आप मर जाएंगे, हम मर जाएंगे और हिन्दुस्तान की 50 करोड़ जनता मरणोमुख हो जाएगी। इसलिए आप रेलों को, पावर हाउसिज को मत तोड़ो। उसको मत बरबाद करो। यह देश की 50 करोड़ की जनता की सम्पत्ति है और अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी से

आपका झगडा है तो हर दो वर्ष बाद, तीन वर्ष बाद चुनाव होते हैं आप हम को पिछाड़ कर कुर्सी पर आ जाना लेकिन देश की गरीब जनता के साथ खिलवाड़ मत करो। उनके भूखे पेट पर छुरा मत मारो। उनके वच्चों को भूख से मत तड़पाओ।

आप कहते हैं कि ट्रेड युनियन आखिर हमकी परिभाषा क्या है? कुछ देते हो और कुछ लेते हो यही न आपने छः मांगें रखीं। उन छः मांगों में से 4 मांगों को रेल मंत्रालय ने स्वीकार किया। 110 करोड़ रुपये तो दिये थे कमीशन ने और 80 करोड़ रुपये दिए रेल मंत्रालय ने एक वर्ष में तो इस गरीब देश में जहाँ आप रोज कहते हैं कि 60 परसेन्ट आदमी बिलो पावर्टी लाईन है उस गरीब देश में, जहाँ के लोगों को आज दो जून खाना नहीं मिलता है ऐसे टाइम में रेलवे ने दो करोड़ रुपये की बढ़ोतरी की। तब भी आप हम को कहते हैं आप एन्टी लेबर है। मैं कहता हूँ कि आप एन्टी-नेशन है।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You are both anti-labour and anti-nation.

श्री कमलनाथ झा : कांग्रेस पार्टी एन्टी लेबर है या अपोजिशन एन्टी पीपल है इस देश की भूखी जनता के लिए हम कहां से पांच सौ करोड़ रुपये लाएंगे। डेफिसिट फाईनैन्सिंग करके, नोट छापकर मुद्रा स्फीति करके 100 परसेन्ट बढ़ा दिया टैंक्सिज लगाकर के इस देश की गरीब जनता जिसको आधी रोटी मिलती है, चौथाई रोटी मिलती है उसको भी छीनना चाहते हैं? इसलिए यह लड़ाई आप इस सरकार से नहीं करते हैं। यह लड़ाई, यह आक्रमण, आपने किया है हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पर, हिन्दुस्तान के गरीबों के ऊपर और इसका जवाब हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब देंगे। मैं समझ सकता हूँ जनसंघ के भाईयों को क्योंकि उनका इस देश के गरीबों से कभी दूर का भी रिश्ता नहीं रहा, उनका नारा था कि धन और श्रम का बंटवारा नहीं होगा। मैं समझ सकता हूँ अपने से सोशलिस्ट भाइयों को जिन्होंने

पराजय से परेशान होकर आत्मसमर्पण कर दिया—सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के एक ग्रुप ने चरण सिंह के सामने आत्मसमर्पण किया और दूसरे ने सी० पी० एम० के सामने आत्मसमर्पण किया। मैं उनको समझ सकता हूँ क्योंकि आज वे नेशनलिज्म और सोशलिज्म दोनों को जोड़ कर हिटलर की पार्टी हिन्दोस्तान में खड़ी करना चाहते हैं जर्मन डेमोक्रेटिक रिपब्लिक की उदारता से फायदा उठा कर जैसे 1918 के बाद हिटलर ने जर्मनी में फासिज्म कायम किया था वह सपना देख रहे हैं जनमंघी और हमारे कुछ बिगड़े हुए समाजवादी लोग। लेकिन अब दुनिया बदली हुई है, फिर इस दुनिया में हिटलर नहीं पैदा हो सकता। लेकिन अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों पर मुझे दया आती है। 1942 में एंटी पीपुल स्टैंड लेकर हिन्दोस्तान के कम्युनिस्ट्स ने एक जबर्दस्त गलती की थी। एक युग लगा उनको इस पाप की धोने के लिए। इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से उपसभापति जी, कहना चाहता हूँ अपने मित्र भूपेश गुप्त जी को और उनके दोस्तों को कि आप उन लोगों के साथ, इन फासिस्ट फॉर्सेज के साथ, जो कि जबर्दस्ती इस्तीफा लिखाते हैं, जिनको कोई मतलब नहीं है वर्किंग क्लास मूवमेंट से, अगर उनके साथ असोसिएट करोगे तो फिर 1942 वाली गलती फिर करोगे। हिन्दोस्तान की राजनीति में बहुत जमाने के बाद सही नीति अपनाई है आपने और सही लोगों से संबंध स्थापित करके आप खड़े हुए हैं लेकिन दुबारा फिर अगर गलत नीति अपना कर गलत लोगों के साथ आप जाएंगे तो जहाँ आप थे वही पर फिर वापस चले जाएंगे। इसलिए इस जन-विरोधी हड़ताल का विरोध हम आपसे चाहते हैं। आप इन जन-विरोधी शक्तियों के खिलाफ हमारे साथ मिल कर मुकाबला करो। और जो लोग गुमराह हो रहे हैं उनको समझाओ वह कोई ट्रेड मूवमेंट नहीं है।

दूसरी बात जो मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आज हिन्दोस्तान में कुछ लोगों में गरीबों के लिए बहुत हमदर्दी, गरीबों के लिए उनके दिल में बहुत दर्द आ गया है और वे ट्रेड यूनियन

मूवमेंट इसको समझते हैं कि बड़े बड़े डाक्टरों की हड़ताल कराओ, बड़े बड़े इंजीनियर्स की हड़ताल कराओ, जो एयरवेज में हैं उनकी हड़ताल कराओ। लेकिन कोई भी इस बात को नहीं सोचता कि हिन्दुस्तान के वे गरीब जिनके पास तक हम पहुंचना चाहते हैं; हम कांग्रेसी लोग, खेतों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों के पास जिनकी तादाद 12 करोड़ है, पहुंचना चाहते हैं, उस पहुंचने में आप हमारी मदद करो। जो फूटपाथ डूबेल्स हैं, उनके पास तक हम पहुंचना चाहते हैं, उसमें आप हमारी मदद करो। आज एक तरफ हिन्दोस्तान के आर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर के लेबरर्स हैं और दूसरी तरफ बिलो द पावर्टी लाइन करोड़ों आदमी हैं जिनके पास खाने को रोटी नहीं है। (समय की घण्टी) तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ आपकी यह मानवता की नीति नहीं है, न यह ट्रेड यूनियन की नीति है और न राष्ट्र-हित की नीति है। इसलिए, उपसभापति जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय सदस्यों से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्र-हित में दल से ऊपर उठकर सोचने की आवश्यकता है और मैं समझता हूँ हम लोग अपने हृदय का मंथन करेंगे और यह जो नाजायज रेल हड़ताल होने जा रही है उसको रोकेंगे और मजदूर नेताओं को कहेंगे कि वे अपना हड़ताल का नोटिस वापस ले लें। मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि आज मजदूर भी हमारे समाज का अंग है और मजदूरों के साथ हमारा कोई झगड़ा नहीं है।

उनकी मांगों के साथ मेरी पूरी सहानुभूति है। मेरी लड़ाई तो केवल उन गलत दिमाग वाले लोगों के साथ है, उन गलत विचारधारा वाले लोगों के साथ है, जो मजदूरों को उभारकर, बहकाकर आज गलत रास्ते पर ले जाना चाहते हैं तथा उनके माध्यम से देश का अनिष्ट करना चाहते हैं। इसलिए इन समाज विरोधी तत्वों की धमकियों में हमको नहीं आना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस देश का भविष्य ये लोग बरबाद करना चाहते हैं और इस देश में जो डेमोक्रेसी है, उसको खत्म करना चाहते हैं। जो लोग इस समय ट्रेड यूनियन्स में काम कर रहे हैं वही लोग आज

देश के दुश्मन बन गये हैं, वही लोग वर्कर्स के मूवमेंट के दुश्मन हैं। इस तरह के लोग वकिंग क्लास के दुश्मन बन गये हैं और वे इस तरह के हैं।

जो न दण्ड देहु सठ तोरा

भ्रष्ट होन्हि वृष्टि भारग मोरा

इसलिए ऐसे दुष्ट लोगों के लिए उपनिषद में कहा है कि जो आततायी है, जो बदमाश है, जो दूसरों को कष्ट देते हैं, उसको बिना बिचारे दंड दो। इस तरह से जो ऐसे लोग हैं, जो राष्ट्रद्रोही हैं, मजदूर द्रोही हैं, उनके प्रति कोई सहानुभूति नहीं करनी चाहिये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI G. K. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the arrest of comrade George Fernandes is a cowardly act unbecoming of a Government which is a people's Government in this country. The railway workers have timed this strike at a time when Parliament is in Session only for the reason that Parliament can guide them and the Government in arriving at a solution to the problem of railway workers and other Central Government employees. The main issue is bonus. It is not an issue of the Congress party saying that opposition parties have instructed the employees to go on strike or the opposition parties saying that the Congress wanted the strike not to be conducted. That is not the issue. The railway employees have certain problems. On those issue only they are going on a strike. The main issue before us is the bonus issue and the grant of minimum wage. In the year 1968 the railway workers and other Central Government employees who were members of the National Council, the Joint Consultative Machinery walked out of the National Council since their demand for a minimum wage was not accepted by the Government. They went on strike in the year 1968 to press their demand for a minimum wage.

After the 1968 token strike the Government appointed the Third Pay Commission where in in the terms of reference the question of minimum wage was not included. Therefore, in order to get the question of minimum wage included in the terms of reference of the Third Pay Commission, the Central Government employees observed pay-boycott and compelled the Government to include the minimum wage question in the terms of reference of the Third Pay Commission. The Pay Commission, after three years' deliberations, came out with a report and fixed Rs. 314 as minimum wage. Now, I would ask you how the demand of Central Government employees for the grant of a minimum wage is not in order or is politically motivated. The Pay Commission has recommended Rs. 314 as the minimum wage. There was a dispute and we could not come to any settlement. The Central Government could not give any decision. Therefore, it was referred to the Pay Commission and the Pay Commission decided that the minimum wage should be Rs. 314. Now the railway workers and the Central Government employees want that Rs. 314 which has been recommended by the Pay Commission should be given to them. Is it politically motivated? In all other public undertakings the minimum wage is being granted to their employees even without the employees going on strike or without any pay commission or tribunal giving any verdict. In the banking industry and in the Life Insurance Corporation, the minimum wage is granted to their employees. Why does the Central Government employee insist that the minimum wage should be fixed for him? In many public undertakings minimum wage has been fixed. The reflection of the same is found in the pay of the employees of other cadres in the Central Services. Thus there is some satisfaction among them. That is why the Central Government employees including the Railway and P & T employees who form the majority, have put up this demand. This minimum wage is being insisted on after 25 years of independence. We are not asking for it in the first year of our independence. In these 25 years of our independence, four Five Year Plans have been implemented and we say we have earned profit. After 25 years of independence this Government which is wedded to

the principle of socialism and which has to be a model employer for the private sector is not able to pay minimum wage to its own employees.

Next is the bonus issue. The Government of India through their then hon. Minister of Labour, Shri Khadiolkar, has said that bonus is a deferred wage and 8.33 per cent should be paid to all employees irrespective of the fact whether the Industry is making a profit or not. Now the Prime Minister of India asks how 13 months' pay can be paid to the employees who work only for 12 months. What a change in the policy of the Government of India within a few years! The Government of India is the biggest employer and it is my wish that they should be the model employer as well because then only they can bring pressure on the private sector and ask them to pay bonus and minimum wage to their workers. Therefore, may I appeal to the hon. Minister not to stand on prestige, to release Shri George Fernandes and to start negotiations and arrive at an amicable settlement? The leader of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, the late lamented Aragner Anna said that as Chief Minister he had no special prestige of his own, but the prestige of the people was his prestige. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister of Railways, Shri Mishra and the Government of India not to take this issue as a prestige issue for them. The question of victor and the vanquished does not arise. We as Indian people will be able to arrive at proper decisions only when we do not make this a prestige issue because these are national issues. It is not that some railwaymen are asking for more wages. Look at the life he has to lead and the family which is at the back of every employee. The railway employee is not able to feed his children with his pay. Therefore, these should be looked at as national issues, and these should be approached as such. Even now there are chances of averting the impending strike. There are certain problems which may be considered sympathetically by the Government of India. Promotional avenues are very

meagre in the Central Government departments. These are less than 7 or 8 per cent. This is responsible for the discontentment among the Central Government staff. You will be surprised to know that a clerk in the Central Services recruited as clerk retires as clerk. How can we expect him to put in his best when he is not able to get some promotion or other in order to meet his added family responsibilities when he gets married and when he gets children, etc. Promotional avenues should be increased to at least 25 per cent.

3 P.M.

Another problem is to provide job to the son or daughter of Central Government employees. I do not want to press for the dependents, but only for the son or daughter of a Central Government employee. The son or daughter of a Central Government employee should be provided with an appointment provided he or she has the required minimum qualification and they should not be made to compete with the public. Sir, if some of these problems of the Central Government employees are solved, it may be possible to avert the strike as these things will improve the economic conditions of the employees. But it is unfortunate that the honourable Minister and the honourable Members of the ruling party think that they alone are the defenders of the national interests in this country. Sir, when the issue of the railwaymen's strike is being discussed in both the Houses of Parliament, it is unfortunate that Shri Fernandes has been arrested. What I would have liked the honourable Minister to do is this: Having discussed this issue with the Co-ordination Committee people, having given his proposals, he should have come before this House, if his proposals had not been accepted by them, for seeking the guidance of this House. This is what I would have liked him to do. But he came here and raised so many issues and also said that the doors of negotiation were open. But the next day he had arrested Mr. Fernandes. Therefore, what I say is that the Minister in a people's Government should

have held discussions with Mr. George Fernandes and if the discussions were not successful, he could have placed his proposals before this House. At least, Sir, this much could have been done. He could have come here and asked for our guidance and we would have used our good offices and seen to it that the strike was averted and that Shri Fernandes was not arrested and, at the same time, we could have arrived at some arrangement and solved this national issue in the proper way. However, Sir, now an undemocratic act has been committed. It looks, from the action of the Government in arresting Mr. George Fernandes, that the Government is not afraid of or worried about the 15 lakhs or so of the railway employees. They want to terrorise the entire working class and they want to terrorise the entire working people in this country and these railway employees are about 15 lakhs in number. The Government seems to think like this: "The railway employees are about fifteen lakhs in number and they went on strike and we have arrested the leader of the fifteen lakh employees." This seems to be their thinking. But, Sir, this is not the way in which they should approach the problem. This is a human problem and they should approach this problem in a human way. This strike must be averted and then only our honourable Minister will be applauded. He will not be applauded if he averts the strike by spending crores of rupees. The future historians of the country, when they write about this railway strike, should write "There was a big railway strike and the then Railway Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, was responsible for averting this strike, not through bullets, but through his approach to the problem in a human way, by understanding the problems of the employees, and thus he averted the strike." This is how it should be written in the history. But it is not going to be like that. Therefore, Sir, I request that the arrest of Mr. George Fernandes must be cancelled and the negotiations must be started immediately. Sir, after all Mr. Fernandes also is an Indian national and he knows the economic conditions of the country and so, these problems can be solved amicably. This is my appeal. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA

(Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is very difficult for a person like me, who has identified his life with the working class and has a great sympathy with the working class . . . (Interruption). If you go through my literature and all public performance you will see it. It is very difficult for a person like me to tell them that what they are going to do will be anti-national and unpatriotic. And I will put forth my arguments for that.

Sir, I feel sorry for Mr. Sardesai. I have great regard for him, for his understanding of the situation. I would like to ask him this question. In the last meeting, Mr. A. P. Sharma was there, Parvathi Krishnan was there, and in that meeting the minutes were agreed to and only formal signatures were to be taken . . . (Interruption by Shri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta). Mr. Sen Gupta, things become inconvenient to you, I would appeal to you to keep quite. Now, in this meeting, A. P. Sharma was present. Parvathi Krishnan was there . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Parvathi Krishnan was authorised by the Co-ordination Committee . . .

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I know the whole story. Therefore, I am appealing to Mr. Sardesai. I know Mr. Niren Ghosh, who has a blind wrath against the Congress . . . (Interruptions). If coal is washed a hundred times 'Angara Sata Dhoutena Malinatwa Na Jayate' it cannot become white . . . (Interruptions).

Mr. George Fernandes had also every facility to come from Lucknow. If I am correct, he was also offered a special plane to come in the morning and sign the agreed minutes. Before leaving, he briefed the Press. "This is all meaningless exercise". There were some elements who never wanted a collective bargaining but they have some deep politics behind it . . .

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: How can you justify the arrest?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: It is not arresting a person, it is arresting a situation . . . (Interruptions) It is only a precautionary measure, because we have reports

from his speeches where he actually propagated violence. He said, "No train should move" . . . (Interruptions). Mr. Sardesai you are in bad company; you are ticked by the vested interests and fascists.

I would like to draw your attention to a statement made by the Minister, which is a public document. Now, negotiations amount to what? You come and demand something if that is not fulfilled, you say negotiations are stopped? Negotiations mean coming to a compromise. You give something; you ask for something and accede to something. You cannot simply say that whatever we demand, whatever, we want, that should be acceded to by the Government. No Government under the sun can act that way. And if a Government does like that, I will not call it a Government. You tell me, if this strike materialises—I hope it will not—What will happen? Three days ago, I was at my home town at Behrampur. I had a friendly rickshawala who was paddling me to my residence. I asked him how the life was. He told me that after the strike notice, the price of potatoes had gone up by 50 per cent. Similarly the prices of all perishable articles have gone up and hoarding has started. (Interruptions) Niren Ghosh It is not necessary that you should agree with me. I have my own way of looking at things. Sir, Life will become a hell. The entire mobility of the nation will be paralysed. Our factories, our plants will be crippled, fertilisers would not move for our agriculture and if the commodities cannot move, then life will become impossible. Do you want that for certain demands, a section of the Government employees should hold the entire nation to ransom and say: "We will hold your 'choti'. We demand this. You give us or otherwise we will spoil the whole thing"?

Why was there strike notice? It was calculated politically Mr. Sardesai. I will expect you to stand by the millions of Indian people instead of saying emphatically that you stand by the railway staff. What are the benefits which they are getting? A railway labourer gets Rs. 2 per day. In other sectors, he gets Rs. 3.00 or Rs. 3.50 or Rs. 3.75 only. At every increase of 8

points in price they get some increment of Rs 10.00. Out of the Anomaly Committee findings, they will get 12.5 crores; through job evaluation, they will get 15 crores and through cadre review and upgradation they will get 12.5 crores. When all this money is added up, they get a 40 per cent. rise as compared to last year. Now, they demand bonus. Do you mean to say that whatever we earn from the railways is only to be eaten by the railways employees alone?

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: You check the price rise.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: He is not the hardest hit. Look at the common man. Here, it is a question of collective bargaining. What about people who have no such advantage. What about the unorganised section. Therefore, I will appeal to you and to the railwaymen not to go ahead with this strike. The railwaymen are a short sighted lot. They do not know what they are doing. George Fernandes or his type of people will not be able to help them. It is not a strike to bargain for more wages or need based wages or something like that. It is against our establishment. It is against democracy. It is against the recognised and elected Government. The frustrated politicians who have lost with the people are trying now to annoy the people and harass the people.

Sir, I have one or two more points to make. It is really unfortunate that today I find very little difference between the private sector employer and the public sector worker. Let us be frank and sincere about these things. The private sector employers try to grab as much project as possible. Now, what is happening in the public sector? We nationalise a mill or a factory or some such thing. Our idea is that any factory or plant that we nationalise runs well and makes a little more profit, and that the profit will come to the masses. But the employees who work there feel that they have got really something and that any profit meant only for them, and that they should get it. Wherever a concern makes a little more money, the people employed there feel that that money is for them and not for India. This is a wrong attitude on the part of the employees.

You are leaders of the working class. You try to educate them. I remember one sentence of Mr. Dange. He said, "The worker must be honest in a factory. If a worker pockets one bolt or a nut, a finished product will be smuggled out by a big officer." So, if the worker has any sense of honesty, he should first feel for whom he is working. As we are parliamentarians, who are elected representatives here, our interest is for the country. In the same way, whether he is a government employee or a corporation employee or a public sector employee, he should feel that he is employed in that particular job not for himself but for the people. (*Time Bell*). I will just take one minute, Sir. I must again appeal to Mr. Sardesai to explain to his people and see that, come what may,—there were many occasions when you asked the Government to do this or that—the strike does not materialise. I do not know where from this sentence was imported. I have met people. They say that if there is going to be a strike, there will be a social boycott of the strikers. The barber will not attend to them; their children will not be allowed to go to school; the shopkeeper will not give them commodities. There will be a social boycott. Strike will affect the commonman. He cannot live his daily life smoothly; he cannot get his commodities; he has to pay more price. So, all these difficulties will be there. My last appeal to the Government is this. When the Andhra agitation was going on, I had warned the Government. The Government might have forgotten it but I remember the sentence. If you bow down to violence in the streets, the time will not be far off when you will be compelled to bow out of the office. You have bowed down before violence many a time, and now the strikers threaten. Never bow down. I do not blame Smt Parvathi Krishnan or Mr. A. P. Sharma, but I blame the other section. They are for violence and they will commit violence. Be prepared. Take measures so that people will not have to suffer. And the wheels should move so that the country moves forward.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He is always meant to hold a wrong baby.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Thengari.

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, before coming to the main problem, I take this opportunity to clarify certain points regarding which the hon. Railway Minister has made some wrong statements. Mr. George Fernandes did not say, as has been alleged by the Railway Minister, that the negotiations were a meaningless exercise. What he said was that job evaluation, without commitment on the part of the Government regarding reclassification or regradation, was a meaningless exercise—job evaluation was meaningless and not the negotiations. His statement has been misrepresented by the Minister. Whether it was done deliberately or inadvertently, I will leave it to you for judgment. The Minister did not tell the truth to the House when he said, as he mentioned in his letter to Mr. Fernandes, that the representatives of A.I.R.F. had absented themselves from the meeting on 1st May to draw up the minutes of agreement. On behalf of the action committee of the N.C.C.R., Mr. George Fernandes had sent Mr. Gokhale and Smt. Parvathi Krishnan for the purpose. Both of them attended the meeting on behalf of the entire N.C.C.R. and not as representatives of either Bharat Railway Mazdoor Sangh or Indian Railway Workers' Federation. The Minister knew his position. Still he wrote giving a different version.

Sir, a friend of mine in the trade union field has, in his anxiety to prove that the strike move is politically motivated, said that the workers' representatives did not even know as to what was meant by trade union activities and that they took nearly four hours to arrive at the agreed definition. Is it a statement of fact? The fact is that the existing service rules have become outdated, anachronistic and are in some respects in contravention of the legitimate trade union rights. The service rules need modification. Mr. Qureshi himself appreciated this fact and offered to examine the service rules in the light of

this context and agreed to modify them whenever they contravened the legitimate trade union rights. This was the factor responsible for prolonged discussion on the point. I am sorry to find that my trade-unionist friend is more loyal than the Deputy Railway Minister himself.

Sir, there has been another case of misrepresentation also. It has been alleged that the workers' representatives wanted to increase the burden on the common man by revising the freight and fare structure. It is wrong. What all they wanted was that concessions to big business and monopoly houses be withdrawn. Their suggestion was directed against monopoly houses and not against common man.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

SHRI D. THENGARI: Now, regarding the stage of negotiations: at the time when Mr. Fernandes was arrested, negotiations were in progress. Workers' representatives as well as Mr. Qureshi must be credited for the spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation. On a number of questions agreement was arrived at. And, in this process both Mr. Qureshi and the N.C.C.R. representatives showed commendable spirit of accommodation and reconciliation—neither side taking a rigid stand. Victumisation, working hours, de-casualisation of casual labour and job evaluation—on these four points working agreement had been arrived at. Both the parties to negotiations adopted reasonable and flexible attitude. On the remaining problems, i.e., on supply of subsidized foodgrains and predominantly financial demands it was mutually agreed to conduct negotiations on May 2. Thus the position was that when Mr. Fernandes was arrested agreement was arrived on some points. Differences were narrowed down regarding remaining points. Negotiations were to be conducted on May 2. At such a juncture, the Government launched this major offensive.

Then, Sir, there are certain other misrepresentations by the Government and I

also want to mention about them. Who was eager for a negotiated settlement? Hon. Minister has times without number expressed his eagerness in his House about a negotiated settlement. But, at the same time we know, Sir, that before and even during the pendency of the negotiations the administration caused penal transfers and arrests of trade union workers on railways. In fact, this should have been a sufficient justification for the Railway labour leaders to discontinue talks and to come out of negotiations. But, with great self-restraint they refrained from any such move and conducted negotiations in spite of the ungentlemanly behaviour of the Railway Ministry. It is noteworthy, Sir, again, my friend, Mr. Brahmananda Panda, has talked about financial potentialities and other things. But, he does not know that in the last sitting, i.e., on 30th April, the workers' representatives did not take any rigid stand on the financial demands. They did not say that these are our demands, these must be fulfilled. How to raise financial resources for the same, is your headache and not ours. This position they did not take. On the contrary they suggested that the authorities and the representatives of labour workers should jointly explore further availability of funds and that this should be a joint exercise. They expressed their willingness to share the responsibility of finding out finances to meet their demands. Does this not clearly manifest their sense of responsibility and reasonableness? To be fair I must say that Mr. Qureshi gave appropriate response to this gesture of the labour leaders. Now, Sir, while all these facts I am placing before the House these are by way of just clarification because the Railway Minister has misrepresented a number of things.

Now I must come to the main problem which is who is responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations. Whether the demands were justified or not, that question has receded into the background; that is not relevant just now but the most relevant and pertinent question now is who is responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations and for this purpose it

is necessary to state in brief how the negotiations proceeded. I will not go into details but the main salient features I want to highlight. On 27th February, as you all know, there was a national convention of the NCCRS in which a resolution was passed giving a time limit up to April 10 and up till 10th April the Railway Minister made no move to contact the representatives of the workers or even to initiate a talk about negotiations. It is true that during this period the Minister for Labour, Shri Raghunatha Reddy, contacted the different Railway unions separately and on 11th April—it was after the 10th April—he convened a meeting of the representatives of the different unions in the Railways as well as the central labour organisations and, Sir, I must say that he tried to understand the problem. He made an earnest effort to grasp the niceties and subtleties of the problem and made up his mind properly on the composition of the negotiations table, the issues for negotiation and the status of the negotiators which are the primary prerequisites for even the beginning of any negotiations. I must add here that on all these three important points the Railway Minister had no clear idea of his own and had not made up his mind till almost the last phase of the negotiations. Sir, on April 11 while the Labour Minister had concluded his talks with the workers' representatives Mr. George Fernandes received a letter from Mr. Mishra saying that he along with his colleagues could come for talks as if it was a dinner party, as if with some friends from the club he was to go for a dinner party at Mr. Mishra's place. He did not specify who were to be the parties to the negotiations.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI L N MISHRA): You do not know the background of it, way it was done.

SHRI D. THENGARI: It is the primary prerequisite about which you did not make up your mind or you did not understand your own mind almost till the 18th. That is my allegation; I am charging you that up to the 18th April you had not made up your mind about

the primary prerequisite as to the composition of the negotiations table. Then on April 12 Mr. Mishra said that the labour leaders could sit along with Mr. Warriar, Member of the Railway Board on April 15. Now whoever comes as a negotiator must have powers to negotiate. And April 15 had a special significance in view of the fact that the NCCRS was to meet again on the same date to take a decision about the strike. So, simultaneously these two meetings were to be held but it was necessary that the negotiations should not fail. The Minister should have ensured that at least on his part there will be no lacuna. He should have ensured that the negotiations are at least in the process of continuance but what actually happened was that Mr. Warriar was not armed with any powers for negotiations so that when ...

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): He was an unarmed warrior.

SHRI D. THENGARI: I have no doubt of his ability or competence as a negotiator but he was not given any powers so that the poor fellow had to admit that he was just a postman and not a negotiator. This shook the confidence of the workers in the *bona fides*, sincerity, earnestness of the Railway Minister for a negotiated settlement and that is why on the 15th they took a decision to go on strike. Had Mr. Warriar been given adequate powers as a negotiator there was no occasion for the convention of the NCCRS to take a decision about the strike. So, Mr. Mishra is responsible for the resolution passed on that day by the convention of NCCRS. Then, Sir, subsequently Mr. Fernandes wrote to Mr. Mishra that he was meeting him on the 18th. (*Time bell rings*). I am concluding. I am not talking anything irrelevant. On the 18th they met and on the 20th Mr. Mishra appointed Mr. Qureshi for the purpose of negotiations. Negotiations just commenced and unfortunately—we are very sorry—his father expired. He had to go. This is understandable. Was Mr. Mishra ignorant of the fact that, according to the

resolution of the convention of NCCRS, 23rd was the appointed date for serving strike notices? If Mr. Mishra did not prove his *bona fides* and his sincerity about a negotiated settlement, workers would have no other alternative but to serve strike notices. The 21st and 22nd, two important days, he lost. Actually Mr. Fernandes requested Mr. Mishra that in place of Mr. Qureshi he should resume negotiations. He refused to do so. Had he resumed negotiations there would have been no occasion for the workers' unions to give strike notices. He is responsible for precipitating matters. Again, after the return of Mr. Qureshi, as I said earlier and I need not repeat it, he picked up the threads and conducted negotiations. He showed a reasonable attitude to the workers' representatives and they were also reasonable, co-operative and helpful. Differences were narrowed down, but here again, the same mistake as was committed on April 15, was committed partially. When it came to financial commitments, it was obvious that Mr. Qureshi was not given any powers to negotiate. I am sure had Mr. Qureshi been given powers regarding financial commitments, he would have continued the talks...

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: He had all powers.

SHRI D. THENGARI: ...in a satisfactory manner. But he was not given the powers and that is why he had to say that he could not even clearly and categorically state whether this was a matter of principle or finance. At a later stage when Mr. Mishra intervened, he invited the labour leaders or the action committee of the NCCRS on May 2 for negotiations. In the meanwhile, in the early hours of May 2 Mr. Fernandes was arrested. The whole history of the negotiations clearly proves that there was either lack of earnestness on the part of Mr. Mishra or lack of efficiency on the part of Mr. Mishra and if Mr. Mishra's acts of commission and omission are owned by the ruling party, I must tell our friends that side that history will have to record that great problems came

to them for solutions, but they did not deal with them greatly. Thank you.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: Sir, it is in a very precarious situation in which we have to take part in this debate. Of course, I am thankful to my hon. friend, Mr. Sardesai, who has given an opportunity to this House of Elders to express their views on the threatened strike as well as the attitude of the Government after they have taken into custody Mr. George Fernandes, leader of the railway employees.

[The Vice-Chairman, (Shri S. S. Mari-swami) in the chair].

I have every support and sympathy for the working-class movement in the country. That is why in my heart of hearts I believe that if any man, who gives leadership to the working-class movement and while negotiations are going on, is taken into custody, it cannot be praised very much. At the same time, I do not have any hesitation to say that the man who gives leadership to the working-class movement in the country makes a statement on the 23rd and 24th March. In Calcutta as Mr. George Fernandes made a statement while he was addressing the railway workers in Calcutta. After they have served the notice of strike, he has incited the working-class, the railway employees even to fight the Border Security Force and the military personnel if they came to give protection to railway property which is the national property of the country. Having every support and sympathy for the leaders of the working class movement, I cannot lend my support to any man, whatever might be his position with regard to any movement in this country; I cannot extend my approbation to one who excites people to chaos, loot, plunder and destruction of the national property. Therefore, if any man has made such an incitement to the people so as to cause the destruction of the national property, wealth and resources of the country and if this Government has taken the attitude of throwing him into the prison, I believe that the Government has done a very wise

act. (*Interruptions*). If you have read the Hindustan Times today, then it is there, and you read any other paper of Calcutta, of 23rd, 24th and 25th March, and you will find his statement. (*Interruption*). I know that some senior leaders of this country want to keep their eyes shut to the activities which are being done in the name of democracy in this country in order that there should be chaos, confusion and disaster all over the country. I have every respect to elderly leaders but as a young man of this country, with my blood boiling, I cannot give my support to such people who want total chaos and confusion to be created in the country. While people are striving very much to come out of the problems that face them, the problems of the multitudes of my nation, it appears to me something fantastic and something hypocritical. While Mr. Sardesai was saying that the entire 55 million people of this country will be with the strikers, I do not know if he thought that the entire 550 million people of this country will be the strikers. They might have included the burglars, the dacoits, the anti-social elements, the non-democrats and the thieves, everyone. God forbid, we do not want to include them. My friend, Mr. Sardesai, has never spoken against those people who split the working class unity. It really gives me pain—while they say that they are very much for the unity of the working classes, may I ask and pose a question to him? Why have you formed another Federation of the Railwaymen under the Chairmanship of Mr. Dange? Mr. Niren Ghosh, the most noble, little man of this House, of this floor, every now and then jumps up and says that he is very much for the working class people, their unity. May I ask him why in 1969 after having had your differences of opinion with the Communist Party of India, you broke away from the AITUC and formed the CITU? Is it the way that the Members are showing to the country that they are very much for the working class unity? Yes, if this Government has done anything anti-labour, anything against the working-class movement, let the curse of the working class people come upon them

I believe that I am entrusted with the responsibility of speaking on behalf of the very poor and poverty-stricken people of my country. I say and I warn them, for heaven's sake, do not allow any opportunity to these organised people of this country to ransack the total economy in the name of democracy. I do not know if there is any nation which has witnessed that a handful of people can exploit the total economy to the total detriment of the country. It is unfortunate that we people, having branded ourselves with the ideals of progressivism—as some of my own party men were doing yesterday—do not dare to speak a few words against the atrocities which are being done by the organised movement, by organised hooligans, who do these things in the name of trade unionism. I say it because of my attitude towards the working class. Let it be known to this honourable House—I am also associated very much with the movement of the working class. I am also associated, in my own humble way, with the trade union movement in Calcutta: in some sections of the Government and of the public sector undertakings. I am associated with the working class movement. I will never allow my people to go on ransacking the total economy to the total detriment of the poor people. Sir, they have placed a charter of demands for 75 per cent. wage increase. May I ask if this country is ready to afford Rs. 500 crores even if it is made available to them? Would my friends opposite consider what general reaction it would make in other sectors of our life? Already we know that some sort of agitation is going on in the Post & Telegraph Department saying that if some demands on the part of the railway employees are met, in that event their demands will also have to be taken up. If a sum of Rs. 500 crores is to be given only to the handful of people—I believe the railway employees do not constitute more than .5 per cent. of the total population—what will happen to the nation? Can these handful of people, a small percentage of the total population, take the lion's share of the nation's economy for their benefit? And if this Government at the moment has taken

this rigid attitude, I do not think it can be called a fascist attitude. This attitude has been adopted after taking into account the total welfare of the poverty-stricken people of this country. I very much appreciate the stand of the Government at this particular moment.

Sir, the Opposition says that the whole working class is with them. May I say that only a few days back we had a strike by the locomen? Do you know what vandalism was done in the name of strike? All sorts of atrocities were committed against those who wanted to join their offices. Even the womenfolk of such workers were put to torture. About this there is information available with the Railway Ministry. While the Railway Minister gives his reply I will request him to refer to this thing also.

Sir, I shall not take much of your time. I would simply say that the whole nation's economy is on the verge of peril, on the verge of total destruction. I can understand the workers have to bargain something with the Government. But if the bargaining point goes to total destruction of the national economy, no government can remain a silent spectator. Therefore, I will urge upon hon'ble friends opposite to consider the situation. We have a democracy. The Government does not want to be fascist in its approach. They do not want to exert their opinion in a form as fascist Government does. Any action forced on the part of the Government should not be called fascist by the Opposition therefore, even if this arrest was done, it cannot mean total annihilation of the working class movement of the country. If this arrest has been made this has been made quite in a justified way because it was Mr. George Fernandes who was inciting these people to go whole hog with the fight against the Government and to destroy railway properties which we cannot repair or replace.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: Yes, that is what I say. I would only request

the hon'ble Minister to see that anyhow this strike should be averted. Of course, if there is some such demand on the part of the employees which it is possible to accede it should be for the Government to take note of so that the railway employees are made amenable and understandable. Next, even if the strike notice is there they should negotiate with the employees' representatives. The Government should pursue the negotiations in all sincerity so that the strike is averted.

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, केवल इसके कि मैं रेलवे स्ट्राइक के बारे में कुछ कहूं, मुझे इस बात की शिकायत है कि कल लोक सभा में जब कि मिश्र जी ने बड़ी हिम्मत के साथ इस बात को स्वीकार किया कि जो गिरफ्तारियां हुई हैं उनके इल्म में हुई हैं, उनकी कांसेंट से हुई हैं मगर श्रीमन्, हम लोगों के बावजूद इतना कहने पर भी उनके डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब ने इस राज्य सभा को इस मसले पर कांफिडेंस में नहीं लिया। तो मुझको एक बात की तकलीफ होती है कि ये दोनों हाऊमेज जो हैं, ईक्वली सुप्रीम बाडीज हैं, लेकिन एक जगह गवर्नमेंट का एटीट्यूड एक होता है दूसरी जगह दूसरा होता है। श्रीमन्, मैं अपनी प्रोटेस्ट लाज करना चाहता हूं कि यह तरीका गलत है।

श्रीमन्, दूसरी बात यह है कि गिरफ्तारियां हुई और मिश्र जी ने कहा—उनके पास सबूत होगा—कि फरनान्डीस साहब का शुरू से ही एटीट्यूड था कि नेगोसिएणंस कामयाब नहीं हों, वे बंट अपॉन ये कि स्ट्राइक होनी चाहिये, वे इन्साइट कर रहे थे वर्क्स को, वे वायलेन्स की बात भी कह रहे थे, और मेरे दोस्त अमजद अली साहब ने कहा, कलकत्ता में उनकी ऐसी कोई स्पीच हुई थी। मैं जानना चाहता हूं : जब उनकी स्पीच हुई थी वायलेन्स की, तो फौरन उनको गिरफ्तार क्यों नहीं किया गया ? जो भी कोई वायलेन्स की बात करता है उसके साथ मेरी कोई हमदर्दी नहीं है, चाहे कितना बड़ा आदमी

हो। बदकिस्मती यह है कि यह सरकार सही काम भी करती है तो गलत ढंग से करती है। अगर उन्होंने नेगोसिएशंस को ब्रेक अप कर दिया होता फिर गिरफ्तारी की होती तो शायद सलत नहीं था। भूपेश गुप्त जी ने यहां पढ़ा कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा जब ईरान गईं तो उन्होंने चीफ मिनिस्टर्स को चिट्ठी लिखी कि प्रीकाशनरी मेजर्स ले लें। मैं उनकी तारीफ करता हूं। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने चिट्ठी न लिखी होती *she would not have been worth the post that she is holding.* श्रीमन्, कोई गवर्नमेन्ट भी अनअवेयर कैच कर ली जाए तो वह गवर्नमेन्ट निकम्मी गवर्नमेन्ट होगी, लेकिन मिश्र जी, मैं अदब से कहना चाहता हूं, जब आपने कल तक नेगोसिएशन का टाइम रखा था तो आपको गिरफ्तारियां नहीं करनी चाहिये थीं। मैं आपकी इस बात से भी इतिफाक करता हूं जो आप बाकायदा इन्सॅटिन्व् देंगे वफादार रेलवेमेन को, लेकिन नेगोसिएशन के टाइम में गिरफ्तारियां करना सही बात नहीं है।

श्रीमन्, एक बात की मुझे शिकायत है। मुझे लगता है कि एक बड़ी सांठगांठ है जिसकी तरफ हाऊस का ध्यान नहीं गया। जब आपकी कांसेंट से गिरफ्तारियां हुईं, मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि सी० पी० आई० का कोई लीडर क्या अब तक गिरफ्तार हुआ है या नहीं? मुझे इस बात का डर है कि आपके खिलाफ, चाहे सही हो या गलत हो, यह चार्ज लगाया जाता है कि आपकी सांठ गांठ सी० पी० आई० के साथ बिहार में है। मुझे इस बात की तकलीफ है कि आपने यहां भी डिस्टिक्मिनेशन किया। आपने सैंकड़ों जगह लीडर्स को पकड़ा मगर सी० पी० आई० के लोगों को नहीं पकड़ा।

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD (Kerala): May I ask one question, one clarification?

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: I am not yielding. Let me finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMI): Order, please. Let him

say whatever he wants to say.

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: You are talking about negotiations. What was George Fernandes doing at one O'clock early in the morning in Lucknow when negotiations were going on in Delhi?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Order, please. He is not yielding. Do not interrupt him.

श्री नवल किशोर : मुझे सिर्फ डर यह है कि ऐसा तो नहीं है कि यहां तो सी० पी० आई० आंसू बहा रही है उन गरीब रेलवेमेन के ऊपर और उधर उनकी सांठगांठ है श्री एल० एन० मिश्र के साथ, वरना क्या वजह है सैंकड़ों आदमी गिरफ्तार हों, सी० पी० आई० का कोई गिरफ्तार न हो, ? श्रीमन् मैं मिश्र जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं, जब लोकोमेन की स्ट्राइक हुई थी आपने बड़ी हिम्मत के साथ कहा था कि हम कटेगरीवाइज यूनियंस को रिकग्नाइज नहीं करेंगे। मैंने आपसे कहा था मिश्र जी, अगर आपने सरेण्डर किया तो एक चेन आफ रिएक्शन होगा और हड़तालें होंगी, उसको आप चेक नहीं कर पाएंगे। उस समय यह बात आपकी बात समझ में नहीं आई अगर आएगी, देर से आएगी। श्रीमन्, गलतियां तो ये करते जाते हैं और उसी का नतीजा यह हुआ कि आपके सामने इतनी बड़ी स्ट्राइक आ गई।

मैं श्रीमन्, कुछ बातें रेलवे के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूं। आज रेलवे की स्थिति यह है कि 100 करोड़ से अधिक आलरेडी डेफिशिट है। 110 करोड़ रुपया करीब पे-कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को लागू करने पर खर्च हो जायेगा। हमारे दोस्त श्री कुरंशी ने कहा है कि अभी जो मांगें उनकी मान ली जायेगी, उससे करीब 80 करोड़ रुपये का बोझा बढ़ जायेगा। मेरी तो अपनी इत्तिला यह है कि उनकी करीब करीब सभी डिमान्डें मान ली गई हैं। मिश्रा जी ने यह बात तो नहीं कही कि उनकी बोनस की बात नहीं मानी जायेगी, हालांकि उनको वह बाव

कहनी चाहिये थी। उन्होंने यह कहा कि जो कमेटी इस बात के बारे में रिव्यू कर रही है, उसकी रिपोर्ट आने के बाद हम इस बारे में फैसला करेंगे और जितना भी इस बारे में खर्चा होगा, वह बाद में तय किया जायेगा। इस तरह से इतना बड़ा बोझ आ गया है 125 करोड़ रुपये का तो जनरल बजट में भी डेफिशिट है। 212 करोड़ रुपये के नये टैक्स लगाये गये हैं। गाड़ी का जो किंवा बढ़ा है वह करीब 136 करोड़ रुपये तक पड़ता है और इस तरह से इन सब बातों को मान लें तो करीब 500 करोड़ रुपया तक का खर्च आ जाता है। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ—कि यह देश कहा जाने वाला है। इस चीज का रिएक्शन दूसरी कैटिगरीज पर भी पड़ेगा और इस तरह से 150 करोड़ रुपये का खर्चा आ जायेगा। मेरी अपनी इतिला यह है कि 60 परसेंट में ज्यादा लोग पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं। 1967-68 की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर 57 परसेंट लोग पावर्टी लाइन पर जिन्दगी काट रहे थे। 1965-66 की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार 10 से 15 प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे थे, जो महीने में 6 रुपया से ज्यादा खर्चा नहीं कर सकते थे। श्री धारिया जी ने यह कहा था कि 10 से 15 प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे हैं जो 20 पैसा प्रतिदिन से ज्यादा खर्चा नहीं कर सकते हैं। एक तरफ तो देश की यह स्थिति है और दूसरी तरफ आप एक प्रिविलेज्ड क्लास की—स्थापना करने जा रहे हैं। मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आ रही है कि यह स्ट्राइक आखिर किस के खिलाफ जाने वाला है। आप सब लोग जानते हैं कि बिहार और गुजरात में लोगों की चार मांगें हैं। भ्रष्टाचार को खत्म किया जाय, अनइम्प्लायमेंट को खत्म किया जाए, बढ़ती हुई कीमतों को रोका जाय और इन्फ्लेशन को जनता तक पहुंचाया जाय। इस तरह से उन लोगों की चार मांगें थीं और इस स्ट्राइक से इन चारों चीजों को पूरा करने में धक्का लगेगा और यह जो बीमारी हमारे देश में पैदा हो गई है वह कम नहीं होगी। एक सदस्य श्री सरदेसाई ने मेरे बारे में यह बात कही थी।

कि मैंने यह कहा था कि सारा देश इस हड़ताल का मुकाबला करेगा। मैं फिर इसको रिपीट करना चाहता हूँ :

I take it as anti-national. I take it as unpatriotic. I take it as counter-revolutionary. I take it as sedition. All the adjectives that can be used, I will use all of them. In the words of Shri Bhupesh Gupta I can also say that the way they are behaving is no better than fascism. The country would unitedly face and meet this challenge.

मेरे दोस्त श्री अमजद अली ने बतलाया और सही भी है कि जब लोकोमोनों की हड़ताल हो रही थी, तो जो वफादार लोग थे उनको बन्दूकों की तोक से मारा गया। जो एक कूक था उनको गोली मार दी गई और ट्रेनों को लूट लिया गया। जो वफादार लोग थे उनको कहा गया कि ये—कलास एनिमी हैं। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो भी वायलैस करना है, उसको मैं कंडेम करता हूँ। श्री भूपेश गुप्त भी इस तरह की बातों को कंडेम क्यों नहीं करते हैं? जितना भी फॉर्म मेरे में है, मैं इस तरह की बातों को कंडेम करता हूँ। जो 30 यूनियनों ने यह फैसला किया है कि इस बंध में हिस्सा नहीं लेंगे, तब फिर भूपेश जी की शिकायत क्या है। (Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The honourable Congress Member should be very grateful to me because I have given an occasion for him to praise his Indira Gandhi and all of you.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: Thank you; don't be jealous of it.

अगर श्री भूपेश गुप्त इस तरह का निन्दा करने का तरीका इस्तेमाल करते हैं, वफादार मजदूरों के खिलाफ तो फिर फ्रीडम आफ एमोसिएशन कहां रह जाएगी। मुझे तो एक बात का डर है कि यह एक बहुत बड़ी साजिश है। मुझे ताज्जुब लगता है क्योंकि आज के अखबारों में मैंने पढ़ा है।

"Some of the Communist-led unions, particularly in the vital coal-steel belt

of Bihar and Bengal went further and raised the slogan, "Cripple the railways to cripple the Centre."

जो रेलवे लाइन है, रेलवे का मूवमेंट है, उसको बन्द कर दो ताकि सैन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट डाउन हो जाए। असली मौटिव वह है मैं बहुत परेशान था कि यूनिटी और स्ट्रगिल के माने क्या हैं, यूनिटी एंड स्ट्रगिल का असली नक्शा क्या है।

Now I have come to know as to what is the exact shape of this unity and struggle.

सरदेसाई साहब ने कहा कि कीमतों के बढ़ने की जिम्मेदारी किसकी है। मेरे एक दोस्त थे गोविन्द सहाय। उनसे मैं कहा करता था कि अगर आपका भाषण मैं न भी सुनूँ तो भी मैं अखबार में बिना सुने दे सकता हूँ क्योंकि चार-पांच शब्द थे उनके—राइट रिएक्शन, सोशल कन्ट्रिब्यूशन, वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट, बूर्जुआई एप्रोच कान्ग्रसनेस आफ दि प्रोलेटेरियट और

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And Morarji Desai.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: He is a phobia with you.

श्रीमन्, इस तरह के बर्डस थे। इनके पास बर्डस हैं—मोनोपोलिस्ट्स, व्यूरोक्रैट्स...

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा): फासिस्ट्स।

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश): फासिस्ट्स श्रीमन्, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ बड़े अदब के साथ कि कीमतों के बढ़ने की बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी उन नेताओं और पार्टियों पर है जिन्होंने आए दिन स्ट्राइक कराई है। उससे उत्पादन घटा है, उससे इनफ्लेशन बढ़ा है, करप्शन भी बढ़ा है। एक तरफ तो ये लोग जोर से कहते हैं कि चोरी कर और दूसरी तरफ शाह से कहते हैं जाग। श्रीमन् यह जो इनकी पोलिसी है यह कतई मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। मैं अपने दोस्त सरदेसाई से कहना चाहता हूँ और मैं इनको फिर इस बात की चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि यह स्ट्राइक चुनौती है सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिये, उसके 55 करोड़

आदमियों के लिये चुनौती है। मुझे यकीन है कि अगर देश जागृत है, उसमें चेतना है तो 15 लाख आदमी 55 करोड़ की जिन्दगी बर्बाद नहीं कर सकते। श्रीमन् मैंने भी पढ़ा कि सदर्न रेलवे ने कहा कि हम जोइन नहीं करेंगे, आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० कहती है कि हम जोइन नहीं करेंगे। यह सही है कि मैं इधर बैठा हुआ हूँ, लेकिन किसी भी पार्टी को हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर आग लगाने नहीं दी जायेगी। अगर नेशन को शोलों के अन्दर फेंका जायगा तो श्रीमन् मैं भी उन लोगों में से हूँ जो इस देश को बचाने के लिये अपने खून का एक-एक कतरा देंगे।

आखिर में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ मिश्र जी से। इंडियन लेबर कमीशन की कुछ सिफारिशें पड़ी हुई हैं। परमानेंट कमीशन बनाने की बात है। नेशनल काउंसिल आफ, आरबीट्रेट्स एपोइन्ट करने की बात है। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि आपकी नेशनल वेज पोलिसी क्या है। ये इम्पारटेंट इशुज है, इनको भी देखना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, एक बड़ा जिम्मीदार था। उसके बेटे ने किसी गरीब को बहुत पीटा। जब शिकायत की गई बाप के पास तो उसने कहा कि मैं समझता था कि कुंवर साहब बड़े कमजोर टाइप के हैं, उनमें कुछ जोशेजवानी तो आई, तुमको तो खुश होना चाहिये। मिश्र जी ने हिम्मत दिखाई, मुझे खुशी हुई, मगर वे आगे कितनी हिम्मत दिखाएंगे, इसमें मुझे शक है। मजदूरों की जेनुइन डिमान्ड आपने मानी है, यह बात सही है। उनकी दिक्कतें हैं, यह भी सही है, लेकिन फिर भी वे 56 करोड़ इंसानों की जिन्दगी के साथ न खेलें। आप यह जरूर कोशिश करें कि पहले तो नीगोशिएशन के जरिये स्ट्राइक को न होने दें, लेकिन अगर स्ट्राइक होती है तो मिश्र जी हिम्मत के साथ उसका मुकाबला कीजिए अगर आप इस बार दब गये तो न यह कन्ट्री महफूज रहेगा, न यह सरकार रहेगी, सिर्फ केआस होगा, कन्फ्यूजन होगा और एनार्की होगी।

श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) मैं दावा करता हूँ कि स्ट्राइक नहीं होगी।
It is just a threat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do you want to add to the 'himmat'?

श्री ए० जी० कूलकर्णी : (महाराष्ट्र)
हिम्मत है।

4 p.m.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Yes, Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Kulkarni, you speak with "himmat" now... You seem to have it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He is a co-operative magnate and he can speak with "himmat".

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Ghosh, you are a destroyer of all things. Sir, I take the discussion on the railway strike and the arrest of Mr. George Fernandes to be very serious. These are important matters and in the House here a lot of attention is being focussed on the implications of the strike and the effect of the strike on the economy of the country. I agree with some of my colleagues here who said that the arrest of Mr. Fernandes was necessitated because the Government had some information which we are not in possession of. So, we cannot denounce the Government's action and it is because we are not in the know of essential material and other vital facts which the honourable Railway Minister or the Home Minister might have had in possession. But, by and large, as has been mentioned by my colleagues here, if you would have gone through the speeches of Mr. Fernandes and noted the tenor of his speeches, you will find that he was speaking in such a way which gave the impression that he was while adopting a give-and-take attitude, he was trying to create an impression that the negotiations were going to fail and the Government was not sincere and the railwaymen must be ready for a strike. It would appear that he was using a pro-

vocative language. Sir, this type of attitude does not pay ultimately and that is why his speeches anywhere in the country, whether in Calcutta or in Lucknow or in Delhi, or his interviews, wherever they have been, have been provocative to the extent that the Government has taken now this risk in arrest of Mr. Fernandes. Sir, I look at it from a different angle. Suppose the Government if as advised by friends here that it should not have taken this step, but it should have carried on the negotiations and if he had not come for the negotiations, the government could have taken this step. However while in possession of intelligent report which indicate a dangerous posture the Govt. would have been charged with some sabotage takes place on the 1st May, he was to have come for the negotiations and he did not come and the negotiations were to be held for signing of the minutes or for confirming the minutes. He could have and should have come, but he did not come. Then, Sir, it is said that the whole approach of Mr. Fernandes was not helpful at the negotiating table. It has also been mentioned by some Members on the Opposition side that the Congress Party is an anti-people party and anti-working-class party. Nothing of that kind is remotely true. The Congress Party has also deep feelings about the rights of the working class and it has at all times been helped Trade Union movement. But I would only like to plead with my colleagues on the Opposition benches that this is not the time to take any risk and it is because a single mistake or the slightest mistake somewhere now will drive the country into a catastrophe. Now, Sir, food is not moving from Punjab to the Southern States and coal is not being moved from the Eastern side to the Western and the Southern side. So, food production, power and all types of industrial production will be stopped by any hasty action and that is why I want to plead with the Opposition people that they have to find a way out whereby honourable negotiations will start again. I would also like to request the honourable Minister, Shri Mishra, not to stand on prestige. Without standing on prestige, he should start negotiations, if

there are any chances and if there are any opportunities to do so, and the negotiations must be started immediately. He should go all out to find a way out.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: He must release all the arrested leaders.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Sardesai, about the release of all the arrested leaders, are you going to take the responsibility for any acts of sabotage that might be there? If you are going to take the responsibility for this, then we would also request our party and our Government to do that. But, unless this guarantee is properly executed, how can they be released?

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: I have with me the Resolution of the Central Co-ordination Committee, denouncing sabotage; they are opposed to sabotage. This Resolution is with me...

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): He has asked you a pointed question: Is your party in a position to guarantee that there will be no sabotage during the strike period if all the leaders are released? Unless and until you are going to give such a guarantee, no member of the Congress party can ask the Government to release all the leaders... (Interruptions).

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: You have asked a very correct question. My reply is that even Mahatma Gandhi could not guarantee that there will be no violence in the freedom movement... (Interruptions). Mahatma Gandhi exerted every nerve...

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): For your information, I would like to tell you of one single instance. For one single incident of violence in Chauri Chaura he withdrew the whole movement in 1921... (Interruptions).

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: The point is that your party will strain every nerve against sabotage. But I cannot give any guarantee... (Interruptions).

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Unfortunately, you are a small fry in the whole movement...

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Nobody can give a guarantee... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Order, order...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I put a question to Mr. Chandra Shekhar? Who has given him the guarantee that those who have been arrested are none but saboteurs?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: That is not the question, Mr. Vice-Chairman. As my friend, Mr. Kulkarni, said, we are not in possession of all the information about the activities of the strike leaders. The Government might have got certain information and they have taken action. **We are not in a position to condemn that action until and unless we are sure about the *bona fides* of the strike leaders that they are not going to resort to sabotage, as has happened in the case of locomen's strike period, when all types of sabotage activities were resorted to by your party, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Sardesai, and nobody came to the rescue of the Government.** Even today, when I was not present in the House in the morning, you condemned a very respectable Congress leader, Mr. Kishori Lal of the Delhi Municipal Corporation. You said, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, that he was leading 3000 *goondas*. Kishori Lal is one of the most active leaders of the working class... (Interruptions). If anybody does not support your party, if anybody does not ditto your line, he becomes a reactionary, he becomes a *goonda*, he becomes anti national. This is the position... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): I am not going to allow all these things to go on.....

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: You go on inciting people to go on strike, and when you are in trouble you expect us to help you?... (Interruptions). Before inciting people for strike, none of your leaders came to us to take advice. Now when you are in trouble, you have no moral right or ethical right to ask us for help... (Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Needless to say all these things. If you think that you must come down heavily on strikers. (Interruptions).

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: It is for the Government and for the people to decide. But before resorting to strike, none of you ever cared to come to us. Now when you are in trouble you want that we should support you. This is not going to happen....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: The point that I was making is that the Government is responsible for law and order and for the welfare of the population. You do not take it that the railway workers only constitute the population in this country. There are so many other poor people who are in need of social services. And the railway men are going to threaten it. That is why this point comes in Sir, I am not one with my friend, Mr. Krishan Kant also, when he said that the Government action is lunatic. It is totally wrong. It is absolutely unfair on the part of any of my colleagues to criticise the Government. The Government is taking all the steps in the interest of the people at large and not in the interest of one or two or three union. (Interruptions). You do not know what you talk. Your C.P.M. party is the most outrageous party in this country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Half of the trouble will be over if you address me.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: How can I look at you when he is looking at me?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He has gone berserk. What can I do?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Kulkarni and Mr. Niren Ghosh upon 2 is equal to an average man.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Kulkarni is lovely to look at even when Mr. Chanda Shekhar looks at him.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I was making the point about the Government's responsibility. I was all along appealing to the friends of the Opposition to look at it in this perspective. When I ask Mr. Mishra not to stand on prestige, I am also asking Mr. Sardesai or Mr. Rabi Ray that they should also not stand on prestige and go to the negotiation table. The people in this country will appreciate your gesture and say that here is a very responsible working class representative or leader who, even though he feels insulted, is coming to the table and starting negotiations.

I would only make two or three points. Having said this, I would also request Mr. Mishra to look at it from a different angle. As you know, this Railwaymen started represently with the announcement of the bonus formula. Bonus formula is a defective formula whosoever has initiated it. It has no logic. According to Mr. Nawal Kishore, it will cost 500 crores of rupees or 300 crores of rupees. Mr. Sardesai said that they were prepared to find out how the resources could be generated. This is to be believed then union would have co-operated in better manner. If they are prepared to find out the public sector through workers' participation and co-operation, there results do not prove present attitude.

There is another very valid point which was made by my friend, Mr. Nawal Kishore and which was drowned in the discussions. The point is that it is not that Mr. Mishra can do something or the other people can do something. The Prime Minister and the Government have to take a really national attitude as regards the national wage policy. Here is a Working class which is asking for some increments. I understand it. They say that the prices have risen. But you must have some rational policy for the organised sector as well as the unorganised sector in the rural areas. I would appeal to Mr. Sardesai that there are people in the rural areas who get much less than what you are getting. At least, a member of your organisation is getting Rs. 500 per month while IVth class rural labour gets Rs. 50 per

month. What I am suggesting is that the Prime Minister should take some steps now. We are going too far now. The threatened railway strike is an eye-opener to the Government as well as to the trade unions. You should come to the negotiating table whether on the national wage policy or the employer's profits. Even the Government must take political courage to see that the excess profits are frozen, the assets are not increased, and the whole production, the cream of the production, is distributed on an equitable basis. Ultimately, there lies the strength of the nation and not in the bickerings for this purpose or that purpose.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Before I call Mr. Rabi Ray, I want to tell the hon. Members that there are 8 more speakers on the list. I would, therefore, request the hon. Members to confine their speeches to ten minutes and not more than that.

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, जिस मौजू पर हम बहस कर रहे हैं उस पर बहस शुरू करने के पहले मैं सदन को बताना चाहता हूँ, जब मैं नवल किशोर साहब को सुन रहा था तो हमको लगा जैसे कोई कांग्रेस दल का आदमी बोल रहा है, हमको यह पता चला कि शायद वे इंतजार करते हैं कि जल्दी से जल्दी कांग्रेस में चला जाऊँ। तो उनके भाषण के ऊपर ज्यादा हमको कहना नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब हम लोगों के सामने 4-6 दिन पहले एक ध्यान आकर्षण का सवाल आया उस समय बहस करते समय कुरैशी साहब तो नहीं थे, एल० एन० मिश्र साहब थे, तब इस सदन में पहली बार रेल कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल के सिलसिले में, मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ, एल० एन० मिश्र जी का यह कहना था कि हम लोग कुछ करेंगे और जब कुरैशी साहब के साथ बातचीत असफल हो जायेगी मैं भी आखीर में बातचीत करूँगा और उसको मैं नेगोशिएटेड सैटलमेंट की तरफ ले जाऊँगा। उसके बाद ही जो चीज हमारे सामने है उसके बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जार्ज फरनान्डेस जो कि रेलवे मजदूरों के नेता हैं और उनके स्पोक्समैन थे और एल० एन० मिश्र जो कि मंत्री हैं, इन दोनों में हम तुलना करना चाहेंगे कि उनमें ज़मीन आसमान का अन्तर है नेगोशिएटेड सैटलमेंट के अप्रोच के सिलसिले में। श्रीमन्, आप तामिलनाडु से आते हैं और अखबारों से हमें पता चला कि जार्ज फरनान्डेस तामिलनाडु के मुख्य मंत्री करूणा निधि साहब से और केरल के मुख्य मंत्री अच्युत मेनन साहब से आप्रह किए थे कि वे उसमें हाथ बटायें इस झगड़े का समाधान लाने के लिए दूम्गे। मैं कांग्रेस पार्लियामेंटरी पार्टी में चन्द्र-शेखर जी का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। कांग्रेस पार्टी के एक सदस्य जार्ज फरनान्डेस के साथ भी बातचीत करने वाले थे कि हमको भी समझाओ किस तरह हमको नेगोसिएशन में सफलता मिले। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कैसे नेगोसिएशन होता है। यह ज़रूरी बात है, शायद एल० एन० मिश्र साहब भी मानेंगे, कि जो मजदूर आंदोलन में विश्वास करते हैं वे जानते हैं कि मजदूरों का हड़ताल करने का जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है, लेजिटिमेट अधिकार है; कांग्रेस के लोग भी मानते हैं कि जब सब नेगोसिएशन असफल हो जाएगा तब मजदूर को हड़ताल की तरफ जाना ही है, उसके सिवाए दूसरा चारा नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता था, अभी मजदूरों की तरफ मे कोशिश यह जारी थी जिसके बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा जा चुका है। क्या जार्ज फरनान्डेस के खिलाफ गृह मंत्रालय के पास कोई सबूत है? क्या उनके खिलाफ कोई केस निकलता है। जार्ज फरनान्डेस की 50 साल की लगातार राजनैतिक, सियासी जिदगी रही है, और उसको देखते हुए क्या कोई कह सकता है कि जार्ज फरनान्डेस हिंसा पर विश्वास करते हैं? मैं एक बात आपके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ कि यह वही जार्ज फरनान्डेस है, जिन्होंने सन् 1955 में, जब कि चीन का हमला होने वाला था, तिब्बत जाने वाला था, उन्होंने माओ त्से तुंग की तस्वीर के ऊपर एक सड़ा अंडा फेंका था इसलिए उनके बारे में जवाहरलाल जी अपशब्द

बोले थे चीन के प्रधान मंत्री चाऊ एन लाई के साथ पत्राचार करके । लोक सभा में सवाल उठा और पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू को झक मार कर माफी मांगनी पड़ी थी कि हिन्दुस्तान के एक नागरिक के बारे में एक विदेशी राष्ट्र के प्रधान मंत्री को इस तरह का अपशब्द नहीं कहना चाहिए था । दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री फरनान्डेस पिछले 20 साल से बम्बई के एक मशहूर नेता हैं और जितनी भी केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों की ओर से हड़तालें हुई, उसमें उन्होंने हिस्सा लिया और वे पुलिस के शिकार हुए । श्री फरनान्डेस लोक सभा के सदस्य रह चुके हैं । पिछले 6 अप्रैल को हम भी उनके साथ थे जब कि उनके ऊपर पुलिस के डंडे चले थे पुलिस ने उनके ऊपर गोलियाँ तक चलाई लेकिन उन्होंने कभी भी अपना हाथ नहीं उठाया और नई दिल्ली के अस्पताल में वे 20-22 दिन तक पड़े रहे इस तरह का जो आदमी है, उनके ऊपर ख्वामख्वाह यह लाञ्छन लगाना कि उन्होंने इस तरह का भाषण दे दिया था जिसके कारण एल० एन० मिश्र और श्री दीक्षित का विभाग ने यह कह दिया कि वे हिंसा के द्वारा सरकार को फैंक देना चाहते हैं ।

मैं जनतंत्र में विश्वास करता हूँ और श्री फरनान्डेस साहब भी जनतंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं और यह श्री मिश्रा और श्री दीक्षित का बताना है कि वे इस तरह की बातें कहकर उनको फसाना चाहते हैं । यही कारण है कि उन्होंने इस तरह बहाना बनाकर उनको गिरफ्तार कर लिया उन्होंने उनकी गिरफ्तारी के सम्बन्ध में यह कहा कि चूंकि उन्होंने बम्बई की एक आम सभा में यह कहा कि वे इस सरकार को हिंसा के द्वारा फैंक देना चाहते हैं । मैं उनसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह कोई तरीका नहीं है । सवाल यह है कि जब वार्तालाप होने जा रही थी तो उनको बीच में ही गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया । जब मलाया में गुरिल्ला कम्युनिस्ट लड़ रहे थे तो उस समय मैकडोनाल्ड ने उनको यह आश्वासन दिया था कि जब वार्तालाप उनके साथ होगी, तो

उनकी पार्टी के ऊपर पुलिस का किसी तरह का कोई आक्रमण नहीं होगा । लेकिन यहां तो आधी वार्तालाप हो चुकी थी और आधी होने को थी । लेकिन जब परसों सबरे श्री फरनान्डेस सो रहे थे, तो उनको गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया । लखनऊ में इस तरह से वहां की पुलिस ने बहाना बनाकर उनको गिरफ्तार कर लिया । तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह से गिरफ्तार करके सरकार ने अपना वचन भंग किया । आपस में जो वचन दिया जाता है उसकी रक्षा करनी चाहिए । श्रीमती फरनान्डेस को उन्होंने जो टेलिफोन किया था उसमें उन्होंने बतलाया कि वे वार्तालाप करने के लिए आ रहे हैं । हमारे मिश्रा जी और दीक्षित जी के दिमाग में यह बात न मालूम पहिले से कहां से आ गई कि वे वार्तालाप फेल करना चाहते हैं । और इस तरह से उन्होंने पुलिस भेजकर उनको गिरफ्तार करवा लिया । क्या यह चीज श्री मिश्रा जी और श्री दीक्षित जी को शोभा देती है ? श्री फरनान्डेस श्री मिश्रा जी के साथ लोक सभा में सहकर्मी के रूप में रह चुके हैं । उनको यह बात समझनी चाहिये थी कि जो वचन राउन्ड टेबल कांफ्रेंस में दी जा चुकी है, उसका अवश्य पालन किया जाना चाहिये । लेकिन मैं यह देख रहा हूँ कि सरकार इस तरह की बातों पर यकीन नहीं रखती है । जो नेता लॉग, जो रेलवे के मजदूर नेता वार्तालाप करने के लिए आ रहे थे, उनके बारे में सरकार ने पहिले से ही यह कैसे अनुमान लगा लिया कि उनके मन में समझौते करने की बात नहीं है और उनको नेगोसियेशन में विश्वास नहीं है ? आज आप अखबारों को ही ले लीजिये जो मजदूर आन्दोलन के खिलाफ हैं । सभी अखबारों ने अपनी सम्पादकीय में लिखा है और इस चीज को कहा है कि जो भी नेताओं की गिरफ्तारी की गई है, वह एक गन्दी बात है । किस प्रकार श्री मिश्रा और श्री दीक्षित को पुलिस ने हमला करके इन नेताओं को गिरफ्तार कर लिया, कोई भी अखबार हो, चाहे वह कांग्रेस दल का समर्थक क्यों न हो, इस चीज का समर्थन नहीं किया है इस चीज की निन्दा की है ।

मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मजदूरों की मांग के बारे में श्री ठेंगड़ी साहब भी बोल चुके हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मजदूर नेताओं का जो दृष्टिकोण है वह सामने आ चुका है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में ज्यादा बोलना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मैं एक चीज आपके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ, सारे सदन के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ कि श्री फरनान्डेस के खिलाफ बम्बई में यह प्रचार किया जाता है कि वे तो कोई समझौता करना ही नहीं चाहते हैं। मैं आपके सामने यह प्रमाण पेश करना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने दो पत्र लिखे हैं। एक तो उन्होंने मद्रास के मुख्य मंत्री श्री करुणानिधि और दूसरा केरल के मुख्य मंत्री को लिखी है, जिसमें उन्होंने यह लिखा है कि वह रेलवे की हड़ताल को टालने के लिए बहुत व्याकुल हैं।

इस चीज को मद्देनजर रख कर मजदूरों की कुछ बुनियादी मांगें थी। बोनस के सिलसिले में और पब्लिक सैक्टर ग्रैंडरटेकिंग्स के साथ पैरिटी के सिलसिले में मजदूर नेताओं ने कहा था कि इन मांगों को सरकार नीति के तहत मान लें, उसको कैसे किया जाय उसके बारे में बाद में बातचीत हो सकती है। बोनस के सिलसिले में बात होने वाली थी, फैसला नहीं हुआ। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी बात नहीं थी कि मजदूरों के नेता लोग अड़ गए कि यह चीज नहीं होगी तो हम नहीं मानेंगे। जार्ज फरनान्डेस का ब्यान था कि सरकार की तरफ यह ब्यान आना चाहिये कि बोनस के बारे में सरकार क्या सोचती है और पैरिटी के सिलसिले में सरकार क्या सोचती है, जब इवेल्युशन के बारे में सरकार क्या सोचती है। तो यह साफ हो गया कि सरकार ने सौ-मोट खुद वार्तालाप को भंग किया और अभी जो कन्फ्रंटेशन की स्थिति आई है उसके लिए सरकार ही जिम्मेदार है, रेलवे मजदूर नहीं, अभी भी समय है, अगर सरकार चाहती है नेगोसिएशन हों, तो यह प्रिकण्डीशन है कि जार्ज फरनान्डेस और उनके जो साथी गिरफ्तार हैं देश भर में उनको रिहा किया जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि एल० एन० मिश्र जी जब जवाब देंगे यहां की बहस का तो वह यह जवाब

दे सकते हैं कि सरकार की नीति यह हो गई है कि जार्ज फरनान्डेस और उनके साथी लोगों को रिहा किया जाय ताकि फिर नए सिरे से दोनों तरफ से भाईचारे की पृष्ठभूमि में वार्तालाप शुरू हो सके। इसलिये मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जार्ज फरनान्डेस और दूसरे मजदूर नेता जो देश भर में गिरफ्तार हैं उनको फौरन रिहा करके फिर वार्तालाप शुरू किया जाए ताकि रेलवे हड़ताल न होकर मजदूरों की मांगों के सम्बन्ध में जो नेगोसिएशन हानि चाहियें वे हों।

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is a very important issue. So far as the working class is concerned, there are certain demands of the Railway employees under negotiation. There are two organisations, Mr. Vice-Chairman, functioning in the Railways mainly, that is National Federation of Railway men and All-India Railwaymen's Federation. Both have a strength of 2 to 4 hundred thousands. Therefore, it is not correct to say that 15 lakh workers in the Railways are going on strike. This would be only a partial strike. Some people might have given a notice of strike, including one union where Mr. George Fernandez was elected a leader recently.

Initially, I would like to stress two facts. The demand was to improve upon Pay Commission's recommendation, removal of anomalies, and job evaluation. But after some time in order to make it a political issue, these were all given up and they said: We are not interested in the Pay Commission or its improvement. We are interested in a new demand, that is of parity with the employees in the public sector. There were 4-6 demands which I do not want to repeat. But the fact is that the demands were negotiated and settled on the 30th of April. The major demand was about implementation of the award of Miabhoy tribunal which was appointed in 1969 and which gave its award in July 1972. But the recommendations were not implemented. There was a question of revision of working hours—which was a major demand—and also

the question of decasualisation. After these demands were conceded, there was a increased burden of Rs. 35 crores which has been given in the minister's statement. Revision of the working hours was a major demand and about 16 lakh workers were going to be benefited. Connected with this, there were two other demands. One was about casual workers who remained casual workers for the whole life. There also, it was agreed that in plants and in places like workshops and other places, they will be given a regular pay scale.

Sir, with these demands having been over, the only question that remains—for which there is a dispute—is about bonus and parity with public sector employees. First, I would like to say about bonus. Those who are very enthusiastic about it in this House and say that bonus should be given to the workers, should know that their representatives are not co-operating with the Bonus Review Committee. My friend and colleague Satish Loomba had an accident about a year back. There were three representatives on this Bonus Review Committee, representing A.I.T.U.C., I.N.T.U.C. and H.M.S. After the death of Satish Loomba about a year back the AITUC has not nominated a single representative even till now and the work of the Bonus Review Committee was held up because one representative of the major organisation was not co-operating. It was requested by the Government and also by other trade unions but even today the AITUC has failed to send any representative to the Bonus Review Committee. I am sure you all know that there is the National Trade Union Council consisting of three organisations and they unanimously demanded at that time that interim relief be given and 8-1/3 per cent bonus be granted. An Interim Report was given by the Bonus Review Committee and immediately the law was amended and the workers were given 8-1/3 per cent bonus. When the question of the final recommendation came it was very difficult to understand why the major organisation which is now going on strike failed to co-operate and

work with the Bonus Review Committee. I therefore feel when the question has been referred to the Bonus Review Committee it is wholly inappropriate to go on strike on an issue which is pending because failure of their own representative. Therefore one of the major organisations, the NFIR, did not give notice of strike and would not participate in the strike. I feel there should be some norms in industrial relations which have to be followed by all.

As regards parity with public sector, Mr. Fernandes has himself said that he does not want parity just now because it is a very difficult question which requires job evaluation to be done scientifically, cadre review, fixation of parallel pay scales in the public sector undertakings and Government. Therefore he has made a new demand and asked for 75 per cent increase without following any scientific basis. It has been pointed out that it will mean Rs. 500 crores of more expenditure and therefore it is a very unrealistic demand for any trade union to make. If you go into the history of the whole thing you will find that the idea was not to protect the interests of the workers and give them a relief but the idea seems to be otherwise. It has been stated in the statement of Mr. George Fernandes appeared in Statesman on 1st May that the discussions are disappointing and Mr. George Fernandes told Reporters that as of now the decision for strike on May 8 stands while another colleague of his has said that the negotiations are a futile exercise. Therefore they had made up their mind that nothing more is to be negotiated and nothing is going to come out of the negotiations. They wanted to put an end to it for their ulterior political motive of having countrywide strike all over India. Therefore if you see the course of the negotiations you find that the negotiations have been closed by Mr. Fernandes himself because he was not interested in having further negotiations; he was more interested in having a strike at any cost. This is the whole history. Coming from the same State I know he is very much interested in strikes than in negotiations.

He is known as *Samp Samart*; he will go on strike for any reason; the strike must take place. Even before the demands were conceded he would have gone on strike on some new pretext. Therefore it is too much for the leaders of trade unions on the opposite side to say that they were interested in negotiations and wanted to continue them.

So far as wages are concerned, it is very clear that parity with the public sector employees is not possible. It has been a unanimous demand of the working class that there should be a national wage commission to evolve a national wage policy. It is a pity that in India 17 crore workers in the agricultural sector are getting Rs. 40, Rs. 50, or Rs. 60 while as the cost of these workers in the agricultural sector who are the main pillars of the national economy, those who are doing no productive work like bank employees and others are getting high salaries which in many cases they do not deserve at all. Therefore I would suggest that the Government must consider the question of having a National Wage Commission to fix the scales of pay for the various categories of employment. Lastly, I would only say that it is the policy of INTUC, in which I am working that there should be no negotiation when a strike threat looms large. It has been a wrong policy of the Government or the private sector to continue negotiations when a strike notice is given. Let everybody understand that if they want to negotiate, it must be in a peaceful atmosphere. If it is not so, no negotiation is going to succeed. I am very glad to find the Railway Minister has stated categorically that only if the strike notice is withdrawn negotiations will take place. Lastly, I would like to ask if they were allowed to go on strike, what would have happened. It would have paralysed the whole organisation. Parliament Members would not have been able to come here. Sabotage would have taken place on a large scale. They would have stopped the trains and they would have paralysed the whole economy. A calling attention notice would have been given by the opposition. They would have asked the

Railway Minister why he did not take precautions at the appropriate time. Therefore, prevention is always better. Negotiation is meaningless in view of the specific statement made by Mr. Fernandes on 30th April, viz., negotiation or no negotiation, we are going on strike. The Government's stand is correct and it is in the national interest. It cannot act purely in the sectional interest. It is a pity those who talk of socialism, those who talk of radicalism, those who talk against monopolists are in the company of reactionaries and they have formed a national co-ordination committee. I plead to this House that the action taken is in the national interest and it should be supported by all the Members of the House.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I would like to say that today, the 3rd of May, is perhaps a red-letter day in the history of this ancient land because for the first time since independence there is a countrywide protest, including Bandhs and mass protests, against the anti-people right reactionary policies of this Government and the fascist-like trends. I do not say fascist, but fascist-like trends are emerging in the Government and the drive towards one-party dictatorship is perhaps taking full shape. Right reaction is sitting on the top of the Government. Just on the early morning of the 2nd, Government thought it fit to swoop down upon the railway workers and their leaders and make countrywide arrests acting in the role of an agent-provocateur, to provoke a strike and then find a pretext to crush the workers for ever. That is the policy that has been pursued. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): No interruptions please.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I will not reply to them. I am not divulging any secret when I say that Mr. L. N. Mishra cannot answer this debate. Just before the Prime Minister left for Iran, I accuse, the Railway Board went to the Prime Minister and said...

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Behind my back?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: May be behind your back or with your consent. You seem to be a playboy in their hands...

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: No, no.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I again accuse, behind the back they went to the Prime Minister and told her: We will provoke a strike. We will find an excuse so that the workers will have no alternative but to go on strike and then we will crush them. Give us full authority just on the 2nd of May and before 3rd May, they prepare the entire machinery. I level this accusation with a full sense of responsibility. This is what has happened, a criminal conspiracy has been made at the cost of India, at the cost of poor people, in whose name they are talking so loudly. They want to deprive these people further, so that the masses can be set against the workers. Do not take the masses as fools to be taken for granted. They have seen and they will see through your game. I greet the railway workers for their massive protest against the massive repression that has been launched against them throughout the length and breadth of the country. The working class people of India have been driven to the wall and are being fired upon; they have no ground to retreat. They could do nothing else but to fight back if they want to survive at all. That is the position they have been driven to, and they have no other go. And in the battle they are being mercilessly fired upon. Only if the working class can fight back, they will survive. The entire railwaymen will fight back and the entire working class of India will stand behind them. There is no doubt. There is a limit to this criminal conspiracy. I say, this is an entirely politically motivated operation launched by the Government of India with the blessings of the Prime Minister. Who is to reply to this debate? It is the Prime Minister who should come and reply to this debate. I make this charge against her—she has done this; she has given her blessings to the Railway Board to go ahead with this politically motivated operation against the railway

workers. Every epithet that has been hurled against the workers and their leaders fits the cap of the Government tightly. That is the one answer that I can give them.

Now, I will place certain facts also. I appeal to the press to carry them so that the public should know that there is an one-sided version of the Government, but there is another version also that of the workers. Most of the ground has been covered. I say, the statement made here by Mr. Qureshi yesterday is full of distortions and it is a package of lies. They say that they require Rs. 500 crores in order to fulfill all the demands. I say, they require only Rs. 250 crores, and nothing more. They are giving those figures deliberately in order to confuse the people. The Railways have the resources to fulfil the demands. The railway leaders did not take a rigid stand, they have a flexible attitude. Everyone knows that in any negotiation there is some give and take. Although the demands have been made, it is not the last word...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Please wind up.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I have taken only five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Ten minutes.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No, no. The Railways have been carrying a social burden to the extent of Rs. 225 crores every year. These resources can be placed to fulfil the demands. How? You will ask. Low-freight rates for the Indian and foreign monopolists, special concessional rates for export, special station-to-station rate, a number of uneconomic lines, all these things amount to Rs. 225 crores. This amount the Railways can earn...

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: You want those uneconomic railway lines to be closed down?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Only if you do it for the benefit of the country and

not for the benefit of, or merely to satisfy the whims of certain political personages here and there same can remain.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: What about the development of the backward areas?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Everybody knows about it. In all the countries of the world, they subsidise the railways. Here, during the last 25 years, they have made a contribution of Rs. 2000 crores to the General Revenue. Dividend to the General Revenue—Rs. 130 crores they are making each year. Loss due to claims on account of pilferage—Rs. 50 crores. They can stop this. It is deliberately done by the Railway Board, they are in collusion with the corrupt officials. Coal wastage is to the tune of Rs. 50 crores. Demurrage and claims for wharfage comes to Rs. 50 crores. Waste is Rs. 50 crores. Sale of scrap is Rs. 10 crores. It does not get the price it should. All-told it comes to Rs. 460 crores. So all this is at the disposal of the railways. And the railway workers are not demanding this full amount. Even if they concede their full demand, the amount comes to Rs. 250 crores. They say Rs. 500 crores. I challenge them. Give them Rs. 200 crores, not even Rs. 250 crores, their full demand will be met, not to talk of Rs. 460 crores.

On the question of bonus, the Minister said that it comes under the recommendations of the Bonus Review Committee. He is misleading the House. Even the I.L.O. Convention says that it is an industrial undertaking. But they have persistently denied this fact. If they had recognised this fact 8 1/3 per cent, bonus would have already been given. But they are not doing it and they are putting the plea of Bonus Review Committee. I say it is outside the purview of the Bonus Review Committee. It makes no sense.

Then the railway workers' leaders say that if you concede the demands in principle, let us sit together to find out the way. I have told you that you have the means. Let us sit together and sort out

whether there is finance or not. But, no, you are not only holding the country to ransom, you are holding the entire economy to ransom in the role of agent provocateur and saboteur of the Indian economy. That is what you are doing in actual fact.

Sir, nobody on this side or the railway workers wanted a strike. They just wanted to settle it on a reasonable basis. No responsible trade unionist wants strike for the sake of strike. During my thirty years of life as a trade unionist I can say with full confidence that we have never gone on strike for the sake of strike in any economic battle. The worker goes on strike only when he is left with no other alternative. Everybody knows that the railway workers do not want to go on strike. Every effort was being made to avert a strike. They want to break the strike. And what is their plea? They say that the railway workers are agitating. And to crush it they have brought down upon them the entire machinery of repression. The entire Army, the B.S.F. and armed to the teeth with black lawless laws of repression to trample the workers' legitimate right of strike under foot. So this is the conspiracy that has been hatched.

The Minister says, "Withdraw the strike notice and then only negotiations will take place". I say that can never happen. No responsible trade unionist will ever accept such a thing. Let them know that not a single trade Unionist will accept that position. I tell the Government: You release all of them and start negotiations. That is the only way. If you had continued negotiations due to take place at 10 a.m. yesterday, which was sabotaged by you, the strike fever would not have spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Now what would have happened on the 8th of May will become a reality much earlier. The workers have no ground to retreat. All the organisations, barring some black legs, barring the enemies of democracy, are bound to support the strike. This is a critical turn in the history of India when the entire people of this country will rise against an authoritarian government which has completely

surrendered to and in grip of reactionary. If you feel you can threaten the worker with bullet, I am afraid you are mistaken. They are not afraid of the bullet because the whole masses are with them. I am not a leader of the railwaymen. But I am sure all the sections of the working class will certainly come out in support of the strike. There will be state-wide bundhs throughout the length and breadth of the country. We will face firing. I know many of us would be killed as you have already killed thousands. We are prepared. You have armed yourselves to the teeth. You have placed the Army and the BSF against us. We are being killed and we will be killed in hundreds and thousands. But we will not surrender. We stand for India, for democracy and against the fascist trends, against anti-working class and anti-people policies of the Government. In each nation, there are, in fact, two nations. One nation is composed of the vested interests, the monopolists and the landlords. The other nation is composed of the down-trodden people. We stand for the nation of the down-trodden people. We will stand by them whatever the cost. We will not flinch if the battle is joined. If you do not retrace your steps, we will give them full support, whatever the cost, whatever the cost in blood. Though you may kill hundreds, we will not flinch, we will not retreat. That is the position. This conspiracy against India, against the people of India, against the whole of India, must be nailed down. The time has come when a rebuff should be given to the Government. You want to settle it in the P. C. Lal fashion as in the Indian Airlines. That is how you want to crush the entire working class and working people of India. No, you will not succeed in this game. That is the warning I am giving you. (Time-bell) Retrace your steps, release them, negotiate and settle. That is the demand of the entire democratic people of India. If you do not do that, you will act as an enemy agent, an enemy of the people of India.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप से प्रार्थना करता

हूँ कि आप अपनी घंटी थोड़ी देर रोके रखें। श्रीमन् यहां पर लेवे हड़ताल के सम्बन्ध में जो बातें कही गई हैं, उनके सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। एक बात श्रीमन्, यह है कि श्री घोष ने आखिर सत्य कह ही दिया बल्कि उनके मुंह से सत्य निकल ही गया। उन्होंने यह स्वीकार किया कि रेलवे में वकैस स्ट्राइक नहीं चाहते हैं। या तो उन्होंने यह सत्य जानबूझकर कही या फिर उनके मुंह से निकल गई मैं इसके लिए घोष जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

आज सर देसाई के भाषण को सुनने के बाद राईट रिएक्शन और फासिस्ट के साथ साथ लैफ्ट रिएक्शनरीज भी मिल गये हैं। इस तरह से तीन युनिट हो गये हैं। सर देसाई ने बहुत जोरों का भाषण दिया। उन्होंने यह कहा कि देश के सारे कामगार उनके साथ हो गये हैं। मैं तो भगवान से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यदि ढांगे और श्री फरनान्डेस एक हो जायें, तो फिर रेल मजदूरों का कल्याण हो जाए।

आज जो हड़ताल हो रही है उसमें यह बात सामने आ रही है कि रेल मजदूरों को कौन रिप्रेजेन्ट करता है। श्री फरनान्डेस कहते हैं कि मैं इस हड़ताल को चला रहा हूँ और सब से आगे मैं ही हूँ और श्री ढांगे कहते हैं कि मैं सब से आगे हूँ। इसलिये हड़ताल से पहिले उन्होंने एक फैडरेशन की बात पर कंसिडर करने की बात मान ली। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर दोनो एक हो जायें तो मजदूरों का भला हो जाय।

श्री भपेश गुप्त : आप इधर चले आइये।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं भी आ जाऊंगा इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब ये बड़े बड़े लोग जोश में कहते हैं कि हड़ताल होगी, तो हमें याद आता है कि ये लोग बड़े जोश में कहा करते थे कि गान्धी जी इम्पीरियलिस्ट के दलाल हैं और यही वजह है कि वे लड़ाई नहीं करना चाहते हैं।

गान्धी जी ने जब लड़ाई छोड़ी तो 42 में इन लोगों ने कहा कि आज हड़ताल करना देश के साथ

गद्दारी है। 42 में जब देश की आजादी के लिए हड़ताल की गई थी तो उस समय इन्होंने हड़ताल को गद्दारी करार दिया। आज जब देश के सामने बहुत ही संकटपूर्ण आर्थिक स्थिति है उस समय ये हड़ताल की बात करते हैं तो इससे समझा जा सकता है कि इनका हड़ताल से क्या मतलब है। आज सोचना होगा कि सचमुच यह रेल मजदूरों की हड़ताल है या राजनीतिक नेताओं द्वारा प्रेरित राजनीतिक हड़ताल है। मैं कुछ तथ्य सामने रखूंगा जिनके आधार पर यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि यह राजनीतिक नेताओं द्वारा प्रेरित राजनीतिक हड़ताल है और राजनीतिक लक्ष्य के लिए की जा रही है, रेल मजदूरों के हित में यह हड़ताल नहीं है।

श्रीमन, रेल मजदूरों की जो मांगें हैं, जिनके लिए वे हड़ताल पर डटे हुए हैं उनको आज देश की वर्तमान स्थिति के सन्दर्भ में देखना होगा और जो रेलवे की आर्थिक स्थिति है उसके सन्दर्भ में देखना होगा। 73-74 के बजट में रेलवे में 8 करोड़ के घाटे की व्यवस्था की गई थी, जबकि आखीर में 200 करोड़ का घाटा निकला। इस साल का जो बजट है उसमें लगभग 200 करोड़ के घाटे का अनुमान है। सारी मांगें मानने के बाद आप देखेंगे कि मार्च के आते आते रेलवे के बजट में 800-900 करोड़ का घाटा होगा। इसका क्या मतलब होगा? इस स्थिति के बावजूद 400 करोड़ की मांग की जा रही है। आप गौर करें कि 72-73 के बाद रेल मजदूरों को क्या मिला। वेतन आयोग की सिफारिशों को लागू करने से 110 करोड़ रुपया मिला जिससे 72-73 के वेतन में 20 प्रतिशत का इजाफा हुआ। इस इजाफे के बावजूद ये 75 प्रतिशत इजाफा की मांग कर रहे हैं और उसके लिए इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं अपनी बारगेनिंग ताकत। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि उनकी बारगेनिंग कैपेसिटी बड़ी मजबूत है, उनकी ताकत बड़ी मजबूत है और वे हड़ताल करके राष्ट्र के सारे जीवन को अस्तव्यस्त कर सकते हैं। रेलवे राष्ट्र की जीवन रेखा है, उम रेखा को तोड़ सकते हैं, लेकिन उन्हें सोचना

चाहिए और मैं नेताओं से कहता हूँ कि उन्हें भी सोचना चाहिए कि अगर उन्हें अपनी बारगेनिंग कैपेसिटी के बल पर सब कुछ मनवा लेना है तो दूसरे गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लॉईज भी बारगेनिंग शुरू करें, जो देश को अपना जीवन अर्पण करते हैं तो कितना उनको देना होगा, क्या होगा। तो बारगेनिंग कैपेसिटी का इस्तेमाल एट दि कास्ट आफ दि कंट्री नहीं होना चाहिए, एट दि कास्ट आफ दि नेशन नहीं होना चाहिए। बारगेनिंग कैपेसिटी का इस्तेमाल अपनी न्योयाचित मांगों को प्राप्त करने के लिए होना चाहिए, इससे कोई इनकार नहीं करता श्रीमन्, मिया वाई रिपोर्ट को एक्सेप्ट करके, कार्य के घंटों को घटाकर रेलवे ने लगभग 19 करोड़ का खर्चा और बर्दाश्त किया। दैनिक मजदूरी वाले कर्मचारियों को, कुछ कैटेगरी में जिनमें वह कंटीनुअस इंप्लॉइड रहते हैं ऐसे कर्मचारी मानकर लगभग 16 करोड़ रुपये का और खर्चा किया। वेतन आयोग की रिपोर्ट में जो ऐनोमलीज हैं उनको रिमूव करने के लिए तैयार होकर रेलवे ने लगभग 12.5 करोड़ रुपये का और खर्चा वहन करना स्वीकार किया। कार्य के वैज्ञानिक मूल्यांकन करना स्वीकार करके रेलवे ने लगभग 15 करोड़ का खर्चा वहन करने की स्वीकृति दी। बहुत से कैटेगरीज के इंप्लॉइज को प्रमोशन मिलेगा, इस पर रेलवे ने लगभग 12 करोड़ रुपया स्वीकार किया। कैंजुअल लेबर को मीनिमम 8 रुपये प्रति दिन देना स्वीकार करके लगभग 10 करोड़ रुपये का खर्चा रेलवे ने स्वीकार किया। इस प्रकार नेगोसियेशन के बीच में जो इन्होंने स्वीकार किया है वह लगभग 80 करोड़ होता है। 80 करोड़ का यह खर्चा और 110 करोड़ वेतन आयोग के स्वीकार करके लगभग 200 करोड़ रुपया होता है। इस प्रकार लगभग एक साल के अन्दर 40 फीसदी की बढ़ोतरी रेलवे कर्मचारियों के वेतन में रेलवे मंत्रालय ने स्वीकार की है। इसके अलावा फेयर-प्राइस शाप्स की सुविधा, उसके लिए बिल्डिंग की सुविधा, स्टाफ

की सुविधा और आवश्यक हो तो फंड की सुविधा ये सारी चीजे देकर रेल मंत्रालय ने काफी भार अपने ऊपर डाल लिया है जो अल्टीमेटली जनता के ऊपर आ जाएगा। क्या नहीं मिला जिसके लिए इतना हंगामा हो रहा है। एक मांग इनकी यह है कि हमको इंडस्ट्रियल लेबर ट्रीट किया जाए, गवर्नमेंट इम्प्लॉईज ट्रीट न किया जाए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): You must wind up now.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्रीमन्, थोड़ा समय और दीजिए। पब्लिक सैक्टर के जो इम्प्लॉईज हैं उनके साथ पैरिटी दी जाए, यह उनकी मांग है। दूसरी मांग इनकी बोनस की है जिसको गवर्नमेंट ने न स्वीकार किया है, न अस्वीकार किया और कहा कि बोनस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आ जाएगी तो हम फैसला करेंगे। इस तौर पर आप श्रीमन्, देखें कि जितना स्वीकार किया गया है और जितना अस्वीकार किया गया है, इन सारी चीजों को एक साथ देखें तो एक ही निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि ये लोग जान-बूझ कर हड़ताल पर तुले हुए हैं, हड़ताल कराना चाहते हैं पोलिटिकल इरादे के साथ।

श्रीमन् मैं इसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता कि ये लोग कंसन्ट्रेंट कर रहे हैं हड़ताल को कोयला और आयर्न माइन्स के बेल्ट एरियाज़ में और वहां यही इनका स्लोगन है—Cripple the Railways to cripple the Centre. यह बड़ी साफ बात है। जब नारे लग रहे हैं कि रेलवे को बन्द करो तो फिर आप रेल मजदूरों की आड़ में क्यों आते हो? श्रीमन् आप देखें कि अप्रैल 73 से लेकर अक्टूबर के बीच में 75 बार स्ट्राइक हुई—कभी स्टेशन मास्टरो ने स्ट्राइक किया, कभी सुपरवाइजरों ने की, कभी ट्रेन एग्जामिनरों ने की, कभी रनिंग स्टाफ ने, कभी लोको स्टाफ ने—इस तौर पर इन्होंने एक साल में साढ़े चार बाख दिन, वर्किंग अवर्स का नुकसान किया जिसमें लगभग 50 करोड़ का नुकसान हुआ। और आज कहा जा रहा है कि जार्ज की

नाजायज गिरफ्तारी की गयी। आप पता नहीं करते कि उन हड़तालों में क्या हुआ था। एक लोको ड्राइवर का जो कि हड़ताल में ट्रेन चला रहा था उस पर बंदूक से हमला किया गया। एक लोको फोरमैन को रात में उस के घर से खींच लिया गया कि तुम जवाब दो कि तुमने स्ट्राइकर्स से जवाब तलब क्यों किया और एक फोरमैन को जो कि ओवर टाइम विल को कंट्रोल करना चाहता था उस को बुरी तरह से पीटा गया। यह इंटीमिडेशन के सारे तरीके अपनाते हैं और हर तरीके से जो काम करना चाहते हैं उन को काम पर नहीं आने देते। आप स्वयं देखें कि ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Mr. Shahi, you must wind up now.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं। अगर उन की मांगें जान ली जाती हैं, जितनी भी मांगें हैं तो नतीजा क्या होगा। इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ेगा। आप चार सौ करोड़ दें या 500 करोड़ दें, लेकिन इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ेगा और नतीजा यह होगा कि उस के कारण कीमतें बढ़ जायेगी। यह तो कहते हैं कि हम को यह दो, लेकिन यह नहीं बताते कि कैसे दो। उन को ईमानदारी के साथ कहना चाहिए कि रेल भाड़े को बढ़ा दो या यात्रियों के किराये को बढ़ा दो या माल के भाड़े को बढ़ा दो। या फिर वे यह कह दें कि रेलवे को घाटे पर चलाओ। अभी पिछले दिनों जो रेल का भाड़ा बढ़ाया गया मार्च में तो माननीय गोरे जी की पार्टी ने 'रेल गाड़ी को नहीं चलने देंगे' आंदोलन चलाया। मैं नहीं कहता कि वह गैर वाजिब है या वाजिब है, लेकिन उस आंदोलन में इलाहाबाद और सिराथू में 8 आदमी मारे गये। बड़ी ज्यादाती हुई मैं उसको ज्यादाती ही मानता हूं, लेकिन आप एक बार कहते हैं कि उन को चार सौ करोड़ दे दो और दूसरी ओर कहते हैं कि रेल का भाड़ा न बढ़ाओ। यह कैसे हो। आप जानते हैं कि वे एक तरफ तो जनता को खुश करना चाहते हैं यह कह कर कि रेल का भाड़ा न बढ़ाया जाय और दूसरी तरफ

रेलवे इंफ्लाइज को खुश करना चाहते हैं यह कह कर कि उन की तनख्वाह बढ़ाई जाय । अगर हड़ताल हो गयी तो सारा भार जनता पर आ जायगा । वह गवर्नमेंट अफसरों पर नहीं जायगा और न एम० पीज० पर जायगा, सारा भार उस का जनता पर जायगा और चीजों के दाम बेतहाशा बढ़ेंगे ।

मैं अब आखिरी बात कह कर खत्म करना चाहता हूं कि अब वह स्टेज आ गयी है कि जब सरकार को एक राष्ट्रीय वेतन नीति निर्धारित करनी पड़ेगी । बिना राष्ट्रीय वेतन नीति निर्धारित किये हुए अब काम नहीं चलने वाला है और बोनस के मामले में कुछ ऐसी नीति अपनायी गयी है, उस में मैं कुछ इतना भेदभाव सामने आ रहा कि आप को अब बोनस को भी रिडिफाइन करना पड़ेगा । बोनस को अगर प्रोडक्टिविटी और प्राफिट के साथ आप लिंक नहीं करेंगे तो देश का कल्याण नहीं होगा । आप उन से यह भी पूछ लें कि जो रूस और चीन की ओर बहुत ज्यादा ताकतें हैं, वहां से इंस्पीरेशन लेते हैं वहां कितनी हड़तालें होती हैं ? इस हड़ताल से जितनी तबाही होगी और जब चीजें नहीं पहुंचेंगी, मिट्टी का तेल नहीं पहुंचेगा, कोयला नहीं पहुंचेगा, नमक नहीं पहुंचेगा जो महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात में बनता है वह जब वहां से उत्तर प्रदेश में नहीं पहुंचेगा तो उस से दो चीजें बढ़ेंगी । एक तो होगी मंहगाई और दूसरे बढ़ेगी चोरबाजारी । और उस मंहगाई और चोरबाजारी के जिम्मेदार यह लोग होंगे जो आज रेलवे में हड़ताल करा रहे हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Mr. Shahi, you have already taken 15 minutes. Please sit down. I am calling Mr. Goray now.

अब मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं यह कह कर कि रेलवे आज तेजी से संकट की घाटी की तरफ बढ़ता चली जा रही है और अगर रेलवे ने इस स्ट्राइक को स्वीकार किया तो पूंजीपति जो चाहते हैं यह माबित करना कि सरकार के हाथ में, पब्लिक सैक्टर के हाथ में जो इंडस्ट्री दी गयी है वह सब

घाटे में चलती है, वह फेल होती है, वह सही साबित हो जायगी और ऐसा कर के हड़ताल कराने वाले उन पूंजीपतियों से सहयोग करेंगे और उन के हाथ मजबूत करेंगे । इस लिए श्रीमन् मैं उन से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह लोग देश के हित में रेलवे मजदूरों को गुमराह न करें, आज रेलवे मजदूर हड़ताल नहीं चाहते ।

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Sir, I am sorry to find that today the Government position seems to be all the more rigid than what it was a couple of days back. The House is completely divided on this particular issue, and it seems the die is cast, battle lines have been drawn and it seems that there is going to be a show-down—exhibition of strength on the one side and exhibition of determined effort on the other. I do not know what to say in this atmosphere, because my position in this House and outside has always been that this country cannot afford such disasters like the one which is facing us today; this country must develop, its economy must expand, industries must grow, and any opposition, any strike, any conflict; that will destroy the prospect of development must exercise the minds of all of us. But, Sir, today I find that my friends on the Congress benches were extending a very jubilant support to the step that the Government has taken or is likely to take in the near future.

Sir, only yesterday we mentioned about the arrest of George Fernandes, and I must say that I had hoped that by today he would be released and negotiations would re-start in right earnest, that the held up negotiations that had stopped yesterday would be resumed. But it seems that the Government is determined to crush this strike. I do not know how far it is a wise policy. But it seems that it is not only Mr. Mishra but the entire Congress Party agrees that this is a challenge and that the only way to meet this challenge is to crush it.

Sir, very surprising arguments were put forward. Those who spoke, though they were talking with eloquence and fervour, did not understand the contradictions that

were involved in it. What was the contradiction? My friends, Mr. Panda and others, and even Mr. Chandra Shekhar—I was surprised—talked of the Industrial workers grabbing more and more, and they were reminded of the hardship of the common man in villages and rural areas. I would like to ask them to reflect on this particular phenomenon. Is it only this time this has happened? Didn't they allow an increase, a fair increase, to bank employees? Is it not that they are giving overtime allowance totalling up to nearly six crores of rupees to bank employees? Have they not written off Rs. 300 crores that this Government could have claimed from Pakistan at the time of partition? Only recently they have released all the POWs and during the last 21 months you have spent about fifty crores of rupees on them. Is there any possibility of recovering that amount from Pakistan? Why are you doing this? Why did you do this? This was because of the larger interests of peace in the sub-continent. There is always an immediate thing, and there is always a large interest. I only put it to you like this. All right, you succeed in crushing the railway strike. But the long legacy of discontent, bitterness and hatred will continue for years together. What will happen? How many crores will you lose on that? Have you ever considered that? I am not talking even of the long years ahead of us. I am talking of the immediate future. You say that all the railways are not going to take part in the strike. I concede that. May be that it is only a few railways which will participate in the strike. Just imagine what will happen. Supposing the Central Railway goes on strike or the Eastern Railway goes on strike or parts of the Southern Railways go on strike, will it not be enough to completely paralyse the entire economy of this country? Sir, this railway system is an enmeshed mechanism. It is so interlinked that if the workers AT half a dozen places stop work, the entire railways will come to a halt. Don't you understand this? If the Railway Minister has no time to understand this, does the Railway Board not under-

stand this? I am quite sure that if you keep George Fernandes and hundreds of his colleagues under arrest, if you try to show strength and if you say that the negotiations have ended, then the only result that I can see is that in innumerable places and at innumerable points throughout the country, there will be strike action and just what you want to avoid will take place and the economy will be crippled. You will not be able to carry food from one place to another. You will not be able to carry coal to the industries. I would appeal to Mr. L. N. Mishra and all his enthusiastic supporters not to feel jubilant over this one action and say that Fernandes was a devil, he has been imprisoned and that it is the correct action. My friend on this side, even Mr. Nawal Kishore, thought that this was the correct action and once for all the strike action must be crushed. It is very surprising. We are in a democratic country. You have conceded the right of strike to the workers. They have served you with a notice that on the 8th of May, they will go on strike provided the negotiations fail. The negotiations are continuing and you arrest the most prominent man. I am not trying to boost up the image of George Fernandes. But this thing will have to be admitted that he is the most dynamic trade-unionist in this country, whether you like it or not. The British imperialists never liked Gandhiji. Churchill described Gandhiji as a naked faqir. They went to the extent of saying that if Gandhiji died, it did not matter at all. This is what they said in 1942. Even after saying that, they had to negotiate with him because he was the most dynamic leader of the freedom struggle. There is no question of comparing Fernandes with Gandhiji. I am not doing that. I never lose my sense of perspective or proportion. But I want to tell you that in this particular situation, you are making it impossible for others also to come to the negotiating table. Therefore, I would like to say that even at this hour do not behave as if all the bridges have been blown up, there is to be no negotiation and that is the last word that we have given. I would ask my Congress

friends that if you say that this particular organised sector must not get more because what they are getting is much more than what the ordinary man in the street is getting, then why are you telling again and again that 80 crores of rupees have already been granted? Is there no contradiction in this? Then you should have said, "Not a pie more. What you are getting is not only enough but more than enough and, therefore, we are not going to give you anything." On the one hand you give them and very proudly you come here and tell us that Rs. 80 crores are to be spent. Then, if they say that you spend Rs. 30 crores or Rs. 50 crores more, then you think of the common man, the starving peasant and the man on the payment. You never think of the man of the payment when we talk of the black money. When we say that nearly Rs. 500 crores have been swallowed by the textile factory owners, you never remember him. But as soon as we talk of the railway workers and the strike, you begin to talk of the common man and that this organized sector must not be allowed anything more. My appeal to you, Sir, is this After all, what are the two points on which the whole friction has grown? The two points are bonus and treating these workers as you treat any other section of workers in the private or public sector. This is the crux of the matter. There you say, "Well, we cannot do it." All right. Can you not find out some way out of this *faux pas*? Can you not say, "All right, these are the demands which we have conceded, and these are the demands about which we shall have to negotiate more"? Can you not say that? Can you not refer the whole dispute to the Prime Minister for instance? You always say the Prime Minister when you find a sort of things in the State Assembly. When you cannot have a unanimous election of your leader in the Assembly, you always say that the Prime Minister will decide. If the Prime Minister is always called upon to act as a *deus ex machina* to sort out all your differences and difficulties, is this problem not big enough for you to go to the Prime Minister and say, "All right, this is what

we have done; these are the bottlenecks and you try and see if you can remove these bottlenecks." There is still time. Today is the 3rd of May. The strike is to start on the 8th of May. Five days are there. Well, it does not matter if it has started in some places, and it is not on an all-India level. So, there are still five days. And I would appeal to Mr. L. N. Mishra—not as a person but because he holds his high position—that you just think about it, and the common ground between all of us. Is there no common ground between all of us? The common ground between all of us, in spite of sharp differences here and there, is that this railway strike is going to cripple the economy of the entire country. And the second point is that it should be avoided by all possible means. And these are wide enough points on which we can still talk and come to some sort of a settlement. I can assure you that I am not a railway leader and so far as I know, I can tell you that all the railway unions want a settlement. They are also patriots. Why do you think they are not patriotic? I would say that even you must see the fervour of our Mr. Niren Ghosh. He is angry with you because he thinks that you do not give the workers a fair deal. That is why he is angry. But you must try to understand his fervour. For the good of the country, I think there is room enough if only you try. But if you have decided in your wisdom, "No, we are going to set an example to the workers that they cannot think of a strike any more in this country," and if that is your attitude, if you are going to crush this strike, then I must say in vain that I do not know what will happen, what forces will run. But I know this for certain that whatever will happen, that will not be for the progress and the development of our country. It will be for our ruin and our destruction. That is what I wanted to say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Before I call the next speaker, I have to inform the House that we have got three more Members who have to speak besides the Minister. I

would request the Members to confine themselves to five minutes only.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra): The axe falls only on the last speakers.

श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, रेलवे स्ट्राइक के सम्बन्ध में अभी हमारे बहुत वरिष्ठ मेम्बर गोरे जी बोल रहे थे। मैं आशा करता था कि जहां वे सरकार को कह रहे हैं कि नेगोसिएशन्स शुरू करें वहां उन लोगों को, जो स्ट्राइक की बातें कर रहे हैं, अपील करेंगे कि ऐसे हालात के अन्दर उनको स्ट्राइक पर नहीं जाना चाहिए, लेकिन उन्होंने ऐसा नहीं किया। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज सबसे बड़ी चिन्ता की बात यह है कि वर्किंग क्लास जो हमारे देश की इकानामी में बहुत बड़ा पार्ट प्ले कर रहा है, जिससे सारा समाज प्यार करता है, आज कुछ राजनीतिक लोग उस वर्किंग क्लास को अपने पौलिटिकल मकसद के लिए गुमराह कर रहे हैं। दुःख होता है यह देखकर कि इससे वर्किंग क्लास के प्रति गरीब जनता में नफरत बढ़ती जा रही है। यह दुर्भाग्य है कि वर्किंग क्लास के प्रति जनता में नफरत पैदा हो। मैं आपको मिसाल देता हूं। अभी हमारे हरियाणा के अन्दर, पंजाब के अन्दर बिजली की स्ट्राइक चल रही है। किसान का व्हीट खेत के अन्दर पड़ा है, मैकेनाइज्ड फार्मिंग हो गई है। सब लोग थ्रेशर से गेहूं निकालते हैं। ऐसे समय में जब देश को एक-एक दाने की जरूरत है, किसान का गेहूं खेत के अन्दर पड़ा है, वह रात दिन प्रतीक्षा करता है कि एक घंटा बिजली आए और वह थ्रेशर से गेहूं निकल कर घर ले जाए, उसको यह भी डर है कि अगर 15-20 दिन के अन्दर मेरा गेहूं घर नहीं पहुंचा तो ऊपर से बारिश हो जायेगी और लाखों टन गेहूं इस देश का बर्बाद हो जायेगा, कुछ लोग अपने राजनीतिक मकसद के लिए वर्किंग क्लास को इस्तेमाल करते हैं, वे बार-बार किसानों को जाकर यह कहते हैं कि यह सरकार और बिजली बोर्ड बिजली कर्मचारियों की बात नहीं मानते इसलिए स्ट्राइक है। बिजली कर्मचारी क्या करते हैं? टावर काटे जाते हैं, बिजली की लाइन के

ऊपर जंजीर फेंकी जाती है। और उसका नतीजा क्या निकलता है? मुझे दुःख होता है यह देखकर कि आज वे किसान जो वर्किंग क्लास का एक हिस्सा है, आज वे किसान जो वर्किंग क्लास के भाई हैं वे लाठी लिए बिजली वालों को तलाश करते रहते हैं कि यह मेरा दुश्मन सामने आए तो मैं इसकी जान लूं। इतनी हेट्रेड राजनीतिक लोगों ने वर्किंग क्लास के बीच पैदा कराई है। किसान देखता है कि पीछे जब बहुत सर्दी पड़ी थी, उसे गेहूं के अन्दर पानी लगाना था ताकि फसल खराब न हो जाय उस समय बिजली वालों ने हड़ताल कर दी ताकि खेत के अन्दर पानी न जा सके और आज जबकि उसका थ्रेशिंग का सीजन है तो फिर हड़ताल कर दी ताकि वह अपने गेहूं को घर न ले जा सके। अब वर्किंग क्लास को वर्किंग क्लास से लड़ने की बात कुछ लोग कर रहे हैं। आज रेलवे की बात है। मुझे तो कुछ ऐसा लगता है कि यह ट्रेड-यूनियनिज्म से ऊपर की बात चल रही है। ट्रेड-यूनियनिज्म की बात होती तो जो इस तरफ बैठे हैं उन्होंने ही अहमदाबाद में ट्रेड-यूनियनिज्म शुरू किया था।

[The vice-chairman (Shri V. B. Raju in the Chair.)]

यही कांग्रेस दल था जिसने इस देश के अन्दर मजदूरों को आर्गनाइज किया और यही कांग्रेस दल था जिसने इंडिया के कंस्टीट्यूशन में यह रखा कि मजदूरों को स्ट्राइक करने का राइट है। अगर यह मजदूरों का दुश्मन होता तो यह पाबन्दी लगा सकता था कंस्टीट्यूशन में कि मजदूरों को स्ट्राइक राइट नहीं होगा। अगर यह कांग्रेस दल मजदूरों का दुश्मन होता तो आज भी जब जनता ने इतना बड़ा बहुमत इस दल को दे रखा है वह कंस्टीट्यूशन में पाबन्दी लगा सकता था, उसको अर्मेंड कर सकता था, लेकिन चूंकि मजदूरों के साथ हमदर्दी है, वह मजदूर को जिन्दा देखना चाहता है, वह इस देश की सोसायटी के अन्दर एक तबदीली करना चाहता है उसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि आज मजदूर रिएक्शनरी हाथों में पड़कर स्वयं अपना गला काट रहे हैं।

आज अगर इस देश के अन्दर गेहूँ लाखों टन बरबाद हो जाएगा तो यह नुकसान किसका होगा ? मजदूरों का होगा । आज अगर इस देश में कल कारखाने बन्द हो जायें, उनमें चीजें पैदा न हों तो नुकसान किसका होगा, यह मजदूरों का नुकसान होगा । आज व्यापारी चाहता है कि रेलें पंजाब से न चले । अगर रेलें न चले और गेहूँ बाहर न जाए तो गेहूँ सस्ता होगा और वह खरीद कर लेंगे और फिर तीन महीने बाद रेल चलेगी तो गेहूँ का भाव ऊँचा होगा । हमारा जो ट्रेड यूनियनिज्म है, उसके जो हिमायती अपने को कहते हैं वह अपनी आत्मा से पूछें कि यह स्ट्राइक यूनियनिज्म के लिए है ? इस स्ट्राइक के पीछे कोई पोलिटिकल मसूबा नहीं है ? उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि आज की स्ट्राइक स्ट्राइक नहीं, यह बगावत है, यह विद्रोह है और कुछ राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ जो बैलेट के जरिये इस सरकार को नहीं हटा सकीं, जो बैलेट के जरिये सत्ता हासिल नहीं कर सकीं आज वह लोग इस देश की इकानामी को तबाह करके किसान मजदूर को लड़ाकर और इस देश की सारी ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को खत्म करके सत्ता हासिल करना चाहते हैं । मैं कहता हूँ कि ऐसे लोगों के हाथों के अन्दर इस देश का मजदूर नहीं जाएगा इस देश का वर्किंग क्लास नहीं जाएगा और इस बात का प्रमाण यह है कि बार-बार पोस्टरों के बावजूद आप अपने पड़ोस में देखें कि 90 प्रतिशत बिजली का कर्मचारी पंजाब में काम पर है । इसी तरह से आज रेलवे के ईमानदार और देशभक्त कर्मचारी जगह जगह से प्रस्ताव भेज रहे हैं कि हम इस स्ट्राइक के साथ नहीं होंगे । कितनी लेबर रेलवे में काम करती है, वह कहती है ऐसे समय में जब देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था गड़बड़ में है, कुछ लोग अपने राजनीतिक स्वार्थ पूरा करने के लिए एक नफरत में कर्मचारियों को धकेलना चाहते हैं ऐसे लोगों से हम दूर रहेंगे ।

ऐसे समय में मैं उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपकी मार्फत एक तो जो वर्किंग क्लास के जो हिमायती हैं उनसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि कम से कम इस

वर्किंग क्लास को, मेहनतकश लोगों को आप अपने राजनीतिक स्वार्थ के लिए इस देश की गरीब जनता से मत लड़ाओ । जनता में नफरत उनके प्रति मत पैदा होने दो । जनता के हितों के खिलाफ वर्किंग क्लास को इस्तेमाल न करो । दूसरे, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से भी प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि भारत की जनता ने आपको शक्ति दी है, भारत की जनता ने आप पर विश्वास किया है । अगर आप भारत की जनता के हितों की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बड़ा दुर्भाग्य का दिन होगा इस देश के लिए—भारत के लिए । आप जानते हैं कि इस देश के अन्दर कम से कम 5-4 साल तक किसी किस्म की कोई हड़ताल न हो ; देश के लोग चाहते हैं कि आज देश की अर्थव्यवस्था किसी कीमत पर नहीं बिगड़ने पाये और अगर इस सरकार ने हिम्मत से मुकाबला नहीं किया, अगर भारत सरकार ने हिम्मत से इस बगावत को नहीं दबाया तो हिन्दुस्तान की जनता कभी सरकार को माफ करने वाली नहीं है । दो दो हजार लोग और सरदी का मौसम, मैं ने अपनी आंखों से देखा कि प्लेटफार्म पर बैठे हैं, बच्चे उन की गोद के अंदर थे । कांप रहे थे मुसाफिर और एक-एक हजार तनख्वाह पाने वाले लोको-मोटिव के ड्राइवर अपने क्वार्टरों के अंदर आराम से सो रहे थे । क्या यह ट्रेड यूनियनिज्म की बात है ? आज हमारा गंदम खेत में सड़ जाय बारिश उस पर गिर जाय और जिस बिजली कर्मचारी को हम अपने गाढ़े पसीने की कमाई से तनख्वाह देते हैं वह तार काटता फिरे और हम बिजली की लाइन पर जंजीर फेंके और सरकार उस मूवमेंट को न दबा सके तो क्या जनता उस सरकार को माफ करेगी । आज जो यह मामला है यह नार्मल मामला नहीं है । मैं तो इस के इंस्टांसेज बता सकता हूँ जिस में कि जब व्हीट पालिसी तय की गयी थी तो उस के बाद पंजाब में और हरियाणा में प्रोक्योरमेंट का काम शुरू किया गया और उस समय यह पोलिटिकल पार्टियाँ वहां जा कर भाषण देती थीं कि सरकार को अनाज मत दो ।

और गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र के अंदर वही पोलिटिकल पार्टियां कहती थी कि यह सरकार अनाज नहीं देती है और उस के साथ साथ वैस्टर्न रेलवे में स्ट्राइक थी। यह पिछले साल तक था। आज जब व्हीट प्रोक्योरमेंट के दिन आ गये, जब थ्रैशिंग शुरू होने वाली है, व्हीट को निकालना है और उसको डेफिसिट स्टेट्स को भोजना है तो फिर वही नोटिस, वही स्ट्राइक तो क्या यह ट्रेड यूनियननिज्म की बात है? तो उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के माध्यम से सरकार से इतनी प्रार्थना करता हूं कि जनता का विश्वास आप के ऊपर है। बार बार चुनाव हुए और आप ने देखा। यही रोग थे आंध्र में काम नहीं चलने देते थे और अब उसी आंध्र में चुनाव हुए तो जनता ने इंदिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस पार्टी पर विश्वास किया। यही लोग थे जो उत्तर प्रदेश में हूलड़बाजी करते थे और यह सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के लोग यहां बैठे हैं, मुझे तो दुःख होता है इन अपने आप को समाजवादी कहने वालों पर, उस पार्टी से ताल्लुक रखने वालों पर जिस का नेतृत्व आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी ने किया था, जिस पार्टी के नेता जयप्रकाश बाबू रहे हैं। आज वह अपनी सारी बातों का अपने सारे आदर्शों को सरेंडर कर के बी० के० डी० में मर्ज होते हैं और उस से आगे वह चल रहे हैं। अब तो वह अपनी पार्टी को बीजू पटनायक की पार्टी में मर्ज करने को तैयार हैं ऐसी हालत में यह लोग आर्ये और मजदूरों की बातें करें, ट्रेड यूनियननिज्म की बातें करें, तो मैं एक ही बात आप से कहता हूं कि आज उनकी यह लड़ाई मजदूर के लिए नहीं है, आज यह लड़ाई कुर्सी के लिए है। मजदूर बेचारे का तो पोषण किया जाता है। बर्किंग क्लास को तो बरगला कर धकेला जा रहा है। हमारे महावीर त्यागी जी उधर बैठे हैं वह अंदाजा लगायें कि क्या आज हर ट्रेड यूनियन में यह कंपिटिशन नहीं चल रहा है कि एक ट्रेड यूनियन तो कहती है कि हमारे साथ आओ, हम तुम को ज्यादा वेतन दिलायेंगे, दूसरी कहती है कि हमारे हाथ आओ, हम तुम को ज्यादा वेतन

दिलायेंगे और इस तरह से यह कंपिटिशन लीडर-शिप का है और इस तरह से वह सारी नेशन को तबाह करते जा रहे हैं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपकी मार्फत सरकार से फिर प्रार्थना करता हूं कि अगर सरकार ने कमजोरी दिखाई, 56 करोड़ हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के हितों की रक्षा करने में अगर सरकार फेल हुई तो हिन्दुस्तान की जनता माफ नहीं करने वाली है और आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता चाहती है कि इस देश में कोई स्ट्राइक न हो, देश के कारखाने चलें, देश की रेलें चलें, देश की बिजली चले ताकि हर साल हमें दूसरे देशों से भीख न मांगनी पड़े। हम स्वाभिमान के साथ अपने देश का स्वावलम्बी बना सकें। ऐसी मेरी प्रार्थना है। इतना ही कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूं।

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: I personally feel that this is purely an economic problem and no political twist should be given to it. We have to think of the demands of the railwaymen in terms of the economic situation which is prevailing in the country. Looking at that, let us analyse what are the demands—their main demands, I would say—and how it will react. The Railway Minister has been kind enough to say that he will see that those who are getting Rs. 300 and less are taken care of so far as the supply of foodgrains is concerned. I, however, appeal to him that he should go a little step further....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Shri Bhupesh Gupta's half-an-hour discussion was to commence at 5.30. I think it would be appropriate if we complete this discussion and take up the half-an-hour discussion later because breaking this up in the midst is not right. It is an important issue and even the non-official business was cancelled because of this issue. I hope the House will agree with this.

HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): We shall take up the half-an-hour discussion after this discussion.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: A sufficient number of Congressmen have already spoken.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): There is no Congressman now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Chinai should speak. Sir, the normal practice is that generally parties are represented. Then, why should we not also speak. If the Congress Party puts up 10 speakers, we can at least put up two speakers. Mr. Chinai, by all means, you should speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): There is no Congress speaker now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have noted it. You never called anyone of us from this side, but called one after another, Congress speakers, for propaganda purpose. It is a wonderful thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The statistics reveal that out of the 14 speakers of the day, nine were from the Opposition and only five from the Congress.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is the basis of the statistics? How many Opposition parties are sitting here. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you are not alternating it. But you know, in the case of the Calling Attention Motion and other things, it is not necessary because the Minister will speak. They are all supporting the Minister. The monotony is also a factor. If they like, in the Central Hall, they can make speeches.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: What I was saying was that the hon. Minister has said already that he will take care of those employees who were getting Rs. 300 and less so far as the food supply was concerned from the fair price shops. I would ask him to go a little further. If he is not prepared to subsidise it at least let him see that those employees get it at a fair price because they might not undergo the undue hardship in getting their day-to-day supply. Also, Sir, I would like that in this the Government can go

half way. Perhaps, a channel of communication may start and thereby a solution can be found. So far as bonus is concerned, I must very frankly state that if the Government has to yield on bonus, then the whole burden on the economy will be such that the economy will never be able to bear it for years together. I am going to show you by figures and that will prove what I have been saying. You will see that the total wages and salaries of those eligible for bonus is Rs. 413.5 crores and if we take bonus for this year, it will be Rs. 345 crores, and if we take it for the whole Fifth Five Year Plan it will be Rs. 1725 crores. Now, on this, if the Government has to yield, what will be its reaction on the economy? That has to be seen.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is wrong.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: You cannot agree. I am telling you my figures. Whether you accept my figures or I accept your figures, it makes no difference. So far as this House is concerned, we have to convince it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Have a fact-finding Committee to go into it. What I would just say is that this is a point on which my friend, Mr. Ghosh, and I will never be able to agree. Even though I am in a position to quote figures, what I am pointing out is that there are other benefits which the railway employees are getting and which other employees of other industrial sector, even in the public sector, are not getting. The Railways are spending Rs. 43-45 crores over free travel of their employees. That is the benefit the railway employees are enjoying.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: That is for officers.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: No. That is one advantage. Secondly, so far as bonus is concerned the issue is before the Bonus Commission. Why not wait for it?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is outside the purview of the Bonus Commission.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Why not wait for their report. They have to see it from different aspects. They had a meeting only yesterday in Bombay, an urgent meeting. Therefore, I would point out to my friends who have been pressing for bonus to please wait.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The Bonus Commission is not empowered to go into this question.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Thirdly, I said sometime ago here that if you accede to bonus demand from the floor of this House, do you not think that it will have a snowballing and rebounding effect in the public sector projects? When I said this on the floor of the House sometime back nobody paid heed to it. Now the position has come to this that the public sector industries are bound to pay bonus. The private sector is already paying and now the public sector, namely, the railways, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Defence have started the demand for bouns. The result is that the economy cannot bear it. And if suppose for some reason or the other, for any pressure the Government accedes to the demand, then the Government is bound to disapper on grounds of economy only. Do you want that? That nobody would want. Why it happen? After all a duly elected democratic government ...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: An employer's speech.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: is there and they have to think in terms of economic angle. What will be the reaction and repercussion of it? First you have to decide this and then decide the problem.

Sir, everybody knows that 200 trains have been cancelled during the course of the last three on four days. Coal to the power houses is only two days' supply with them. Oil will not move. Food will not move. Under these circumstances should a government, with folded hands, sit like a helpless onlooker? Do you not expect them to take action in such a situation? Do you expect the Government to see those who are interested politically to take this country to ransom,

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I have never heard such a ...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: I never interrupted while you were speaking even though I was tempted to do so. Please do not do it; otherwise you will be paid in your own coin. Therefore, Sir, what I was suggesting is that the Government has to act if they want to govern. I am not a hard bargainer. I have said that whatever be their fair demands, by all means, give them. I said about food. I said about certain essential commodities and so on. But where it is impossible to accede to their demands how are you going to do it?

I wanted to say, in conclusion, that if this sum of Rs. 1,725 crores in the Fifth Plan is to be obtained, then let my friends who want to give it, including my friend, Mr. Goray, point out how it is going to be generated. I do not mind if the wealthier class or the industrialists who are earning are going to be taxed. If you are going to have it, by all means have it. But are you in a position to do it? If not, why do you think about it? I would also like to point out that nearly 75 lakhs of passengers every day have been stopped...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: By the Government.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Not by the Government, but by trade unions and saboteurs like you, Mr. Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Believe me, a Government has to govern. A Government has to be fair. But a Government cannot be dictated to by all political trade unionists who have no interest in the welfare of the people, who are interested only in the welfare of themselves and their trade unions.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Do not dictate to the Government now.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: I am not dictating. My friend here was all praise for Mr. Fernandes. He made him a hero.

I come from the city of Bombay. When he won the election, he was made a tiger. Tiger Mr. Fernandes! Oh, he willed Mr. S. K. Patil! It was all right. But what happened within five years? He was not only defeated but he lost his deposit also. He has not remained a paper tiger also. How many times during the last one year has he talked about "Bandh of Bombay"? And what happened about that "bandh"? Let us not say all these things. He was praising Mr. Fernandes. He said, he is a fine man, he is a reasonable man. What reasonable and fine man he is, I have my own experience. During the general elections, the same Mr. Fernandes broke my leg at midnight at an election meeting. I was in bed for eight weeks. When I issued a statement saying this has happened to me, let Mr. Fernandes apologise, Mr. Fernandes said "If Mr. Chinai can show the X-Ray photograph of his broken leg, I am prepared to apologise". I called a press conference. There were about 40 people by my bedside. I showed them the X-Ray photograph. Yet the day is to come when Mr. Fernandes is going to express his regrets. This is the type of person with whom you are dealing. I have no sympathy for persons like Mr. Fernandes who want to dictate with guns in their hands. Conciliation, yes; negotiations, yes; fair deal, yes. The employees must be fairly dealt with. The employees must be given their dues, but not when you go with a gun in your hand. Mr. Vice-Chairman, only yesterday when my reaction was asked for by All India Radio, I told the general public through All India Radio that it is the first time that the Government has acted swiftly in the interest of the country as a whole, and I wholeheartedly support the Government. If you have to negotiate, by all means negotiate. I have no objection. But do not yield on the question of bonus and other things. Otherwise, the economy of the country is in the red. The Railways itself is in the red. There was a deficit of Rs. 193 crores when the hon. Railway Minister presented his Budget, which he tried to meet by increasing the fares and the freight. If they yield on these questions, especially on the question of bonus, not only will the Railways be in the red, not only will the country be in the red, but the Govern-

ment sitting here will have to rule the day and go away.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let us be objective instead of being subjective like Mr. Chinai. We are not here to discuss Mr. Fernandes. We are here to discuss the situation arising out of the arrest of Mr. Fernandes and the other steps taken by the Railway Ministry. Now one question that arises here is: Are we here for confrontation? All the day-long debate on this side and that side went on in the nature of a very serious wordy duel, wordy confrontation. Have we assembled here for a confrontation in the name of this discussion? If not, let us do some business, let us talk business. My friends here in the Congress, who spoke before me, for whom I have regard and some of whom I appreciate otherwise, have waxed eloquent and I am surprised to find that they completely ignored all the basic principles of trade union movement in their enthusiasm and betrayed their ignorance of the subject. They have argued: Don't allow a handful of people, a small section of people, to hold the country to ransom. Have I to learn from them that unless there is a majority of the population on one side there will be no strike? Or, what will be the proportion of the entire population according to them that can legitimately declare a strike? It is always the organised minority of the entire community who acts, either by strike or otherwise and take upon themselves the privation and suffering, of every kind including death and dismissal. They in the process, change the character of the community luxury. When they go on strike, it is not a gain for them. So don't argue saying a small section of people holding the country to ransom. It is the patent argument of employers like Mr. Chinai, and should not of people like Mr. Amjad Ali or Mr. Panda. At least they should not. Sardar Amjad Ali too may have to go on strike one day and the same argument will be applied against him then. This is absolutely a wrong theory. Let them disabuse their mind. In a factory or mine or office in any industry where a strike takes place you can't expect many. Same with Railways.

Then there is another argument, a vague perverse argument: While our national economy is going to be affected, can there be any strike? What is the economy which will not be affected, big or small. In the event of a strike? Striker or lockout invariably affect economy. For Railways it is only a question of dimension. Because it is the railways, the problem is enormous. In fact, that is all the more the reason why the Government should be calm and calculating and they should understand the matter objectively. I know it is enormous. True, I am not here for canvassing strikes. I am only trying to bring before the House the magnitude of the problem which the government side have unfortunately not appreciated. You argue here, "Shoot at sight". That is your slogan...

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: No, we have never taken this slogan, "Shoot at sight".

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: All right, I apologise if you have not said it. You have not done it. But that was the spirit of your speeches. You said, arrest of Fernandes was wholly justified. All right. But what is your logic? Otherwise, the heavens would have fallen. I do not consider what Mr. Chinai said about Fernandes was fair and correct. If Mr. George Fernandes is not even a paper tiger, then, why is this Government so panicky about him? Let the Government tolerate him. Put up with him. You accept him as a mouth piece simply. Upto 30th April, Government negotiated with him. On the 1st he was in Lucknow... (*Interruptions*). On the 2nd morning you arrested him. What is the justification? What mischief he did on the 1st May? I say you have launched on a wrong path. This arrest might have been justified if at all on the 8th after the strike had commenced when you could have carried the people with you. But by arresting Fernandes you have discredited the entire Government and have elevated the sympathy of the people. So it is an absolutely wrong step. It was a hasty step. Then, my friend, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, who is a socialist—I have regard for him—asked whether Mr. Sardesai can give them a guarantee against sabotage as a condition for release of

George and other railwaymen. Can Mr. L. N. Mishra give us a guarantee that with the arrest of Fernandes and others there will be no sabotage tomorrow? He has with him all the resources of the government.

Who can give this guarantee? If you want a guarantee to prevent sabotage, you must behave properly calmly and reasonably. Your attitude to the problem will be a guarantee. I again say that there is no place for sabotage in trade union movement. I shall be the first person to condemn sabotage and intimidation, if any. I am not for sabotage and intimidation. But at the same time I do not like this method of giving bribes to employees for cheating a cadre of black legs, strike breakers. I do not like this method of giving them promise of employment to their children and so on. It is all bribery. Bribery is unpardonable. It amounts to unfair labour practice. Having said this much, I shall now come to the brass tacks.

6 p.m.

If you want to stop the strike either you should settle mutually or you must give them alternative remedy. You must offer them some alternative. That is the purpose of Industrial Disputes Act which came into being in 1947. The Industrial Disputes Act offers scope of adjudication and arbitration and has not banned strikes. In the case of public utility services, law insist on 14 days' notice only. It is not a ban. But here for the Railways or Government employees there is no alternative. What will those people do? You say that they are holding the country to ransom. I say you are holding the Government employees to ransom. The moment they strike, you call them anti-national. But what have you done to them? Have you done justice to them all these years? That is the question. If you have not done justice to them all these years, then strike is a valid action and it is a recognised method. Government of India or our country for that matter is a member of the International Labour Organisation. We are committed to certain Resolutions of the International Labour Organisation Conventions. There, they have accepted strike as a legitimate method. If the strike

is illegal, then take action under the provision of law. But where is the provision that you can apply MISA and arrest hundreds or thousands of people even before they go on strike? Application of MISA against trade union movement is also otherwise inapplicable. My friends have said that they are immoral. They asked: When there was negotiation, why did they give strike notice? My friends probably did not understand the difference between going on a strike and giving strike notice. Strike notice has to be given. Suppose the negotiations fail. If the negotiations succeed, the strike notice can be withdrawn. But if the negotiations fail, the strike notice has to be there before going on strike. But you discussed with them in spite of their giving strike notice. My friends of the Congress-side were simply shedding crocodile tears for the common man which opposing the strikes. There was no strike so long. What have you done for the unorganised labour or landless peasants who are on poverty live income. What can these people do? You have not given them bonus not have conceded any major demand. What have you done for the unorganised sector? Have you done anything for the jute growers? The big capitalists are running the jute mills. Yesterday all the facts were given as to government's concession to these capitalists and enormous projects earned by the industry at the cost of jute growing labour and the nation. You have no finance. One can understand that position. But how much black money is there in this country? Why don't you curb that? Why don't you do something? What about ceiling on urban property? You have not done it. You talk of lack of money and finances. There are hundreds of sources.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are two ways of looking at things. There is always a gap between demands made and terms to be settled. There is a bargaining counter for that. With my experience in the trade union movement I can say that those who serve strike notice do not believe that they will get 100 per cent of what they ask for.

If we know that there are two ends and if we know one end, that is the demand,

the other end has to be known. The government has not yet opened their mind when they do so, there might be some possibility of arriving at a settlement. The issue can yet be negotiated and a solution found if the Government and the trade unions proceed together. There must be some machinery found even if the parties create deadlock, i.e. which can save the country from the present crisis. But we must know before how the Government is going to act.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, even in small factories, in the private or public sector industries, when there is a demand given by a particular trade union, the employers sit together and decide how they could proceed in the matter and if on certain matters they accept the demand or agree to the demand on principle, they will say, "Yes, this is your due. But for the next two years or three years this will be staggered." Union say no; so much will be their due, but it may be staggered. This will be the process there. So, you must negotiate as to the reasonableness of the demand first and they say how you are going to meet it. I say this because in certain matters you have done it. First step in the process of negotiation, will be to determine what is fair and reasonable. Second step will be to find out resources and last step will be the details as to the manner and method of implementing the terms agreed to be reasonable, in both short term and long term.

Then, Sir, as regards the bonus and other things, apparently it looks as if it is a very huge amount and it is said that if it is given to the railway employees today, then tomorrow, the Defence people will ask for it or the P&T people will ask for it. May I ask a question? Has not the Bonus Commission, has not the Government of India, accepted this to be a fact that a minimum bonus of 8.33% is to be given irrespective of profit or loss? What is the rationale behind this? What is the rationale behind this except the one that a month extra wage is necessary for retired persons? So, if you accept it as the rationale, how can you deny it to the railway people? If you say it is a question of finance or funds, then I would ask you

this: Did we not fight the Bangladesh war? At that time, did we consider the question of finance? Even with regard to the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission we have made certain commitments that is also a big sum. Wherefrom we shall manage that? Therefore, money is one thing and principle is another. Let us sit together and decide. If the principle is good, you must accept it and if money is involved, you must try to find it and I think there can be no difficulty in finding proper solutions.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I sit down, I would appeal to the Government side to save the country now. The country is in their hands. They are the Government and they started the offence. The trade unions have not started the offence. It is they who started it and it is they who can save the situation. I also appeal to the trade unions supporting the railway strike—because this will also strengthen their case—to see that the negotiations succeed and this will be possible if the Government stretches its hand of cooperation. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Sir, before I take up the many points that have been raised by the honourable Members of this House, I would like to express my heart-felt sorrow and also offer my condolence on the death of Mr. Malgi, the trade union leader of Bombay, yesterday. I had stated in the other House and I would like to say in this House also that some questions were raised about this and it was asked whether some compensation could be paid to the family of Mr. Malgi. I will get this question examined and, if possible, I will try to give compensation to the family of Mr. Malgi.

Sir, before I go to the question of arrests, which has been the main point of discussion, I would like to say something, would like to offer some comments, on the points made by Shri Sardesai. He is a seasoned trade unionist and I hear him with respect and I have every regard for what he says and he also initiated the debate today. Sir, he felt that by arresting Mr. George Fernandes we have provoked the strikers. Sir, this is not a fact. It is just the other way about. Mr. Fernandes

was making preparations for a strike. I will give proof of it later. While the negotiations were going on, he was all busy in having the strike from the 8th as he has been saying. But we had some information and the strike might have started earlier also, earlier than 6-00 A.M. on the 8th.

Therefore, it is not correct to say that we (Interruptions).

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This is wrong . . .

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: We had no option . . . (Interruptions). Please give me 10 or 12 minutes; I will not speak for long. Let me first say what I have to say and then you can speak . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I don't want to be disturbed. I am not yielding also.

According to us, if we had not acted as we have done, it would not have been in the public interest. We have sufficient evidence in our possession to show that Mr. Fernandes was not only preparing for a strike but for something bigger than a strike. We find that he has said that the nation has to come up in revolt against the Government. All these things have been said. Therefore, Sir, it has been one of my most painful duties to agree to the proposal to arrest George Fernandes. I take full responsibility for the arrest of Mr. George Fernandes. It was done with my knowledge and consent. Sir, some hon. Members have tried to make out as if some other Ministry has done this or the Home Ministry has done this. This is wrong. It is at the instance of my Ministry and at my instance that this step was taken when I got fully convinced that it was necessary in public interest to arrest Mr. George Fernandes . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Absolutely wrong . . .

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Mr. Fernandes had been trying to have a strike much before. It was, I think, in January, when locomen were on strike. I asked Mr. Fernandes to help us in restoring peace

when he become President of the AIRF after Mr. Peter Alvares was thrown out of the organization. The way Mr. Peter Alvares was pushed out... Well, it is not for me to say anything on that; that is not my concern... *(Interruptions)*.

On the 30th evening, when I was having negotiations with them, I was presiding, and the minutes were ready almost. Out of 8 demands, Sir, there was agreement on 6; only two were left—one about the bonus and the other about parity of pay. I wanted Mr. Fernandes to finish the negotiations the same night. I told him that if we sat for some more time, it would be possible for us to come to some conclusion. I asked him to have it on the next day. He said that the next day was the 1st May. First of May is a very important day. Therefore, I told him, "All right, I would not like to spoil your May Day; you can participate in the celebrations, etc.". I suggested that in the evening we could sit and finish the negotiations. I requested him a number of times, but he did not agree. He said that he would be in Lucknow, and asked, "How can I come in the evening?". I said, "I will arrange a plane for you in Lucknow through the help of the Chief Minister and you can come at 8 o'clock and we will sit at 9 o'clock and finish this thing and sort it out". But he was not agreeable, because he had some other designs. I tell you I got the first suspicion of this on the 30th evening. I asked for the papers, and we got the evidence that he was not only preparing for a strike here but for something else in this country... *(Interruptions)*.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I will explain. Take your seat... *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Let the Minister first complete... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: The Minister should make responsible statements...

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: He was planning to paralyse the national economy. I do not

mean to say that he was preparing for some bloody revolution. I say that his programme was to create chaos in the country, economic crisis in the country. During the difficult times we are passing through, the Indian Railways cannot afford the luxury of a strike any more. The Indian Railways has suffered enough. As some hon. Members have pointed, it has already a deficit of Rs. 190 crores. We cannot afford the luxury of a strike in the railways any more. We found that Mr. Fernandes was coming to the Rail Bhavan in the morning and evening and threatening of organizing a strike... *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Mr. Niren Ghosh, please take your seat.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Sir, there were two points when we started the negotiations and these two points were made clear. Firstly, I gave an assurance that there would be no victimisation so long as the negotiations were going on. This was the assurance on the part of the Government. There was an assurance from the organisation also and it was that they would not make any preparation for the strike so long as the negotiations were going on. There were these two gentlemanly agreements between the two parties. What happened? Strikes notices were served during the negotiations. About 200 unions served the strike notices one by one. This was pointed out to Fernandes. He said that it was only a technical matter and we should not take it seriously. Today I realise what he meant by it. It will be repetition but I will have to say what I said in the other House yesterday. What I am saying here is correct and I stand by it. My idea was to go to Sardesai first. Now that Mr. Fernandes has come in, let me finish about him. Several Members have questioned the propriety of his arrest. The arrest of George Fernandes on 2nd May 1973 was a very delicate matter. Mr. George Fernandes had adopted a negative attitude both at the conference table and outside. There is enough of evidence that even while negotiations were going on, George Fernandes was preparing for a strike. On 23rd March, 1974,

addressing a public meeting of railwaymen at Calcutta, Mr. George Fernandes threatened the personnel of Territorial Army if they interfered with the strike. On the 24th and 25th of April, in the series of meetings during his journey from Delhi to Calcutta, Shri George Fernandes declared that the strike could not be broken by deploying army and police.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Every trade union has got to say that.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: It would virtually cripple the entire country and may lead to prebillion on the part of the people. After addressing a mass meeting at Gomoh, Dhanbad and other places, at a meeting organised at Asansol, Mr. George Fernandes said, "If the railwaymen stopped the movement of trains, the supply of coal and other essential commodities, the whole set of industries would be closed leading to a stoppage of production and the whole responsibility would lie on the Government of India." Then on 28th of April, addressing a largely attended public meeting at Bombay, Shri Fernandes reiterated his resolve not to call off the strike until the payment of bonus and increase in wages were conceded. The Badarpur Unit of the National Federation Committee had decided that the loco running staff should drop fire just before going on strike. Shri R. K. Barua is an active worker and he has also been arrested. These provocative speeches had their effect and were translated into action in some places. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, in this background, we arrested Fernandes. Sir, this is the background in which Mr. Fernandes has been arrested. I feel amazed how Members can come out in defence of such a gentleman who has not maintained the code of conduct.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Sir, it is character assassination.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You have broken every code of conduct.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: It is also said that we have committed a breach of faith. Let me say at the very outset that nothing can be more unjust and unfair than

to level such a charge. As I have stated on a number of occasions, we want a negotiated settlement.

But Mr. George Fernandes was not serious. His Unions gave a strike notice during the negotiations. When I pointed out this to him, he tried to explain it away as a mere technicality. But in actual practice, it was not so. While negotiations were going on, he was going round preparing for the strike. Even on the 30th evening, when I fixed the meeting on the 2nd May, he gave a statement that it was a meaningless exercise. He also said that the strike was inevitable. He continued to exhort his unions to prepare for the strike.

Sir, Mr. Goray and some other friends said that on what basis, do you make your assessment, statement, that he was going to prepare for the strike. I know this from his statement. It is in the "Statesman" of 1st May, 1974. That is, on the 30th evening, he stated at the Rail Bhavan—and what he said? Mr. George Fernandes, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and Convenor of the National Co-ordination Committee of the Railwaymen's Unions has told the reporters, and I quote—"As of now, the decision for a strike from the 8th stands." This is what he said when the negotiations were almost over and only signature had to be appended and two demands were to be considered. So, this was the basis on which I made a statement that he was preparing for a strike from the 8th. With this situation, the Government had no alternative but to take action. We owe a duty to the people of this country. We have a responsibility. Should we allow certain activities to continue and not take suitable measures to maintain the economic life of the community? This is for the people of this country to judge as to who really committed the breach of faith. This much about Mr. George Fernandes.

Sir, I would now like to say about the demands. A question was raised that we did not accept some of the demands where the financial implications are too small. There were eight demands. The demand number one was that there should

be no victimization. What was the decision? The decision was that no railway worker will be victimized for trade union activities provided he is within the limits of the law of the land. Cases of alleged victimization will be scrutinized by the Deputy Minister, that is, Mr. Shafi Qureshi who was having the negotiations. Demand No. 2 was that working hours should be eight. Justice Miabhoy had gone into the hours of work of the railway employees, and his recommendations have been accepted. That means, we accepted that demand. Demand No. 3 was decasualization. The problem of casual labour was also gone into by the Miabhoy Tribunal, and we accepted their recommendations. Demand No. 3 (a) was job evaluation. This has been accepted. Demand No. 3(b) was revision of pay and this would have meant Rs. 350 crores. We could not accept this demand. Demand No. 3(c) was revision of dearness allowance formula. It could not be accepted since the Pay Commission had given its recommendations, and we are following them. Therefore, Sir, of the demand No. 4, we have accepted demand (a), that is, job evaluation. The rest of them, that is, (b) and (c), could not be accepted. Demand No. 5 was bonus. As you know, the Bonus Review Committee is going through this and it would be premature for us to give any decision. Demand No. 6 was subsidized foodgrains. Sir, with regard to that, fair price shops will be opened for the railway workers in any colony where their number is more than 300. Shri Sardesai, perhaps, said of foodgrains. I did not accept the supply of subsidized foodgrains. I did take the responsibility for the supply part of the foodgrains. That will be of the Railways. I will do it either through the State Government or through the Government of India. I have to sort this out either with the Chief Ministers or the Food Minister. I took the responsibility for the supply. The only thing I said was that it would not be subsidized foodgrains; it will be fair price shops, as are available for other citizens in the country. The only difference here is that the Railways will make the accommodation available free; they will depute one or two men on deputation to these shops, and the salaries will not be charged. Therefore, the establishment part

on the shops will go down and they will be able to get the foodgrains at a cheaper price.

We have agreed that foodgrains, that is, rice, wheat and bajra, etc. will be sent to these shops. When, therefore, Mr. Sardesai said these things, I was a little surprised. But, I may inform him that I did not take these steps. Even today I stand by whatever decisions have been taken. Whatever has been settled, we agree to it. I am not going to change anything. I stand by those commitments. All those commitments will be there. Only these two demands to which we could not agree remain to be settled. Only these demands remain and they can be examined in future. The whole question is of situation and time. This is not the time when Indian Railways can afford any luxury by way of any more payments.

The other thing which Mr. Sardesai mentioned was that negotiations have been broken not by railwaymen but by us. I am sorry, this is not a fact. I have said this earlier also.

Mr. Sardesai mentioned about certain concessions being given to the businessmen. He suggested that the financial structure of the Budget etc. should be reviewed. I agree with him. I will look into it.

Some people pointed out that bamboos are being carried by the Railways at a very cheap rate and these are actually meant for big business houses. This is a point which a number of other hon. Members have also raised. I will ask Member (Finance) to go into it and, if necessary, I will appoint a sub-committee with a senior Member of Parliament who has aptitude for the subject and wants to be associated with it. I will have no objection to that. We have no sympathy for big business houses and if we can get money out of them, we will be too glad to have it and for that I will thank Mr. Sardesai for having made the suggestion.

Sir, then he said that fighting the workers is not fighting Fascism. We are fighting Fascism. We are not fighting workers. We are fighting for democracy. I

am one of those, as I said in the other House yesterday, who believe that democracy and trade union movement have to go hand in hand. If we want democracy, we must have strong trade union. Only thing is that we must have a true trade union. If we have a weak trade union, we will have trouble, as we are having trouble today. That is why I say two things are a must; strong trade union and enlightened management. We want both the things, i.e., strong trade union and enlightened management and for that if any support is necessary I am prepared to lend that support. I have always been saying: one industry, one union. This was only with a view to strengthen the trade union movement in the Railways especially and I stand by that and if any ballot is necessary for that and if any preparatory arrangements are necessary for that I am prepared for it. I want that Railways should have only one union. If we have only one union, we will have a strong union. If we enter into any agreement with one trade union, they will be in a position to maintain that agreement. But, what is happening here. We have entered into agreements for three years but these are broken within three months, four months or six months. Therefore, it is in the interest of the Government also that we should have strong trade union organisations and this suggestion of Mr. Sardesai is not only acceptable to me but I welcome it. I feel as if he has taken words from my mouth.

Somebody said that we want to crush workers. Who says that I am going to crush workers. Please do not talk like this. Do not use this language. We are for the workers. Only question is country has to be protected and peace in the country has to be maintained. If some adventurist gentlemen want today some adventurism, we will not allow that adventurism. But, if there is honest trade union movement, we will allow it; we will not only allow it but we will welcome it and I will give all honest support to honest trade union movement.

Sir, a question was raised about this commitment. Before I conclude I want to

say something about it. I think Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sahi mentioned it. I do not want to go into the details of it. You know that in one year's time the wage bill has gone up by 40 per cent. I do not think in any other country of the world the wage bill would have gone up by 40 per cent in one year's time. It has gone up by Rs. 110 crores as a result of the recommendations of the Pay Commission and another Rs. 80 crores as a result of Mianbhoy Tribunal and other things that we have accepted in these negotiations that were going on. We are not backing out of these commitments. Well Rs. 110 crores plus Rs. 80 crores comes to Rs. 190 crores and our total bill is Rs. 570 crores. Naturally, it comes to about 38 to 40 per cent rise in wages in one year's time. It is a heavy burden on the Indian Railways at a time when Indian Railways' revenue earning is not up to the mark.

Now, for the benefit of the House I would like to say one thing. We are very keen that this strike should be called off and I request the people, I request Mr. George Fernandes and other office-bearers to withdraw the strike notices that they have given...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No responsible trade union would do that.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: ... and leave it to the Government for discussion and finalise the whole thing.

Here I would like to make one or two announcements which I made earlier also. I have previously announced the benefits for the workers who continue to work, whatever difficult situation may arise, and I wish to reiterate them again: Number one, those workers who will continue to work are assured of full protection; number two, we shall give extension of service for those who are about to retire; three—preference in employment to the children and wards of those Railway workers and special recognition of their services; four—increments in pay and rapid promotion to deserving people in the Railways. The Railway workers who go on strike must know that they will be on an illegal strike

and if they do not report for duty, Railways would be forced to withdraw the facilities that they enjoy and they may even lose their jobs...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Threat?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Defaulting people will have no place in the organisation. I am perfectly clear in my mind.

I am thankful to you, Sir. I have nothing more to say.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is a clear warning against the working classes and against the people of India...

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I seek the co-operation of the House and of the people to end this difficult situation. Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We initiated the discussion for facilitating resumption of the negotiations. He didn't initiate it. I did it and you have seen this side of the House. The last part of it is a black-legging provocation and I request that it should be expunged from the proceedings.

**HALF-AN-HOUR-DISCUSSION ON
POINTS ARISING OUT OF THE
ANSWER TO STARRED QUESTION
NO. 100 GIVEN ON THE 25TH
APRIL, 1974, REGARDING EXPAN-
SION OF PRODUCTION CAPACITY
BY MESSRS. MOHAN MEAKIN
BREWRIES LIMITED.**

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I am thankful to the Chair for the opportunity to raise it at the fag end of the discussion. The matter, in my view, is important. The discussion I am raising, Sir, relates to certain happenings in the Ministry of Industrial Development in 1971 when Mr. Moinul Haque Choudhury was the Minister-in-charge, Mr. B. B. Lal of the Delhi land grab notoriety was the Secretary and Mr. R. V. Subramaniam was the Joint Secretary. I am raising the discussion with a view to impress upon Mr. Subramaniam who has come into this Ministry to consider, what I say, on merits

and consider it from the point of view of public standard, administrative morality and code of administrative behaviour. Sir, when we want a proper type of administrative set-up, free from corruption and all that, I do hope Mr. Subramaniam, who is otherwise a sober man, will give his sober thought to it and come to the right conclusion.

Sir, an application for the 5-fold increase and expansion of Messrs. Mohan Meakin Breweries of Ghaziabad was pending before the Ministry at that time in 1971. At that time, a Show Cause Notice for unauthorised expansion in violation of section 13 of the Industrial Development and Regulation Act was also pending against Messrs. Mohan Meakin Breweries. The company had carried out illegal expansion of its capacity from 4,000 kilolitres to 11,000 kilolitres. It must be mentioned in this connection, Sir, that this Mohan Meakin Breweries was also mentioned among the 45 companies in the report of the Dutt Commission for having carried out such illegal or unauthorised expansion in violation of the Industrial Development and Regulation Act.

They were black-listed in a way. Now, Sir, the matter was under consideration. Some officers gave their opinion. First of all, I find that these were published in Current. There was one officer, N. K. Seth. He was the Director of the Ministry. He gave the figures of expansion. It was 7,421 kilolitres in 1968, 10,378 kilolitres in 1969 and 11,678 kilolitres in 1970. Having given these figures he said:

"It would thus appear that this unit has persisted in continuing to stop in production in excess of the licensed capacity in spite of the show cause notice issued to the Company on 3-9-69 for contravening the provisions of the Industrial (Development & Regulation) Act. Whatever might have been the extenuating circumstances for the party to increase its production beyond its licensed capacity till the receipt of a show-cause notice from the Government, the increase in production after its receipt appears to be a deliberate attempt to