RAJYA SABHA

Friday, the 27th April, 1962/the 7th Vaisakha, 1884 (Saka)

The House met at eleven of the clock,

MR CHAIRMAN in the Chair,

ANNOUNCEMENT RE GOVERN-MENT BUSINESS

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA): With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that during the week commencing 30th April, 1962 this House will discuss the Motion of Thanks to the President to be moved by Prof. R. D. Sinha Dinkar.

RESOLUTION RE REINSTATEMENT OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EM-PLOYEES WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE STRIKE OF JULY, 1960

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी (उत्तरप्रदेश): सनापति महोदय, में प्रस्ताव करता हूं:

''इस सभा की राय है कि जुलाई १६६० में हुई केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्म-चारियों की हड़ताल मे भाग लेने के लिये जितने भो केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्म-चारी अपने पदों से निकाले गये थे, उन्हें उन के पदों पर पुनः नियुक्त किया जाय।''

जिन परिस्थितियों मे १६६० में केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों को श्राम हड़ताल का फैसला करना पड़ा था वे सर्वविदित हैं। वड़तों हुई महनाई श्रौर उसे रोकने में शासन की विफनता, जिस के परि-शाम स्वरूप केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों का वेतन श्रपने खरोदने की शक्ति में घटता जा रहा था, उनका जीवन स्तर नीचे श्रा रहा था, इन परिस्थितियों में केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों के सम्मुख इसके सिवाय श्रौर कोई चारा नहीं था कि वे मंहगाई भते को महगाई से जोड़ने की मांग 188 RS—1.

करते । यह मांग न्यायोचित थी श्रौर वास्तव में वेतन श्रायोग की नियुक्ति श्रौर उसकी सिफारिशों का सरकार द्वारा स्वोकार किया जाना केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों की इस माग के श्रौचित्य को सिद्ध करता है । इस बात का श्रयत्न हुआ था कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारी हड़ताल न करें श्रौर में जानता हूं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों के नेता हड़ताल करने के लिये उतारू नहीं थे। लेकिन परिस्थितियां ऐसी बनी श्रौर शासन ने ऐसा रवैया अपनाया कि हड़ताल को टाला नहीं जा सका ।

म्राज मुझे स्वर्गीय श्री फीरोज गांधी का स्मरण स्राता है जिन्होने केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों की मांगी को मनवाने के लिये ग्रीर जब बातचीत टुटनेकी स्थिति पैदा हो गई तो समझौता कराने के लिये सारी शक्ति लगादी लेकिन उन के प्रयत्न भो सफल नहीं हुए स्रौर केन्द्रीय सरकार **फे** कर्मचारियों ने हड़ताल की। उस हड़ताल को शासन ने ग्रवैध घोषित किया, हड़नाल को विफल बनाने के लिये अध्यादेश जारी किया गया, रेडियो, समाचार पत्र ग्रौर प्रचार के श्रनेक साधनो द्वारा ह**ड**ताल को विफल करने की कोशिश की गई लेकिन इतनी बड़ी संख्या में फेन्द्रीय सर-कार के कर्म चारियों का संगठित विरोध प्रदर्शन एक वहुत बड़ी बात थी । कोई हड़ताल से सहमत हो या सहमत न हो लेकिन इस बात से इंकार नहीं कर सकता कि हमें उन परिस्थितियो की पूनरावृत्ति नहो होने देनी चाहिये जिन में केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारी हड़ताल के लिये विवश हो जायें।

सभापित महोदय, एक लम्बी कहानी है जो हड़ताल के बिला शर्त वापस लेने कि बाद समाप्त हो जानो चाहिये थी। हड़ताल की समाप्ति के बाद शासन की श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

म्रोर से जो घोषणाये की गईं का सकेत मिलता था कि यद्यपि शासन ने हडताल को पसन्द नही किया किन्तू हडताली कर्मचारियो के प्रति की वह उदारता नीति अपनायेगी। स्वर्गीय पडित गोविन्द बल्लभ पन्त इस सदन मे ग्रौर दूसरे सदन मे जो की उन से कर्मचारियों को ग्राइवासन मिलाथा कि केवल उनमामलो को छोडकर जिन मेकिकर्मचारी हिंसा करने के, तोड-फोड करने के या घोर दुर्व्यवहार करने के दोषी हैं, सभी कर्म-च।रियो केप्रतिसहानुभृति सेकाम लिया जायगा ग्रौर हडताल के कारण एक कट्ता पैदा हो गई थी--जो कि किसी भो स्थिति मेवाछनीय नही कही कट्ता जा सकती--वह समाप्त जायगी स्रौर केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारी शासन के साथ मिल कर राष्ट्र के पूर्नीनर्माण मे अपना योगदान देगे । लेकिन, यह बडे खेद की बात है कि सदन मेवरिष्ठ मित्रयो ने जिन नीतियो की घोषणाये की उन को ठीक तरह से कार्यान्वित नही किया गया । ऋभीभी एक बहुत बडी संख्या ऐसे कर्मचारिया की है कि जो नौकरों से निकाल दिये गये है, यातो बर्खास्त कर दिया गया जिन्हें काम सेहटादियागया है ।ऐसे भी कर्मचारी है जिन्हें म्रनिवार्य रूप से रिटायर किया गया है ग्रौर जो कर्म-है, जिन के मामले ग्रभी चारी मुग्रनल तक विचाराधीन है, उनकी सख्या भी बहुत बड़ी है। माननीय गृहमत्री जी ने २० मार्चको लोकसभा मेएक प्रश्न के उत्तर मेजोग्राकडे रखे थे वेडस बात को बताते है कि ग्रभी तक हम हडताल मे भाग लेने वाले कर्मचारियो और उन के नेतास्रो के मामलो पर ठीक तरह से निर्णय नहीं कर सके हैं। ग्राभी तक शासन की ग्रोर से यह नही बताया गया कि निकाले हए

कर्म चारियो मे से कीन से कर्मचारी ऐसे हैजो कि हिंसा करने के भ्रपरार्घा हैं, कर्मचारी ऐसे ਨੈ तोड-फोड की है या घोर दृव्यंवहार की परिधि मे--जिसकी परिभाषा रेलवे बोर्ड ने ऋपने सरकलर मे की है--कितने कर्मचारी आते है, इसका स्पष्टीकरण नही किया गया है । जहा तक मेरी है, इतनी बडी हडताल मे जानकारी कर्मचारियो ने बडी शाति से काम लिया। हिंसा की, तोड-फोड की घटनाये नगण्य हैं। एक मदाज के अनुसार तोड-फोड **से** जो कुछ सरकार की क्षति हुई है वह

who participated

in the strike

रेल मंत्रालय मे उपमंत्री शाहनवाज खां) ग्रीर जो काम रोकने से हुई

केवल ४० हजार रुपये की है।

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी ऐसे मामले है जिन मे कर्मचारियो ने हडताल काम किया, कर्मचारियो ने हडताल मे भाग नही लिया, जिस दिन हुई वह दफ्तर मे उपस्थित थे, उनकी उपस्थिति वहा म्रकित है, मगर उन्हें निकाल दिया गया । ऐसे उदाहरण जिन मे हडताल मेभाग लेनेमात्र के कर्मचारियो को नौकरी से हाथ है । घोना पडा हडताल मे लेना जुर्म नहीं हो सकता ग्रध्यादेश जारी कर के हडताल को श्र**वैध** करदे लेकिन जब कर्मचारियो के काम करने के भ्रधिकार को स्वीकार किया है तो काम न करने के ग्रिधकार को भी स्वीकार करनाहोगा। दोनो एक दूसरे केसाथ जड़े हुए है, हम उन्हे प्रलगनही कर सकते है स्रौर है कि जनमत में दबाव के मझे खशी अप्रततोगत्वा सरकार को भी कर्म-के हडताल करने के ग्रधिकार परु प्रतिबन्ध लगाने के लिये विधेयक लाने का

विचार था उसको त्यागना पड़ा है। हम अपन्य देशों के उदाहरण देकर अपने कर्मचारियो के ऐसे किसी म्रधिकार को नही छीन सकते जोहम उन्हेपहले प्रदान कर चुके है। ग्रगर नयी स्लेट पर लिखना होता तो हम नयी ग्रधिकारो का निर्माण मे नये करते, लेकिन जो ग्रधिकार जो मृवि-घाएँ कर्मचारी स्राज तक उपयोग मे लाते रहे है उन्हे श्रचानक वापस लिया जा सकता भ्रौर इसलिये ऐसा करना चाहिये कि हडताल की परिस्थिति पैदा न हो । हम उन जिन से कारणो को समाप्त करदे **के**न्द्रीय कर्मचारी हडताल मजबुर किये जाय । लेकिन, ग्राज की परिस्थिति मे जब तक फेन्द्रीय कर्मचारियो मेयह भाव मौजुद उन के साथ न्याय नही किया उन्हे प्रकारण दिंदन किया जाता है, अपर से निर्धारित नीति का पालन नही होता ग्रौर उन के जो निकट के ग्रफसर हैं वे पुराना हिसाब चुकता करने के लिये हडताल का लाभ उठाना चाहते है। जब गृह मत्री की घोषणात्रों के बावजूद कर्मचारी की यनियनो को मान्यता वापस नहीं दी जाती ग्रौर वे गत मामलो को अपने अधिकारियो के सामने रखने के ग्रपने स्वाभाविक ग्रधिकार से विचत हो जाते है. जब वे अपनी कठिनाइया शासन के सामने रख नहीं सकते तो फिर जो भी असनोष है, रोष है वह अदर ही श्रदर घुमडता है । स्रगर हम उसे स्रदर से निकलने का कोई मार्ग नहीं दे सकते तो फिर वह विस्फोट के रूप मे प्रकट होता है। ग्रभी तक सब कर्मचारी सगठनो को मान्यता नही वापस कम्पद्गीतर श्रोर ग्राडिटर क्षेत्र मे जितने भी विभाग भाते हैं उन मे से चार कर्मचारी सगठन ऐसे

है जिनकी मान्यता वापस नहीं हुई है, उनका ग्रिखल भारतीय सगठन भी मान्यता से विचित हैं। जब लोक सभा में प्रश्न किया गया कि ग्राडिट विभाग में काम करने वाले ग्रीर नौकरी से निकाले गये ६१ कर्मचारियों का क्या होगा, क्या उन्हें ग्रपना मामला ग्रफसरों के सामने रखने का मौका मिलेगा, तो माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने कहा कि उन्हें एक एक मामला ग्रपने ग्रफसरों वे सामने रखना चाहिये, उसपर बात करनी चाहिए। मैं उन के शब्दों को उद्धृत करता हू उन्होंने कहा था

"They have to discuss There is no way out"

जिसका श्रभिप्राय यह है कि श्राडिट विभाग के म्रधिकारी उन मामलो पर विचार करे. चर्चा करे कर्म चारियो को विश्वास मे ले-कोई ऐसे मामले हैं जिन म फैवल हडताल मे भाग लेने के लिये कर्म नौकरी से निकाले तो उन पर विचार करे । मगरगृहमत्री जी की इस प्रकार की बात के बाद भी श्रभीतक ग्राडिट विभाग के कर्मचारियो **के मामले पर कोई गौर नहीं कर रहा।** उन से बात तक करने के लिये कोई तैयार नही । भारत का सविधान कम्पट्रोलर जनरल के सभी सबधित भ्रौर म्राडीटर कर्मचारियो को एक विशेष स्थिति प्रदान करता है । मगर अन्रतोगत्वा वे राष्ट्रपति के नियत्रण मेकामकरनेवालेकर्मचारी है। कम्पदोलर एन्ड ऋाडीटर जनरल कर्म-चारियों के मामले मे परामर्श दे सकता है मगर वह निषेधाधिकार काप्रयोग नही कर सकता । मुझे खेंद है, गृह-मत्री महोदय भ्रपनी बात भ्रपने सबिधत विभागो से मनवानही सके है ग्रौर इसका कारण यह हे कि जो भी वातावरण बदलना चाहिये था इतने दिनो मेबदला नही है।स्वर्गीयपत जी ने बिल्कुल स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा था कि विभागीय कार्यवाहिया उन मामलो मे

878

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी

tral Govt. Employees

जहां कर्मचारी हिंसा, तोड फोड या घोर दर्व्यवहार के दोषी होंगे । लेकिन पोस्टस एन्ड टेलीग्राफस में क्या हो रहा है ? १७,००० से ज्यादा कर्मचारी ऐसे हैं जिन्हें हडताल मे भाग लेने के लिये दंडित किया जारहा है, जिनकी तनज्जलियां कर दी गई हैं, जो मम्रित्तिल कर दिये गये हैं, जिनकी तरिकक्यां रोक दीगई हैं। एक एक कर्मचारी हर महीने ५० ६० का घाटा उठा रहा है। ऐसे मामले मौजद हैं जिन में जोदंड दिया गया उस के श्रनुसार दंडित कर्मचारी ग्रागे ग्राने वाले सालों में १०,००० रुपये से वंचित हो जायगा। यह साधारण सजाएं नहीं हैं। श्राज की स्थिति में जब महंगाई बढ़ रही है स्रौर उस महंगाई का दृष्प्रभाव रोकने के कर्म चारियों सरकार स्वयं भन्ते को बढाने के लिये तैयार हुई है, हम सैकड़ों कर्मचारियों को उनकी से वंचित करदें, उनके भ्रागे बढ़ने के मार्ग को रोक दें, उनकी सर्विस काजो रिकार्ड है उसको ख़राब कर दें तो कर्मचारी यह मानकर नही चल कि उन के प्रति शासन सहान्भृतिपूर्ण है। **इ**ष्टिकोण

म्रध्यक्ष महोदय, मै यह कहना चाहुंगा कि आज केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों से संबंधित सभी मामलों पर फिर से विचार करने की **ग्रावश्यक**ता ਲੈ i ग्राम चनाव बाद नयी सरकार बनी है। हैतो पुरानी बोतल में पूरानी शराब ही, मगर नयी सरकार के रूप में हमारे सामने ग्राई है श्रौर हमें श्राशा करनी चाहिये कि जो नीतियां निर्धारित की है उन मूल नीतियों मैं बदलने की मांग नहीं करता—लेकिन वे मूल नीतियां ग्रगर ठीक तरह से कार्यान्वित को जायं तो केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों में एक एक भोसरकारी कर्मचारी ऐसा न रहेगा

जिसे नौकरी से हटाना पड़े। जो निकाले गये. जिन्हें नौकरी से हाथ धोना पड़ा है, उनके एक एक मामले पर हमने चर्चा की है. ग्रापस की है ग्रौर सरकार द्वारा निर्धारित नीति के ग्रंतर्गत वे कर्मचारी ग्राना चाहते हैं। श्राडिट डिपार्टमेंन्ट में तो कोई मैबोटाज नहीं हम्रा है, कोई तोडफोड नहीं हम्रा है, कोई हिसा नहीं हुई है। ६१ कर्मचारी ऐसे हैं जिन्हें हडताल में भाग लेने के ग्रपराध में नौकरी से ग्रलग कर दिया है। मैं रेलवे के मामले जानता हं। लखनऊ के रेलवे के कर्मचारियों है। वहां के निकट का संबंध किस तरह से प्रतिशोधात्मक मनोवत्ति से काम कर रहे हैं यह मैंने पूराने रेल मंत्री के सामने रखा था। समय समय पर मैं उसे मदन में भी उपस्थित करता रहा। मेरी समझ में नहीं श्राता कि एक ही प्रकार का दोष करने वाला कर्मचारी भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकार के दंडों से कैसे पुरस्कृत किया जा सकता है । मगर ऐसे उदाहरण है जहां नीचे के अफसरों ने मनमानी से काम लिया है. ज्यादती से काम लिया है भ्रौर भ्रगर ऐसे मामले दबे पडे रहें स्रौर हम कहें हडताल की थी तो उसकी सजा भगतनी होगी तो यह कर्मचारियों के हृदय में कोई ठीक तरह से कर्त्तव्य निभाने की भावना पैदा नहीं कर सकता जानता हं, लखनऊ दे कुछ रेलवे चारियों के नेता जो हडताल के दिनों ग्रौर दो दिन पहले मेरे साथ बैठे थे उनके ऊपर ग्रारोप लगाया गया है कि वे जेलों में गये श्रीर उन्होंने रेलवे मंत्री की श्रर्थी जलाई। यह म्रारोप सरासर गलत है। वे मेरे साथ बैठे थे। हम लोग कार्यालय में बैठकर हडताल की योजना बना रहेथे। यह ठीक है कि जो जलूस निकला उसमें ग्रर्थी निकली, ग्रौर किसी केन्द्रीय मंत्री की ग्रर्थी जले **में इसे पसंद नहीं करता धौर**

बाद मे जो जन सभा हुई थी उसमे मैने स्पष्ट शब्दो मे इस बात की निन्दा की। लेकिन जो हडताल थी थी. उसमे चारियो की हडताल नही लखनऊ के जितने मेहनतकश थे, श्रमजीवी थे, सभी केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियो की हडताल की सहान्भृति मे इकट्ठा हो गये थे। अधिया जलाना, यह पुरानी परम्परा है, जो हमे उत्तराधिकार मे मिली बजर्ग नयी पीढी को इसके लिये दोष नही दे सकते । फिर भी, मैं इसका समर्थन नही करना । लेकिन जिन वेन्द्रीय कर्म-चारियो के नेताम्रो के ऊपर म्रथी जलाने का ग्रारोप किया गया है वे जलम म नही थे. अर्थिया बनाने मे या जलाने उनका हाथ नहीं है। मगर क्योंकि उन्हें हटाना है, टेंड यनियन हादोलन को शायद समाप्त करना है, उसका गला घोटना है इसलिये उनको ग्रपना शिकार बनाया गया है, उनके विरुद्ध कार्यवाही की गई है, उन्हें नौकरी से अलग कर दिया गया है। नही समझता कि स्वय रेलवे मत्री या केन्द्रीय शासन इस प्रकार की नीति का भ्रवलम्बन चाहता है । श्राज घोषणा इसके विपरीत है। तो क्या में यह समझ ल कि जो मत्री सदन मे बैठकर एक घोषणा करने हैं वे नीचे के स्राफिसरो को इस तरह की नीति पर चलने के लिये विवश नहीं कर सकते ? हमारा मंत्री इतना ग्रसमर्थ ग्रीर ग्रशक्त तो नही होना चाहिये । मै चाहता हु कि जो घोषणाए की है उनका ठीक तरह से पालन कराए, एक एक मामले का देखें और इस वात के परिणाम पर पहुचे कि कितने कर्मचारी ऐसे हैं जो सचम्च मे नौकरी स श्रलग करने के लायक है। मैंने इतना निवेदन किया है कि अगर एक एक मामले को देखा जायगा तो फिर जो कर्मचारी निकालदिये गये है, जिन्हे नौकरी से म्रलग कर दिया गया है. उनमे ऐसा एक भी कर्मचारी नही निकलेगा

कि जिसे नौकरी से हटाने की स्रावश्यकता पडे।

लेकिन अगर हम कर्मचारियो के मामले को एक एक रूप मे विचार नही करेगे, उच्च स्तर पर उसकी जाच नही करेगे, छोटे ग्रफसर पूराने हिसाब को चुकता करने के लिए कर्मचारियों के भाग्य के निर्णय के भ्रधिकार को छोड कर्मचारियो को न्याय प्राप्त होगा, न ही हो रहा है। मैं यह कहना चाहता ह कि ग्रगर शासन ग्रौर कर्मचारियो के सबधो मे एक नये अध्याय का श्रीगणेश करना हैतो उस हडताल के दूष्परिणामो पर स्राज एक मरहम लगाने की स्नावश्यकता है। स्राज उन कर्मचारियो के मामलो पर एक मानवीय दिष्टकोण से देखने की म्रावश्यकता है। ये कर्मचारी शासन के प्रति निष्ठावान है स्रौर हडताल राजनीतिक कारणो से नहीं हुई थी बल्कि बढती हुई महगाई ने कर्मचारियो जीवन को सकटग्रस्त बना दिया कर्मचारियों ने ग्रपना ग्रसतोष प्रकट किया था श्रीर हम उस श्रसतोष को दूर करने का मार्ग निकाले । लेकिन शासन नेचुन चुन कर कर्मचारियो के नेताग्रो को सजा देन की छट ले ली, फिर भी सरकार यह आशा करे कि वे शान्ति व्यवहार करे तो उसको इसमे सफलता नही मिलेगी। इसलिए मैं इस द्वारा शासन से माग करना हू कि ऐसे सभी कर्मचारियो को जिन्हें पिछली हडताल में निकाल दिया गया था, जो अपनी नौकरी से हाथ धो बैठे उन्हे फिर से काम पर वापस ले लिया जाय। यदि इस प्रस्ताव को इस रूप में स्वीकार करना शासन के लिए सम्भव न हो तो मै यह सुझाव देना चाहुगा कि शासन द्रिब्यूनल नियुक्त करने के मताव को माने जिसे नौकरी में निकाले गये सभी कर्म-चारियो के मामले सीप दिये जायें।

[श्री ए० बी० वाजगेयी]

यहा तक कहने के लिए तैयार ह कि अगर सदन ग्रपने तीन सदस्यो की---भले ही वे सत्तारूढ दल के हो--एक ममिति नियक्त करें श्रीर उस समिति वे सामने सभी निकाले गये, दडित कर्मचारियो के मामले सौंप दिये जाय तो वह समिति जो फैसला करे वह फैसला हम को मान्य होगा श्रौर कर्मचारी उसे स्वीकार करेंगे। इस तरह से एक समिति नियुक्त करने के प्रस्ताव को शासन स्वीकार करे। लेकिन यदि शासन इस सबध में भ्रपनी निर्धारित नीतियों को कार्यान्वित नही करता, यदि वह एक एक कर्मचारी पर विश्वास पैदा नही करता, शासन उनके प्रति सहानुभृति का द्ष्टिकोण नही रखता, उनके साथ न्याय करने को तैयार नही है, तो मेरा निवेदन यह है कि यह बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात होगी। इस तरह का दृष्टिकोण हमारे कर्मचारियो को परिश्रम की पराकाष्ठा करने की प्रेरणा नही दे सकता है। भ्रगर माज भ्राप विकास योजनाम्रो की सफलता चाहते हैं तो उनकी सफलता कर्मचारियो के उदबोध श्रौर सहयोग पर निर्भर करती है। रेलवे मत्री जी ने कर्मचारियो को बधाई दी कि उन्हाने रेलवे को सफलता के साथ चलाया है। हर एक मत्री जब ग्रपने कर्मचारियो के सबध में बोलता है तो उनकी कार्यक्रशलता श्रौर परिश्रम की प्रशसा करता है। लेकिन इकट्ठा होकर ये केन्द्रीय कर्मचारी शासन से न्याय नही पा सके, यह बात मेरी समझ मेनही स्राती है।

दूसरी वात मैं यह कहना चाहना हू कि जिन कर्मचारी सगठनो की मान्यता को धभी तक वापस नहीं किया गया है, वह मान्यता वापस होनी चाहिये और उन्हें अपनी कठिनाइयों को शासन के सामने रस्वने का मौका मिलना चाहिये। कम्पद्रोलर और आडिटर जनरल को इस बात के लिए प्रेरित किया जाना चाहिये कि वह अपनी

नीतियो को बदले श्रौर अपनी नीतियो मे स्धार करे । स्राज गृहमत्री जी उपस्थित नही है ग्रन्यथा मैं उनसे कहता। मैं ग्राशा करता ह कि मेरी सब बाते उन तक पहुचा दी जायेगी। इतना ही प्रयाप्त नही है कि श्रलग श्रलग मत्रालयों की हडताल के बारे मे उन्हें किसी बात का पता नहीं होगा? गृह मत्रालय का यह निषेधात्मक रवैया ठीक नहीं है। गृह मत्रालय का काम सब को निर्देश देने और सलाह देने का है और यह देखने का है कि इन निर्देशो का ठीक तरह से पालन किया जा रहा है या नही। गृह मत्रालय को इस सबध में कदम उठाना चाहिये कि उसकी जिन नीतियों का पालन नहीं हो रहा है उनको पालन करने की तैयारी की जानी चाहिये ग्रीर इस तरह से एक नये श्रध्याय का श्रीगणेश करना चाहिये।

The question was proposed

MR CHAIRMAN There is one amendment You may move the amendment without making the speech now

SHRI V M CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh) Sir, I move.

"That after the words 'lost their jobs' the words 'or who have been demoted' be inserted."

The question was proposed.

SHRI T S AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras) Mr Chairman, this indeed is a Resolution under which lie very important principles of Government. When I first saw the Resolution, I thought that it could be that it is an appeal so made in the name of mercy but I was amazed to hear the speech of the Mover of this Resolution. But before I go into the prac-

884

tices that obtain in the various States, various Governments of the world, let me first state as to what happened really on the facts of the case. Sir, with the little Hindi that I knew, which was reinforced and supported by a little translation of the speech by $\mathbf{m}_{\mathbf{y}}$ hon. friend to $\mathbf{m}_{\mathbf{y}}$ left, I understood from the speech the strike was very peacea ful He said: 'Bade shanti kamkiye'. I should like to tell this House how peaceful it was. One does not know. This is a publication of the I.N.T.U.C. They are people who are interested in trade unionism. If I understood the hon. mover correctly, he said that it was a blow to the great trade union movement and no institution stood for the trade union movement as much as the LN.T.U.C. and this is what they have to say:

"In fact the movement was least non-violent; violence was used and used in abundance. Neither it was a peaceful action by any standards; there was no strike where there was peace and no peace where there was strike. Whatever dislocation that was brought about during those five days in a few pockets, it was created by means which were not peaceful by any standard. Employees were physically obstructed, they were mobbed while on work, families of those employees who refused to join the strike were threatened and even assaulted. children were kidnapped to coerce their parents to join the strike. On the 11th July in a Railway Loco Workshop a number of hand bombs and acid bulbs were seized. Crackers were thrown on the employees in their place of work and in numerous places, bodily assaults were made on the persons who refused to join the strike. Several instances of deliberate attempts of sabotage to disrupt communications by cutting of cables, signal and telegraph wires and damaging of railway track were reported. Fire of railway engines was deliberately dropped or

caused to be dropped in number of places with the object of immobilising the engines and blocking the track. Eight cases of derailment due to sabotage were reported during the strike period. An attempt was also made through non-worker hirelings to try to dislocate the transportation and communications. Thus on a railway 5000 refugees were employed on daily basis just to squat on the railway track to prevent movement of trains."

who participated

in the strike

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): From what he is reading, may [know?

Shri T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: This is a report of the strike by the I.N.T.U.C.

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON (Kerala): Is he aware that the I.N.T.U.C. is a puppet organisation created by the Home Ministry itself?

Shri T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Does he not know that this was sponsored by the Communists?

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Mav know if there is any evidence to show that these acts were not committed by agents provocateur?

Shri T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: This is the argument of all criminals. When a murder is committed, the defence is, how do you know whether it was not committed by somebody else?

(Interruptions)

Mr. CHAIRMAN: You will have an opportunity of answering later. Do not disturb him.

Shri T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: These are arguments which are given as a defence by all accused in trials. To say the there was nowhere atmosphere of non-violence in that strike. They tried their best, but they failed to win over the large body of

[Shri T S Avinashilingam Chettiar] workers All glory to this large body of workers, for they said that they would stand by the Government, because the consequences of the strike would have been tremendous I also heard the hon Member say-and I hope I have understood him correctly—that there was no political motive behind it Let us imagine for a moment, what would have happened if the strike had succeeded If the strike had succeeded, it would not have been possible to run And if it is not the Government possible to run the Government, then the Government ceases to work Ministers go out and the Government goes out and chaos will rule the people who wanted to get advantage out of this strike thought they could come back to power in a very Sir, it is wrong to back-door way think that in a strike where Government servants are concerned there is no political motive because it itself is political

Now let me examine the various practices obtaining in the various I am grateful to States of the world the Institute of Public Administration in Delhi, for I had asked them to examine the position and let me have a note and I am grateful to them for the dispassionate note that they have prepared In it they have stated that the prohibition or restriction strikes by Government employees exist in the following countries Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Austria, Ceylon Columbia, Equador, Finland, and various other countries also Now let us take the constitutional position in some of the prominent countries of the world Take the United States of There they have an Act America known as the Taft-Hartley Act and I would like to read what the late President Roosevelt had to say on this Act He says

"All Government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service"

Further he says:

"Since their own services have todo with the functioning of the Government, a strike of public employees manifests nothing less than anintent on their part to prevent or
obstruct the operations of Government until their demands are satisfled. Such action, looking toward
the paralysis of Government by
those who have sworn to support it,
is unthinkable and intolerable."

Therefore, this Act was passed to prohibit strikes and it is called the Taft-Hartley Act, and it says:

"It shall be unlawful for any individual employee by the United States or any agency thereof including wholly owned government corporations to participate in any strike"

Sir, in this Act, the punishment that was meted out was dismissal. later on they had another Act in 1955 which said that not only will the persons be dismissed but will also considered guilty of a crime, a felony and punished under the Criminal Code. This is the law Except in France where there is an exception, almost all the countries in the world have by law banned strikes by Government The reason is that otherservants wise the Government will not run. Government servants are not in the same position as other servants or other workers ın establishments. Keeping this in view, where do we stand? It is quite clear that not only was this strike illegal but harmful. It was illegal An ordinance was issued and it was made illegal They were told in the strongest terms that the fullest punishment would be out to the strikers and they warned It is not as though they were not warned They were warned and they were also told of the consequences by no less a person than the Prime Minister who did so on radio so that everybody could hear it. Still they went on strike And what happened later on? The strike failed dismally. They wanted to stop trains, but they were surprised to find that the trains continued to run. They wanted to stop the functioning of offices even in Delhi. But to their surprise they found that the offices continued to work fairly normally. then they surrendered. And what action did the Government take after they surrendered? I think, if I understood the hon. Member correctly, he said that they were treated very harshly, that they were treated very unsympathetically. But what are the facts of the case? Mr. Chairman, 45,945 persons struck work, and all except 208 have been reinstated. Does that show harshness? show that Government treated them unsympathetically or does it show graciousness on the part of the Government? I know that when the Government later said that these persons should be treated sympathetically some departmental heads protested and said: "When the strike began we were told that we should take strong action. But when we take action, you don't support us, you support the strikers." I know departmental heads said that. Still the Government said, let us be sympathetic. And the result is that all except these 208 have been allowed to join back and they have reinstated. Out of these 208, 136 employees have either been dismissed or removed from service, 11 compulsorily retired from service and the rest 61, have been discharged from service. These are the details. Strong disciplinary proceedings were originally instituted against about 46 000 employees; 2,084 were dismissed or removed and 2,131 were discharged from service. The number of those in whose cases orders of dismissal, removal or compulsory retirement or discharge are still pending is very small,, namely, 208. May I ask whether you consider this harsh? I think this is being very sympathetic.

I would like to add one more word and it is this. We who are interested in building up the democratic traditions in this country, we who interested in building up a stable government in this country, we do teel that public servants should be kept satisfied, that they must have ways of putting forth their difficulties and removing them. We know that we must have the necessary machinery for removing their grievances. Everywhere there must be, and there are bound to be, difficulties and grievances and these difficulties must be looked into and removed. But is it by strike that you are going to remove those difficulties? Direct action is not the method by which it can be done. As has been suggested, there must be bodies constituted with representatives of the Government and government employees and they must sit down and thrash out problems and solve them. Institutions on the lines of the Whitley Councils have been suggested. There are a variety other ways in which people can get together and understand these problems and solve them. All these have been suggested. I understand that and I feel that the Government should keep its servants comparatively happy. comparatively secure and comparatively free from difficulties. That is being done. It cannot be said in this country that we are not meeting their needs. Let us compare the conditions of employees in industrial establishments and those of the employees of the Government. Let us see condition of people in private employment and the condition of the Government employee. Even today the number of people who seek government employment is tremndous compard to the number of people who seek private employment, because they think and know that government service is superior, that the government employees have provident funds, pensions, security of service and so on. Even medicore people can flourish in government service. Outside people have to compete with others, but medicore men can sometimes go right up to the top in government service. There is security of service in govern-

[Shri T. S Avinashilingam Chettiar] ment service Also the Central Government employees are much better off than those of the State Govern-This has been pointed out many times Take the Madras Government and the pay scales of the Central Government and those of the Madras Government Two brothers of the same family, with the same qualifications, the one in the Central Government is much better off compared to the other in the State service. The difference is so large. So I say that it would not be correct to say that government service is not attractive in this country and certainly it cannot be said that Central Government service is not attractive in this country It is the highest-paid in the country and after all this, to say that they are being illtreated is just heartrending I do not mean to say that they have no grievances. Of course they have. The prices have gone up and they are rising We know that and we appreciate it. But to try to solve these problems by a strike is against all canons of public administration No country which wants to maintain peace, which wants to maintain a stable government, can support such methods on the part of its servants

tral Govt. Employees

Sir, in this House as well as in this Parliament, in our Houses, usually we suffer from one disability We have Oppositions and the Oppositions can never come to power in the near future I want a strong Opposition, Mr Chairman, for they would be more responsible in that Oppositions which never expect to come to power cannot have a sense of responsibility and, with all due deference to the hon Member who delivered the speech, I should say, if they had a greater sense of responsibility to the Government and to the people of this country, to the proper running of a Government in this country, the arguments which were advanced would never have been Sir, I oppose the Resolution

श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान (उत्तर प्रदेश): ग्रध्यक्ष महोदय, जो सकल्प श्री ग्रटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी ने सदन के सामने पेश किया है, उसका वास्तव मे क्या मतव्य है, इसकी वह स्वय जान सकते हैं। इसके भ्रथं भ्रपनी श्रपनी भावनात्रों के अनुसार सब लोग लगा सकते हैं ग्रौर मैं भी अपनी भावना के अनुसार इसका ग्रर्थ लगाऊगा । किन्तु एक बात के लिये तो वह प्रशसा के पात्र है ही। भ्राज देश मे बहुत सी पार्टीज हैं, बहुत से दल हैं, जो किसान, मजदूर, विद्यार्थी व सारे समाज को जाति स्रौर धर्म के नाम पर बाटना चाहते हैं। हम देखते हैं कि इसके स्राधार पर किसानो में भी दिये गये दल बना विद्यार्थियो मे भी हिन्दू, मसलमान, श्रादि नामो के श्राधार पर दल बना दिये गये हैं। इसी तरह से बहत सी जगह मजदूरो को भी बाटने की कोशिश की जा रही है, किन्तु यहा वाजपेयो जी ने स्राज हिन्दू, म्सलमान या और किसी की बात न कह कर के सारे मजदूरों के लिये, जो कि निकाले गये हैं, सम्मिलित ढग से कहा है। तो इसके लिये हम, ग्राप श्रीर सभी लोग उनकी प्रशसा करेगे।

स्ट्राइक हुई श्रौर उसका क्या कारण था ग्रौर क्या नही था[?] कूछ लोग जो यह कहते है कि इसकी मशा राजनैतिक थी, वह भी ठीक है ग्रौर साथ ही साथ जो यह कहते है कि राजनैतिक नहीं थी उनकों भी आक्षिक रूप से ठीक कहा जा सकता है । हा, जब श्राप यह बात कहते हैं तो जो दल, जो राज-नैतिक पार्टिया स्टाइक में मदद कर रही थी उनके बारे में ग्राप कुछ कह सकते हैं। राज-नैतिक पार्टिया किसी उद्देश्य से बनती है श्रीर किसी उद्देश्य से ही किसी की मदद करती हैं, किन्तू जहा तक कर्मचारियो का सम्बन्ध है, मैं यह मानता हू कि उनमें थोडे से अवश्य ऐसे हो सकते हैं, जो किन्ही राजनैतिक विचारधाराष्ट्रो से प्रभावित

रहे हो, लेकिन ग्रपने तजुर्बों से, मैं यह कहना चाहता हू कि उनमें बहुत भारी सख्या ऐसे लोगो की है, जो किसी भी राजनैतिक पार्टी के प्रभाव में नही है। वे श्रपने स्वार्थों को ठेकर चलते है स्रौर स्रपनी समस्यास्रों के कारण ही स्ट्राइक करने है या नहीं करते हैं। तो भी जो स्ट्राइक हुई उसमें बहुत सी राजनैतिक पार्टियो के लोगो ने भी हिस्सा लिया । हमारे कम्यनिस्ट मित्र थे, पी० एस० पी० के लोग थे, इत्यादि । कम्युनिस्ट तो बडे चत्र व्यक्ति होते है, वह तो ऐसे किनारे पर चलते है कि अगर कोई आन्दोलन सफल होता दिखाई दे तो उसका सारा श्रेय खुद ले ले ग्रीर ग्रगर गिरता हुन्ना दिखाई दे, तो एक धक्का खुद लगा दे स्रौर दूसरे के सिर पर उसका दोष दे दे। यही हाल था यहा भी, वह किनारे किनारे चल रहे थे। जब पजाबी सुबा ग्रान्दोलन चल रहा था, तब वहा भी वह किनारे किनारे चले श्रौर जब देखा कि श्रागे चलता नही है तो उसकी बुराई करने लगे। उसी तरह से यहा भी जब देखा कि यहा गडबड होने वाली है, तो उन्होंने पी० एस० पी० को आगे कर दिया। अगर श्रेय मिलता होता तो जरूर ग्रागे ग्राकर इस बात को करते। मैं इस बात को मानता हू कि राजनैतिक दल, जिन्होने इसमें हिस्सा लिया, उनकी मशा राजनैतिक थी, लेकिन यह भी मैं फिर से कहना चाहता हू कि अधिकतर कर्मचारियो की---जिन्होने हिस्सा लिया ग्रथवा जो श्रदरूनी तरीके पर स्ट्राइक से हमदर्दी रखते थे--उनकी मशा राजनैतिक नही थी। यह तो मैंने पहले ही स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि कुछ राजनैतिक पार्टियो के लोग भी हो सकते हैं जो कि सर्विसेज के श्रन्दर हों ग्रौर जिन्होने स्ट्राइक में हिस्सा लिया हो-- यही नही कि नीचे स्तर पर ही ऐसे लोग हो बल्कि वडे बडे ग्रफसरों के भ्रन्दर भी ये लोग मिल सकते है।

तो स्टाइक हुई भ्रौर जिस ढग से स्ट्राइक की योजना बनाई गई, वह सामने स्राई स्रौर

सरकार ने भी उसको खतरनाक समझा श्रौर बहुत से समझदार लोगों ने भी उसको ठीक नही समझा। जैसा कि हमारे चेट्टियार साहब ने कहा कि मिजरेबिली फेल हुई श्रीर कोई यह भी कह सकते है कि काम-याब हुई, लेकिन जब हम कर्मचारियो की श्रीर सरकार की बात कहते है, तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि इधर से या उधर से दोनो पक्ष विरोधी शक्तियो की बाते कर रहे हैं। हम यह नहीं समझते कि सरकार हो या मजदूर हो या किसान हो या अतर कोई हो, सब एक ही भारतमाता के हैं, उसी के श्रग हैं। जब हम इस ढग से एक शहर हमारा शहर है, एक जाति हमारी जाति है, एक वर्ग हमारा वर्ग है, तो फिर कुछ नही होगा। मजदूर को नुकसान पहुचता है, दु ख पहुचता है, तो गवर्नमेंट का हृदय भी उससे थरथरा जाता है और अगर मजदूर गलती करता है तो उसको गल्ती का अनुभव करा के उसको ठीक करने की कोशिश करना है, यह भावना होनी चाहिये। अगर यह भावना नही होती है, तो फिर चाहे सरकार हो या चाहे छोटा कर्मचारी हो या बडा कर्मचारी हो, कोई हो, देश का काम चल नहीं सकता है श्रीर देश को बहुत भारी हानि हो है ।

who participated

in the strike

सौर, स्ट्राइक के वाद बहुत से लोगो पर कार्यवाही की गई श्रौर जिन पर ग्रसर पडा, वे लगभग ४६ हजार श्रादमी थे। मेरा सम्बन्ध भी पी० एड टी० से बहुत दिनो से है, उनकी यूनियन से सम्बन्ध रहा है ग्रीर उनके भी लगभग १७ हजार भ्रादिमियो के ऊपर भ्रसर पड़ा है। सरकार को--जो कि जनता की सरकार है--उसको भी श्रपने कर्मचारियो की भावना का ख्याल रखना है। उसको समझना है कि किस भावना से प्रेरित हो कर---अपने स्वार्थ की वजह से या श्रीर वजह से--उन्होने स्टाइक किया, लेकिन स्टाइक को रोकने के

[श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान]

माने यह नहीं होते हैं कि उनको तहस-नहस श्रीर बर्बाद कर दिया जाय. उनको नौकरी से निकाला जाय, जिससे कि उनके बच्चे भखे मरे श्रौर इसलिये सरकार ने बड़ी उसने ग्रादेश उदारता की नीति बरती। दे दिया कि जिन लोगो ने स्ट्राइक मे हिस्सा लिया है. यदि वे इसके लिये पश्चाताप करे, तो उन पर फिर कोई कार्यवाही न की जाय। यदि उन श्रादिमयो ने कोई तोड-फोड के काम नही किये है, रेलवे को रोकन के लिये फिश-प्लेट्स इत्यादि नही हटाई है या ग्रास मिमबिहेवियर नही किया है---ग्रास मिसबिहेवियर क्या होता है यह भी बयान कर दिया गया ऐसी हालत मे वे ग्रगर बर्खास्त भी कर दिये गये हो, तो भी उनको नौकरी मे ले लिया जाय । जो यह श्रादेश सरकार ने दे यह उदारता की बात थी म्रोर इससे ज्यादा महान श्रौर कोई बात नही हो सकती है श्रीर इसके लिये माननीय गह-मत्री जी ग्रीर सरकार, में समझता हू, प्रशसा के पात्र हें। सवाल यह उठता है--जैसा कि वाजपेयी जी ने भी कहा ग्रौर मुझे भी कुछ, थोडा सा तजुर्वा है, इस चीज का--कि यह जो भावना प्रदर्शित की गई थी, इस भावना पर हमारे ग्रधिकारियो ने उदार के ग्रमल नही किया उदारता साथ है ।

भ्राज यह कहा गया है, इधर से श्रीर उधर से, कि हमें कोशिश चाहिये कि स्ट्राइक्स न हो। मैं तो यह समझता ह कि स्ट्राइको के होने का एक यह भी कारण है कि हमारे बड़े बड़े ग्रफसर छोटे छोटे कर्मचारियो के साथ हमदर्दी से काम नहीं लेते हैं। जितनी जेनरल स्ट्राइक्स होती है, उनमे चार्टर स्राफ डिमाड्स रखे जाते हैं, प्राइस इडेक्स दिया जाता है

भीर सब कुछ दिया जाता है, लेकिन इन सब चीजो के साथ साथ उनके दिलो के प्रन्दर यह चीज भी रहती है कि बड़े बड़े प्रफसर उनकी सुनते नही हैं। ग्रगर ग्राप देखे भ्रौर जाचकरेतो मालुम होगा कि छोटी छोटी जो शिकायते--जिनको कि अफसर नही सुनते हैं---होती हैं, उनसे ही कर्म-चारियो मे ग्रसतोष बढता रहता है ग्रौर जब श्रसतोष बहुत बढ जाता है, तो तमाम लोग सोचने लगते हैं कि हम सब को मिल कोई चीज करनी चाहिये स्रौर उस वक्त बहुत सी गैर-जरूरी या जरूरी चीजे भी मागो मे शामिल हो जाती हैं श्रौर एक बड़ा बबड़र खड़ाहो कर के एक स्ट्राइक का, एक ग्राम हडताल का, समा बन्ध जाता है।

मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह उन चीजो की भी जिम्मेदारी हमारे अफसरो की होती है। मैं श्राम तौर से मालोचना नहीं करता हु। बड़ी नेकनीयती से ग्रौर बडी हमदर्दी के साथ काम करने वाले स्राफिसर भी होते हैं, धक्सर ऐसे लोग देखे जाते हैं, जिनके दिमाग मे भ्रफसरियत की बूरहती है श्रौर हमारे आदेश और हमारी नीति चाहे कितनी ही उदारता से भरी हुई हो, उस पर ठीक तरह से भ्रमल नहीं करते हैं, जिसकी वजह से ये हादसे होते हैं, संकट उपस्थित होते हैं। उनके व्यवहार से स्टाइक तक की नौबत मा जाती है। वही हाल ग्रब स्ट्राइक के बाद भी हो रहा है। भ्रापने तो एक चीज कर दी, उदारता बरती, लेकिन वहा पर यह उदारता नही देखी जा रही है। जिन्होने स्ट्राइक में हिस्सा नहीं लिया, उनके दिलो के श्रदर भी श्रौर जिन लोगो ने स्ट्राइक की, उनके दिलों के ग्रन्दर भी यही भावना है कि हमारे अफसर लोग उदारता के साथ काम नहीं ले रहे हैं, यह मैं ग्रापको बतलाना **घ** हता हु। हमारे श्रफसर लोग सरकार का जो भ्रादेश है, उसका ठीक ढग से पालन

नहीं कर रहे हैं। मैं श्रापसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि होम मिनिस्ट्री का ही एक महकमा ऐसा है कि जहां सभी सरविसेज के मामलात ब्राते हैं, निपटाये जाते हैं, वहां से बहुत कुछ उसूली श्रादेश दिये जाने हैं। यदि भापने तमाम अलग धलग मिनिस्टियों पर इस चीज को छोड़ दिया, तो यकीन कि महकमापरस्ती के कारण महकमें के श्रफसरों की बात पहले चलेगी। मीचे वाले की कोई नहीं सुनी जायेगी, चाहे बात कितनी ही जायज हो। इसलिये ये जो बाकी केमेज रह गये हैं उनको भी किसी तरीके से होम मिनिस्ट्री के महकमें की या विजिलेन्स महकमें को सौंप दीजिए या जिसको श्राप उचित समझते हैं। मैं जानता हूं, इसमें प्रोसीजरल दिक्कतें होंगी, लैकिन ऐसा तरीका जरूर निकालना चाहिये तमाम मामलात की निष्पक्ष सहकीकात हो जाय। दूसरे के ग्रादमी स्वतन्त्र रूप से यदि इन चीजों पर विचार कर सकें तो श्राप यह पाइयेगा कि भ्रापके श्रादेशों के भ्रनुसार वह सब ग्रपराधी नहीं हैं; क्योंकि मुझे मालूम है, जैसे कि मभी बहुत सी चीजें बतायी गई हैं कि कर्मचारियों के ऊपर ग़लत इल्जाम लगाये गये हैं। मैं जानता हूं कि श्रापके जो कंडक्ट रूल्स हैं उनमें ४(ए) में यह है कि स्ट्राइक नहीं होनी चाहिये, किसी डिमा-न्स्ट्रेशन में सरकारी कर्मचारियों को हिस्सा नहीं लेना चाहिये। तो स्टाइक नहीं करना चाहिये, ठीक है। इसको तो मप्रीम कोर्ट ने भी कानूनी मान लिया है कि स्टाइक करने का अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिये। लेकिन श्राप यह भी जानते हैं कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट की एक फूल बेन्च ने यह निर्णय दिया है कि जहां तक डिमान्स्ट्रेशन का सवाल है, उसका भ्रधि-कार है । किन्तु डिमान्स्ट्रेशन करने ध्रौर स्पीच देने के अपराध में भापने पहले ही श्रनेक निर्णय कर दिये हैं। मैं आपके ध्यान में एक चीज लाना चाहता हूं कि मैं जिस मनियन का प्रेसीडेंट हं, उसका जो जेनरल

सेकेटरी है, उसको कंपल्सरी रिटायरमेन्ट देकर निकाल दिया गया है स्रोर इस बात के लिये निकाल दिया है कि किसी जमाने में जब कि धापका श्रांडिनेन्स भी लागू नहीं हुस्रा था, उसने कोई स्पीच कभी दी थी। उस श्रांडिनेन्स से पहले की स्पीच पर उसके लिये कह दिया गया कि इसको कंपल्सरी रिटायर कर दो। उसने कोई हिंसा की बात नहीं की, कोई फिशप्लेट नहीं उखाड़ी, जेलखाने भी नद्भें गया, जब कि श्रौर भी बहुत से लोग व जेनरल मेकेटरी पकड़ लिये गये थे।

श्री ग्रकबर ग्रली खान (ग्रान्घ्र प्रदेश) : ग्रापने उसे रोका नहीं ? You did not control him as its President?

श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान : ग्राप इजाउत देते तो मैं वैसा भी करता। तो मैं धर्ज कर रहा था कि ऐसे मामले है, जिनमें क्या एबिडेन्स है, क्या नहीं है, यह कुछ भी न देख कर कार्यवाही कर दी है। आपके भादेशों को देख कर कहीं कही निर्णय नही किये जा रहे हैं, श्रीर इस चीज को खयाल में रख कर कार्यवाहो की जा रही है कि मानों इसको किसी न किसी प्रकार निकालना ही है, हटाना ही है। इस लये मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस तरह की विकटम्स को भ्रभी तक जो परेशान किया जा रहा है, इसके लिये किसी तरीके मे कुछ उदार नीति का पालन हो। वैसे कोई बहुत ज्यादा मामले नहीं हैं, श्रौर गृह मंत्री जी ने कई दफे वताया था कि कूल ४६,००० मामले हैं श्रौर २०५ के करीब ऐसे हैं। जिनमें कर्मचारियों को निकाल दिया गया है या रिटायर कर दिया गया है। हमारे पी० एण्ड टी० में ५ मामले ऐसे हैं, वैसे २,००० भादिमयों को कुछ न कुछ सजा दी गई है। यह संख्या बहुत कम है। छेकिन यहां कम या ज्यादा का सवाल नहीं है। यहां इकाई का कायदा नहीं लगना चाहिये

[श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान]

tral Govt. Employees

कि ४६,००० से घट कर भ्रव केवल २०५ ही रह गये हैं। सवाल तो यहां मानवता का, इसानियत का है। एक ब्रादमी भी शेष रह जाता है तो उसको भी तकलीफ होगी, उसके परिवार को भी कष्ट होगा; लेकिन यह प्रवश्य देख लीजिए कि कही उन्होंने राष्ट्र के विरुद्ध तो कोई काम नही किया है। थोडी बहुत बेवकफी भी हो गई है तो प्रापको त्रमा करना चाहिये। सबसे बड़ा **प्र**पराध राष्ट्र विरोधी कार्यवाही करना है, देश के प्रति विश्वासघात करना है । जो लोग ऐसे हैं, जो दूसरे देशों से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, उनके इशारों से चलते हैं, उनको ग्राप न बिक्शियेगा। लेकिन इस बारे में भी जाच श्राप यदि पक्षपाती ग्रफसरों पर ही छोड देते है तो वह विरोधी को कह देगे कि फला कर्मचारी विदेशों से सम्बन्ध रखता है। इसलिये जो कार्यवाही भ्राप करे, एक स्वतंत्र एजेन्सी के जरिये से करे। मैं समझता हं कि जिस तरीके से वे लोग श्रापकी दुआ कर रहे हैं, जो वापस ले लिये गये हैं वैसे ही बाकी लोगों की दुश्रा भ्राप लेगे। यही बडी श्वच्छी बात होगी भौर उसमें कोई हानि नही होगी । भैं समझता हं कि इस रिजोल्युशन की जो भावना है, उससे न माननीय मत्री जी को, न सरकार को, न किसी श्रीर को ऐतराज हो सकता है और मैं तो यह कहता हं कि जहां इतनी रियायते उदार भावना से प्रेरित हो कर दिखलायी गई है, वहां थोडी श्रौर रियायत दिखाना कोई बहुत बडी श्रसंभव बात नही है।

चलते चलते मै यह भी कहना चाहगा कि जहा कही भी जिन जिन युनियन्स को मान्यता नही दी गई है, मान्यता छीन ली गई है, उसको फिर से प्रदान करना चाहिये क्योंकि कोई न कोई निगोशियेटिंग मशीनरी होनी चाहिये, जो सरकारी कर्मचारियो की विकातों को सरकार के सामने रखे। इसी पर क्यों जोर दिया जाता है कि इन ट्रेड

युनियनों को रिकग्नाइज नही करेगे। मुझे घाशा है कि जैसे घाडिट डिपार्टमेंन्ट की बात कही गई, धगर वहां तीन, चार क्षेत्रीय युनियन्ज की मान्यता छीन ली है, तो भ्राप उन्हें मान्यता ग्रवश्य दे देगे । जहा तक डिसिप्लिन का ताल्लुक है, श्राप जैसे चाहें उनसे कड़ाई के साथ नियमों की बातो का पालन करायें। देश के प्रति जिसका जो कर्त्तव्य है, उसका भी पालन कडाई के साथ होना चाहिये ग्रीर साथ ही साथ जिसका जो ग्रधिकार है, वह भी उसको मिलना चाहिये। भ्रगर इस तरीके से काम हथा भीर ऊपर के अफसरो ने भी नियमो का पालन किया तो मै समझता ह प्रशंसा ही मिलेगी । हिंसा की यहां चर्चा हुई, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता ह कि स्वयं गान्धी जी के मतानुसार जब हम किसी को बुरा कहते हैं ग्रौर तेजी से लताडते है तो वह भी हिंसा ही है । इसी प्रकार भ्रगर किसी के ऊपर हम नाजायज दबाव डालते हैं तो वह भी मेरे खयाल से हिंसा की कोटि में ही भ्रा जाता है श्रीर में ग्राशा करता हं कि हमारे माननीय गह-मत्री जी कभी भी उस कोटि में ग्राने की कोशिश नहीं करेगे।

in the strike

इन शब्दो केसाथ मैडस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करताह।

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): Mr. Chairman, it is a matter of regret that in his enthusiasm to sponsor the Resolution the hon. Mover should not have placed the facts squarely before the House. It is not true, as he stated, that the strike was precipitated by sudden economic difficulties of the workers because of rising prices. This was the case in 1957 when the Central Government were greatly agitated and there were vague talks of strike but the majority opinion wanted a Pay Commission to go into the causes and the Government accepted the demand and appointed the Pay Commission in 1957.

899

This Commission reported in 1959. During its deliberations not a single labour leader, even of the Communist Party, questioned the impartiality or the competence of the Commission and when the Commission reported in 1959 there was general satisfaction about the new pay scales. There were cries of dissatisfaction only on minor matters because the Commission found that our workers were working too little and they cut down their leave a little and then abolished the half Saturdays and substituted one Saturday in a month. These were minor grievances. But somehow those people who in 1957 wanted to 12 Noon precipitate a strike thought that their influence waning and so they wanted to get back their hold on the Cen-Government servants. this purpose a convention was held in December, 1959 and there a Council of Action was set up and they began to organise ballots for the strike. It was in response to their Commission demand, a Pay appointed and the Pay Commission recommendations. made unanimous The Central Government had accepted their recommendations and willing to implement them. In spite of all that some mischievous elements, who were leading these unions, wanted to precipitate another struggle. It was then that the Government had to decide what should be done. Therefore the Prime Minister made an earnest appeal on 7th July that the Central Government workers should not indulge in these threats and should not go on strike. But his advice was not heeded. They went July. Those on strike on the 11th unions which had balloted for the strike were not unanimous. Even if their entire membership was into account, they constituted only one-third of the Central Government Immediately before servants. strike, the President promulgated an Ordinance on 8th July and as soon as the strike began on the 11th July, orders were issued under the Ordinance making the strike illegal. Any

Government servant continuing a strike after it had been declared illegal was doing something which would upset any kind of Government, much more so, a democratic Government. But then these people persisted and as my friend, Shri Avinashilingam, has pointed out, it was not at all a peaceful or non-violent strike. There were 122 cases of sabotage on the Railways and 31 cases of sabotage in the postal installations. There were many riots, as many as 244, in which 172 policemen and 29 volunteers were injured and 9 volunteers died. In spite of all these riots there were only 24 cases of police action in which five rioters were killed and 29 injured. My hon, friend stated that there was a loss of only Rs. 40,000. Was it not?

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Yes.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: The loss to the Government amounted to Rs. 4½ crores.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: As a result of sabotage?

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Sabotage and illegal strike. And there was a loss of 112 lakh man-hours. We have enly just to imagine the amount of harm it had done to the national economy by the strike. Then, what happened? Soon the strike collapsed, because it could not be carried on. I know that in Madras the railwaymen simply refused to join and all the trains, suburban and others, went on normally. In fact, this came as a sort of thunderbolt to the strikers there, to the stirke leaders This was the case all over the country. Except in certain pockets, the large majority of Government servants were loyal and patriotic and they did not join the strike. As soon as the strike collapsed, of course, the Government wanted to go slow. Yet, they could not keep quiet. In 46,000 cases departmental action was instituted, as a result of which 2084 people were dismissed and 2136 people were

[Shri K. Santhanam.] discharged. But as a result of appeals from all kinds of people, both within the Congress and outside the Congress, that these people misled and, therefore, they should be treated gently, most of these people were reinstated. There were only 208 cases of such people who had lost their jobs. One hundred and thirtysix people had been dismissed or removed from service, 11 people were retired and 61 people were discharged. All these discharged people are free to join Government service again. This is all the action which the Government have taken as a result of the strike in which such damage was caused and such loss was incurred by the nation. Therefore, to say that the Government of India have treated these strikers harshly is far, far from the truth. As a matter of fact, from the point of view of the well-being of the nation I think they have treated them very, very leniently. Here must consider the principles involved. Is it right for a Government servant to go on strike? I think it is altogether wrong.

901

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: The right is there in the Constitution.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: No. There is no right in the Constitution that a Government servant can go on strike.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Please go on.

SHRI A. D. MANI: As the cost of living was going up, why did you not pay them more?

Shri K. Santhanam: The cost of living was covered by the new scales. The new scales of pay had covered the full rise in the cost of living. And whatever rise has occurred after the Pay Commission Report has been covered by the recent action. This strike action was taken when the cost was covered. It was wholly an antinational and unnecessary strike that

happened in 1959. I think Government servants should not have the right to strike. It is altogether immoral for a Government servant to go on strike, because he is a servant of the people. Against whom is he striking? Is it against the people, against the whole country? I think this ought not to be permitted.

And then, what was the nature of the strike? It was not an ordinary strike. It was not a sectional strike. It was a general strike. A general strike can certainly mean, more or less, a civil revolt, which is likely to become a violent revolt. We what happened in Great Britain. The entire people rose against the general strike, even though it was led by the powerful Labour Party. We have not heard of a general strike in the United Kingdom afterwards. I hope hereafter we shall not hear any talk of a general strike by Government vants and if any such talk comes, the Government will take drastic action even before that talk is converted into any kind of action.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: That general strike in England was not by Government servants. It was called by organisations of labourers, not directly by Government servants.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Including Government servants.

(Interruptions)

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Yes, please go on.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: It was supported by the Labour Party.

Shri P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): For that matter it was supported by Mr. Lloyd George.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Here, once the strike had been declared illegal, it was wrong on the part of the Government servants to have continued it. If Government servants themselves are to participate in an illegal action, how can any law be maintained in this country or in any other country? Therefore, on principle, the Government could and should have taken more drastic action. Naturally they cared more for the human aspect and the action taken has been very mild indeed.

There is the argument of compassion. After all, we are not Communist country where all livelihood depends upon Government patronage. The Government servants form only a small minority of community. How is it that people cannot find an honest livelihood other than Government service? What is the great harm that these people have experienced? Is it the case that they are unfit to get any job than Government service? Why should they not get their livelihood? Because they took the action, they must pay the penalty. When we, 'satyagrahis', went to jail, we never said: "All right. Please release us." We said: "We go to jail. We will take the punishment." So, when people undertook the perilous task of organising a strike, they must be bold enough to say: "We took the risk. We do not care for Government service. We shall earn our livelihood by doing some other work." Sir, this argument of passion is wholly mistaken.

Lastly, there is this basic issue of democracy. Is this country going to be ruled by the representatives of the people, or is it going to be ruled by the paid Government servants? That is the issue.

TTHE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

If by the threat of a Government servants' strike, general or partial, people are to be taxed more or if their finances are to be regulated by the threatening and bullying of their own servants, then I say democracy will not be worth the name. Government servants must be bound by

decisions of the representatives of the people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): They have trade union rights, they have constitutional rights. It was trade dispute on an outstanding matter.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I think it is better that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta does not speak because we all know what happens.

Shri K. SANTHANAM: I am glad that he has come. It was his Party that was responsible for the strike.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I see.

Shri K. SANTHANAM: And now our other friends have taken up the cudgels. This is an unholy demonstration, I say. The whole idea behind the strike was that the Communist Party should mobilise its power over the workers both in the Government and outside the Government to stage finally not a peaceful strike but a violent revolution.

Shri BHUPESH GUPTA: I thought that Mr. Santhanam was more intelligent than his words would suggest.

Shri K. SANTHANAM: He would be less than a Communist if he says that his objective is not a proletarian revolution in the country. Is it your objective or not?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: By this strike?

Shri K. Santhanam: The strike was an infant step towards that ideal. Otherwise there was no justification at that time for this strike. It was only to consolidate the Communist power over Government servants, and I am glad it is broken, and I hope we shall not allow it to grow again among Government servants.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: The hon. Member should know that the strike

[Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee.] was led by the Praja Socialist Party and not by the Communist Party.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Also by the Jan Sangh.

Shri Arjun Arora: You say that it was led by the Praja Socialist Party. Then you admit that it was a political action and not a trade union move.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam. I came here specially to participate in this debate because I think that we as representatives of the people in this House owe it to ourselves. conscience, to the Government ployees and to the people at large that we take up this question with Government and press for redress in this matter. It is pointless and it will serve no purpose on the part of hon. Members here if they try to raise some kind of political bogey and that the strike was something like a proletarian revolution or that the Communist Party was behind the strike. This only shows that they have no case on merits. They need political diversion because everyone knows how the strike took place and what circumstances compelled the Government employees to take the decision much as they would have liked to avoid it. Who does not know that the Government refused to implement the recommendations of the First Commission so far as increase in the dearness allowance with the rise in the cost of living was concerned? Government employees were entitled to have it. Who does not know they did not appoint the Second Pay Commission, and only when the Posts and Telegraphs employees gave the strike notice or wanted to give such notice did Government decide that the Second Pay Commission appointed? And it was appointed. That was how the workers had to fight for their demand.

Even before this thing came the Government employees were exploring the possibilities of negotiation, press-

ing their demands and so on and asking for a little redress. It was not done But has not the Government itself proved by subsequent action that damentally the case of the Central Government employees was abundantly just and honourable? Then why them? You do vou accuse treat the country or run the country in this manner when millions of Government employees are without housing are remaining on starvation level and are demanding reasonable amenities of life. In such a situation do you expect our democratic institutions to flourish on the starvation and hunger of Government employees? sort of democracy would it be if I were to build that democracy on the skeletons of Government employees ground down in their day to day life? It would not be worth looking at. That is what I tell you. Therefore, it is ar industrial dispute. Madam, let us no go back into its history. Everybody knows how it took place and how seventeen thousand Government employees were arrested in no time, in a matter of few hours, on mere suspicion or under charges most of which proved false in the courts of law o most of which had to be withdrawn At the same time the Assam were taking place, and not one per son was arrested under the Preven tive Detention Act or any such thing Are you serving democracy or are you wielding the big stick and tryin to force the Government employee into submission? This question I may put to Mr. Santhanam when he say those things. Let us not go into thes things; the strike was settled and w are all happy that it was settled. Shi Govind Ballabh Pant gave assurances in the Lok Sabha August 8th, 1960. I have got it here and this is what he said:

"We have issued instructions that those who had been arrested of those who had even been convicte or those who have even been suspended should be dealt with lenient ly and should be punished only to

the extent it is necessary in public interest and for the maintenance of discipline and efficiency and also for avoiding repetition of such scenes. That is what we wanted to do. And I can say that action has already been taken on these lines and large numbers have been already released or now allowed to resume duty, but there also the action taken by us is not final. We have now to devise methods so that there may be no strikes."

Then he went on elaborating this thing. He was speaking of lenient action, mind you.

Shri K. SANTHANAM: I am sorry my hon, friend was not present when I gave detailed figures to show how lenient the action has been.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, but do not stop it.

Shri ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Whatever you may say, he just goes on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do not stop it. If you say lenient, go on with it. Leniency is not to be stopped. If it is an approach, a policy, an outlook or an attitude, there is no point in stepping away from it. On the contrary carry it out. This is what is expected of you as the Government of the country by your own employees. Therefore I am asking you not to do something which alien even to your practice. This is the point I wish to make.

Then again, in the Lok Sabha, in answer to Unstarred Question No. 2223 on September 6th, the Home Minister gave a similar kind of assurance and so on. He was trying to say that he was dealing with this matter leniently. He was giving consideration to the demand that this thing should be set right and the people should be reinstated in their jobs and Everything we said he did not accept, but at the same time the debating point was not there-what Mr. Santhanam was saying that the offence of

strike had been committed by them. so it must be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and revenge must be taken on the Government employees. That was not the approach of the Home Minister of the country. His approach in this matter was that he should be more lenient. He did not fully accede to everything, but he realised, being a greater man, a wiser man than perhaps many hon. Members of this House, that here was a question of Government employees and it had to be treated not in a rigid, inflexible and oppressive manner but with compassion, sympathy and wise understanding. That is what he did. That he tried to do. After his death, some people seem to have taken advantage of it. I do not mean Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri for whom personally I have the greatest regard, and it is a tragedy today to see these Government employees not being reinstated when Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, a great friend or disciple or whatever it is or a colleague of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant has stepped into his shoes. I thought that he was a man more soft, more mild, and perhaps in many ways full of human compassion. Therefore, at times feel sorry for him. I am saying this thing not for flattery which is not my habit. You know it very well. I say what I believe to be true but somehow or other the bureaucrats sitting in the departments and the administration are advising him in a wrong direction. This is what I say.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH (West Bengal): How is this sort of a situation dealt with by the Government of the U.S.S.R.?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You go to the other planet. I am talking of India. I have gone to the U.S.S.R. Why don't you go to the moon? Get the American rocket and go there. (Interruption). Now, this is the position. He wants me go to the U.S.S.R. I am here in Indian Parliament today speaking.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, it has to be reconsidered whether that matter is over, whether that thing has been settled The goodwill of the Government employees is a precious heritage which the Government should cherish and if today people remain not reinstated in this manner and persecuted, it demoralises the administra-There will always be a feeling in the minds of the fellow-workers and employees that some of their men had been penalised punished and persecuted because they had the courage to fight for the cause that was theirs This is an objective consideration. It is not a subjective matter at all because whether an employee participated in the strike or not, everybody felt that he had a demand to put forward before the Government, a cause to fight for, and that naturally stands to Those who fought for the reason cause and suffered for it are not criminals but valiant fighters for cause of the working people admired and appreciated even by those who did not participate in the strike That you must bear in mind

by persecuting these Therefore people by keeping them ın present position you are at the same time annoying large sections of Government employees All that The situation is like that Why should it be so? What do you lose by of India. it? The Government something should have thought, is bigger than a petty police court or a petty police station. It is a much bigger institution than these generosity shown in this matter would have brought if anything, only credit to the Government and would have helped to reinstate good morale in the administration and also to win goodwill of the Government employees Why don't you do such a thing? What do you gain by it? Madam Deputy Chairman, Government employees have the right to strike as much as anybody has The Constitution is not a Fascist Constitution yet

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN No

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA. Yes, they have, they have

An Hon MEMBER No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Go to the Supreme Court.

(Interruptions)

You declared the strike illegal The fundamental right is there and the Government employees have every right If you had a Fascist Constitution, or would like to imitate President Ayub Khan or McCarthy or Hitler or Mussolini, I could understand it

SHRI ARJUN ARORA Or Khrushchev or Mao

(Interruptions)

Shri Bhupesh Gupta I think you should be interested in Mr Binodanand Jha more than in Mr Mao. (Interruption from Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee) He is popping up every time He knows that what he says he will not believe In the Lobby he will say that he does not believe it But what can you do? Such is the drama that is enacted in this House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Carry on, Mr Bhupesh Gupta

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE He must withdraw

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA. I do not withdraw.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE I want him to withdraw.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Madam, in the Lobby he is a very good man.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:
You withdraw * * *

^{***}Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why should I withdraw?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You carry on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are good in the Lobby. You are a very good man, I know. You are a good friend of mine in the Lobby.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: When I call him good, he gets annoyed. What can be done?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please finish your points. You have only three minutes more.

Shri BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, Shri Yajee is my good friend; he is a very dear friend, more especially in the Lobby, I can tell you. He should not get annoyed like that.

Now, why should it be so? I think the matter should be closed. Santhanam was saying: Can't they find jobs? Is it a question to be asked? Is it not cynicism, pure and simple? He has taken a fine job but what about the jobs to which they were entitled and in which they should be reinstated? Are you to take away the jobs and tell them to go and find jobs elsewhere? I cannot see any logic in it because they are Government servants. They have servants. They Government want to be back in their posts. It is not a question of merely earning some money or getting something for their families . . .

Shri K. Santhanam: Legitimate action was taken against them and they ceased to be Government servants. That action was taken.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I tell you, it does happen. People are reinstated; even in Government they are reinstated. Many suspension orders were withdrawn; many cases were

dropped. You have done it even in this particular case. I am not asking you to do something which you did not do. I am asking you to do something which you have done. Only I ask you to do a little more of this thing. You have dropped cases. You have reinstated people. You have stopped suspension orders. You have in some cases even condoned break in All these things are there. service. Why can't you in this case also do the same thing? This is what I ask. Am I asking you to do something which is unknown, alien and strange to you? Not at all. I follow this line.

Madam Deputy Chairman, we did not debate on this subject very much because views were known. We had divergence of opinion. We had different approaches in this matter But ultimately this matter was settled; the strike was called off and you set in the process of reinstating people. You set in the process of meeting, as far as possible, some of their legitimate grievances, and what is more, there was a certain implementation of the recommendations of the Pay Commission-increase in their emoluments to some extent also. All these indicated that their essential case was When they had been subjected to such a denial, they took a certain action. I may call it an action taken in good faith and in pursuance of an industrial dispute, a justifiable action. You may call it, no, it was not a justifiable action. Here is a debating point, a point of divergence between us, point of controversy. But after the strike was settled, I think the mind of the House was converging on one single point as to how not to persecute people but how to restore as many people as possible to their jobs. To that task the House addressed itself and the Home Minister at that time was thinking along this line. He was not thinking on the lines of prosecution, penalty, punishment, revenge. This is what I say. Now I say, let us stand on this pledge of a constructive, different,

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

approach in this matter and try to see if we can bring ourselves to reinstating the remaining few men, some people who are still there. I do not see as to why it should be objected to in principle; I do not see as to why it should be opposed in practice, I do not see as to what standard of public justice or administrative decorum you lose by reinstating these men in their jobs and thereby helping their morale to be restored and also helping people to be back to their posts and seeing that their families are starved or put to unnecessary suffering. Now, this much thing cannot we expect from him? This much thing certainly we can expect from the Government Do not bring in Communism here Do not bring in parties here because you know how the strike took place. Now you are telling that the Communist Party is responsible for it. In the other House it was the P.S.P. Sometimes it will be somebody else Put all these arguments aside, these are not relevant to the point at the moment today after two years of the strike or so I appeal to the hon Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, in all solemnity that, in the name of the families of these men and for the sake of our trade union rights, and in the interests of democratic justice and in the interests of public administration, he should rise equal to the occasion and find his way to reinstate all these employees in their jobs, and carry forward the which his predecessor, Govind Ballabh Pant, began but could not complete, or maybe he had not thought that it should be completed in the manner I am suggesting now But the process was at that time. begun and let the present Home Minister complete it, and he will earning their goodwill Does he really believe that by punishing these people, putting them under penalty, he is going to win the goodwill of Government employees? Will he take the plebiscite of the Government employees? He has got two million Government employees on the civil side. Is it his contention that if it were put

to vote to them in a plebiscite the Government employees will Punish them. I am sure, whether one participated in the strike or not, or supported it or not, every single Government employee in the country will give him the advice, if he were called upon to give such advice: Mr Home Minister, please reinstate these people.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Abid Ali.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, Madam . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called the next speaker.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore. Madam, I have made this appeal and I expect Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to do justice to these people.

SHRI ABID ALI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, as you have called upon me to speak, I am bound to obey your order

Now it is very interesting to find that the representatives of the Jana Sangh and of the Communist Party have combined in this particular matter, one which is anti-national in every form and shape.

(Interruptions)

I am not referring to the Jana Sangh as being anti-national. No no not that way.

SHRI A B VAJPAYEE: Are we going to

SHRI ABID ALI: Madam, if he hears me, he will be convinced that whatever I am saying is correct, and he will agree with me. They are only communal Of course, it is communal But communalism is also . . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE. Is it for the hon Member to decide who is communal or not communal?

SHRI ABID ALI: But when I said "anti-national", I was particularly referring to the Communist Party.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: But he has not got the monopoly of nationalism in this country. What are we today on? Are we discussing today who is national and who is anti-national, and what is nationalism and what is not?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Madam Deputy Chairman, we are not going t_0 put up with this abuse of antinationalism. I would ask the leader, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, to stop his reference t_0 anti-national . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please proceed with your speech.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: He starts the abuse by calling us anti-national. What does he mean? (*Interruptions*.) I would ask for your ruling whether the leading party in Parliament which is in opposition should be called antinational from the Government side.

SHRI ABID ALI: There is no party.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

Shri BHUPESH GUPTA: What is it then? Do you not know that we have received 12 million votes? What is it?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. The hon. Member will sit down when the Chair is on its legs.

Shri BHUPESH GUPTA: I know, Madam, but please stop him from calling us 'anti-national'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI K. T. SHAH: You obey the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. No hon. Member should be on his feet when I am on my feet, and I do hope you know the procedure.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I knew when he was chucked out of the Ministry, he would give us trouble.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ab.d Ali, you will carry on with your speech and make your points without any insinuations.

SHRI ABID ALI: Now I was saying that the Jana Sangh . . .

श्री एम० गौरे (उत्तर प्रदेश): में एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह संसदीय परम्परा के ग्रनुकूल हैं कि इस सदन के किसी सदस्य को कहा जाय कि वह ग्रराष्ट्रीय हैं?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please carry on.

SHRI ABID ALI: Nobody can say that there are no anti-national elements in this country. There are some. Every country has traitors . . .

श्री एम ० गौरे : तो फिर उनको यहां से निकाल दीजिए।

श्री ग्राबिद ग्रली: हां, उनको निकाल दें लेकिन कायदे के मुताबिक जो कार्रवाई होगी वह की जायेगी।

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Nobody can say they are no agents of big capitalists who are chucked out by their Prime Minister.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will not permit such interruptions. The hon. Member has had his say. He should be patient with other speakers, and if he has any corrections to make, he can make them later.

SHRI ABID ALI: Now coming to this particular Resolution, Madam, all employees including Government servants deserve sympathy and support so far as their legitimate claims are [Shri Abid Ali.]

917

concerned, and at the same time, Madam, Government also deserve unqualified support, unstinted support when it takes action in the interests of the country and to maintain discipline among the Government employees. Madam, it is very fortunate for this country that, by and large, the civil servants in this country are not only good, honest and dutiful, but are also patriots. At one time, four or five years back, when there was some agitation to attend to their duties without shirts, shirtless, at that time only four employees in the Delhi Secretariat thought of entering the outer precincts of the Secretariat without shirts, and going up and up the steps they found that all their colleagues were going with their shirts on and those four also went on putting their shirts, because the then Home Minister had appealed to and also warned them that action would be taken, and observed that there was no justification for the demonstration that they were attempting.

Our Government, with regard to this particular matter, has been very much liberal, has been considerate and has been in favour of the employees. On the other hand, there is the legitimate complaint that, so far as national interests are concerned, they should have behaved better and that this sort of indiscipline and this sort of strike was uncalled for. I am coming to the right to strike to which the hon. Member has made a reference. It should be thought over twice before it is attempted or preached.

Now some hon. Member said that the strike was settled. Who settled the strike? Where were the negotiations, and with whom? The strike collapsed. Firstly, out of the two million Government employees hardly one-fourth, less than one-fourth, either went on strike or were forced to go on strike. A large number of them did not want to go on strike but they were forced by elements which became very much violent, and as has been pointed out by my hon, friend

fromAgra, Shrı Nawab Singh Chauhan

SHRI NAWAB SINGH CHAUHAN: Aligarh.

SHRI ABID ALI: All right; I correct myself, but Agra is also in U.P.

श्री ए० वी० वाजपेयी: ग्रापकी ग्रागरा भेजाजारहाहै।

श्री ग्राबिद ग्रली: वह भी तो हिन्दुस्तान में हीहै। The Communists remained aloof in the morning, were only watching the situation. Some of the friends of the P.S.P. or H.M.S., well, they were leading the strike, and the Communists were only watching. By noon, when it was clear that the strike had failed, the Communists, those who were watching and some of those who had resorted to the strike, well, they were the first to resume the strike, followed by others subsequently. Now, action was attempted against about 27,000—I am quoting from memory . .

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Forty-six thousand.

SHRI ABID ALI: Then it went on decreasing and decreasing, as it was mentioned this morning. Now, about 300 persons only are involved.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: Two hundred and eight.

SHRI ABID ALI: There were a few, 2,000 perhaps, who were demoted, or action of a minor nature was taken against them. Now the Member who moved this Resolution said that every person had been penalised simply because he went on strike. If this was the case, then there would have been about 4 lakh disciplinary actions. But this Government had been, as I have said earlier, very much considerate. The hon. Member who has just spoken said that they are starving. But, Madam, action should be taken against those who

breach of the law. Now. Madam, if a person commits a murder and his children go to court and say. "If my father is punished, then we will starve," then it means that no action should be taken against any criminal, against those who attempt to paralyse the Government, against those who attempt to create chaos in this country. Against those commit crimes against the society or against the nation, certainly action should be taken against them to the extent that it becomes necessary in the interests of the country, its security and its integrity. But this sort of complaint has no basis so far as this particular case is concerned. There are political parties who are attempting penetration into Government services and I request the Home Minister, as he should be very much alive to this aspect also, to ensure that, of course, so far as opinion is concerned, everyone in this country, whether he is in government employment or otherwise is entitled to have opinion. But when that opinion is attempted to be used against the interests of the nation, national interest should be protected, and any action which the Government may take in this behalf will have certainly, not only the support of the public but also of every sensible, genuine, Indian and Members of Parliament.

The Resolution in question is very much helpful to convince every reasonable-minded person that the Government has been, in this particular matter not vindictive. If they had been vindictive, a large number persons would have been out of Government jobs.

Madam, about the staff in the offices of the Comptroller and Auditor-General, much reference was made by the mover of the Resolution who should also remember how much complaint is against them. What is the extent of discipline in that office, how much politics is discussed there and everybody knows how many months an ordinary file takes for its disposal in that office. To that aspect also we: should be alive.

About violence, much reference was made about the I.N.T.U.C. this morning. The hon. Member, Shri Chettiar, read extracts from the report of the I.N.T.U.C. and someone, there from the Communist Benches, said that it was an organisation of "Government stooges". Yes, it is easy to make such remarks, but perhaps the hon. Member who made this remark does not know that the I.N.T.U.C. did not come into existence after independence. The I.N.T.U.C. came into existence Champaran when Gandhiji started his movement there, followed by a trade union organisation established Mahatma Gandhi in Ahmedabad and which spread to Bombay, Indore, Jamshedpur, Madras, Calcutta and so many other places. When the workers working in different spheres in different parts of the country thought that the question of achieving national independence was over, they thought that more attention should be devoted to help the workers, both peasants and those working in factories. They thought that a national organisation was necessary. As a matter of fact, it was already working, though not having come together technically. The day they decided to get together, they met and the unions of about eight lakhs of workers got affiliated to the I.N.T.U.C.

Madam, the I.N.T.U.C., which is very much alive to the needs and requirements of workers, is also alive to national interests. They know that if national interests are in jeopardy, where are the workers, where are the peasants? There will be chaos in the country. They know that national interest, national prosperity, comes first and from that everything else flows.

So far as the workers are concerned, the I.N.T.U.C. tries its best to secure all that the workers deserve. when occasions come, when political parties for their own interest try to create chaos in this country and want [Shri Abid Ali.]

to exploit the workers, it is the duty of the I.N.T.U.C. to protect them, to give them a proper lead. I am proud of the part played by the I.N.T.U.C. organisation, its workers, its leaders with regard to this particular strike. Every sensible, genuine, patriotic Indian will support the stand that organisation, this workers' I.N.T.U.C., played its part very well. It was a political strike. It was not a trade union movement, it was not a trade union demand.

Madam, the Prime Minister had given the unqualified promise, which he has carried out also, that whatever award, whatever decision will given, those recommendations made by the Pay Commission will be accepted as an award. After having got this unqualified assurance from the Prime Minister of the country, where was any room left for any action on the part of the leaders of the so-called Government employees' strike except that there was political motive behind it? That has been amply proved, and my request to the Government, particularly with regard to the strikers against whom action has been taken, is that in case a substantial case is made out that action has been taken against any particular employee who was really innocent, that should be consideration. given special those who were responsible for sabotage, who were responsible for this unwarranted strike, of course, action against them is justified and it should be confirmed.

Again, there is one case which would like to plead, namely, of those against whom action has been taken but who did not participate in the strike. There are some supervisors under the influence of a party which is very much anti-national, and there are some persons who are able to exert their influence in some of the Defence establishments and in some other offices. They have been very much responsible for harming those persons who opposed this strike and against persons who preached violence.

Their women and children, their family members were attacked, their property damaged. Their interest also is very much necessary to be protected by the Government. Their cases have been reported to the Government. I am sorry to say that those who stood by the nation, who stood against. these anti-nationals. action has been taken against them and they are really victimised.

in the strike

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI ABID ALI: Only two minutes more, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken more than two minutes.

SHRI ABID ALI: Because of rights given to Government servants under the Constitution, the sense of fear is gone. I am happy that that sense of fear does not exist amongst Government servants, but there should be a sense of responsibility also. There are some elements amongst them, although a very, very small percentage, who are attempting to see that the sense of fear having gone. a sense of responsibility should not enter and there should be more cases of indiscipline. I submit to the Home Ministry that there is at the present time a vacuum, a sense of responsibility has not entered and the sense of fear having gone, they should rise to the occasion and find out appropriate ways and means by which this attempt to create chaos and indiscipline amongst Government servants is very much checked.

SHRI M RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): On a matter of information, may we know from some Government spokesman on what grounds these 200 Government servants have been dismissed and discharged?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI B. N. DATAR): These Government servants . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister may kindly make a note of it and may cover the point when he replies.

श्री चन्द्र शेखर (उत्तरप्रदेश) उपसभापति महोदया, में इस प्रस्ताव समर्थन करने के लिए खडा जिसको माननीय श्री बाजपेयी जी ने इस सदन के समक्ष रखा है । मझे इस वात से म्राश्चर्य हम्रा है कि जब इस प्रस्ताव पर सदन में भाषण किये तो शासन की स्रोर से. उन प्रानी वातो को दोहराया जा रहा जिन्हे बार-त्रार इस सदन मे ग्रीर देश के सामने रखा जाचका है । यह बात **फिर कही गई है कि यह जो हड**ताल हुई है वह एक राजनीतिक हडताल थी। हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने तो यहा कि इस हडताल कहा कराने का श्रेय, इस हडताल को कराने की जिम्मेदारी सोशलिस्ट प्रजा पार्टी के ऊपर थी।

श्री श्रर्जुन श्ररोड़ा : प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी यह काम नही कर सकती है। यह बहुत कमजोर है।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर : मै ग्रापके द्वारा उन माननीय सदस्य से यह चाहंगा कि प्रजा सोशलिस्ट क्छ सम्मानित सदस्य ट्रेड मृवमेंट मे काम करते है ग्रीर उन्होने इडताल के सिलसिले में जो कुछ किया उस पर प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ग्रपने को गौरवा-न्वित मानती है । लेकिन प्रजा सोश-लिस्ट पार्टी यह नही मानती है कि किसी राजनीतिक मोटिव से या किन्ही राजनीतिक हितो को ध्यान मेरल कर प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ने यह काम किया। श्राज बड़े जोरो से शासन की ग्रार से कहा जाता है कि जो गैर-कानूनी इड़ताल हुई उसे दबा दिया गया है

श्रौर इसके साथ यह भी कहा जाता है कि जो लोग गैर-कान तो काम करेगे उन्हें भी दबा दिया जायेगा । हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने यहा तक कहा कि हम में वह शक्ति है कि ग्रगले ग्राने वाले दिनों में जो की भ्रावाज उठायेगे लोग इस तरह उन्हे हमेशा के लिए दबा दिया जायेगा। मै ग्रापके जरिये उन माननीय सदस्य को बताना चाहता हू कि मानवीय चेतना कभी भी बन्दी नहीं बनाई जा सकती, मानवीय परिन्दा कभी कफम मे बन्द नही किया जासकता । बडेसे बडे शासन दुनिया में ग्राये, बडी से बड़ी शक्तियां दुनिया में स्राई, लेकिन वे मन्ष्य की चेनना को कभी दबानही पाईँ । जो चेतना म्राज बहरही जो मानव की संवेदना रही है, उसको दबाने की कोशिश ग्रगर कोई भी शासन करेगा ग्रौर खास तौर से जमहरियत के म्रन्दर तो वह शासन मिट जायेगा । दुनिया की कोई ताकत उसको नही रोक सकती। माननीय मत्री जी, जो यहा बैठे हुये है, मै उनसे कहगा कि मजदूरों ने गलत किया या सही किया, मैं इस विवाद में नहीं पडना चाहता, लेकिन यह सवाल पूछना चाहता ह कि ग़रीब मज़दूरों के लिए जो स्रापका तरीका है, ग़रीब मजदूरों के लिए जो जोश, शक्ति ग्रौर हिम्मत है, क्या वही ग्राप ग्रपने शासन के उच्चा-धिकारियो के लिए भी रखते हैं। यह रेलवे **म्राडिट रिपोर्ट है । कोई भी माननीय सदस्य** इसके पन्नो को उलट करके देखे. तो उनको हर पन्नेपर दस-दस. बीस-ब्रीस पच्चीस-पच्चीस लाख रुपये ग्रौर गैर-जिम्मेदारी से खर्च करने की बात **दिखाई देगी । इस रि**पोर्ट के १५ **पेज** पर लिखा हम्रा है कि एक मामलेमें माठ महीने तक कोई भ्रार्डर न देने की वजह स ग्रौर रेलवे बोर्डकी कमजोरी की वजह से रेलवे प्रशासन का छः लाख रुपया

[श्री चन्द्र शेखर]

बरबाद हो गया। एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हडताल के कारण का बड़ा भाी नुक्सान हुश्रा लाख पये की जिम्मेदारी जिस रेलवे बोर्ड के ऊपर है, मैं रेलवे मंत्री जी से जानना चाहंगा कि क्या उस रेलवे सदस्यों को मुम्रक्तिल किया जायेगा जो माननीय रेलवे लोग थे. क्या उनको प्रशासन मुम्रताल करने के लिये तैयार नही तैयार हैं। वे यह कहेगे कि यह नया देश है, नया प्रजातंत्र है, जमहू-रियत में हम नयी वातें सीख रहे हैं, इस लिए ग़लतियां होती हैं। हम थोडें समय लेंगे । उच्चाधिकारियों में सीख लिये यह बान कही जाती है । मंत्रियों के लिए यह बात कही जाती है । लेकिन यह बात नहीं कहीं जाती कर्मचारियों के लिए, उन कर्मचारियों के लिये जो इस राष्ट्रको बनाने के जिम्मेदार हैं, जो इस देश के भावी निर्माता हैं।

हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने, जो उस समय में शायद श्रम विभाग के उप-मंत्री थे, बडी बधाई दी ग्राई० एन० टी० यु० सी० को भ्रौर उन्होंने एक नया इतिहास सीखने को कहा । उन्होंने कहा कि ग्राई० एन० टी० यू० सी० का निर्माण स्वतंत्रता हासिल करने के बाद नहीं हम्रा था, बल्कि चम्पारन कें मैदान में हुस्रा था। इस प्रकार गांधी जी का नाम लिया गया चम्पारन की याद दिलाई गई। महात्मा श्रौर चम्पारन की यादकरते मैं प्रशासन केलोगों से एक बात हूं कि ग्राजादी की जानना चाहता लड़ाई किस बुनियाद पर हुई थी? गांधी जी ने कहा था कि एक से बड़ा ग्रादमी इस देश को नहीं बना सकता । इस देश को बनाने की जिम्मेदाी इस देश के उन करोडों लोगों पर

जो भखे है, तबाह है, परेशान है । उनके मनोवल को उठा कर इस देश को तरक्की की मजिल पर पहुंचाया जा । लेकिन में ग्रापसे जानना चाहता हुं कि क्या इन कर्मचारियों को निकाल करके स्राजप्रशासन इस बातका दोषी नहीं है कि ग़रीबों के मनोबल दबाया जारहा है ? मैंने प्रारम्भ में कहा था कि यह चेतना जो बढ़ रही है, वह कोई व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ के लिए नहीं है, कोई राजनैतिक स्वार्थ के लिए नहीं है । प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के लोग राज-नैतिक स्वार्थ रख सकते हैं। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग राजनैतिक स्वार्थ रख सकते हैं। लेकिन जो ग़रीब मजदूर स्रपनी रोटी के लिए मुहताज है, जो गरीब मजदूर ग्रपने खाने के लिए मुहताज है, उसके सामने एक ही सवाल है कि उसको खाना मिले ग्र**ौर वह** इसी के लिए लड़ता है । क्यायह बात सही नहीं है, जैसा कि म्राप बार बार कहते हैं कि दो पंचवर्षीय योजनाग्रों के बीच राष्ट्रीय भ्राय में ४२ प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है ? क्या यह बात भी सही नहीं है कि कास्ट ग्राफ लिविंग बढ़ने की वजह से जो मजदूरों का जीवन स्तर थावह सन्, १६४७ से लेकर १६६० के बीच में गिरा है ? ग्रगर ये बात हुई है तो इसकी जिम्मेदारी किस के ऊपर है ।

हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों की किसी प्राइवेट कंसर्न के कर्मचारियों से तुलना कर लीजिये । उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि सर-कारी कर्मचारियों को संतोष करना चाहिये। लेकिन में बड़े ग्रदब के साथ ग्राप के जरिये उन माननीय सदस्य से यह ग्रनुरोध करूंगा कि ग्रगर ग्राप तुलना करते हैं एक सरकारी कर्मचारी से किसी दूसरे प्राइवेट फर्म के एक कर्मचारी की, तो फिर इस देश में एक माननीम मर्ग के

से एक गरीब के खर्चे की भी तुलना होनी चाहिये। अगर आप यह कहते है कि बिडला की किसी कसर्नमे कम पैसा मिलता है, तो क्या लीवर ब्रादर की कसर्नमें जो पैसा मिलता है वह भ्राप भ्रपने सरकारी कर्मचारियो को देने के लिए तैयार हैं ? इस तरह से कोई काम नहीं चलेगा। सीधा सवाल तो यह है कि जिस चम्पारन की याद दिलाई गई, जिन भावनाच्यो से देश को ग्रागे बढाने की कोशिश की गई थी, क्या हमे उन भावनाम्रो को बल देना है या उन भावनाम्रो को दबाना है ?

एक माननीय सदस्य ने, जो हमारे बडे दोस्त हैं, बडें जोरो से यह कहा कि खाइचेव के राज्य मे क्या होता है। अभी तक हम ऐसा समझते थे कि मत्रिमडल में कछ ऐसे लोग है जिनसे माऊ को वडी महब्बत है । लेकिन अब मुझे यह जानकर आश्चर्य और दुख हुआ कि इस समय उस दल मे ऐसे लोग भी है जिनको माऊ अप्रौर छाइचेव के स्रादर्शो स्रौर मिद्धान्तो से मुहब्बत हो गई है। मैं उन से कहना चाहगा कि हम माऊ के **ब्रादर्शों पर चलने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।** हम स्प्रइवेव के आदर्शी पर चलने के लिये तैयार नहीं है । यह प्राचीन देश है । जिस देश की नस नस में स्वतत्रता की भावना विद्यमान है, जिस देश मे महात्मा गाधो जैसे आदमी पैदा हुये जिन्होने यह काम किया कि बड़े से बड़े शासन के सामने. बड़े से बड़े साम्राज्यवाद के सामने गरीबो को उठा कर खड़ा कर दिया उस देश मेऐसी बाते कही जाये, यह क्छ ग्रच्छा नही लगता । इस वजह से यदि किसी बात का माननीय वाजपेयी जी समर्थन कर रहे है, माननीय भूपेश ग्प्त जो समर्थन कर रहे है, तो उस विचार करते समय हमे यह बात पर

बात नही कहनी चाहिये कि वे किस राजनैतिक पार्टी से सम्बन्ध रखते है। मैं यह समझता हू कि ग्रगर ऐसी बात है तो उस तरफ भी बहुत से ऐसे लाग हैं समर्थन हमेशः कम्यनिस्ट पार्टी के साथ रहा है । जैसा कि स्राविद ग्रली साहब ने कहा कि कछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो साम्प्रदायिक है, कुछ लोग ऐसे है जो राष्ट्र-विरोधी हैं और हर देश में ऐसे लोग होते है, तो क्या मैं यह कहू कि इस की सबसे वडी सस्था होने के नाते काग्रेस पार्टी मे ऐसे लोगो की सख्या कछकम नहीं है। मैं ग्राप से कहना चाहगा कि इन सवालो पर विचार करते समय ऐसी बाते मत सोचिये

इसके साथ साथ यह भी कहा गया कि लीनएसी नो की गई। लेकिन क्या नही है कि जिन स्थानो कोई हिंसा नहीं हुई, जहा पर कोई उपद्रव नहीं हये, वहा भी लोगों को वर्लास्त किया गया, वहा भी लोगो को नौकरी से हटाया गया । मैं उत्तर प्रदेश का जिक करना चाहगा, खास तौर से लखनऊ का। वहा पर कोई हिंसा नही हुई, कोई तोडफोड नहीं हुई लेकिन वहां कर्मचारियों को नौकरी से निकाला गया। नार्थ ईस्टर्न रेलवे मे ऐसी घटनाए मौजद है जहा पर प्रशासन के लोगो ने यह कहा कि हमारे म्रादिमयो को रख लिया जाय, लेकिन उच्चाधि-कारियो की ग्रोर से उस पर टालमटोल की गई । क्याऐसे भी केंसेज नहीं है जहा पर उनको नौकरी पर रखा गया लेकिन उस जगह से हटा कर उनको दूसरी जगह रखने की कोशिश की गई, जहा स्वास्थ्य के भ्राधार पर उनकी मुस्तैदी नहीं हो सकती थी ? ये सारे सवाल हैं कि कितनी बडी तादात मे लोगो दास्फर किये गये. कितने लोगो के प्रोमोशन रोके गये, कितने लोगों को तनज्जुल किया

930

[श्री चन्द्र शेखर]

गया ग्रौर यदि हम इन सवालो पर विचार करे तो हम इसी परिणाम पर पहचेगे कि इस हडलात को देखते हए यह बहत वडा दड दिया गया है।

ग्रभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि वह तो विद्रोह की ग्रवस्था थी। दूसरे माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि २० लाख कर्मचारियों में से केवल पांच लाख ने हडताल की नोटिस दी। प्रशासन की स्रोर से उस जमाने मे कहा गया था कि हडताल महिकल से १० फी मदी लोगो ने की । मैं जानना चाहगा कि दोनो बाते कैंसे कही जाती हैं। एक तरफ तो राष्ट्रपति का अध्यादेश जारी किया जाय और दूसरी तरफ प्रशासन यह कहे कि हड़ताल फिजिल आउट हो गई।

श्री मर्जुन भरोड़ा विद्रोह की स्थिति पैदा करने की कोशिश की गई, लेकिन वह नाकामियाव हुई ।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर स्थिति अगर नाकामियाब हो गई, तो मैं यह चाहुगा कि अगर विद्रोह की स्थिति पैदा करने की कोशिश की गई तो जिन लोगो ने कोशिश की, उनके खिलाफ ग्राप कोई कार्यवाही करे। लेकिन भ्राप यह मानेगे कि ग्राप यह खुद कहते है कि यहा का जो कर्मचारी है, वह विद्रोह करना नही चाहता, वह ग्रापका बड़ा लॉयल है, ग्रापका बड़ा स्वामिभक्त है, तो फिर उसको दड क्यो दिया जाय ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I had called for the report as to exactly what Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee had said. He has used a phrase which is unparliamentary. It will be expunged.

The House will now adjourn to meet again at 2-30.

> The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M P BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

श्री चन्द्र शेखर: माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इसके पहले जब में ग्रपना भाषण कर रहा था. तब मैंने यह कहा था कि सरकार की स्रोर से यह कहा गया कि फेवल २५ लाख लोगो ने हडताल करने का नोटिस दिया ग्रौर उसमे से मिक्तिल से ढाई लाख लोगों ने हडताल किया। दुसरी तरफ यह भी कहा गया कि एक विद्रोह की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई थी जिसको दबाने के लिये जरूरी था कि ग्रध्यादेश जारी किया जाये। उस तरफ से कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने यह भी कहा कि सरकार की स्रोर से जो दड दिया गया, वह दड बहुत कम था श्रौर मरकार बहत ढिलाई से कर्मचारियों के साथ पेश ग्राई। मुझे जानकारी है, मुझे बताया गया है कि केवल पोस्ट एड टेलिग्राफ डिपार्टमेट में ही १,३६६ लोग ऐसे थे जिनके पद को नीचे गिराया गया श्रौर उनकी तनस्वाहो को कम किया गया 🛭 तो इतने लोग ऐसे थे जिनके पद को लोग्रर ग्रेड मे किया गया ग्रौर ४.०१२ कर्मचारी ऐसे थें जिनकी उन्नति को मार्च, १६६२ तक के लिये रोक लिया गया । ६ हजार लोग गिरफ्तार किये गये ग्रौर इसके ग्रलावा ६ हजार दूसरे लोग मश्रत्तिल किये गये । इस छोटी सी हडताल में एक डिपार्टमेट मे, एक विभाग मे, इतने लोगो को दंडित किया जाय ग्रौर उसके बाद भी शासन की स्रोर से कहा जाय कि हमने कोई सरुतो से काम नही लिया ? मैं नही जानता कि इसमे कहा तक सच्चाई है लेकिन बहुत जिम्मेदार लोगो ने,पोस्ट एड टेलिग्राफ के कर्मचारियों ने मुझे बताया है कि जब माननीय गृह मत्री जी से वे मिले तो उन्होने कहा कि ग्रगर पोस्ट एड टेलिग्राफ के डाइरेक्ट्रेट के लोग चाहे तो वह लोग उन कर्मचारियों को वापस ले सकते हैं जिनको नौकरी से हटाया गया है। लेकिन जब गृह विभाग की श्रोर से, गृह मत्री जी के मत्रालय की ग्रोर से, खत लिखा गया डाइरेक्ट्रेट को तो

उसमे उल्टी बाते लिखी गई । जो भ्राक्वासन गृह मत्री जी ने कर्मचारियो को दिया । बह आश्वासन पूरा नहीं किया गया गृह मत्री जी के कार्यालय की स्रोर से। नतीजा क्या है ? स्राज भी पोस्ट एड टेलिग्राफ डिपार्टमेट के द लोग नौकरो से निकाले हुए है। रेलवे म दूरो की हालत भी ज्यों की त्यों है। बहुत से लोग ऐसे है जोकि ग्राज भी मुग्रतिल है। १२ लोग श्राज भी मुग्रत्तिल है जिनमे ईस्टर्न रेलवेमेस युनियन के मेकेंटरी भी है। बहुत से कर्मचारी ऐसे है जिनको कोर्ट ने, न्यायालय ने बेकसूर कह करके रिहा कर दिया है लेकिन उनको भी नौकरी मे नही लिया जाता । मैं नहीं जानता कि जो प्रशासन ग्रपने को प्रजातात्रिक कहता है, जो प्रशासन यह कहता है कि जड़ीशियरी को मान्यता मिलनी चाहिये उस प्रशासन मे अगर जडीशियरी, त्रगर न्याय विभाग, किसी को निर्दोष समझे तो क्या प्रशासन को यह अधिकार है कि वह उसे दंखित करें। लेकिन यह सब कुछ इस हक्मत मे होता है स्रौर उसके बाद भी यह कहा जाता है कि इनके ऊपर कोई सस्ती नहीं की जा रही है। उसके बाद, यह कहा जाता है कि जो लोग विरोधी दलों में है, जो लोग इस तरफ बैठते है उनको राष्ट्रप्रेम नही मालम। मैं नही जानता कि ऐसे लोगो से राष्ट्रप्रेम की शिक्षा कौन लेने जा रहा है। मैं स्नापके जरिये से इनसे स्पष्ट कहना चाहता ह कि मै कर्म-चारियों की स्रोर से कोई भीख मागने के लिये नही खडा हुम्रा हू, मैं तो उन्हे भ्रपने कर्तव्यो की याद दिलाने के लिये खड़ा हुग्रा हु। मैं उनसे बड़े भ्रदब के साथ यह निवेदन करना चाहना ह कि जो हुकूमत इस देश मे प्रजातत्र, जमहूरियत कायम करना चाहती है उस हुक्मत को यह खयाल रखना होगा कि इस देश का छोटे से छोटा कर्मचारी, इस देश का गरीब से गरीब ब्रादमी यह महसूस करे कि उसकी इस देश मे उसी तरह की इज्जत है जिस तरह कि किसी पदाधिकारी की है। ऋगर यह भावना इस देश मे नही बनती है, श्रगर छोटे से छोटा ग्रादमी इसके लिये नही तैयार होता है तो फिर क्या नतीजा होने काला

न्नाप किसी को राष्ट्रद्रोही**क**ह लीजिये, ग्राप कह लीजिये कि ग्रदमतशददद के रास्ते पर वह नहीं चलता लेकिन, श्रीमन्,

who participated

in the strike

में ग्रापके जरिये से उनको बतलाना चाहता ह कि वह चलते हो या न चलते हो मगर हकमत का ऋगर यही रवैया रहा, यही कार्य करने की प्रणाली रही तो यह हक्मत अपने कर्मचारियों को देश के कमजोर लोगों को. देश के गरीब लोगों को यह समझने में लिये मजबूर कर देगी कि जमहरियत का रास्ता सही रास्ता नही है, अदमतशददद का रास्ता सही नहीं है । प्रजातत्र और अहिसा की भावना को ग्रगर बलवती बनाना है तो यह तो हो सकता है कि धनिक धनिक रहे, यह सो हो सकता है कि थोडे दिनो तक गरीब गरीब रहे श्रौर ममता का समाज बनने मे देर लगे लेकिन अगर व्यवहारों में समता, श्रापसी आचार-विचार मे समता इस देश मे नही होती तो मे आपके जरिये से इस सदन मे शासन के लोगो से कहना चाहता हु कि इस देश का भविष्य म्रन्धकार मे है भ्रौर उसी द्धिट से उनके कर्तव्य की याद दिलाने के लिये में कहगा कि स्नाम

(Time bell rings.)

राजनैतिक मनोमालिन्य को छोड दीजिये.

राजनैतिक विभेदो को छोड दीजिये।

एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि कम्यनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग अगर कोई जीती हुई लडाई होती है तो उसके साथ चलते है नही तो नही चलते श्रौर इस हडताल मे भी पहले इसके साथ थे लेकिन जब देखा कि लडाई जा रही है तो उन्होने प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी को भ्रागे कर दिया ग्रौर ग्रपने ग्राप पीछे हट गये। मैं जानना चाहता हू कि क्या शासन भी वही नहीं कर रहा है। मुझे विश्वास है कि शासन के लोग ही नही करेगे जो कि प्रजातत्र मे विश्वास न रखने वाले लोग करते है । इन शब्दो के साथ मैं ग्रापके जरिये मे उनसे ग्रनरोध करूगा कि उन सारे कर्मचारियों को जो कि नौकरी से हटाये गये है बिना किसी दिक्कत के फिर काम पर ले ले।

GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Vice-Chairman, knowing the hon mover of this Resolutionor at least having heard him—to be a good parliamentarian, I had expected that he would place before the House all sides of this problem. I had expected that he would be no less interested in the efficiency and discipline of the Administration, no less interested in the public welfare than in the interest of the civil services. But I am sorry to observe that he has taken only one view of the matter, namely, the interests of the civil services alone. He has not at all dwelt upon frightful consequences which a strike of the sort we had the misfortune to have, would have had on the country and the people in general. He has spoken, no doubt, in measured tones unlike the hon. Member who sat to his right in the morning and who raised a shout, wanting to make up by sound what his arguments lacked in force I wish to submit to this House that it would be incorrect and it would imprudent for this House to accept this Resolution. It would be incorrect, because by accepting this Resolution, we would be laying down something bad in principle and we would also be accepting a policy which would be suicidal and which would cut at the roots of discipline in the services.

To the merits of reinstatement or otherwise of these persons, I will come later on. I doubt the very propriety of Parliament going into this matter. Now let us see what has happened. Whether right or wrong—that is different matter—Departments taken up the question of these strikers, those who took part in this strike, those who indulged in disobeying the Ordinance; several cases of sabotage and intimidation, including criminal ones, have been gone into, and authorities have taken some decision. In some cases the Government have taken the decision and in some cases the Departments have taken decision. Now, would it be right for Parliament to intervene, to interfere with these decisions and say: "Well, your decision should go." Suppose we do that suppose Parliament interfered with the decisions taken by the Government or by the Heads of Departments, tomorrow, with what face and with what authority can the Head of a Department extract service from his subordinates? How can he enforce discipline in the ranks? This is the question which the hon, the mover of the Resolution must see and also the other hon. Members who have spoken in support of the Resolution. In the interest of the services and discipline, is it right that the highest body in the land, Parliament, should intervene and take away from the Heads of Departments and from the Government, the right of taking disciplinary That would cut at the very root of efficiency. Therefore, I submit it would not be proper at all for this House to accept this Resolution.

The other question is one of principle. This Resolution involves principle, namely, whether the services have the right to strike or not. This has been referred to by some of the hon. Members who spoke before me. I would say very humbly that government servants should not have the right to strike In fact Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar has pointed out the position in the U.S.A. and referred to the Taft-Hartley Act and read out some of the provisions in that Act. There is State which accords to its servants the right to strike. That is because government servants cannot be deemed to be wage-earners or employees in the ordinary industrial sense of the term. A government servant is not a mere wage-earner. However small a government servant may be, he represents in a measure the institution of government. People do not look to him as to a wage-earner or as a factory labourer. A factory worker may be today and somewhere else tomorrow. People do not look government servant in that way. People look at him as a representative of the institution of government.

935

Therefore, he is much more than a wage earner, he is much more than a labourer. He represents Government in authority, the sovereignty of the State itsesIf in a measure. He has to consider himself as such and not treat himself as a labourer and that is why he has some privileges and also, more responsibilities devolving on him. A wage-earner today, a worker in a factory or a textile mill can strike work and can do anything; there is no prohibition. But a Government servant cannot do so . A Government servant is entrusted with the secrets of the Government and he cannot behave in any manner he likes. The Government servants, implicitly or explicitly, take the oath of loyalty to the Constitution and therefore, it would be insulting the Government servants themselves to treat them as ordinary labourers. Government is also not an ordinary employer in that sense. Government is not an employer in sense that a factory owner who employs labourers is an employer. So, the ordinary industrial relations of an employee and employer in the matter of the right to strike should not apply here. It is more sacred than that. The relationship between the Government servants and the Government and the Government and the people is more sacred, more sanctified than the relationship between the labourers in a factory and their employer. Government holds the life of the nation in its hands and Government can administer only through its executive machinery which is the services. So, if the services have a mind and have the right of strike, they can hold the nation to ransom. This is a sacred trust which the Government has distributed to the services and the Government as well as its servants trustees of this and therefore, Sir, very heavy responsibilities devolve on them. If this body which is holding that sacred trust of the life of the nation, if it goes on strike and paralyses the nation, affects production, industry and trade and causes incalculable harm and hardship, would the public or anybody say that this

is right? I can understand that there can be grievances on the part of the Government servants. We have to find out other means, other machinery to redress these grievances but give the right to the services to bring the nation to grief. That is a thing which cannot be tolerated. The hon. mover of this Resolution and who have supported him have claimed that the strike was non-violent whereas facts to controvert that position were quoted. It was not a nonviolent strike. It had resulted in a terrible hardship to the people prhaps it would have resulted in greater hardship if the people had not co-operated. To our good fortune, the people by and large had sound sense. They did not at all encourage Even amongst the Central Government employees themselves by far the larger portion did not encourage the strike and therefore it could not do much havoc but the little havoc it was able to do is sufficient to open our eyes to reconsider the position whether we should accord this right to the Government servants at all. Sir, I would remind the House of what happened in British Guiana last February. There, Sir similar conditions prevailed and Government took action. The Prime Minister in his enthusiasm of a progressive ideology took a decision to impose some austerity measures on services as well. Of course, there were other measures also and the services decided to strike work. When services struck work, do you what happened? Some people went and dynamited shops and huge fires were started. The water works establishment had closed, had struck work and the electricity department had struck work. The wind was blowing in the direction of the quarters where very people who fomented this strike resided and they themselves could not help. To their utter regret they found that thy could not stop the flire because the water works department had struck work. They themselves suffered and some of them got burnt. This is an instance in point to show that it is a suicidal thing to foment a

[Shri M Govinda Reddy.] strike, a national strike, on the part of anybody, let alone Government servants The hon mover took the name of the late Shii Govind Ballabh Pant, said that he could have been more lenient and that the assurance held out were not fulfilled I think Sir, and I think I can say this without being challenged, that it was because of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant that very liberal measures, were taken If anybody could surmise an action which was a fitting retaliation to the strike and by the way this strike was run, very severe action should have been called for, but he was a gentleman, as we all know, whose heart was overflowing with the milk of kindness and it was he who softened Government action to a considerable extent, so much so that it enraged many of the people who insisted on the strict enforcement of law and order that the Government should have been so lenient to people who had no second thought for the welfare of the country, who wanted to jeopardise the nation, who even could have promoted chaos in Some figures have country given here and I am giving some figures to show in what liberal measures the Government had softened its action Action to 27098 people was taken in the beginning but by the end of March last, only 15 remained In the case of all others, suspension orders were voked and they were taken There were 2084 dismissals initially when the strike was called off action was taken but at the end of March last there were only 136 people Where is 2084 and where is 136? many people have been reinstated. A total of 2137 temporary employees were discharged initially but at the end of March this number came down to 61, so many of them were taken back Departmental proceedings were instituted against 45,945 and at the end of March, Sir, the departmental proceedings stood only in the case of 17 people Does this not show that Government viewed the matter more liberally? In the cases in which dis-

ciplinary action or punishment has stayed, Government could not intervene because the authorities had gone into each case, the authorities had examined the facts of each case and had come to the conclusion that in such cases punishment should not be lenient and that it should stay Now, this House should expect that these authorities have discharged their duties properly and truly in relation to the facts before them Therefore, Sir, when they have deliberately decided-in the face of the instructions of the Government that as far as possible those cases of employees who have not been involved in sabotage in terrorising and in victimising people, who have not been involved in criminal activities, should be considered liberally, that even ciiminal proceedings should be withdrawn as far as possible-if the departmental heads have decided that in the case of these 208 people punishment should remain I think, Sir, this House in its judgement should believe that there must have been some sound reasons for the authorities to taken that action If this action is not taken if even these 208 people are let off, then it would be setting a very bad example before the country and any officer may hereafter with impunity do mischief thinking that later on there would be people who would plead for his retention

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रस्ताव रखागया है और उसपर सो चर्चा हुई उसको देख कर ऐसा लगा कि माननीय सदस्यो ने, प्रस्तावक महोदय की भावनात्रो को घ्यान मे नही रखा श्रीर व्यर्थ मे पुरानी बातो की इतनी खीचातानी हुई। जो इस प्रस्ताव की मुल भावना थी स्रोर जो करीब करीब काफी सदस्यों के मन में है कि जो हमारे कर्मचारी है उनके लिए क्या होना चाहिये श्रौर क्या नहीं होना चाहिये, इन सब बातो को एक तरफ रख कर जो व्यर्थ की खीचातानी हुई, उससे मुझे बहुत दू ख हुआ 🖡 मेरा नम्प्र निवेदन है कि जो प्रस्ताव की अधा है 939

वह बिल्कूल साफ है ग्रौर जिन कर्मचारियो। को हडताल के परिणामस्वरूप निकाल दिया गया है उनको फिर से काम पर लगा दिया जाय। इसमे मैंने एक संशोधन दे दिया है ग्रौर वह इस प्रकार से हैं ''जिन कर्म चारियो को हडताल की वजह से डिमोट कर दिया गया, डिग्रेड कर दिया गया, एफिशियसी बार से बचित कर दिया गया है, जिनका इनकीमेट रोक दिया गया है श्रीर दूसरे प्रकार से दिंडन किया गया है, उन सब को फिर से उनके लाभ वापस कर दिये जाय । परन्तु केरल के एक माननीय सदस्य ने श्रपने विकृत स्वरूप मे बतलाया कि हडताल की वजह मे, इन कर्मचारियों की वजह मे सारे देश मे स्रराजकता फैल गई थी स्रौर देश का सारा काम खत्म हो गया था। उन्होंने अपने भाषण के अन्त मे यह कहा कि इन कर्मचारियो की हडनाल की वजह से देश को इतना भयकर नुकसान हुन्ना कि ये लोग बिल्कुल क्षमा के योग्य नही है। मैं नम्र निवेदन करना चाहता ह कि जब कोई एक छोटा सा झगडा होता है तो उसमे करोडो रुपये का नुकसान हो जाता है। श्रगर हमारे रेलवे कर्मचारियो स्रोर फी० एड टी० वालो की नीयत लराव होतो ग्रीर वे नुकसान करने पर तूले होते तो सरकार को काफी रुपये की हानि उठानी पडती । हमारे मत्री जी ने बतलाया कि हजारो रुपये का नकसान इस हडताल की वजह से हो गया है। स्रगर हमारे रेलवे कर्मचारियो की नीयन खराब होती श्रीर वे सरकार को नुकसान पहुचाना चाहते तो वे डीजल इजनो को ग्राग लगा सकते थे ग्रीर इसी तरह के दूसरे नुकसान कर सकते थे। श्राप उनका सजा दे सकते है लेकिन नुकसान करने से नही रोक सकते । परन्त् उनकी नीयत इस तरह की नहीं थी बल्कि वे सरकार से ग्रानी माधारण माग को पूरा करवाना नाहते थे जिसको बजह से उन्होंने हडताल के हथियार को श्रन्तिम रूप मे ग्रहण किया । गवर्नमेट ने सैबोटेज के सम्बन्ध मे प्रश्नोत्तर के समय जो भ्राकडे दिये है उनको देखकर यह भ्रन्दाजा लगाया जा सकता है कि वास्तविक स्थिति

क्या है। सैबोटेज के हैड मे सिर्फ २१,६०० का नुकसान दिखलाया गया है । यह ग्राप सोच मनते है कि इतनी वडी देशव्यापी हडताल हई श्रीर केवल २१,६०० का नुक्सार हमा। हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने जो यह कहा कि सारे देश में इस हडताल की वजह ^{से} श्रराजकता फैल गई श्रौर सारादेश निष्ट-भ्रष्ट हो गया बित्कूल गलत बात है। उन्हें इस नग्ह की गलन बाते नहीं कहनी चाहिये क्योकि हम जनता के भावना को लेकर यहा पर श्राये है ग्रीर इस तरह की गलत बयानी करके हम जरा दूर जाते हैं । ध्रगर हम इस नकसान को दूसरे एप्रोच से देखे तो हम यह पायेगे कि जिनना नुकसान हडताल की वजह से हुआ है वह काग्रेस के शासन की वजह से हुग्रा है। उसने कर्मचारियो की मागो ठीक समय पर श्रनुमान नही लगाया श्रौर न ही उसका कोई इलाज किया । भाषंगो क दौरान कई श्राकड़े दिये गये और लम्बी चौडी बाते कहीं गई जो कि बिल्कुल गलत है। एक क्रोर तो हम कर्मचारियो की ननस्वाह बढाते है स्रौर दूसरी स्रोर उन्हें लिमिटेड एमाउन्ट देने है । इसके साथ ही साथ हम दूसरी ग्रोर करोड़ो रुपये के नोट छोपते है। हम ऋषरे स्टर्लिंग बैलेस को कम करते और करेसी को फैलाते है और तरह से उस रुपये की परचेजिंग पावर कम करते है। इस तरह से जो सरकारी कर्म-चारी एक फिक्सड तनख्वाह पाते हैं उनकी र्काटनाइयां करेसी के फैलाव से बढ़ जाती है स्रोर स्राप उसे दूर करने की काशिश नही करते है स्रौर करेसी को फैलाने ही चले जाते है । सन् १६४५–४६ से लेकर जनवरी सन् १६६० तक ४२० करोड रुपये की करेमी की वृद्धि हमारे शासन दवारा की गई है। हभारा जो स्टलिंग बैलेस था उसमे ४२५ करोड रुपये की कमी हो गई हे स्रौर खबी यह है कि वह भी सरकुतिशन मे स्रागयाहै। एक तरफ तो ग्राप इस तरह की स्थिति निमार्ण करते हैं श्रोर दूसरी तरफ जो रुपया

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया] म्राप उन्हें देते है उसकी परचेजिंग पावर कम कर देते हैं । एक तरफ तो स्राप यह नारा लगाते हैं कि हम देश में सोशल वैलफेयर स्थापित करना चाहते हैं, देश में जो काम करने वाले लोग है उनकी रक्षा करना चाहते हैं ग्रौर दूसरी ग्रोर इस तरह की कठिनाइया पैदा करते है जिससे उनको लाभ न पहुंचे । जब ये लोग अपनी माग सरकार के सामने रखते हैं तो उसकी स्रोर ध्यान नही दिया जाता है श्रौर यह कहा जाता है कि अगर गलती करोगे तो सजा दी जायेगी । जिनके हाथ मे कर्मचारियो का भार है, जो पिता तुल्य ग्रपने को शासक मानकर चलना चाहते हैं म्रौर उनकी पुत्र के प्रति जो भावना होनी चाहिये, उस भावना को साथ रखकर काम नहीं करते है तो माननीय महोदय, मं यह कहना चाहगा कि जिस तरह से पुत्र को शिकायत करने का स्रधिकार है उसी तरीके से उन्होंने किया । सरकारी कर्मचारियो ने शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से ग्रपने श्रसतोष को जिस तरह से प्रकट किया उसके बाबजद भी हमारी सरकार ने यह कहा किये लोग बागी है ग्रौर देशद्रोही है। सरकारी कर्मचारियों ने सरकार को पहले सुचना देदी थी कि हमारी ये ये मागे है। उन्होने यह भी कहा कि सरकार ने पे कमिशन के सबध में यह घोषणा की है कि इसको एवार्ड के रूप में मान लिया जायेगा लेकिन उसकी भ्राज तक पूर्ण रूप से एवार्ड नही माना गया। इस संबंध में कई बातें हैं और मेे डिटेल में जाना नही चाहता ह । मैं केवल यह निवदन करना चाहता ह कि हमारे कर्मचारियो की माग चाहे उचित थी या अनुचित थी लेकिन करेसी का फैलाव जिस तरह से फैल गया है, टैक्सेज का भार जिस तरह से बढ़ गया है इन दो पाटो के बीच में हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारी पिस गये हैं। उनको इससे कोई राहत नही दी गई ग्रौर न ही उनकी मदद करने के लिए किसी तरह की कोई व्यवस्था की गई। उन्होने स्राप से माग की कि हमारा

पेट भरिये, हमारी जो दिक्कते है उन्हे दूर कीजिये । हमारी कुछ कठिनाइया हैं उन्हें म्राप मिटाइये । उन्होने प्रधान मत्री जी से यह माग की कि हमारी बात सून लीजिये श्रौर फिर श्राप जैसा चाहे वैसा कर लीजिये। भ्रगर भ्राप पिता तुल्य बनना चाहते हैं तो ग्राप ग्रपने लडके की बाते मृनिये । ग्रगर ग्राप कालड़का नालायक है तो स्राप उसे घर से निकाल दीजिय । इसके **श्रा**प यह भी चाहते हैं कि पुत्र पिता के प्रति उपेक्षा न करे, यह न्यायसगत बात नही लगती है। तो मेरा नम्र निवेदन है जो जिम्मेदारी हमारे शासन की थी, उसके निर्वाह करने में हमारा शासन सफलीभूत नही हुम्रा स्रौर उसके परिणाम स्वरूप करोडो रुपये की क्षति हुई। उसकी जिम्मेदारी थोड़ी कर्मचारियो पर है भ्रौर ज्यादा शासन पर है जिसकी वजह से यह चीज हुई । ग्रगर ग्राप ब्रात्मशोधन करेगे तो यह पायेंगे कि जो यह करोडों रुपये की क्षति हुई है वह केवल शासन की वजह से हुई है। अगर आप इस चीज का प्रायश्चित करना चाहते है---जरूरत इस बात की है कि प्रायश्चित करेक्योकि इन कर्मचारियों द्वारा तो केवल २१ हजार रुपये का नकसान हम्रा है मगर म्रापकी लापरवाही की वजह है, स्रापकी उपेक्षा की वजह से देश का करोड़ो रुपये का नुकसान हुन्ना है जिसके लिये श्रापको जरूर प्रायश्चित करना चाहिये । मैं चाहता ह कि भ्राप ईमानदारी से काम करें भ्रोर प्रायक्चित करने से पहले खुद भ्रपने को सजा दें। मैं सजा देने की क्षमता नही रखता ह । मैं तो जो वास्तविक बात है वह उन के सामने रखना चाहता हू। जो लोग बापू के स्रादर्श पर चलना उन्हें प्रायश्चित करना चाहिये तब ही वे उनके पदिचह्न पर चलेंगे । ग्रगर वे इस तरह का कष्ट करेगे तो ज्यादा ग्रच्छा होगा।

जहा तक हमारे कर्मचारियो का पक्ष है वह बिल्कुल निर्विवाद साबित हो चुका है। हमारे कर्मचारियो के खिलाफ यह माोप लगाया जा रहा है कि उन्होंने देशद्रोह का

काम किया है, तोड़ फोड की कार्यवाही में भाग लिया है जिसकी वजह से उन्हेपीना-लाइज किया जा रहा है भ्रोर जलील किया जा रहा है। अब प्रायंता यह है कि इन बेचारो जिनको इतना कष्ट उठाना पड़ रहा है, जिनको नौकरो से निकाल दिया गया है और सब बाते हो रहा है, उन्हें फिर से नौकरी में लगा दिया जाय । जिनको हिमोट कर दिया गया है उन्हें नोकरी में वापस उनके स्थान में कर दिया जात । उनकी मार्ग वाजिव था इस लिये बाद में उनका मार्ग स्वीकार को गई। गलती आप करे, सजा उन्हें दें, यह वात अंचन नही लगती है । हमारे श्री नवावसिंह जी ने जो एक उदाहरण दिया कि ऋार्डिने व बाद में निकला, भ।पण उसके पहले दिया, मजा बाद में दे दी, वह ग्रन्धेर नगरी चीपट राज वाला किस्सा है कि तू ने गुताह नहीं किया, तेरे बाप ने गुनाह किया, इसलिये तुझे सजा दे देता ह । तू ने आज गनाह नही किया और श्रार्डिने श्राज निकला तो क्या हुग्रा। त्ने श्रगर गुनाह नहीं किया, लेकिन झाडिनेस श्राज निकला, तो इसी बहाने तुझे ढूढ़ ढूढ़ कर पेनेलाइज करना चाहते है । यह तो ग्रन्धेर नगरी चौपट राज मरीली घटना त्रिय नही लगता । यह ठीक है कि हमारा शासन लिबरल रहा । लिवरल होना बुरा नही, क्षमा करना बुरा नही, क्षमा वीरता का लक्षण है। ग्रापको लड़ना है तो चीन के मोर्चे पर लडिये ग्रौर खुब बहादुरी बताइये । उसे हम मना नही करते । श्चापको ग्रगर नडना है तो पाकिस्तान के मोर्चे पर लडिये। तो हमको अगर अपनी बहादुरी का परिचय देना है तो उसके लिये बहुत से क्षेत्र है। हम ग्रपने बच्चो पर, हम अपने नौकरो पर, हम अपने कर्मचारियो पर सत्ता का-सद्पयोग शब्द तो मै नही कहना--दूरुपयोग करे तो यह कभी भी न्यायसगत नहीं कहा जा सकता । मैं मंत्री महोदय मे प्रार्थना करूगा कि स्राप जरा शान्तिपूर्वक इस प्रकरण को सोचे जिस पर सदन में इतनी खीचातानी हुई ग्रौर जिसकी

काफी चर्चा हुई । उसको हमारे चेट्टियार साहब ने इतना विकृत स्वरूप दिया कि मैं वडे ग्राश्चर्य में पड गया कि ग्रगर उस जमाने में किमी ग्रप्रेज का भाषण मुनता तो पम्भवतः वह भी इतना विकृत स्वरूप नहीं देता । उन्होंने ग्राई० एन० टी० यू० सी० की रिपोर्ट पढी।

थी दयाल दास कुर्रे (मघ्य प्रदेश) : अन्होने ज्वलन्त उदाहरण रखे ।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौर^६धा क्राई० एन०टी०*यू० सी*० की किनाब में मैं भी ज्वलन्त उदाहरण दे रहा हु जो स्वय भ्रापकी सरकार ने प्रश्नो के उत्तर में बताया था । २१६०० इतये से एक पाई या एक नया पैसा भी अधिक नुकसान किसी कर्मचारी ने कर दिया हो तो बतला दीजिये । भ्राप उसको भ्रपनी बात सूनाने का मौका भी नहीं देते है। ग्राप पिता बनने की क्षमता तो रखने है, लेकिन जब पुत्र कहता है कि पिता जी सुनिये तो सही, नो स्राप मुनने नहीं है। उसके बाद अगर वह कुछ करता है तो उसके विरोध स्वरूप ग्राप उसको सजा दे देते है। तो गुनाह उन कर्म-वारियों ने नहीं किया है। गुत्तह आप वोनों में किया है जिन्हों। उनकी बान सुनी नहीं। करोडो का नुकसान उन लोगो ने किया है जिन्होने सुना नही । इसलिये सजा के भागी वे है जिन्होने उनकी सुनवाई नही की । इस वीचातानी से कोई लाभ नहीं है। मैं मत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करूगा कि ग्रापने जैसा लीनियेंट व्यु अभी तक लिया है और एक पिता का अपने पुत्र के प्रति जो भाव होना चाहिये, उसके अनुसार मै चाहता हूं कि जो ऐसे पुत्र ग्रापके रह गये है, उनको भी श्रपना म्रिधिकार मिलना चाहिये । जिन कर्मचारियो को निकाल दिया गया है, उनकी भावना के वस स्राकर मै यह कहूगा कि यह २१ हजार का नुकसान कोई अधिक नहीं है। जो छंटि छोटे म्रान्दोलन होते है उनमें भी भावनाम्रो में ब रूर, मास मेटालिटी जिस को कहते है सको म्रान्दोलनो में भाग लेने वाले

[श्री विमलक्मार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया] सदस्य श्रच्छी तरह जानते है, उस मास मेटा-लिटी के परिणामस्वरूप लाखो और करोड़ो रुपये का नुकसान हा जाता है ग्रीर कुछ पता नही लगता। कराची में ग्रपने मकान में पत्थर फेंक करके अपने मकान को बरबाद कर दिया। कितनी जगह ऐसे उदाहरण है। पोट्टी श्री रामालु का जरा सा उदाहरण हुन्ना जिसमें लाखो राये साफ हो गये। यह देशव्यापी इतनी बडी हडताल हुई श्रीर इसमें केवल इतना नुकसान हुन्रा। फिर भी मक्तवी को मल मल कर के भैमा बना दिया ग्रीर इतना विकृत स्वरूप बना दिया कि समझ में ग्राने वाली बात नही है।

इसलिये मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि भ्रटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी न जो प्रस्ताव रखा है उसको स्वीकार करने का कष्ट के। साथ ही उसमें जो मैन सशोधन दिया है कि जो डिमाट हो गये है, उनको प्रोमोट करके अपने पुराने स्थान पर रखा जाय, वह भी कृपा करके स्वीकार किया जाय । अन्त में मै फिर मत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करूगा कि वे शान्तिपूर्वक, गम्भीरतापूर्वक एक पिता का पूत्र के प्रति क्या कर्तव्य होता है, उसको ध्यान में रख कर उसके अनुसार उन लोगो को लाभ देने की कृपा करे।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी माननीय वाइस चेयरमैन महोदय, प्रस्तावक महोदय ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है उसके द्वारा, मै समझता हं कि जिनके लिए उन्होंने प्रस्ताव रखा है, उनके साथ बड़ा ग्रन्याय किया है। हमारे गृह मंत्री जी ने यह ऐलान किया था कि उनके साथ हम प्यार के साथ बर्ताव करेगे श्रौर हमारे प्रस्तावक महोदय ने भी श्रपनी स्पीच में यह कहा कि जिन लोगो ने वायलेस किया है, हिंसा की है, सेबोटेज किया है, उनको न लिया जाय, लेकिन यह प्रस्ताव रख करके उन्होने इसको इतना व्यापक कर दिया है कि न इसको सरकार मानने जा रही है श्रौर न हाउस ही मानने जा रहा है। ग्रब श्रगर यह प्रस्ताव ठुकरा दिया जाता है तो

इसके परिणामस्वरूप जो १३६ मुलाजिम श्रभी रह गये है उनके लिये उन्होने एक बहुत बड़ी संकट की घड़ी उपस्थित कर दी है। जिस तरह से उन्होंने स्पीच दी, उस तरह से यदि वे ग्रपना प्रस्ताव रखते तो ज्यादा उचित होता । हमारे पूर्व वनतास्रो ने बताया कि २२ लाख केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारी है, इतने लाख लोग इसमें शामिल हुए, इतने हजार पर ऐक्शन हुआ और अब १३६ पर ग्रा गये है। इसलिये इस पर विशेष वाद-विवाद की स्नावश्यकता नही होती । लेकिन प्रस्तावक महोदय ने यह प्रस्ताव रख दिया श्रौर इसका एक ऐसे श्रादमी से समर्थन प्राप्त हम्रा कि तमाम इधर उधर की बाते स्रा गई। इस स्टाइक का सारे देशभक्त लोग शरू से ही विरोध करते श्राये है। हमारे प्रधान मत्री जी ने भी कहा था कि जब चीन वाले हमारी सीमा पर मौजूद है स्रौर स्नासाम में दुर्घटनाएं हो रही है, तो ऐसी दशा में हड़ताल करना उचित नहीं है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा था कि हम उनकी मागे स्वीकार करेगे । उसके बाद जो तमाम राजनीतिक पार्टिया है, जो विरोधी दल के लोग है, उन्होने यह सोचा कि जनता तो कभी उनको गद्दी देगी नही, इसलिए गही पर बैठने के लिए क्यों न एक बड़ी भारी श्राम हड़ताल करा दी जाय। उस समय इन लोगों में म्रजीब गठबन्धन हुए । कहा पी० एस० पी०, कहां कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, कहा जन संघ, कहां हिन्दू महा सभा, फिर भी सब में गठबन्धन हो गया ।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजो चौरडिया : कहां केरल, कहा मुस्लिम लीग, यह भी कह दीजिये।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : श्राप बैठिये, मै ब्रापको समझा दुगा। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कह भी दिया कि हड़ताल नही होनी वाहिये और हडताल गैर कानूनी घोषित भी कर दी गई, फिर भी हमारी तमाम विरोधी पार्टियों ने हडताल कराई। हम नेता जी के पीछे चलने वाले हैं। नेता जी ने कहा था

who participated in the strike

कि देश में जो शासक पार्टी हो, वह यदि समाजवाद ग्रहण करती है, तो देश में कोई स्वास स्ट्राइक नहीं हो सकती, कोई वर्ग संघर्ष नहीं हो सकता । इसके श्रतिरिक्त एक युनियन का प्रेसिडेंग्ट होने के नात ग्रौर इस पालियामेंट का मेम्बर होने के नाते मैं बराबर इस विचार को रखता ग्रा रहा हूं कि हड़तालों को सदा के लिये गैर-कानुनी घोषित कर दिया जाना बाहिये । जो पार्टी समाजवाद स्थापित करना चाहती है, वह यही चाहेगी । हडनाल कराना उसी पार्टी का काम हो सकता है जो कभी ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के साथ थी. कभी मुस्लिम लीग के साथ थी श्रौर जिसने भव देशद्रोही का नाम ले लिया है। मेरा कभी यह तरीका नही रहा है कि मैं यहां कुछ कहं भौर बाहर कुछ कहूं। जब मैं ठीक समझता हुं तो ग्रपनी सरकार को भी मुना देता हं। जब स्ट्राइक हुई थी तब भी मैने कहा था कि सरकार का वडा लीनियेंट ऐक्शन रहा, जो युनियने स्ट्राइक कराने वाली हैं, उनको मान्यता नही मिलनी चाहिये । लेकिन दु:ख यह है कि हमारी बात सरकार भी नहीं सुनती है और कमजोरी दिखलाती है। कहा गया है कि २१ हज़ार रुपये का नुकसान हुम्रा है, लेकिन वास्तव में करोडों रुपये का नुकसान हुन्ना । रेलवे में जिस तरह से हड़ताल हुई श्रौर जिस तरह से गाड़ियां वन्द रहीं, उसके यदि स्रांकडे निकाले जायें तो मालूम होगा कि करोड़ों रुपये का नुकसान हुम्रा । नुकसान की बात जाने **दी**जिये । जब कि हमारा दूश्मन चीन हमारी सरहदों पर बैठा हम्रा है, जब कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से तमाम इधर उधर की बातें होती रहती है, ऐसे समय में हड़ताल कराना कहां तक उचित कहा जा सकता है ? वास्तव में जो श्रपनं को समाजवादी कहते हैं, जो अपने को देशप्रेमी कहते हैं, उन्होंने जलाई, १६६० में हड़ताल करके देशद्रोहियों का काम किया । इसी लिये प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने उस समय कहा था कि ये ऐंटी नैशनल स्ट्राइक है, यह राष्ट्र-विरोधी स्ट्राइक है

जो जनता जनार्दन है, जो रेलवे कर्मचारी हैं, जो केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारी है, उन्होंने यदि उस समय देश-भिनत से कार्य नही किया होता, तो पता नहीं क्या होता । हम लोग इस पालियामेंट में वैठने पाने या नही बैठने पाते, सरकार रहती या नही रहती, कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता कि क्या होता । वह एक राजनैतिक स्ट्राइक थी। मै भी एक रेलवे युनियन का सभापति हूं स्रौर मैं जानता हूं कि उस जमाने में पी० एस० पी० श्रौर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता ऋपने भाषणों में क्या कहते थे। वे कहते थे कि यदि यह सरकार खत्म हो जाती है श्रीर हमारे श्रादमी सरकार में श्रा जाते हैं तो हम तुम्हारी तनस्वाह चार सौ रुपया महोना कर देंगे । तमाम राजनीतिक नेताग्रों की ऐसी ही स्पीचेज होती थीं। वे बराबर इसी तरह के भाषण देते थे। इसके बाद गवर्नमेंट ने भी कुछ कड़ाई की। देश की जनता ने भी साथ दिया ग्रौर खास करके जो हमारी नेशनल फेडरेशन श्राफ रेलवेज है उसने भी देशभिकत की बात की ग्रीर सरकार को सपोर्ट किया । ग्राई० एन० टी० यू० सी० ने भी सपोर्ट दिया ग्रौर खास करके नेशनल फेडरेशन भ्राफ रेलवे इम्प्लाईज ने दिया। । ११ लाख रेलवे के कर्मचारी हैं उनको बताया कि यह राजनैतिक हड़ताल है श्रौर इसमें राजनैतिक पार्टी के लोग हैं, इससे वहत बुराई होने वाली है ग्रौर इसी-लिये जो तमाम इस युनियन के कर्मचारी थे उन्होंने इनकी बात नहीं मानी और यह जो स्वप्न था एक राज्य स्थापित करने का भ्रौर जो एक राजनैतिक उद्देश्य था उन सब पर तुषारापात हम्रा श्रीर इसी वजह से एक रोज भी हड़ताल नहीं चल सकी ।

ग्रब प्राइम मिनिस्टर के कहने पर भी, दूसरे लोगों के मना करने पर भी ग्रौर स्ट्राइक को इल्लीगल करने पर भी लाखों लोग स्टाइक मे शामिल हुए लेकिन इसके बाद हमने देखा कि जिन लोगों ने स्ट्राइक क नेतत्व किया,--जो पोलिटिकल पार्टी के

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

लीडर स्ट्राइक कराने वाले थे ग्रौर जिनके लिये हम चाहते थे कि उनको सजा देनी चाहिये, उनको जेल मे रखना चाहिये, उनको नजरवन्द रखना चाहिये--उनके ऊपर कोई कड़ाई नही की गई। उधर स्टाइक का नोटिस भी हो रहा है स्रौर इधर पार्लियामेट मे कामरेड भूपेश गुप्त की इसके मताल्लिक स्पीच भी हो रही है, यह हमने देखा । कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता अरेस्ट भी हुए तो सब से पहले छटे। हम लोग जो कि इस विचार को रखने वाले थे कि जिन केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियो ने हडताल मे भाग लिया था उन पर यदि सरकार कोई कड़ाई करती है तो वह ठीक नहीं है, उनको यह देख कर दु:ख हुन्ना कि जो गुनहगार थे श्रौर जिनको लम्बी सजा देनी चाहिये थी उन पर भी कोई कडाई नहीं की गई। लोग कहते हैं कि हमारी सरकार, हमारे गृह-मत्री जी मजबत है लेकिन मेरे ख्याल से वह बहत कमजोर है । ग्रगर हम समाजवाद की स्थापना करना चाहते है तो ये जो देश-विरोधी दोस्त है उनके खिलाफ कडाई करनी होगी । श्रगर उनके ऊपर कड़ाई नही होगी तो मुल्क मे तरह तरह की परिस्थितिया पैदा हो सकती हैं । स्रापने दया का बर्ताव उन पोलिटिकल लीडरो के साथ किया । सरकारी कर्म-चारियो का क्या कसूर था? वे तो बेचारे उनके नारों में फस गये लेकिन आपने उन लीडरों को जल में भी रखा तो आराम में रखा और फिर छोड दिया । कई लाख लोग हडताल मे शामिल हुए ग्रौर उनके साथ दया का बर्ताव करने के बाद ध्रब आप १३६ लोगो पर आ गये हैं, लेकिन ये १३६ लोग सैबोटेज करने वाले है, वायलेस करने वाले हे ग्रौर उनको भी यदि स्राप छोड देते हैं तो ये लोग जो भाइदा के लिये मसुबा बाधे हुए है कि कभी कभी स्ट्राइक करेगे उनका इरादा पूरा हो सकता है। ए लये उनके साथ तो कोई नर्मी नही नी चाहिये। लेकिन, हम यह भी जानते है, मै रेलवे युनियन का प्रेसिडेण्ट हूं, **जो** हमारी विरोधी यूनियन है, जो कि स्ट्राइक करा रही थी उससे हमारे लोग लडते थे-पूलिस इस बात को जानती है, पूलिस की इस बारे में रिपोर्ट है कि ये लोग स्ट्राइक के खिलाफ थे ग्रीर सरकार को मदद करते थे, परन्तू भ्रब जो रेलवे के बडे-बडे भ्राफि-शियल्स हैं, जो कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ग्रीर पी० एस० पी० के सिम्पेथाइजर्स हैं, जिन लोगो ने स्टाइक मे मदद दी, वे ग्रब हमारे लोगो पर ऐक्शन लेते हैं । हमारे लोगो की नौकरी गई, उनका ससपेशन हम्रा स्रौर जो दोषी थे उन पर ऐक्शन नही हुआ। स्रब भी हम जानते हैं कि बहुत से ऐसे केसेज है। हमारे वाजपेयी जी ने भी इस बारे में कहा कि हम जानते हैं । राची मे एकाउटेट जेनरल के ब्राफिस मे पीसफुल स्ट्राइक थी ब्रौर वहा के बलभद्र झा ग्रीर हरी चौबे हैं जो कि यनियन के लीडर हैं, किसी पार्टी से उनका कुछ भी सम्बन्ध नहीं है लेकिन सरकारी कार्यवाही भी अजीबोगरीब है कि इतना शांत रहने पर भी इसके बाद इन लोगो का कम्पल-सरी रिटायरमेट हुम्रा। म्रभी भी बहुत से लोग हैं जो कि किसी पार्टी के नहीं हैं, न **उ**नकी किसी पार्टी के प्रति वफादारी है श्रीर न सम्बन्ध है लेकिन वे जो सरकारी म्राफिशियल्स हैं, उनकी जो मनोवृत्ति है, वे जो फेलोट्रेवलर्स हैं, उनकी वजह से इन लोगों की नौकरी जाती है श्रौर कम्पलसरी रिटायरमेंट होता है । ये स्राफिशियल्स हमारी सरकार को भी सैबोटेज करना चाहते है, बदनाम करना चाहते हैं। रेलवे में मैने देखा कि हमारी यूनियन के लोगों ने बडी हिम्मत करके उनका सामना किया. उनको घर से पाखाना जाने के लिये निकलना कठिन था लेकिन उन्होंने सब बातो का बडी मुसीवतो के साथ मुकाबिला किया, पर जब ऐक्शन लेने की बारी आई तो ससपेशन पहले उनका ही हुन्ना जिन लोगो ने कि मुसीबत उठाई थी । रेलवे के ग्रधिकाश कर्मचारियो ने नेशनल फेडरेशन ग्राफ इडियन रेलवे इम्पलाईज का साथ दिया, दिलेरी से ग्रौर

देशभिक्त से साथ दिया ग्रौर उसके साथ बढ़े, लेकिन उनको इस काम का पूरस्कार नहीं मिला बल्कि उनको समपेंशन मिला। बहत लोगों को ससपेंड किया गया। हमारे होम डिपार्टमेंट के इंटेलिजेंस ब्युरो ने रिपोर्ट लिखी थी कि ये तो हमारे साथ काम करते थे फिर भी समपेंशन होता है। कहीं कहीं तो जेनरल मैनेजर ने भी कुछ नही किया और उनकी भी नौक रो प्वार्ण। तो इस तरह का कांड हम्रा है। इस तरह की वात हमने मंत्रि-मंडल को भी बताई ग्रौर कहा, लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुन्रा। तो अब जो १३६ रह गये हैं-ग्रापने ग्रौर सब से दया का बर्ताव किया—उनके लिये मै श्रापको श्रागाह करता ह, में एलेक्शन की बात नहीं करता हुं लेकिन हिन्द्स्तान में इस तरह के तत्व हैं जो कि हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारियों के बीच मैं भी काम करते हैं, वे तरह तरह के नाममात्र के बहाने पर सैबोटेज करेंगे श्रौर फिर स्टाइक की बात करेगे । यह मेरी निश्चित राय है । ग्रापने कहा था कि जितने केन्द्रीय कर्मचारी हैं उनके बीच में स्टाइक नहीं होगी भौर स्राप उसको इललीगल करेंगे, लेकिन उस चीज को स्रापने खटाई में डाल दिया । यदि ग्राप चाहते है कि देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना हो ग्रौर देश में गड़बड़ी न होने पाये तो इसके लिये प्रबन्ध करना होगा । देश के जो दूष्मन है, पाकिस्तान है, चीन है, वह ग्रापक ग्रगल-बगल में बैठे हए हैं श्रौर देश में भी बहुत से द्रमन बैठे हुए है। ग्रगर ग्राप इनसे मुकाबिला करना चाहते है तो फिर स्टाइक को इललीगल घोषित करना पड़ेगा। सब लोगें ने यह भी कहा था कि एक पर्मानेंट ट्राइब्युनल बनना चाहिये जो कि मलाजिमों श्रीर श्रधिकारियो के बीच में जितनी बातें अधेंगी उनका जल्दी से जल्दी फैमला करेगा । इत तरह के पर्मानेंट ट्राइब्य्नल के बनाने की जरूरत है।

में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह जो स्ट्राइक हुई थी वह नाकामयाब हुई, ये लोग बुरी तरह से मारे गये, पीटे गये; चाहेवे इस पार्टी के हों या उस पार्टी के हों क्योंकि जनता मरकार के साथ थी, कांग्रेस के साथ थी, देशभक्तों के माथ थी। तमाम जो सरकारी कर्मचारी है, जो कि २२ लाख है, उनमें से ग्रधिकांश देशभक्त है श्रौर इसीलिये उन लोगों ने उनका माथ नही दिया। यदि कुछ लोग भी इनके साथ हो जाते तो यह सरकार श्रपंगु हो जाती। लोग कहते हैं कि बड़ी बड़ी बातें करते हैं, श्री विमलकुमार जी ने कहा कि इसको बड़ा बनाया जा रहा है लेकिन जेनरल स्ट्राइक की जो दावत दी गई थी वह श्रगर कामयाब हो जाती तो फिर मुल्क में क्या होता? क्या क्या स्ट्रा होता, एनारकी नहीं होती? क्या क्या नहीं होता, इसकी श्राप कल्पना कर सकते हैं।

भी बी० एम० चौराइया: १६४२ के प्रान्दोलन को सफल होने में तो कठिनाई पड़ी थी श्रीर इसमें क्या होता, यह तो जरा सोचने की बात थी।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी: तो जो १३६ लोग है, जिन लोगों ने मैंबोटेज किया, वायलेंस किया उनको कभी नौकरी नहीं मिलनी चाहिये। यह प्रस्ताव बहुत व्यापक है, इसलिये मेरा निवंदन है कि इन लोगों के साथ किसी प्रकार की लीनियेंसी नहीं होनी चाहिये लेकिन जो जौ के साथ घुन पिस रहे हैं उनको जल्दी ही नौकरी में लेना चाहिये। श्रापको देखना चाहिये, श्रापके जो श्राफिशियल्स है उनको देखना चाहिये श्रौर जो डिपार्टमेंट्स हैं उनको देखना चाहिये की किस तरह से कहा क्या श्रन्याय हुश्रा है।

यह जो वाजपेयी जी का प्रस्ताव है यह जिस रूप में है वह ग्रधूरा प्रस्ताव है ग्रीर इस प्रस्ताव को मानने से जो सैबोटेज करने वाले है, वायलेंस करने वाले हैं उनके लिये दरवाजा खुल जायगा इमिलये में सरकार को राय द्गा कि इस प्रस्ताव को वह ठुकरा दे, इसके। वह माने नही लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ यह कहूगा कि जो लोग ऐसे हैं जो कि जौ के साथ घुन की तरह पिस रहे हैं, उनके साथ लीजिंसी

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

दिस्त नार्तः चाहिये। जब हम लास्तो को भूल गये, हजारो को भूल गये तो ये जो थोडे से लोग हैं—चाहे वे एकाउंटेट जेनरल के ग्राफिस में हो या रेलवे मे हों—उनके साथ दया का बर्ताव जरूर होना चाहिये। इन शब्दों के साथ, इस प्रस्ताव पर जो मेरा मन था वह मैंने प्रस्ताव महोदय से भी कहा ग्रौर ग्रपनी सरकार से भी कहा ग्रौर में समझता हू कि हम हाउस में जो ऐटी नेशनल है उनकी बात तो जाने दीजिये, लेकिन जो देशभिक्त रखने वाले है उनको तो सोच-समझ कर कदम उठाना चाहिये। जय हिन्द।

श्री एम० गौरे उपसभाष्यक्ष महोदब, ग्रभी इस मदन में जो बहस मैंने सुनी है उससे तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों को नौकरी में लेने की बात तो ग्रलग रही लेकिन कुछ पार्टियों पर चुन चुन कर के गालियों की बौछार करने या उनकी ग्रराष्ट्रीय कहने का एक मौका मिल गया है। मैं सब से पहले जो श्रारोप कुछ पार्टियों के ऊपर यहा पर लगाये गये है, उस बारे में कुछ कहना चाहुंगा।

एक तो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को कहा है कि ग्रगण्ट्रीय है श्रौर जनसघ को कहा है कि कम्यूनल है। लेकिन मुझे ऐसा मालूम हुआ है श्रौर अभी जो श्राम चनाव हो गये है उसके बौरान भी यह बात साबित हुई है कि देश में जो काग्रेस पार्टी है, जो शासन कर रही है, उससे ज्यादा कम्यूनल पार्टी श्रौर कोई नहीं है अपैर ग्रगण्ट्रीय पार्टी की जो बात कही गई है उसके बारे में भी हम सब एक राय पर पहुंच रहे है कि शायद देश के लिये अगर कोई पार्टी सब मे ज्यादा श्रराष्ट्रीय है, तो वह काग्रेस पार्टी के सिवाय श्रौर कोई नहीं है। उसके बारे में मै यहा भी बताऊगा

श्री शीलभद्र याजी उल्टा चोर कोतवाल को डाँरे। श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी श्रीरिडवा क्या किया ग्रभी तक ग्रापने ?

शीएन • गौरे: मैं उसका कारण भी बताऊमा । जो पार्टी देश ने शासन कर रही है यदि वह हमारी सीमा की रक्षा नहीं कर पानी, यदि वह हमारे देश थे किसी इलाके को चीन या ग्रौर किसी के कब्जे मे रख छोड़ती है, वह कितनो गृहार या भ्रराष्ट्रीय है[?] वह खद श्रराष्ट्रीय है क्ये।िक राष्ट्र के साथ उसने गद्दारा की है। तो जिस पार्टी ने श्रपने देश का हिस्सा और किसी के जिम्मे किया हो वह हम में से किसो को बतायें कि तुम ग्रराप्ट्रीय हो तो इसको मानने भ लिये हम तैयार नहीं है। श्रराष्ट्रीय का क्या मतलब होता है [?] सरकारी कर्मचारियों ने अपनी कुछ मागो को लेकर हडताल कर दी भ्रौर उनका जिन्होने नेतृत्व किया उनसे कहना कि वे ग्रराष्ट्रीय है ग्रीर जो हडताल हुई वह स्रराष्ट्रीय है, यह बिल्कूल झठ वात है क्योंकि भ्राखिर यह हडताल किसके लिये हुई, किसकी मागो को लेकर हुई ? अगर देश में गरीबी फैली हुई है, देश में दामों की लूट मची हुई है और देश में जो भ्रमली ग्रामदनी है श्रौर दामो की बढती हुई दौड है, उसका कोई जोड नहीं तो फिर श्रगर कोई यह माग करे कि हमारे वेतन में वृद्धि हो, श्रौर हम उसके बारे मे यह कह दे कि प्रराष्ट्रीय है तो यह बिल्कूल बचकनापन है। ग्रांकिर एक चीज की हद होती है कौन भी चीज राष्ट्रीय है स्रौर कौन मो अराष्ट्रीय है उसकी हद होती है। हर चीज को लेकर कह दे कि कम्युनिस्ट ने नेतृत्व किया है या प्रजा मोशलिस्ट ने नेतत्व किया है इमलिये अराष्ट्रीय है, यह देश की गद्दारी है, देशब्रोह है श्रौर बिल्कुल वचकनापन है। इस तरह की चीजे इस सदन मे नहीं कही जानी चाहिये ।

मैं तो उन बिनो की याद दिलाऊगा जिन दिनो मे यह हडताल हुई थी। हडताल रात के समय शुरू होने वाली थी। जो नेता थ, वें सब यह आशा करते थे कि आज सरकार कोई

न कोई शातिपूर्ण हल निकाल लेगी, लेकिन हमको तो पूरा यकीन था कि इसका कोई गांतिपूर्ण इल नहीं िरा है बाला है; क्योंकि हम इस गवनमें ह की नीयत को जानते है और इन सरकार को नोति को भी। इसलिये हम कोई ग्राजा नहीं रखते थे। मैने तो पहले से कहा था कि यह हडताल हो कर रहेगी लेकिन शायद ग्राखिरी मों पर कुछ नेता लोग समझौता करके यह हड़ताल नही करायंगे। लेकिन फिर भी जो हड़ ताली नेता थे वे लोग सब यही ब्राशा करने थे कि किमी न किमी तरह से समझौता हो जायेगा ग्रौर ऐसे नेता लोग ब्राम्बिरी दम तक समझौते के लिये उत्स्क थे। लेकिन समझौता नही हो पाया और हडताल हो गई ग्रीर उसके बाद जो कुछ हुन्रा, उसके बारे में मैं कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता हूं, यहा लोगो ने यह कह दिया कि यह एक राज-नैतिक विद्रोह था । ग्ररे, हम तो खुश होते ग्रगर राजनैतिक विद्रोह होता इस देश मे। जहा इस तरह की सरकार हो, जहा लोगों को खाना न मिले, कपडा न मिले ग्रीर फिर भी यह कहा जाये कि यह विद्रोह है। विद्रोह ग्रगर होता तो खशी की बात थी। कम से कम सरकार को अक्ल तो आती कि ये मब जितनी नीतिया चल रही है वे सब गलत है श्रीर उनको सुधार लें। लेकिन वह राजनैतिक विद्रोह क्या था[?] उन लोगो ने हड़ताल की ग्रौर उसमे जो कुछ हुग्रा वह ग्रापने देख ही लिया। उसको इतनी जोर से दवाया गया और कूचल दिया गया कि उस तानाशाही का कही उदाहरण नही मिलेगा। ये मब कहने की बाते है कि वहा पर बहुत रहम दिखाया गया, लोगों के साथ बहुत कुछ अञ्छा बर्ताव किया गया क्योंकि मैं देख चुका ह, सिकन्दराबाद लोको वर्क्स में जब पुलिस वहा पर गई तो उसने रेलवे वर्करों को उनके स्वार्टर मे बाहर घमीट कर उनकी श्रौरतो को मारा-पोटा ग्रीर १०० में ज्यादा लोगों को वहा गिरफ्तार किया गया । यह कहना कि बड़ा र इम दिखाया गया, यह कितना सही, कितना अठ है, इसकी सच्चाई भ्रापको माल्म करनी है ता पूरी रिपोर्ट देखे तब भ्रापको पता चलेगा।

हर जगह पुलिस का जुल्म रहा । ग्रापको सुबह सुनाया गया कि पाच लोगो की मौत भी हुई। श्रोर यह कह देना कि लोगों ने अराप्ट्रीय काम किया ग्रौर देश में बलवा पैदा करने की कोशिश को है, यह सरासर गलत है । बलवा पैदा करने वाला वह होता है जो पहले से अपना आयध ठीक करके बलवा करता है। हड़ताल करने वालो के पास क्या था? कुछ नही था। उन लोगों ने हड़ताल की तो पूरी सरकार का जितना श्रायुध ग्रौर पुलिस थी वह मंग उनके पास थी स्रोर सरकार ने विल्कुल झुठा प्रचार स्ट्राइक के दिनों में चलाया । ग्राल इंडिया रेडियां से हम सुनते थे कि पेरम्ब्र दर्कशाप में चंद लोग बाहर निकले, यहां तो कोई हड़ताल नही हुई जब कि वहां पेरम्बुर वर्कशाप बंद पड़ा था। इस तरह का झूटा प्रचार सरकारी यत्रों द्वारा किया गया । खैर जो कुछ हुम्रा हुम्रा, सरकार ने तो बहुत ही बुरा किया । लेकिन ग्रव जो प्रश्न उठा है कि उन लोगो को जो २०० के करीब लोग है जिनके ऊपर कार्यवाही की गई है उनको फिर काम पर वापस ले लिया जाये तो इस पर सरकार को यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि ग्राखिर इन २०० ग्रादिमयों को बाहर रखकर क्या परिणाम होगा । यह न समझें कि ये २०० ग्रादमी चुप बैठेगे । ग्राप लोग जो सरकारी कर्मचारियों का भला चाहते है ग्रौर उन कर्मचारियों को इन ब्रादिमयों से दूर रखना चाहते है, तो वह ग्रापकी नही सनेगे। ये दो सौ स्रादमी स्नापके लिये ज्यादा खतरनाक साबित होगे और ज्यादा बलवा ये ही करेगे। ब्रापके खुद के दुष्टिकोण से भी भलाई इसी में है कि स्राप इन २०० स्रादिमयों को वापस नौकरी पर ले ले; क्योंकि जो कामकाज करता रहता है अगर वह कोई राजनैतिक काम करे तो कितना कर पायेगा भ्रौर जो विल्कुल खाली पड़ा हुआ है वह कितना कर पायेगा, उसमे बहुत भारी ग्रन्तर है। जो बिल्कुल खाली है वह ज्यादा करेगा । ग्रौर ग्रगर श्राप यह सोचे कि दो सौ श्रादमियों को निकाल दिया, इसलिये सरकारी कर्मचारी अब सैटि-

[श्री एम० गौरे]

57

स्फाइड हैं, उनके बीच मे कोई सगठन नही हो पायेगा, यह एक बचकाना तौर से सोचने का ढग है। म्राखिर ये २०० म्रादमी सरकारी कर्मचारियो के बीच में कुछ मान्यता रखते है। यह नहीं है कि वे ग्राज उनका साथ छोड दिये है। इसलिये अगर आप उनमे बिटरनेस ज्यादा पैदा करते है तो यह स्रागे के लिये **ग्रा**पके हित मे खतरनाक साबित होगा । इसलिये मैं भी यह प्रस्ताव जो हमारे सामने रखा गया है, इससे बिल्कुल सहमत हू ग्रोर चाहुगा कि इसको इस सदन मे पास किया जाये स्रौर जो सशोधन रखा गया है उसको भी इसमें जोड लिया जाये। मै तो चाहुगा कि इतना ही सशोधन काफी नही है, बल्कि जो र्मीवस ग्रब तक उनकी खत्म हो गई है उसको भी उनकी सर्विस मे जोड दिया जाये

थोडा इनाम भी दे श्री ग्रर्जन ग्ररोडा दीजियेगा उनको

श्री एम० गौरे में इसका कारण बनाऊगा कि

श्री बिमलक् मार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया इनाम तो १६४२ के बाद लोगो को मिल चुके हैं, दो बैलो की जोडी !

श्री एम० गौरे जो कर्मचारी स्रापके सरकारी काम कर रहे हैं उनको कितना इनाम भ्रापने दिया है वह तो साफ है । जो कुछ श्रत्याचार ग्रापने उनके ऊपर किया वही काफी इनाम मिल चुका है। लेकिन ग्रब कम से कम उनके बारे में ठडे दिल से सोचना चाहिये श्रौर उनको फिर वापस लेना चाहिये श्रौर न सिर्फ वापस लेना चाहिये वल्कि जो सारा वेज स्ट्रक्चर है उसको भी श्राप एग्जामिन कीजिये। हो सके तो देश मे जो दामो की लूट हो रही है उसमे और भ्रामदनी मे कोई न कोई एक सम्बन्ध रहना चाहिये। जब तक यह सम्बन्ध नही होता है तब तक हिन्दुस्तान

मे हडताले होती रहेगी ग्रौर ग्रगर ग्राप उनको बलवा समझे तो बलवे भी होते रहेगे। इसलिये में तो यह चाहुगा कि न सिर्फ वेज स्टुक्चर बल्कि जो देश मे प्राइस स्टक्चर है, उन दोनो के बारे मे एक कमेटी बना कर दोनो का एक सतुलन करे और दोनो को एक समान जोडे । यह न कहे कि हम तो डियरनेस ग्रलाउन्स दे रहे है । डियरनेम एलाउन्म ग्राप दे रहे है लेकिन डियरनम एलाउन्स का मतलब क्या होता है ? जब कि दामों की लूट हो रही है तव डियरनेम एलाउन्स का कोई भ्रर्थ नही रहता है श्रौर इसलिये हमे दामों में सतूलन करना है। मैं सरकार मे अर्ज करूगा कि दामो का ग्रोर एलाउन्स का सम्बन्ध कायम लिये ग्रभी से कोई कमेटी बैठा कर उसका कोई प्रबन्ध करे। ग्रौर यह दलील देना कि बाहर के देशों से हमारे कर्मचारी बहुत ग्रन्छे हैं, उनके वेतन मे हमने ज्यादा वृद्धि कर दी है, ये सब िबाते कोई मतलब नही रखती है क्योकि ऋगर श्राप बाहर के देशों का भी उदाहरण लेगे तो बाहर के देशों की स्टैन्डई ग्राफ लिविंग में ग्रौर उनके बेतन में क्या सम्बन्ध है ग्रौर उसकी कितनी रीयल इन्कम है स्रोर उस रीयल इन्कम से उनको कितना फायदा होता है, इन सब चीजो को देखना पडेगा । यह तो श्राप देखते नहीं है, बस कहते हैं कि हमने तो वृद्धि कर दी है। दस साल मे क्या ऐसी वृद्धि कर दी है ? वृद्धि तो जो हुई है वह तो एक दम बाटन से हुई है, जिससे कोई फायदा नहीं है। तो इस चीज को पूरा पूरा एग्जामिन करके जब तक सरकारी कर्मचारियो श्रौर दूसरे कर्मचारियों के वेज स्ट्रक्चर का सही निर्धारण नही होता तब तक देश में कोई हड़ताल बन्द नही होगी ।

who participated

in the strike

एक चीज में यह कहना चाहता हू कि सर-कारी कर्मचारियों को बतलाया गया है कि श्राप राजनीति में हिस्सान ले। यह बातः मविधान के बिल्कूल खिलाफ है ग्रौर इससे फण्डामेंटल प्रिमपल्म की ग्रवहेलना होती है। सरकार को इस तरह की नीति जारी नही रखनी चाहिये।

श्री ग्रज्न ग्ररोड़ा माननीय सदस्य अविधान को नही मानते हैं।

श्री एम ॰ गौरे मैं इसलिए नहीं मानता इ कि जो सविधान बनाया गया है, उसे एडस्ट फेचाइज द्वारा मान्यता नहीं दी गई है। जो मविधान फ्रेम हुम्रा है वह कास्टीटुएण्ट म्रसे-म्बली द्वारा बनाया गया है जो कि एक गलाम देश की ग्रमेम्बली के प्रतिनिधियो की सभा थी । इस सविधान को स्रभी तक एडल्ट फेन्चाइज द्वारा मान्यता प्राप्त नही हुई है। मैने पिछले दफा भी यही मलाह दी थी कि रिफ्रोडम कराके जनता द्वारा इस कास्टी-ट्यूशन को मान्यता प्रदान करा ली जानी चाहिये। ग्रभी तक ऐसा नही किया गया है ग्रौर.

श्री मर्ज्न प्ररोड़ा ग्रापकी सलाह बेश-कीमती है मगर उसी सविधान के अन्तगत म्राप यहा पर **बै**ठे है ।

श्री एम० गौरे ग्राप यह चाहते है कि ग्रापके लिये यहा ग्राने का रास्ता खुला रहे श्रौर श्राप ग्रत्याचार करते रहें । श्रापकें दुर्भाग्यवश हमारी जैसी पार्टिया ऐसी है जो इस कास्टीट्युशन के बावजूद भी यहा पहची है।

श्री ग्रज्न ग्ररोड़ा कुछ लोग ग्रपने सूबे में स्थान न पा करके दूसरे सुबो से कुछ गलत तरीके स्रपना कर स्राते है।

श्री एम० गौरे उनमें ग्रापकी पार्टी भी है। जो देश की एकता को मानती है। पा कि नुमाय दे का इस तरह की बात कहना पार्टी के दिमाग का नम्ना पेश करना है जो पार्टी नैशनल इटिग्रेशन की बात करती है जो देश की एकना की बात करती है, उस पार्टी के एक सदस्य द्वारा यह कहना कि ग्रमुक **ब्रादमी उस प्रदेश से चुन कर ब्राया है, शोभा** नही देता है। मै ग्रापको यहा पर कई मिसाल पेश कर सकता ह कि काग्रेस के बहत से मेम्बर दूसरे प्रदेश से चुन कर यहा स्रौर लोक-सभा में श्राये है। मैं तो यहा तक कहना चाहता ह कि जिन लोगों को जनता ने ग्रपने वोटो से हरा दिया उन लोगो को भी अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से यहा भेजा गया है । इस तरह का पाप कम से कम हमारी पार्टी ने नही किया है। जनता ने जिन्हें एक बार ट्करा दिया है वे लोग यहा पर ग्राये हैं।

who participated

in the strike

तो मै यह कह रहा था कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी है उन्हे यह अधिकार होना चाहिये कि वे राजनीतिक पार्टियो में हिस्सा ले। यह ठीक है कि वे लोग सिक्रय हिस्सा न ले लेकिन सदस्य बनने का उन्हें मौका मिलना चाहिये ग्रौर इससे किसी को रोका नही . . .

श्री दयाल दास कुर 🕐 ग्रगर माननीय सदस्य प्रचार न करे तो ग्रच्छा होगा।

श्री **एम० गौरे** हर जगह यह प्रचार करेगे।

तो यहा ग्राने की श्री दयाल दास कुरे भ्रावश्यकता क्या थी[?]

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया: यहा ग्रापको समझाने के लिये ग्राये है।

श्री एम । गौरे काग्रेस पार्टी वाले किसी की कोई बात सुनना नही चाहते है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि किमी तानाशाही देश में इस तरह की मिसाल नही मिलेगी कि सर-कारी कर्मचारियो को या किन्ही स्रौर लोगो को इस तरह का हक न मिले। कम से कम राजनीतिक पार्टी में शामिल होने का हक सबको मिलना चाहिये । ग्रगर ग्राप यह कहते है कि राजनीतिक पार्टी में शामिल होने का हक नही मिलना चाहिये तो फिर इसका

[श्री एम० गौरे]

मतलब यह होगा कि प्राप सनाजवादो ढाचे की जो इतनी लम्बी चीडी बाते करते है वह सिर्फ एक नारा हा है। इस तरह से म्राप सर-कारी फैक्टरियो श्रीर कम्पनियो मे जो लोग काम करते हैं उन्ड इन तरह हक नहीं देगे भ्रौर चन्द लाग बैठ कर देश का शासन चलायेगे । इमलिय यह जरूरी है कि श्राप सरकारी कर्मचारियो पर जो रोक लगा रहे है उसे रद्द कर दे।

tral Govt Employees

Shri P N SAPRU Vice-Chairman, there is a wide ocean which divides me, so far as the ideology is concerned, from my friend, Mr A B Vajpayee Yet it is a principle with me never to judge a question from anything but the point of view of ment, of ment of the issue I have therefore applied involved my mind to the question Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, who has come forward here as the champion of the oppressed Government servants, has applied his mind to the real problem which has been raised by Resolution which he has put before us I have, for this reason, looked into the terms of his Resolution, and I find that they are written somewhat in the Rip Van Winkle manner of a assumes that the Government servants against whom action had to be taken were men of a very very innocent type and that really very harsh action has been taken by Government and the Party, which has no element of fairness about it I will just read out the language of this Resolution

"This House is of opinion that all the Central Government employees"-whoever they may be whatever may be their fault-"who lost their jobs

Now the word 'lost' is somewhat significant, because it suggests that they were not responsible in the slightest degree for losing their jobs for participation in the Central Government Employees' strike

for participation in the Central Government Employees' strike ** **** be reinstated"

There is not a word of disappioval in this Resolution, in the form in which this Resolution has been placed before us, against those Government servants who under, I think immature leadership of certain political parties went on a strike, and had therefore to suffer the consequences of that strike Two of the most prominent members of the labour movement-they were greatly interested in labour movement—the Mr Feroze Gandhi and Mr Khadilkar almost were on the point of bring. ing about a settlement of the issue between the employees and employers, the latter being the Central Government here, but yet the employees ill advised by men, were so should have known better, by whom experience of life will teach them to be better labour leaders that they rejected the advice of Mr Feroze Gandhi and Mr Khadilkar

who participated

in the strike

Now I do not wish to enter into the question whether Government servants should have the right to strike or should not have the right to strike at all The question of this strike or of a general strike laises some very difficult questions of political philosophy, and I must confess that approach to that matter is not exactly the same as that of Mr Santhanam who at all events, for some years, in some capacity or other, has been bureaucrat

Some Hon MEMBERS No, no

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN are High Court judgments that the Government servants' strike was not proper

SHRI P N SAPRU Speaking quite seriously from the point of political philosophy, from the point of jurisprudence, the question of a strike or a general strike poses very problems and I do not deliberately wish to go into them If you want to have an inkling into my mind, I may tell you that I have a somewhat sympathetic attitude so far as my concept of socialism is concerned, and therefore it is difficult for me to speak on this question with absolute frankness I would like, therefore, to confine my attention to the question whether the Central employees, who went on strike, have been given a fair deal or not by the Government of the day, and I have deliberately come to the conclusion that they have been given a fair deal, that Government cannot be accused of having acted against them vindictively

There were about two million Government servants and nearly third of them took the decision that there should be a strike Agreeing to that many of them went actually on strike, after that, the strike was broken up because it was ill-con-It was broken up there was no public sympathy the strikers There are certain ditions which must be fulfilled before a strike can succeed Those conditions were impossible of fulfilment and the strike was broken up and action was taken against a fairly large number of persons I think, first, about 27,098 persons were suspended Then, 2,084 persons were dismissed or removed from service There is difference between dismissal and removal as we all The number of know temporary persons discharged from service was 2,137, 11 persons were compulsorily retired and against 45,945 persons departmental proceedings were taken in July 1960

Now, what is the position in March 1962? The position today is that there are about 208 persons against whom proceedings have not been dropped as The number under suspension today is 15 The number of persons dismissed or removed from service is 136 The number of persons compulsorily reured is 11. The number of persons temporarily tried and charged from service today is 61 and departmental proceedings are pending against 17 and they continue to pending against these 17 persons because, I believe, there are writ pending applications before High Courts on behalf of these persons.

Now, Sir, these figures do not show that the Government has been dictive in the manner in which it has approached this task. The strike was on a gigantic scale If it had succeeded it would have paralysed whole life of the community would have affected the trade of the country It would have affected the traffic of the country, and it would have, in fact, almost torpedoed Five Year Plans in which we are en-Therefore, it was a gaged decision for these misguided men go on strike, and yet the Government has acted towards them with that understanding, with that humanity which is expected of a government which swears by certain radical prin-I would, therefore, say that the charge that Mr Vajpayee, who will have no he itation in imposing his brand of culture upon this entire country has brought against without foundation

Sir, this does not mean that I would not like the cases of even these 208 men to be viewed or to be reviewed with sympathy by the Government Two years have elapsed since the thing occurred These men must have grown wiser as a result of the experience of these two years and, therefore, as situations change decisions must also change

May I also say, Mr Vice-Chairman, that while I am no admirer bureaucracy that administers our country, I do not believe in running it down day in and day out I know their defects and I know their virtues Most of the men who are working in superior positions in our Railways or in our post offices are men of integrity and humanity and fairness. and I think that it is incorrect on our to say that thev have not approached these cases in the manner indicated by the Home Minister in his utterance in this House on the guestion of this strike I think that they have endeavoured to do their best to see that justice is tempered with mercy in dealing with the cases of these persons Therefore, Mr Vice[Shr₁ P N Sapru]

Chairman, I would say that without ruling out the possibility of a further revision of the punishment which has been meted out to these men, Mr Vajpayee has not been able to make out a case for this Resolution

tral Govt Employees

Finally, I would like also to say that I am not one of those who think that political parties should have nothing to do with trade unions \mathbf{or} unionism If that principle were accepted, there would be no British Labour Party

SHRI ARJUN ARORA. Does the hon Member know that the Trade Union Congress of Britain does not allow the Labour Party to interfere in its affairs?

SHRI P. N. SAPRU. It is the other way round I know the relations of the Labour Party with the Trade Union Congress of Britain very well, and I can assure him that I have read almost everything that is worth reading on the Labour Party and its constitution It is a very complicated constitution The proposition that I was making was that political parties there do take interest in trade union disputes, that Labour Party is financed

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. Bhargava) Your time is up, Mi Sapru Please finish

SHRI P N SAPRU. This remark is, of course, only of an incidental character and I am not prepared to blame any political party which has allıances with trade unions, though I may repeat that I have no particular political grievance against parties taking funds from big commercial houses for running their campaigns

SHRI A D MANI Mr Vice-Chairman, I should like to say that I would like to support the Resolution which has been moved by my friend, Shri Vajpayee Perhaps it is necessary for me to say that I am not one of those who support the Government servants to go on strike or for that matter, who supported the Government servants' strike last July 1960 As a part of my credentials. I am saying that when the Government servants Madhya Pradesh went on strike, I was one of those who appealed and persuaded them to withdraw the strike resolution and they said so in a adopted at that time I hope, therefore, that no Member of this House would be under the impression that I am interested in fomenting trouble for the Government I do not want to go into a discussion of the constitutional principles raised by my hon. friend Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar On the question of the Government servants' right to strike, the opinion is still divided There is, for example, the Franklin Roosevelt document which says that Governments cannot be an equal negotiating party with the strikers if they happened to be Government servants This view has not been accepted by labour parties in many parts of the world

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN The preponderant opinion is in favour of the fact that the Government servants should not strike.

SHRI A D MANI. I do agree that the Government service is on an entirely different footing from service in private industries and that Government servants must forego certain privileges which are due to workers in private industries but I am only mentioning that the final word has not been said on this subject and I know that a large number of people would like constitutional limitations to be placed on the right of Government servants to strike I may mention here that apart from all these constitutional principles which have been raised, we should like to go into the background of this strike I have listened to the many speeches made on this side as well as the other but there has been no reference to the background or the events that led to the unfortunate developments which resulted in the strike. I should like to

who participated in the strike

say with a due sense of responsibility that the Government offered ent, grave, provocative reasons this strike. We cannot divorce the conduct of the Government assessment of the responsibility those who went on strike. The Ministry of Labour has been asking many industries to raise the D. A. It has been the settled policy of the Ministry of Labour to equalise the rise in the D.A. with the rise in the cost of living and on that account, 100 per cent. of the cost of living in the textile industry has been equalised. Similarly, for other industries. Seventy to eighty per cent. of the rise in the cost living had been neutralised. Further, in our country, we attach much value to what the Government says. give the benefit of the doubt to Government that it does not lie. It is a crude expression I use and I using it because one of the reasons which led to the strike was adherance of the Government in the Ministry of Labour to the tripartite Indian Labour Conference that the minimum wage should be Rs 125. That was solemnly accepted by the Ministry of Labour as the official policy of the Government of India. Later on when it came to a question of implementation...

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: There was no acceptance of the figure of Rs. 125. There was only the ceptance of a certain formula which, according to some people, worked out to Rs. 125.

SHRI A D. MANI: I want to read cut what Mr. Morarji Desai had said on this subject. When the attention of the hon, Finance Minister drawn to this, he said:

"The Government desire me to make it clear that the recommendation of the Labour Conference should not be regarded as decisions of Government and have not been formally ratified by the Central Government."

The Minister of Labour was one the parties to that Conference. did not dissent from the recommendations and Mr. Morarji Desai not agree with the interpretation now given by my hon, friend, Mr. Arora. Further he sas:

"They should be regarded"that is, these recommendations-"as merely the recommendations of the Indian Labour Conterence which is tripartite in character. Government have, at no time, committed themselves to taking executive action to enforce the recommendations."

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The hon. Member has tried to mislead the House. There was no acceptance of any figure. According to me, tormula works out to a minimum figure of Rs. 139 and not Rs. 125. There was a formula which was accepted, and not the figure of Rs. 125. has read something from the $_{
m He}$ papers which he has got.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I read what Mr. Morarji Desai had said. Whether it is Rs. 125 or Rs. 139 or Rs. 200 does not matter. It is much more than Rs. 80 sanctioned by the Pay Commission. I remember that at that time a large number of people met me and said that the Government was going back on its recommendations.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: On a point of order. Mr. Mani has raised a very fundamental question. If member of the Government, a Minister, partakes in any international conference, is the Government bound by the fact of that participation? No, unless the Government ratifies it. If the Government ratifies it, then of course it is binding otherwise, there are many conferences in which our delegations participate.

(Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): What is your exact point of order?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: This s a constitutional question.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): There is no point of order.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN. I am leferring that to you

SHRI A. D. MANI: Many peuple who spoke to me at that time said that the Government had gone back. They went on strike. A large number of people working under an emotional strain do a number of foolish things. Tney went on strike quite a large number of them were charge-sheeted and disciplinary action was proposed to be taken. Now I quite concede that in dealing with the majority of the cases, the Government has acted with leniency but in regard to those 208 people have lost their jobs, I would like to tell the Government that if a private industry were to do this, the Ministry of Labour would come and say: 'Take back everybody who had gone strike'. The advice is always meant for the private industry and whenever a strike has been settled in private industry, the Government has advised the strikers to be taken back. Now my hon, friend, Shri Chettiar, spoke about sabotage and I believe my hon. friend, Mr. Santhanam, also spoke about sabotage. I have been at pains to go through these papers from the Parliament Library to find out whether there was one case of proved sabotage against the strikers. There has been no such case at all and would like the hon Home Minister to reply to this specific point whether has been sustained any conviction against a person for acts of sabotage I would like to have that point cleared because I have been trying to go through all these papers but I have not found any If it is a question of sabotage, it is not covered by my hon. friend's Resolution because the Reso-Iution says:

that this riouse is of opinion that all the Central Government employees who lost their jobs for participation in the Central Government Employees strike...."

it is only participation, it is not acts or saborage of conviction. 1 should like to say further that when 4 P.M. dealing with this matter, the Government should understand that unless there is an avenue open to the Central Government emproyees to represent their point view, such explosions would occur. There have been Staff Councils work and on the floor of the House a large volume of statistics, quite impressive statistics, have been furnished, about the number of cases had been referred to the Staff Councils and so on. All that shows that the Staff Councils are working very well. But, Sir, if the Government is to deal with the economic situation satisfactorily, they should understand that the Government servants also part of the working population in this country and they should treat the Staff Councils as some sort of a negotiating body Last year a Member of the British Parliament came to India. Mr. Douglas Houghton, a Labour M.P. came here with the British delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and he met the Prime Minister and had long discussions about Staff Councly and the trends of the Staff Councils of the Government of India These made a very powerful impression but he said they had these in 1919 in England and not in 1957. I would like to read what he wrote to a Member of Parliament here at that time-Mr. Shiva Rao-who had sent him a copy of the constitution and rules of the Staff Counc'ls. He wrote:

"The interesting enclosure to your letter"—that is to say, the instructions for the constitution of the Staff Councils—"takes me back to the first proposals put forward by

our Government here in 1919, when the Whitley Report came out"

Then he goes on to the constitutional question about the government having the right to dec de what the workers should get and so on and says—

"This, of course, is purely constitutional fustian, unrelated to the fact"

And this relates to the point raised by Mr Avinashilingam Chettiar,

"unrelated to the fact that in practice it is not the people who fix the pay and conditions of Government employees but Ministers and higher Civil Servants They already have the power of decision, and there is no reason why they should not leach their decisions in the course of negotiation"

The Government servants wanted negotiations at every stage before going on strike, but the Government was not prepared to accept negotiation. Though it was felt at that time that the hon Minister of Labour—Shri Nanda—sympathised with them, the Finance Ministry of the Government of India and the Home Ministry took the decision that there was not to be negotiation.

SHRI AKBAR ALJ KHAN Has that been brought on record?

SHRI A D MANI After all Members on both sides of the House say so many things which are not on record and it is all known to everyone in the House who has dealt with the labour situation in the country Sir, the way in which public enterprises are expanding, there is grave danger of substantial part of the population losing their fundamental rights by becoming Government servants There are so many enterprises coming up that by the Fourth or Fifth Plan about half the population will be in the public sector and we will lose our fundamental rights If the Government had established Staff Councils which had negotiating powers, the present situation would not have arisen

I should like to take the House to the decisions taken by the Government after the termination or failure of the strike Virtually the ernment met the point of the str kers half-way, but they were not prepared to do so just at that time Sir, the 1s bad in the economic situation country The Railway Minister has proposed a rise in fares, and the Central Budget also has its own quota of taxes The purchasing power of the rupee is going It was the economic distress misery which made the Government servants go on a strike. It is a very With regard human problem those who have jost their jobs. I would like to give my own experience I will relate from my experience of what happened in Nagpur I was in touch with many who took part in this strike and one officer served notice on a person who belonged to a rival cultural society, of which the officer was not the Pre-There were two societies in Nagour and he was the president of one society There was another society where some people were putt ng up a verv active performance The person who took part in the work of the cultural society which was opposed to his got the notice This is what happened

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN. That was wrong

Shri A D MANI That was wrong That is what I am saying As the hon Member Mr Sapru, with the judicious wisdom with which he approaches all these questions in this House has said a large number of people have suffered. I believe the Auditor-General's Office has the largest number of such casualties. It is not the Auditor-General who has taken the decision in all these cases. It is the local officers who have got

some resentment towards some persons who have taken the decisions. Persons who have put in 32 of service have been retired, and in Bengal one man committed suicide because there was a suspension order.

AN HON. MEMBER: Yes.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You know that case. I would like to say that the Congress Party, when it came into power in 1937, released murderers from jail. In 1947, after the termithe Civil Disobedience nation of Movement and after the Congress was asked to form the Government, then also they released persons convicted of criminal offences. I would make an appeal to the hon, the Home Minister. Let bygones be bygones.

An Hon MEMBER: Which murders has the hon Member in mind?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I have got large number of them and if the hon. Member likes, I can give him a list of those cases which happened Madhya Pradesh, wher_{e s}o people were released. I would make one appeal to the Home Minister. The strike is over and the Government servants have got a new frame of mind. Let all these cases be examined with a fresh mind, and not by the departmental officers, but by men of judicial standing like the Member, Mr. Sapru, and let people get back their jobs. We have come here only on a mission of mercy, with the request that the people who took part in a thoughtless mood in the strike should not be penalised and their families should not starve.

SHRT SHAH NAWAZ. KHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman. I will not take much time of the House, but since the Railways have been mentioned prominently in this debate, I ventured to intervene. We in Railways have been very fortune in having very cordial relations between our workers and the Railway

As you are aware, Administration. we have two Federations, to whom we had given facilities for negotiating with the Railway Board. One is the National Federation of Indian Railway Men and the other is the All-India Railway Men's Federation. Sir, at one time, the facility for negotiating with the Railway Board was not available to the All India Railwaymen's Federation. Shri Jagjivan Ram, who was then the Railway Minister and who always had a very sympathetic outlook and sympathetic behaviour towards labour problems gave those facilities to the Railwaymen's Federation. At the time this strike came. Sir, all the very important issues which made the main issues in the strike also were under negotiation and discussion with the Railway Board. The National Federation of Indian Railwaymen had negotiated with Board and had practically induced the Railway Board to accept most their demands but when the strike intervened, those decisions had to be delayed. Sir, all I can say is that as far as we in the Railway Ministry are concerned we have always cordial relationship with our employees and we intend to do everything possible to retain that happy relationship and I can assure Sir. that we have no intention taking up a vindictive attitude or an attitude of revenge against any of our employees.

in the strike

I have here some figures which I would like to place before the House. Initially, as many as 10,815 employees were suspended and now out of this number of only six are still suspension because their cases still under investigation or some sort of departmental investigations going on. Now, coming to dismissals and removals there were 478 cases of removal out of which all excepting 64 employees have been put on duty.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): What about the leaders of the movement?

SHRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN Out of the temporary staff and apprentices, not ces for removal were served on 12.325 employees and out of this, only 43 temporary employees or apprentices stand with their services terminated. This is the attitude we have taken

SHRI M S GURUPADASWAMY (Mysore) May I know the reasons on the basis of which suspensions or dismissals have been revoked n these cases? How do they differ from the reasons in respect of the other cases that are still there?

SHRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN The main reason why people were moved from service was the u-e of officials, criminal force against the supervisory staff or against their colleagues preventing them from going to their jobs and so on Some emtheu ployees were beaten up and families were harassed Those workers wanted to go, those loyal keep the who wanted to go and trains moving were physically pievented from doing so

SHRI M S GURUPADASWAMY
May I ask whether there has been
registration of these cases and whether there has been any case of fine
in a court of law?

Shri Shah Nawaz Khan Yes, Sir, there were several cases of that nature Cases went to courts and there were convictions by the courts On the basis of those convictions some of the employees were removed from service

SHRI M S GURUPADASWAMY
May I know whether in the few
cases that are still there the cases
mentioned by the hon Minister action either by way of dismissal or
suspension has been taken after
these cases have been proved in a
court of law?

'SHPI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN Not all of them

SHRI NIREN GHOSE, How many?

SHRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN hon friend, Shri Mani, said that he had waded through a large number of files and he had not been to come across a single case of sabotage I would like to give him some figures On the Railways, there were eight cases of detailment of trains due to deliberate acts of sabotage and you can imagine, Sir, what have been the consequences of such acts of derailment of trains might have led to serious accidents in which a large number of passengers might have been killed are the type of cases in which we have been constrained to take act on against them

Shri NIREN GHOSE May I know whether the Railway Board's circular as regards the procedure for charge sheeting and suspension and all that was implemented in practice?

STRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN: there we a several case, of cutting of the cables and signals wires, telegraph wires and there were a large number of cases where fire was dropdeliberately The tra n taken and half-way through fire was dropped and the passengers stranded there Surely this is not a type of conduct which the hon Members would like to encourage In spite of all these things, Sir, as I said in the beginning, we were determined not to take a vindictive attitude and we in the Railway Ministry examined almost every single case of the Railway employees who have not been put back on duty and again I should like to assure the House, Sir

SHRI A B VAJPAYEE I do not want to intervene but then there are appeals still pending How can he say that every case has been examined?

NAWAZ SHRI SHAH KHAN: Whatever case has come to us so far. I again reiterate here that we have no rigid attitude and in any hon. Member of this House feels that there is room for reviewing in any particular case and if such a case is referred to us, I can assure the hon. House that that case will be examined thoroughly not at the lower level or the level of junior officers but that the case will come up to the highest level, to the Minister. I can assure the House that if there are any cases where hon. Members feel that there is still room for re-examination, in those cases we shall only be too glad to do so.

Now, Sir, some hon Member opposite said that the damage that had been done was very small. Some said it was Rs. 21 000 and some others said that it was Rs. 30.000. Sir, here are some figures from the Railway Ministry side which I would like to place before the House.

श्री विमल कुमार मन्त्रालालजी चौरडियाः यहां जो पर लोक सभा में

SHRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN: आपने फर्ना दिया और मैंने मुन लिया आपने मुंगे करता हूं और मेरी भी गुज-रित सुन लीजिये।

Sir the damage on account of loss of production came to Rs. 38 29,000. We lost Rs. 3,17,59,000 on account of loss due to reduction in traffic. We were entrusted with the care of public property and we had to make special arrangements and on that account we had to spend Rs. 6,81,000. Damage to Government property accounted for Rs. 24,100. This, Sir, gives a total of Rs. 3.62.93,100—the actual damage done as far as the Railways are concerned. Then one hon, Member said that we should have acted like parents when they are confronted with their disobedient children. Sir, the whole country knows what happened. The strike notice was given: 'Accept our demands or we strike' and under that threat we were asked to start negotiations with those who had issued the strike notice. We said, 'we are quite prepared to talk to you; we are prepared to negotiate with you but please do not come and negotiate with us at the point of a pistol. Withdraw the strike notice and then come to us and we are quite prepared to discuss with you', but they were not prepared to do so.

In the end again I wish to emphasise that we have no feeling revenge or vindictiveness towards our own employees but I would like to request my hon, friends opposite who are so fond of inciting the employees to go on strike on the least pretext that the consequences of misleading the employees can be very serious for those employees. If those employees are in trouble if their children are starving today, if they are in this terrible plight, they have to a great extent thank the gentlemen who misled them and I hope in future they will not follow those gentlemen so easily.

Finally, I would like to say a word in praise of the very large number of patr_otic workers who in spite of these efforts by various people to misread them stuck to their posts of duty and kept the wheels moving National Federation of Indian Railwaymen, that patriotic organisation, stood up to a man and took it as a challenge to the country. Sir, when our beloved Prime Minister said that this was not a mere strike but it was a challenge to the whole country. those patriotic railway employees stood up and showed that in spite of whatever other people might do, they would keep the trains moving and they did. And I would, through this august House, again like to congratulate those employees and to thank them for the very wonderful work that they did during that time. We also owe a great debt of gratitude to the general public who co-operated with us who extended their full sym-Government. As I pathies to the said, although we have an open mind

and we are always prepared to reexamine the cases, we cannot accept this principle that everybody who took part in the strike-whether they committed assaults on superior officials should be taken back. That principle, I am afraid, we cannot accept

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have only a very few brief sentences to contribute to this discussion and I wish to do so, particularly (because there are certain matters of principle involved in this discussion.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. A. SUBBA RAO) in the Chair]

When I interrupted my hon, friend, Mr Bhupesh Gupta, this morning asking how this sort of a situation was dealt with in the U.S.S.R., did not seem to like it. Now, Sir, it is the history of Communism all the world over that when our Communist friends are in the opposition in a country they are very fond of freedom. Freedom of speech, freedom of the individual civil liberties, parliamentary government, democracy, all these beautiful freedoms they are very fond of but as soon as they come to power they have no use for these beautiful freedoms even one day. When a man like our friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, makes such a forceful speech on behalf of these sentiments, one feels a little sceptical about it. That does not mean, the fact that I disagree with Mr Bhupesh Gupta's eloquence does not mean that I accept the position taken by my friend, Mr. Santhanam, as regards the Government officials' right to strike. As soon as you say that no Government employee should have the r ght to strike, you fall into the trap of Mr Bhupesh Gupta himself because that is what Communists claim in their own country. I have been to Russia and I have studied their industrial organisations and their workers' organisations. Inere the Government says to the workers, 'Look here, this industrial unit, this steel plant or any other plant, belongs to you, belongs to the people. How can you strike against yourself? It is absurd. And that is all that they have by way of right to strike in those very free countries Tnerefore we have to be very careful when in answer to person like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta we put forward the argument that we not believe in any Government employee's right to strike. We are on very dangerous grounds there, In the Un ted Kingdom. for instance, if anybody suggested that a nationalised industry like the coal mines, that is, the coal miners of Great Britain should not have the right to strike. well, he will get short shrift. Why coal miners? Even civil servants: the_v have their Civil Servants' Unions Whenever a law of the land permits the union of workers and gives them the right of collective bargaining, we must be very careful not to interfere with those But the issue that is involved here is not whether the Government employees have a right to strike or The real issue that is involved here is that here was a situation in India where a Government's right to govern was challenged. very existence was challenged and any Government which is worth the name of a Government cannot reply to that. Now, I want to make clear one thing. There are Government employees like the Posts and Telegraph employees, Railway employees and as my fr end, Mr Mani, has pointed out there are more and more public sector enterprises coming up but there also we are slightly mistaken because the members of all Government enterprises are not regarded as Government servants For instance the employees of a steel plant under the Government just as much right to strike as the employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Co or the Indian Iron and Steel Co. SHRI A D MANI They will lose it very soon

[RAJYA SABHA]

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH We make sure that they do not lose it but that is not the point. The point is whether the Government employees nave the right to strike or not There are well-defined limits within which they are allowed to strike but this was a very different kind of a situation and those who organised Government employees' strike and the general strike did a very dangerous thing for the life of the They organised the disrup tion of the communications systemrailways and postal communications -and they did not have any control over the forces of disintegration which they let loose It is all very well to organise a strike You may have a sense of grievance against the Government and the Government may have failed to give you satisfaction on all counts in this particular dispute, but that is a different matter and there are other ways of meeting that situation than letting loose forces of disruption and disintegration in a country which is ready overburdened with many such forces And that was a very dangerous kind of game to play politicians-never mind the party or they belongthe group to which whoever organised it, did not do an act of service to their own country It was a very dangerous thing to do. So what I object to is this challenge by some organised groups to a Government's right to govern to a Government's very existence and that has got to be met very forcefully and the Government did right in taking stern and decisive action Of course in fairness it must be said that before the Government took that action even in the initial stages of negotiations in this dispute it may be claimed that perhaps the Government could have been more prompt in dealing with those problems and perhaps expeditious action could have been taken in time to avoid all the bitterness But that is different from saying that Government did not do what it was expected to under the laws of the land. They did all that was required of them in the circumstances and in the end the Prime Minister himself made an appeal to them, not as a party leader but as a national leader, pointing out

An Hon MEMBER The Prime Minister did not meet them

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH Well, he did certainly make a broadcast appeal as ia as I remember He did not deal with it on the party plane but on a higher plane, as a dispute between the employer and the employees one was rather touched by that appeal Now, who are the people who suffered as a result of this strike? It seems quite clear that it was not the primary consideration of those who organised the strike to secure for the strikers their rights, perhaps they v ere motivated by a desire to improve their own political position, either as individuals or as groups That may be an uncharitable suggestion but that was the impression in the country and it was not the Government, it was the people of the country who rejected this strike I was in Calcutta at that time Calcutta is a city full of troubles I remember how people were buying their household goods, their foodstuffs and vegetables for weeks and weeks, because they thought that some dreadful things were going to happen in this country Fortunately it was saved in time and the economic life of the country was not very seriously dislocated Therefore, we must be quite clear in our arguments here that it is not the right of certain classes of Government employees to strike in a certain situation that is in question We are not questioning it

We are questioning the right of any organised group to challenge the existence of the Government I do not accept that position

SHRI NIREN GHOSH That was not questioned at all.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH Now, if it is a question of giving consideration to 200 odd people, who seem to have lost their jobs, that is another matter We could deal with it on a different We know what sort of man the Home Minister is I believe, it does not matter whether the belongs to the Government side or any particular group in the Opposition in this House, everybody in this House has a special kind of feeling for the Home Minister, a feeling that he is a man with very great integrity of mind, a man of great humility. Now. I think it is better

Shri A D MANI May I ask the hon Member whether he would like the Home Minister to review the cases himself or allow them to be reviewed by persons of judicial standing?

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH All I was going to say is this We have ducussed the question threadbare know the whole history of this issue Now, in the end we are saying that there are 200 odd employees who have suffered Now, I do not want to go into the merits of these cases All that I would care to say is that if the Home Minister says to us that he is prepared to look into these cases and wherever possible he will treat them with mercy-because justice also should be tempered with mercy as the hon Member, Mr Sapru, saidand do whatever is possible, well, I for one am more than satisfied

SHRI M P BHARGAVA (Uttar Mr Vice-Chairman, it is Pradesh) always a pleasure to listen to the forceful speech of my lucid and triend, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who has moved the Resolution which is being discussed by this House to-Probably it seems Mr Vajpayee is not aware of all the facts of the case and how the strike came about and he has taken up this case because of sentimental reason. I presently how political will show motives were there for the strike and how it was prompted by interested parties

Now, let us examine what the condition was immediately after the Pay Commission's recommendations were presented in August 1959 Immediately after the Pay Commission's Report was presented and more particularly after Government's orders were issued in the last week of December extending the working hours on Saturdays and curtailing, to some extent, casual leave and public holidays, the all-India organisations various certain sections of Central Government employees, chiefly the All India Railwaymen's Federation, the National Federation of Posts and Telegraphs the All India Defence Employees. Employees' Federation and the Fede ration of Central Government Employees, built up a tempo of agitation for discounting the favourable recommendations of the Pav Cmmission accepted by the Government, and highlighting the few unfavourable recommendations implemented by the Government A convention held in Bangalore under the influence of the Communist Party of India in Decembei, 1959, appointed a Joint Council of Action to negotiate a satisfactory settlement with the Government by 15th May, 1960, and failing that to organise a general strike This was in December 1959

I had the privilege of moving a motion in this House on the 17th February, 1960 which reads as follows—

"That the Report of the Pay Commission 1957-59, and Government's decisions thereon, laid on the Table of the Rajva Sabha on the 30th November 1959, be taken into consideration"

This was the motion before the House and I would like to invite the attention of the House to the amendments tabled to my motion by the Communist Party in this very House There were four amendments, namely —

1 'and having considered the same this House is of the opinion

[Shr1 M P Bhargava]

Government immediately restore the cut in holidays and leave facilities enjoyed by the Central Government employees and convene a conference of the representatives of their organisations for a bipartite settlement of the disputes arising out of these recommendations"

- 2 "and having considered the same this House rejects the wage and dietic norms suggested by the Pay Commission and holds that all wage-fixing authorities abide by the recommendations of the 1957 Indian Labour Conference"
- 3 "and having considered the same this House regrets the attitude of the Ministry of Finance in playing down the recommendations of the 15th Indian Labour Conference and holds that Government should stick to and abide by those recommendations"

and

4 "and having considered the same this House is of the opinion that in view of the rising trend in prices the Dearness Allowance in all Central Government Departments and establishments be linked with the cost of living index with the recomin accordance mendations of the Varadachariar Commission "

That 13 the First Pay Commission

Now, during the course of the debate some sort of threat was given by the Communist Party through its representative, Dr Raj Bahadur Gour, who was speaking on my motion This is what he said -

"Well, of course, I am threatening you on behalf of the employees and we will not allow you to do it, we will fight and we will fight a hard battle to see that the gains are retained, you have no right to tamper with these gains"

This is what happened in this august House

Now, I will read out to you the charter of demands by the strikers, as given by the Joint Council Their first demand was grant of a national minimum wage in the light of principles enunciated by the 15th Indian Conference and the termination of suitable differences lowest between the paid and higher class of employees Their demand No 2 was for dearness allowance on the basis of cost of living index on the basis of the First Pay Commission Report Their third demand was for the appointment of Standing Boards for settling disputes relating to scales of pay and other service conditions The fourth demand was no curtailment of existing amenities, rights and privileges. The fifth demand was reference to arbitration of disputes referred by either party and recognition of one union in one industry by determination of the representative character of the union through referendum held bi-annually Their last demand was withdrawal of rule 148 of the Railway Code and the proviso to rule 1709 about the powers of General Managers to discharge an employee after giving due notice

who participated

in the strike

Now, Sir, if you compare the amendments moved in this House and the first of the four demands made by the Joint Council, you will find that in substance they are the same. They are the same exactly My friend, Mr Bhupesh Gupta, was pleased to say that the strike was spontaneous, that it was not pie-planned Well, I beg to differ from him and would say that the position as indicated by the chronological events is not like that They were trying outside for bringing about an agitation. They tried to press their demands in this august House probably in the other House-I am not sure of it—and all the demands were negatived When the demands were negatived in this House, what did they do? They again went out and made The Joint Council launtheir plans ched large-scale preparations in June 1960 to collect funds for a general strike and to build up mass support for a strike call They gave the strike call, and what was the response?

There are more than 19 lakhs of civilian Central Government employees They could not get response in spite of all their publicity, in spite of all their preparations, from more than one-third of the employees That was the state of affairs. When they gave notice of a strike, there were negotiations being held between the Joint Council and the representatives of the Government My friend, Shri A. B. Vajpayee, had made a reference to my dear friend who is no more, Mr Feroze Gandhi, and to the part played by him in seeing that the strike did not come off But he failed, not because the Government was not prepared to listen to them, not because there was any lack of sympathy from the Government for their legitimate demands, but because the attitude of the strikers was very 11gid, and they had very great plans for paralysing the life of the country Some of them even thought that this might provide them with a handle for usurping or taking away the power from the Government which was in existence at that time And if really they had succeeded in their plans, the country would have been faced with a very critical situation, and it would have meant chaos in the country Fortunately they did not

Now I was talking about negotiations and the rigid attitude taken up by them The hon Prime Minister on the 7th July after the negotiations had failed, in a broadcast made a fervent appeal to Government employees against going on strike and assured them that the Government were prepared to give favourable consideration to any of the Pay Commission's recommendations involving financial consequences and that should be a proper method for the implementation of the decisions and that arrangements should be made for joint consultations and negotiations between representatives of the Government and of the employees in The Joint regard to implementation Council of Action, however, rejected the Prime Minister's plea for a reconsideration of the strike decision then the strike call came. strike could not be continued for more than a day

who participated

in the strike

Members have said from the opposite side that there was no loss, that there was nothing, that the loss was Rs 21,000, and so on They forget the colossal loss which the country has suffered by that strike My friend. Shii Shah Nawaz Khan, has figures about the loss sustained by the Railways which came to about Rs 31 c ores and as I am told, the other Min stries of the Government had to incur an expenditure to the tune Rs 41 crores for making emergency arrangements to meet the situation-Rs 41 crores by the Government India and Rs 31 crores by the Railways, that makes a total of crores My friends will forgive me if I say that the loss caused by the strike is not to the tune of a few thousands of rupees but is to the tune of croves And Rs 8 crores is no joke Besides this, the harm done by strike to the progress of the Plan hard to calculate So, the loss, if may put it, is not in any way less than Rs 10 crores or so

If my friends opposite had not instigated the workers to strike and if they had not compelled them to give strike notice, probably all this country's money could have been and utilised in better ways. But whatever was to happen had happened, and now my friend Mr A B Vajpayee, has come before this House with the present Resolution If Shri Vajpayee had pleaded with the various Government Departments for consideration of individual cases where he felt that any injustice had been done, it would have been a course and probably he would have had a better ear from the Government in that case and probably would have got the support of side of the House also in getting redress in those individual cases where really hardship had been caused But he has adopted the other course

[Shri M. P. Bhargava.] bringing in this Resolution. Now if this Resolution is accepted, what will it mean? It will mean that you give encouragement to indiscipline, that you give indirect encouragement to violence, that you do not care for the country's money; let people do what they like, let them act in whatever manner they want, and then somebody or other will act as an advocate for them in this august House.

989

I am sorry that a seasoned parliamentarian like Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee has chosen this course of bringing in this Resolution before this House which will do more harm to the cause which he wants to plead.

Shri P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Resolution before us is a very simple one. The issue involved is the reinstatement of 208 employees who have been victimised. But in the course of the discussion, a lot of political heat was sought to be created and I am afraid that if that is the light taken, the discussion will only do harm to the employees concerned.

The Central Government employees' strike is recent history and I am sorry to see that certain facts been distorted. It is a fact that when the Council met in Bombay, its first decision was to negotiate with Government. It was only when the Government refused to negotiate with them that they gave the call for taking the strike ballot. Even after that, their attempt to start negotiations was refused by the Government. It is a fact. Actually what happened was a series of interviews with the Ministers, and the Ministers had always been saying, you call off the strike notice, do this or do that and only then would the negotiations take place. Anyway, out of the 208 employees now remaining to be back, 113 belong to the Railways. welcome the statement of the hon. Minister that they are prepared to consider their cases leniently. It is not deniea that the Government lenient. But the cases involved, the remaining cases, are not, as the Minister says, cases in which violent actions have been involved. I take the cases of six employees who are still to be reinstated on the Southern Railway. Only five remain now. man, Mohan Naidu, a striker from the Perambur Workshops died months back. A man with family, he died of starvation. Another man, Narayanaswamy from Bangalore, was charged with assault on a driver. He was acquitted by court but he is not yet taken back. Two others were Anglo-Indians. They were not members of any union. They were simply drawn into the struggle because of the justness of the cause. I do not know for reason they have been removed from service. Like this, many of the people who are now remaining are active trade union organisers or active trade unionists at all. Hence, I appeal to the Government to review cases once and for all instead of waiting for individual representation; appeal to them to review the cases of all the 208 people completely and do justice to these employees because it 1s a question of living. One hon. Member was asking: was it difficult for these 208 employees to find ployment? The question here is that these men have been in service the last ten, fifteen or twenty years and at this late stage, it is very difficult for them to seek employment elsewhere and to start a new life. I therefore support the Resolution moved by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee and also the amendment. The administration in the Secunderabad Division of the Central Railway was very cruel in this affair. There are nearly 22 employees who are yet to be reinstated. In Secunderabad a 'C' grade driver was reverted to a 'C' grade fireman's post and transfered Jhansi. Such unmerited reversions are there; a number of reversions are there. So, I appeal to the Government to reconsider the cases of these employees and issue orders for reinstating them as a May Day gift to the Central Government employees' organisations Such a gesture of goodwill will help develop good relations between the Government and employees.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA Vice- \mathbf{M}_{\perp} Chair nan, the Resolution and speeches made in its support will undoubtedly make the Government servants, particularly those out of employment-thanks to the strike-say this evening, 'God, save us from our We will look after our enemies' The Resolution and the speech es have shown the utter ignorance of most of the speakers of the problem that were involved in the strike speeches have also shown that at least some of those who supported Resolution were out to make political capital out of the misery of the Government servants I am a humble trade unionist who can claim to have devoted the whole of his lifetime in the service of the working class, Government servants not excluded And I would be most happy if all the persons who lost their jobs are reinstated But I am opposed to-and every good trade unionist will be opposed to-the attitude which the mover of the Resolution amply demonstrated in his speech Shri Bhupesh Gupta had to admit that the Government gave assurance that leiniency would be the guiding policy in its treatment of the Shri Bhupesh Gupta, his employees thunder apart, his practice of trying to convert this House into an Ochterlony Maidan meeting apart, had admit that the Government had adopted a lenient attitude, and I am sure he knows that the Government will continue to adopt a lenient attitude in individual cases in spite what has been said today

Sir, a few facts concerning the strike may be narrated with advantage, paiticularly for the education αf Mover and some of his supporters was not the case—as Shri Vimalkumar Chordia, the new enthusiast, like new Mussalman eating onions. too much, tries to make out—that the Government did not accept the Commission's Award It has been pointed out repeatedly that as early November, 1959, the Government accepted the main recommendations of the Second Pay Commission and points on which there was no decision in November, 1959, the Prime Minister before the strike began, gave solemn assurance that the recommendations of the Pay Commission would be treated as an Award Subsequent events have shown that the Government has respected that undertaking The Government has carried it and recently the dearness allowance of Government employees has increased with effect from November. 1961 Ιt was darness allowance which was in dispute and

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR Α Subba Rao) You can continue the next day

SHRI ARJUN ARORA Thank you

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN Subba Rao) Further discussions this Resolution will stand till the next Private Members' Resolutions day

The House stands adjourned 11-00 AM on Monday, the 30th April

> The House then rajourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 30th April 1962.