

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let us not be too small-minded. Let us hear him.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: It is a question of procedure. In your judgment, if you want to rule it out, I have nothing to say. (*Interruptions.*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have made a commitment to him.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): As permitted by you earlier, with your permission, Sir, I am only giving one piece of information that will help the debate. We have just now received the news that Mr. Mhalgi who was the General Secretary of the Indian Mazdoor Union, who was a great trade union leader of Railways in Bombay, though he was a heart patient, was taken into custody against medical advice and he died in the custody today and, as a result of that, there is going to be a Bombay bandh tomorrow... (*Interruptions*)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame, shame.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu.

15.30 hrs.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT—  
Contd.

ARREST OF LEADERS OF RAILWAY  
WORKERS—Contd.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: (Dadmond Harbour): Sir, I share the concern expressed by Prof. Dandavate in passing on the news of the sad demise of Comrade Mhalgi who was the mover of this resolution. That is why it is much more significant. Although he was a heart patient and the police knew it, they did not take

any care and the man died while in custody. So, the people of Bombay will rise tomorrow and give you a befitting reply... (*Interruptions*).

I move:

"That the House do now adjourn" to discuss the indiscriminate arrest of leaders and workers of Railways, like, Mr. George Fernandes, Mr. P. K. Barooah, Mr. N. S. Choudhury and others.

I must at the outset confess that during my seven years in the Lok Sabha, I have not seen one single instance when the Minister took recourse to a trickery, to take advantage of our move for a settlement, to take advantage that we are very anxious to come forward for a settlement... (*Interruptions.*) and also, with the Deputy-Speaker in the Chair, he was hoodwinked and taken for a ride. In the House, we may or may not agree on many things. But at least we do not go in for taking recourse to methods of cheating. That is what has been done right now.

A situation has been created by Mr. Uma Shankar Dikshit and Mr. L. N. Mishra under the supreme command of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. They are determined to bring calamity to millions. Today, in the Railways, there are 17 lakh workers and 3 lakh casual workers. They will plunge us into the worst crisis of all times. It is exhibiting worst betrayal and meanness. This repressive attitude only befits the class character of the ruling party people who sit against us.

Today's arrest of Mr. George Fernandes at 3-30 A.M. at Lucknow, the Convenor of the National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's struggle, the arrest of Mr. N. S. Choudhury, Member, Action Committee, the arrest of Mr. P. K. Barooah—the police came and knocked at the door of Mr. A. K. Gopalan at 4 P.M.

this morning; if I were the resident there, I could not have allowed them in—all this is nothing but a general sweeping arrest of trade union leaders and workers that they had decided to do earlier

15.34 hrs.

[SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI in the Chair].

Hundreds and thousands of them are behind the bars. This has been done as revealed in the document that I laid on the Table of the House only two days ago. The secret Circular of the Ministry of Home Affairs under the signature of Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, Joint Secretary to the Government of India, says:

"One of the important ingredients of effective preventive action will be the arrest and removal from the scene of their activities of persons who otherwise would either contribute to the success of the strike ... or create serious law and order problems. It will be appreciated that the timing of such preventive arrests should be neither premature nor late."

How nicely it is done!

"The provisions of the Maintenance of the Internal Security Act could be profitably invoked while undertaking preventive action. Section (i) (a) (xiii) specifically enables detention of any person with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to maintenance of services essential to the community..." etc. etc.

This paper is laid on the Table of the House. It is an open and accepted document. Anybody can read it, how meak and dirty the Government could be in tackling the workers' movement.

I am saying that this is a long drawn preparation because in the letter under reference there is another reference to a correspondence dated the

2nd April. The whole thing has been planned in a very well organized manner for a long time, although our friend Mr. Lalit Narayan with his very pious look said, "No arrests as long as negotiations are there". And what was the pretext of the Railways for yesterday's action? AIRF AND CITU did not go. Not for negotiations but for getting the written version of the proposal of the Railway Board. But the actual fact is that we are negotiating unitedly as a National Coordination Committee. We went yesterday. We have no separate identity as a party in the matter of this negotiation. It was just the time— not too premature, not too delayed. We condemn the blatant gross violation of democratic rights and assurances. It is a cloak and dagger game. It clearly shows that the Government wants a show-down; they do not want a negotiated settlement; nor are they anxious to avert this strike. Otherwise, seven hours before today's crucial meeting at 10 A.M., they could not have done this beastly act of arresting the convener of the Committee and hundred others. Even yesterday evening, Comrade Samar Mukherjee, a negotiator, was informed by no less a person than a Member of the Railway Board that the meeting this morning at 10.00 A.M. did stand. On the one hand they maintain a facade of negotiations; after a lot of deliberate delay by the Railways, continuous negotiations have been taking place from 11th April. And what are the purposes? The purposes are: (1) for propaganda, for consumption of the people outside; (2) to lower the tempo of struggle; and (3) to create a picture of dividend council. On the other hand, on massive propaganda through radio, through television, through Government advertisements, crores of rupees have been spent. There is no dearth of funds for these. Who are the culprits? Let the House judge. let the people of the country judge. As early as 27th April, 200 trains were cancelled. Lakhs of people were stranded.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Postal mails were withheld. The Postal Departments refused to take parcels. The whole effort was to antagonise the people against the railwaymen. And, of course, the chief of 'Garibi Hatao', the fountain of all repressive methods in the country, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, writes from Iran, 'no bonus to the railwaymen; no meeting of demands',—a part of the *garibi hatao* formula that she has been selling since 1971.

What about this secret circular to officials for preparation for a battle and mobilisation of the army? Tarpaulins must be bought. The other things should be bought. There is this secret agreement with Mr. A. P. Sharma's company NFIR; then deployment of Territorial Army.....

SHRI A. P. SHARMA (Buxar): Why don't you tell us the secret?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I do not want to damage you to that extent here. The demands are very reasonable, very meagre and very legitimate. All they wanted was.... (Interruptions.) Why do these Lalit Babu's people go on interrupting me? If you do not bring the House to order—you are a Congressman.....

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): He is casting aspersions on the Chair. While in the Chair, you are not a Congressman.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please permit him to have his say.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: All that they wanted was a need-based minimum wage and pending that, parity with the public sector undertakings. For the Class IV railway worker, the Third Pay Commission could not recommend more than Rs. 96. And no bonus. But, for the public sector undertakings they are at least getting—LIC, steel plants and other public sector units—are at least getting a

minimum of Rs. 350 plus bonus. But, for the Railways Rs. 196 and no bonus. I want to ask the Minister and the Government—why this discrimination? Tell me who is responsible for the price rise, the continuous price rise.... (Interruptions.) I want to ask them. Have you conveniently forgotten the 15th Labour Conference? Where is the Sadachar Samiti leader, Shri Gulzarilal Nandaji? A need-based wage. What happened to that Mr. Congressman, today shouting and yelling? How many years ago you participated in the National Labour Conference? What are the things you promised and what have you done during this long spell of time? The demands are very reasonable—one good trade union thinks. Increase in dearness allowance, full neutralisation, job evaluation to the railway worker.....

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: Your people have retracted from the demand of parity.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: They want to come under the Industrial Disputes Act, and the International Labour Organization, if you have any respect for that sort of organization, was clearly of the view that a railway worker must be covered by the Industrial Disputes Act. What are the demands?

They cannot buy enough foodgrains with the money they get. These Class III and IV; workers work very hard and they want foodgrains at subsidised rates and through the Railways. Why cannot Mr. Mishra do it when Mr. Malaviya has promised to do so? We want to know.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): I have said 'Yes' to it. You have not heard my statement the other day.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: No reply now. Your chance will come. I said 'subsidised foodgrains', not foodgrains through fairprice shops. You do not understand the difference between the

**SHRI B. V. NAIK:** He does not belong to your class.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** What is the social burden? I will show you how the productivity has gone up on the railways and why the workers are languishing.

The productivity of the staff can be gauged by the number of traffic units, in tonne kilometre moved, plus passenger kilometre moved by the employee on the open line. The following figures are eloquent. The traffic units—in thousands—moved by per employee on the open lines, 1950-51—122 and 1972-73—200. Why is it then that when a man is delivering the goods, when his productivity has gone up, although he is surrounded by circumstances which are not helpful, why is it that the Government is so reluctant to give him a fair deal? Rs. 350 there and Rs. 196 here. Why do you want to maintain this disparity? On the one hand they are producing more and more on the other, their real wages have gone down but productivity of the railways has gone up.....

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Rs. 122 crores.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** The Budgetary figures show that the railways have a trading surplus of Rs. 2611 crores during the ten year period ended March 1973 of which as much as Rs. 1374 crores, that is roughly 53%, was mopped up as contribution by the Railways to the General Revenues etc. Now, tell me. People are producing more than they did 20 years ago, producing and generating wealth adding to the GNP, if you understand the meaning of that. Then why is it that you should treat them like this? The social burden the Railways are carrying, while calculating, the profit figures, is this. The loss on unremunerative branch lines is Rs. 10.98 crores; loan on coaching services Rs. 95.06 crores; low-rated traffic Rs. 115.40 crores. Of course low-rated traffic is for inflating the

dividends of the tycoons, the God-fathers of the people around here. To this may be added Rs. 21.42 crores which the Railways have to spend on the Special Protection Force etc., because of the increased poverty and the deteriorating law and order situation and Rs. 13.27 crores paid as compensation for pilferage and theft. That is the position. Then, Sir, what is their pretext? They say that they have no money. But we have recently in the PAC made a closer survey of the whole thing. Mr. J. P. Mandal is not here; I would like him to read this thing. There is loss to the extent of crores of rupees. About foodgrains we are not bothered because we will allow foodgrains to be carried at low price. There are items like coal, iron ore export, sugarcane, limestone and dolomite, bamboo, fruits and vegetables, firewood, charcoal, oilseeds etc. How much do these total us? Loss of Rs. 55 crores on 17 low-graded commodities. It is very interesting and I am really surprised to read these things. According to the calculations the cumulative value of the purchases in the 13th year is so much. This is about the IBM. When it comes to IBM giant company they have allowed them to plunder. All the agreements were absolutely dubious. I would suggest that the House should take note of these things and act accordingly. In some case the slack and dust were as high as 75 to 100 per cent. In 1968-69 out of the total number of wagons inspected by the Railway Inspecting Organisation and the consignee railways, following complaints of the loco sheds, etc. the content of as high as 23 per cent of the wagons was found to be below specification. The percentage rose from 30 in 1969-70 to still further, to 50 per cent in 1970-71. Moreover the result of some graded tests conducted by zonal railways revealed that during 1971-72 the percentage of wagons found sub-grade was as much as 100 per cent on eastern and north-eastern railways. On other railways the percentage of wagons found sub-grade range between 31.5 per cent or Southern Railway and 64.39 per cent

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

in the Western Railway. There is no dearth of money when you have to fill the pockets of IBM. When you have to fill the pockets of the coal suppliers you have no dearth of funds. When it comes to legitimate wage of the worker you are running short of funds. Mr. L. N. Mishra knows how much it costs to get a wagon readily. Is it Rs. 1,000 per wagon and Rs. 60,000 per rake, for coal being carried from Raniganj to Haryana? Tell us about your intimate knowledge; you must be knowing these things very much in private than in public.

Sir, I want also to know how many of these poor officials have failed in their duties. Shri Ganguly tried to expose this game of corruption in the railways. That was why he had to go. There is no dearth of money for the railways. They can generate a lot more money. The only question is: how to save the railways from the hands of the vultures? They are dominating the railways. Who looks after the workers? I say the workers have to be looked after properly.

Before I conclude, I would only say that genuine efforts should be made to solve the problems of strike. I hope that the Railway Minister will come to his senses and act according to the wishes of this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the House do now adjourn"

SHRI A. P. SHARMA (Buxar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not rise to oppose the adjournment motion only because I know what is going to be the fate of this adjournment motion. But, I rise to expose the characteristics of some of the so-called trade union leaders who want to exploit the railway employees in this country to fulfil their political ends. They are more interested in that than to see that the problems of the railway employees are solved. What I am going to state before the House will be known clearly to everybody. I want

this House and the people of this country to know this and more, so, the railmen should know this that the leaders like Shri Banerjee and others, in the name of trade union do not want to solve the problems of the railway workers but they want to serve their own political ends. A question may be asked as to why they have chosen the railways as their play-ground for serving their political ends. This can be clearly seen from the statement and the speeches of my hon. friend, Shri George Fernandes at several places.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Sir, I rise on a point of order.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: There is no point of order. I am not yielding.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him say what is his point of order.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: My point of order is this. If he is reading from the newspapers it is all right. Otherwise it is presumed that a copy of the speech must have been given to him and he is reading that from that speech. My point of order is this. Is his source of information from the newspapers or from some other source? I want a ruling on that.

श्री रामदत्तार शस्त्री : यह जाली भी हो सकता है ।

श्री मधु ललित (बांका) : गेरा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है। मेरा कहना है कि जिस को टिना ट्राइल किये हुए जेल में बन्द कर दिया है, उस के बारे में अगर कोई आक्षेप करेंगे तो आप को रक्षा करनी होगी उन के बारे में अगर ये कुछ बोलेंगे, तो हम जबाब देने के लिये तैयार हैं। जिस को मीजा के अन्दर दन्द कल रखा है, उस के ऊपर होम मिनिस्ट्री और सी० आई० डी० से झूठी रिपोर्ट ले कर अगर लांछन लगाने का प्रयास करेंगे तो हम उस के खिलाफ बोलेंगे।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have heard both the points of orders. Normally speaking, in the House one who is not present or who has no right to defend himself should not be dragged in. But, you will be pleased to see that in the adjournment motion itself you have brought in the name of Shri George Fernandes.

Therefore, I will not permit any one to bring in anything derogatory so far as his personal character or conduct is concerned but I cannot relate to the issues before us. Obviously here we have to permit it. He has not completed his sentence. Let him first conclude his own sentence.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: I was trying to make out that these friends who have chosen the railways as their playing ground having failed..

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Battle ground?

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: It cannot be battle ground. I hope the battle has to be fought with the other countries and not here against your own people. Having failed in the battle of ballots, now, they are interested to create a chaotic situation in many industries so that what they have not gained elsewhere, they will try to gain through this way. And they have chosen the railways. I was going to quote some of the speeches reported to have been made by these so-called trade-unionists and my friend, Shri Limaye, was very much concerned about Mr. George Fernandes. (Interruptions).

Sir, it could be understood very well as to how they are interested not in serving the interests of the railway workers but they are more interested in disrupting the working of the railways and bringing about a chaotic situation.

There are recognised methods to deal with the problem of workers. We have been following one such recognised method and these friends also at times follow the same when it suits them. Mr. Bosu used very strong language about cheating, deceiving, trickery and all these things. What can be a better trickery than this that on the one side you talk about their welfare and on the other side you instigate them to indulge in chaotic activities. Sir, I will quote from the speeches to prove my contention. On 24th and 25th April last it is reported what my friend has told to the railway employees at Asansol—my friend for whom you are shedding tears—he exhorted the workers to go on strike from 8th May. It is not the solution of the problems of the workers they are concerned with but how they can affect the functioning of the various industries in this country. They want to disrupt the power plants dependent on the functioning of the railways so that the Government would be compelled to concede their demands once the availability of steel, coal and other essential commodities goes down as a result of this strike. So, these strikes are not organised to meet the demands of the railway workers but these strikes are being organised to cut down the supplies of coal to the industry, power-plants, etc. so that the whole country is plunged into darkness and a chaotic condition should prevail. Further on they want that due to the short supply of coal all the steel plants be closed. They have said, the food-grains movement will be affected and the fury and anger of the people....

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has said the statement was made at Asansol and he has taken the responsibility of making these pronouncements.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वाबियर):  
कौन सा अखबार है जिस में यह छपा है ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी  
इन्को यह तो बताना चाहिये क्या इन्होंने  
स्वयं उनके भाषण को सुना है ?

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं एक व्यवस्था का  
प्रश्न उठाना चाहता हूँ . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Limaye, please point out the rule under which you want to raise a point of order.

श्री मधु लिमये : आपने कई बार कहा है कि जो सदन का सदस्य नहीं है ऐसे किसी व्यक्ति का नाम यहां नहीं लिया जाना चाहिये इनको सोर्स बताना चाहिये। क्या इन्होंने खुद उनके भाषण को सुना है और मंचबार में आया है तो बता दें किस में आया है। मैं इनके सोर्स जानना चाहता हूँ।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: We want to know the source. He may quote from whatever source he likes, and I am not against it. But in this House the practice is that whenever we table any motion, an adjournment motion or any other, it is based on some source. Either it is based on a newspaper report or based on personal knowledge or knowledge given to me by somebody else.

Here, my hon. friend Shri A. P. Sharma is quoting from some report. We do not know whether it is newspaper report. In that case, may I invite your kind attention to one thing? Previously when this thing was going on on a call-attention, I had a source with me which said that Mr. Sharma had been telling the Railway Board officials 'Do not bother; I will break any strike. I never quoted it because I could not prove it. This was also my written source but I did not quote it. I never quoted it because I could not prove it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Which is the

rule which the hon. Member is referring to?

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North-East): It is very unusual for the Chair, I submit with all humility, to ask us to point to a certain rule about this. This is a matter which for umpteen years Parliament has accepted in practice that whenever any report about a man's speech anywhere is quoted, the source is given. If it is not given, it means that it is a doubtful proposition to quote from it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: When the hon. Member has said that the speech was made at Asansol, when he has quoted it and particularly has given the place, I think that should suffice. If the hon. Members have got any knowledge to the contrary, they are at liberty to contradict that statement. Shri A. P. Sharma has taken the responsibility and made that statement, and he said that at Asansol that statement was made; so, he has pinpointed the source. The other hon. Members will be entitled to rebut it. Now, let Shri Sharma continue.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: I do not know what objection my hon. friends taking to this.

As a matter of fact, I am trying to place before this House that this strike which is being organised is not only politically motivated but it has got a definite purpose behind it and this is how it is reported from the various places where they are organising the strike. That is wrong. Their whole approach is out and out political. They are not interested in solving the problem of the railway workers. This is what I was trying to explain, and I do not know why they are taking objection to this.

As I said in the very beginning, I wanted that this characteristic of the so-called trade union movement that they wanted to carry on in this country should be made known to the people at large, and the railway workers in whose name they are shedding these crocodile tears must know this and their character must be exposed before the people. This is what I was trying to make out. This can be further proved by the discussion that took place between the Railway Ministry and the representatives of the labour organisation.

What was the first item? You will be surprised to know that the first item was 'legitimate trade union activities'. My comrades opposite, he and she-comrades and all the friends opposite wanted to define the term 'legitimate trade union activities'. Somebody said 'Why legitimate?' Only 'trade union activities' will do. If they say 'trade union activities', then what is trade union activity? (*Interruptions*). Let Mr. Banerjee permit me to continue. He does not know; he is not a trade unionist. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore): Trade union activities according to the law.

16 hrs.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: Shri Vajpayee's representative was also involved in this while defining trade union activity. So he should also know it. They want to define what is trade union activity. The Railway Ministry came out with a definition. It was discussed in the meeting also. This was on the question of victimisation. They could not define what is victimisation.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: Who could not? He could not define it, not me. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: The House will be surprised to know what is the objection taken by these comrades. I do not know whether Shri-

mati Parvati Krishnan may also take that objection. But I am reading out what happened there.

What will be the guiding principle for a legitimate trade union activity? 'That no worker will be victimised for trade union activities, provided such trade union activities have been carried on within the limits of the law of the land which prohibits acts of violence, acts of sabotage and other criminal offences', in which they are expert in indulging. They take objection to this. They take objection to acts of violence being prohibited. They say squatting on the railway line and obstructing the movement of trains is a legitimate trade union activity. My friends say that dropping the fire from the engine on railways is a trade union activity. Then beating of one worker by another worker when he refuses to yield to their threat and intimidation is a trade union activity.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD: Wonderful!

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: This is a kind of activity unheard of in any part of the world. Shri S. M. Banerjee wants to carry it on in this country. This is the kind of trade union activities they want to practise in this country. But we are under a democratic constitution in this country. The only right and the most important right given to very citizen in this country is the right to differ. They want to take away the right to differ and they want to establish the right of a handful of unlawful minorities and indulge in unlawful activities. This is what they want to do.

On this very question, the House will be surprised to know that there was 3-4 hours discussion, as to whether violent activities should be treated as trade union activities or not, whether sabotage should be treated as a trade union activity or not, whether intimidation and coercion should be treated as a trade



[Shri A. P. Sharma] union activity or not. On these things, my friends carried on four hours discussion and we had to listen to it. Ultimately, I told Shri Qureshi during the negotiations: 'If you like, you can enter into any agreement on that, but so far as we are concerned, we will never agree to this kind of activities in this country'. (Interruptions).

What happened about the demands? The workers and the country must know that in these negotiations the Railway Ministry has conceded to the extent of Rs. 70—80 crores. Now from zero to Rs. 80 crores; this is no progress so far as these people are concerned. It is all right. According to them, there is no progress.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Could you kindly indicate the items which make up the total of Rs. 80 crores? We want to know them.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: I will.

The novel argument was that the present financial arrangement of the railways should be changed and whatever is contributed to the general revenue fund, whatever is accumulated with the reserve fund, whatever is put into the development fund, all these funds should be abrogated; All those social obligations should be abrogated and that money should be given to the friends there to be distributed? I asked them this question, you are talking like this in this table, how will you talk in the Lok Sabha; there you will say that the prices and fares should not be increased and taxes should not be levied. They want to eat the cake and have it too. There they say something and here they say an entirely different thing. This is the kind of people who want to carry on trade union activities in this country. Shri Shyamnandan Mishra asked a question. According to the Meabhoj Tribunal Award the hours

of work for the railway employees had been reduced to eight hours for every employee. This will cost money. The other thing is de-casualisation. These and other things will come to about Rs. 70 to Rs. 75 crores. The House must know that in the Railways there are three to four lakhs of workers who are employed as casual labourers. As a result of these negotiations, from tomorrow onwards when the orders are issued, all these casual workers will have a regular scale of pay and those people who were getting only Rs. 2.50 or Rs. 3.50 or Rs. 4.50 according to the local rates will be brought on a regular scale of pay and they will be given the minimum scale that has been prescribed by the Railway administration.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: What casual labour?

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: There who are working in the various departments of the Railways and Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan has got a list which has been drawn up. She need not ask me. When the casual workers complete 120 days of continuous service they are brought on a regular pay scale and the substitute also will be brought in the sameway on the regular scale of pay.

In the Railway construction projects people are employed at casual rates now. Hereafter when they complete 180 days they will be brought on a regular scale of pay. The supply of foodgrains about which the Minister has made a reference is definitely another improvement in the condition of service of the railway employees. Who made all these demands?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: You.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: Mr. Banerjee was not born. He was not there at all. We made these demands before

the Meabhoy Tribunal. The House must know it. Because these demands were made by us, the National Federation of Indian railwaymen, and the Government has conceded them, as a result of the Meabhoy award, they are annoyed. They feel agitated. They made a demand before the Meabhoy Tribunal to become a party. They also wanted to become a party. The NFIR was a party and the Railway Board was the other party. In its judgment the Meabhoy Tribunal ruled them out. It said that they could not become a party. That is another cause of their annoyance. About the payment of bonus, it is unfortunate that in the absence of Mr. Fernandes, Mr. Banerjee had been repeating this. He just now said that the demand of the railway workers for bonus was not before the Bonus Review Committee. He had also said that it is not within the terms of reference. It is a matter of shame that a trade union leader should say like this when the whole thing is going to be finalised.

(Interruptions)

This is the type of people.  
(Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman, I am not yielding.

Sir, so far as the Bonus Review Committee is concerned the terms of reference of the Bonus Review Committee were expanded. The question before the Bonus Review Committee was not whether the railway workers could be covered under the Bonus Act or not. The question before the Bonus Review Committee was to revise the scheme of grant of bonus. This was the question before the Bonus Review Committee, to revise the scheme of grant of bonus and they, in their judgement, decided that they must hear the representatives of railway workers, the representatives of the Railway administration,

P&T workers, defence workers etc. Unfortunately, Mr. Banerjee was not invited there also. It was only the privilege of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen to appear before that Committee. On the other side, Railway Board appeared before the Committee. Sir, I would like to inform the House at this point of time that the demand for bonus is our original demand, the original demand of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen. We have taken secret ballot also. We have decided that so long as we are pleading the case before the Bonus Review Committee, so long as the Bonus Review Committee is seized of this matter, it will be unwise for us to go on strike; that we should wait till such time the report of the Bonus Review Committee is published and till such time Government takes a decision on the report of the Committee. That is why, we have advised the workers—I do not want to keep it a secret—that the strike call given by these friends is politically motivated and that workers should oppose the strike. This is because, until and unless the report of the Bonus Review Committee is published, and Government takes a decision on that, there will be no cause for grievance so far as the workers are concerned. This is the reason why we have taken this stand. I am sure the large number of railway workers, a vast majority of the railway workers would turn their faces and 8th May will prove that it is going to be a doom's day for these people and it is going to be a victory for us. A vast majority of the railway workers have the interest of the nation at heart. They know that the country is passing through a serious crisis and in this time of crisis, the best way is to settle problems through a process of negotiation, settlement and agreement and not through illegal strikes, acts of sabotage and violence and all kinds of activities.

With these words, I oppose this adjournment motion and I expose the

[Shri A. P. Sharma]

political motivations behind the strike call given by these friends, who have called upon the railway workers to go on strike.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have heard a most eloquent speech from Mr. Sharma. But, unfortunately, his eloquence has been wasted on me because there was so much of factual mis-representation in that speech.

Firstly, I would like to say this. He says that the strike is politically motivated. It is he who is politically motivated because he wants to mis-represent the railway/workers' cause in this House. That is what I charge him with. The Minister also has been mis-leading us. What has happened? Negotiations have been going on. I have also been there during negotiations. Therefore, Sir, I would like to make it absolutely clear that whatever has been said here about the negotiations has been distorted and mis-represented. Why do I say this?

SHRI B. V. NAIK: Then why did you sign it?

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: Sign what? This question itself shows that the Minister has his henchmen a round.

What happened yesterday was that on behalf of the National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's struggle, Shri Gokhale and myself were authorised to sit with the Member Railway Board in charge of staff and such of the NFIR people as may choose to go there in order to see what could be reduced to writing and, how much Government was prepared to meet our demands. There was no question of any signature, and I challenge these people who are there bring that signature .. (Interruptions) It is totally wrong. This is the way they function starting with the statement the Minister made before this adjournment motion was taken up.

AIRF is in the National Coordination Committee. We were authorised by the Coordination Committee ..... (Interruptions) Yet, what did the Minister write to Shri George Fernandez? This is what he says:

"On the 30th April evening, you will recall"

then he goes to give him a pat on the back and another pat on the back to Shri Qureshi and so on—

"the minutes of the agreement was drawn up between Member (Staff) and Union representatives. But it is with profound regret that I learn that the representatives of the AIRF, which you are the President, absented themselves from the meeting this evening, and absence which I can only interpret as a clear indication of your dissociation from the significant agreement and understanding the Committee arrived at in its three days tripartite deliberations."

It was a unilateral decision and the Minister talks of "understanding". I do not know whether he was talking of a dream or nightmare, but he seems to have come to these conclusions, though there was absolutely no substance to it. Because, we are members of the National Coordination Committee. He himself informed us that Shri George Fernandez was coming to the meeting at 10 O'Clock this morning. In fact, I was told over the telephone by a railway official that the meeting was postponed from 9 to 10 O'Clock because Shri George Fernandez was being delayed due to the flight. In actual fact, at that precise moment what was happening was a conspiracy was being hatched to scuttle the negotiations once and for all by the arrest of Shri Fernandez and other members of the Action Committee, by arresting the railway leaders throughout the country and precipitating the strike. I charge the Government with deliberately sabotaging the negotiations, I charge this Gov-

ernment with following a dual policy. Shri Sharma himself has been doing some tight rope walking for the simple reason, on the one hand, we are told that Government is serious about negotiations and on the other hand, a circular goes out from the Home Ministry "keep your lists ready, a strike is coming, arrest all of them." A circular goes out from the Prime Minister, which is very judiciously, diplomatically and in a planned way leaked out, at the time when she goes to Iran pre-judging the bonus issue, saying that it cannot be granted whether matter is under negotiation. The Prime Minister, the head of the Government, has every right to express her thoughts, whether they be given or whether they be not given, to the Chief Ministers of the States, and we will not stand in her way. But who brought that letter into the press? It was a deliberate plan in order to sabotage the negotiations and make bonus a pre-judged issue. Shri Sharma is taking shelter behind the Bonus Review Committee.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: There is no question of taking shelter.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: The Railway Minister is taking shelter behind the Bonus Review Committee. Why did you leak that letter to the press to change the whole atmosphere?

It is true that in certain issues there was some measure of agreement. There are the so-called 'minutes'. He uses this wonderful term 'minutes'. Either he is ignorant of English, or he is guided by the Railway Board, which is more ignorant than he is.

The point is that we wanted the stand of the Government to be reduced to writing—knowing how slippery every single one of them are—so that we could judge what we are getting and what we are not getting. Therefore, it was to be reduced to writing.

Strangely enough, this is what happened on the question of supply of foodgrains to railwaymen. When the Minister came, he said, "You are very good boys. How nicely Mr. Qureshi has conducted the negotiations." About the supply of foodgrains, he said, "We will give you foodgrains." So, specifically we put a question to the Minister, "Are you, as the Railway Minister, taking the responsibility of procuring and supplying foodgrains?" He said, "Yes."

And what comes in the minutes. May I read it out to you, Sir, as given to us by the Railway Board people? It says: "To a definite query from the staff side as to whether the fair price shops will be run by the Railways and whether the Railway will undertake the responsibility of procuring foodgrains and supplying at subsidised rates, the Government expressed its inability."

This is about the supply of foodgrains to railway workers. Perhaps, Sir, you are aware of it; maybe, of course, the Minister would not be aware of it because he has got his people who go and buy foodgrains at the fair price shops. The ordinary citizens of this country know what is the availability of foodgrains at controlled price. That is a sore point with the citizens throughout the country. Where is the political motivation?

You want your people to increase production and to make the nation self-reliant on an empty stomach. Is that possible? You want your railwaymen to keep this vital sector going on an empty stomach. In that possible? Availability of foodgrains is all the railway workers have been asking for. And you call it political motivation. You are not even ashamed of calling it as a political motivation.

The railway worker wants foodgrains, essential commodities, and he wants the Railway administration to take up the responsibility of supplying

[Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan]

foodgrains to him so that he can keep the wagons moving, so that he can carry coal to Bhilai Steel Plant, so that he can carry foodgrains from one corner of the country to an other corner of the country, so that he can fulfil his duty as a person who has got to keep the vital sector moving. You are not able to understand this. This is what is being distorted by the Government. (Interruptions) You have boasted about the Miabhoy Tribunal that "we got the Tribunals". So what? For two years the award has been in cold storage. The implementation is now coming because the workers have threatened a strike. That is why implementation is coming.

Then, you have talked about de-casualisation. At the same time, what about that casual labour which is being paid different rates than those of the railway-rated labour doing exactly the same work? We are asking only for a reasonable thing. You, do not pay the railway worker himself a wage which is his due and, at the same time, you do not pay the casual worker doing exactly the same work a wage, even the minimum wage of railway worker which is his due. As against the railway worker who is getting Rs. 6 or Rs. 8, why should a casual worker doing exactly the same work be paid only Rs. 2 or Rs. 2.50 p.? How do you justify this? In India, in 1974 it is supposed to be a Welfare State .... (Interruptions) Mr. Sharma, just because Mr. Mishra asked you to interrupt me, you please don't interrupt me. Be a little subtle; don't be so crude about it.

All that we have said is; why the casual labour which is not covered by the Agreement, the casual labour which is there on the projects, the project labour which continues to be called the casual labour doing exactly the same work as a railway worker does not get the same wage as the railway worker. Mr. Sharma, am I right or wrong? I do not know whom

is he prompting. I cannot understand why all this hullabaloo is there.

The basic thing is that we of the National Coordination Committee are unable to participate in any further negotiations so long as the Members of our Committee are in jail, as long as the hundreds and thousands of workers are in jail.

I am amazed that the Minister who seems to have at the tips of his fingers all kinds of fantastic statistics which the Railway Board has saddled him with because they do not have anything else to feed him with, could not give us the figures of arrests which was what we asked this morning. When he got up, we thought that he would start by saying that he regrets to inform the House that Mr. Mhalgi died from heart attack this morning. Even that expression of regret is not forthcoming. On the other hand, he seems to be gloating over the fact that thousands of railway workers are in jail. In regard to demands, they keep giving us all kinds of mathematical formulations but not once they come out with mathematical formulations as to the amount of money that is being swallowed by the monopolists, the sugar magnates and cloth magnates in this country, not only through the British system of freight structure that continues in the year 1974 but also through the concessions that the Government are giving to monopolists. They think nothing of Rs. 28 crores given to sugar magnates as export incentives; they think nothing of transporting bamboos for the "starving" Birla at below transportation cost; they think nothing of allowing prices of controlled cloth to go up. They have lifted control on tyres and tubes and legalising the blackmarket. My friends on the other side of the House do not seem to have any conscience of that type. But they go about screaming and shouting, 'Railway workers are

asking for crores'. You can find Rs. 500 crores within the railway revenues itself.

We wanted the railway worker to be treated as an industrial worker and we said we would show here the finances could be found. Immediately what did they say? They said, 'We will set up a committee to go into the finances, but divorce it from the wages'. The Deputy Minister conducting the negotiations agreed that, on principle, the railway workers should be treated as an industrial worker but he pleaded his inability to treat him as an industrial worker because there are no resources. We will show you the resources

In conclusion I want to say one thing. It seems that the Congress party is today divided both in action..

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: I have never suffered from wishful thinking. It is because I am not suffering from wishful thinking that the strike is already there on the agenda. It is not my wishful thinking that has brought it about. It is the misdeeds of the Government, the incapacity of the Government to conduct the negotiations that has brought it. On the one hand you say that you want negotiations; and on the other hand, through the last month and a half people are being arrested, penal transfers are taking place. And we are told—this is a press hand-out—that the "Chairman and the other Members of the Railway Board and the General Managers of the Zonal Railway have visited the State Capitals and met the Chief Secretaries and Chief Ministers during the last few days to apprise the State Governments of the arrangements being made to combat the railway strike." Not about the agreement being arrived at the negotiations. Is this the attitude? That they cannot brief

the Chief Ministers as to what is the progress of the agreement, narrowing down of the differences. Narrowing down was there, but whether we could come to an agreement or not, how do we know? Today they had a meeting; Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark; the National Coordination Committee was not there. Some people were there. We know how the Minister hopped from one foot to another evading as to who were there. The Action Committee was not there.

I only want to conclude with one word. Misquoting of George Fernandes has taken place....

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: George Fernandes is not Bible.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: I do not belong to the same Church as Mr. George Fernandes. I do not have to take resort to the Bible.

Mr. George Fernandes, immediately after the meeting of the National Coordination Committee, where the strike notice was decided upon, held a Press Conference in Jaipur where he made the position of the National Coordination Committee absolutely clear; 'We are interested in negotiations; we will make every effort through negotiations to avert the strike.' You, could not quote that Could you? That did not suit you. (Interruption)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. Your last word is getting very long.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: Therefore, as far as the Action Committee and the National Coordination Committee is concerned, our door of negotiations is still open but not so on the Government side, our mind is still open but he has closed the door....

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: My door is also open.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: His door is closed by putting all our people in the jail. Let him open the doors of the jail. Then we can walk through his open door. So long as the doors of the prison remain closed, he can remain with his open door. The flies will fly in and the flies will fly out but the Railway strike will go on.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose this adjournment motion with all the vehemence at my command. After so many years I had the opportunity of listening to the well-reasoned speech of Shrimati Parvati Krishnan. She has made out a case championing the rights of the working classes. Our Party also does not lag behind in protecting the rights of the working class people in their legitimate rights to go on a strike when their demands are not met. But, I see in this whole game, a conspiracy to plunge the country into anarchy....

AN. HON. MEMBER: It is on that side.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: And to subvert democracy and socialism, to cut the main life-line of the nation and to hold the people to ransom. I do not know how the CPI which has been playing a very constructive role in the national sphere...

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: We continue to be constructive.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: ...should be drawn into the trap of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu and his party.

I am amused to find a strange combination of Shri Vajpayee, my friend, Shri S. N. Mishra and other people....

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: A fascist lot?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH

... who also joined in this conspiracy not because they want to champion and voice the legitimate grievances of the workers but they saw in it a golden opportunity for them to operate and wreak their political vengeance in which they failed earlier...

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It seems you want to be in the exclusive possession of the CPI.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: That is the whole game. That is why I said that if it is a legitimate trade union activity, the Government will never hesitate to meet the demands of the people nor our Party will hesitate to support the demands of the working class...

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: I do not mind your supplying the Birlas in the Hindalco lock-out. Don't talk about solicitude to the working class.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: In her brilliant speech she has said about the procurement of foodgrains, availability of foodgrains and supply of foodgrains to the working class people and also to railway men...

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: I do not mind your supplying to all the working classes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nobody interrupted when the hon. Member spoke, She should not interrupt.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Not only the railwaymen but the entire country is passing through a crisis because of non-availability of essential commodities. But havoc is being done by the vested interests in this country to create a situation so as to create anarchy. Whether he is a railway man, whether he is worker in a small mill or whether he is working in a factory or whether he is working in the fields, everybody has

to get his rightful share in the available foodgrains. How can an invidious distinction be made between a railway man and the other workers? I want to ask. So, the Railway Minister has been correct in saying that he is prepared to run fair-price shops and is prepared to entrust it to the management of the Railway Department. May I ask Shrimati Krishnan whether there should be any distinction to be shown between a worker and a railway worker? Regarding wages that are being given there is a feeling in the country that there are some favoured working class people, that they are being treated more than the other workers. Take the Railwaymen. If you take the scale of pay of them with other people there is no comparison at all. The aim of the Government is to see that the wages are brought on par as far as practicable and it is their aim to see that the low-paid workers get more. In that process then should be an equal treatment whether the worker works in Railways or elsewhere. We have debated in this House many times about the financial capacity of the Railways, how the Railways have gone on red, how to improve the finances of the railway administration, etc. There was the Third Pay Commission Report. The wage structure was decided by them. There was an increase of Rs. 190 crores in the Railway Department alone. We say to it that these people get the necessary justice from the Government. As everybody is aware, Government is also trying its very best to see that justice is done to all sections of the population. Railwaymen have got legitimate right and trade union activity to go on strike, but we should ask ourselves the question, what are the circumstances in the country today. In cases of great crisis in the country, when the country had to face external aggression, etc. the Railwaymen and other workers stood as one man and they have discharged their patriotic duty to help the Government in maximising production. There are very many historic instances where when we were faced with crisis, the people stood up as one man and discharged

their patriotic duties. I appeal to Mrs. Paravathi Krishnan and other people not to fall into the trap of a conspiracy which is politically motivated rather than championing the cause of the working people.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: I can look after myself; he need not worry.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: The entire country is looking for the outcome of negotiations regarding this proposed threatened strike. There is indignation among the people. There is terrible reaction among the people, that this is being instigated for a purpose which is not designed so to say, for the welfare of the working class people. I know that the people have got a ready answer to face the situation. As Mr. Sharma has pointed out the majority of the working class people. I know that the people have got a ready answer to face the situation. As Mr. Sharma has pointed out the majority of the working class people and the railwaymen are not in favour of a strike now. They are being threatened by these people who want to hold the country to ransom and who want to take political advantage of the situation. There have been certain suggestions made regarding a moratorium on strikes and lockouts, especially at this time when the country is passing through a critical stage, that there Government and the working class so that we may pass over this great crisis.

She took objection to the Prime Minister's letter. The head of the Government, the Prime Minister, has to administer the country, keep law and order, feed the vast masses of the country. She has to see that the line of communication are not disturbed. What else can she do? She has to take adequate steps to see that lines of communication or not disturbed. Would she not be failing in her duty if she has not written to the Chief Ministers about this? She has to apprise the Chief Ministers of the situation. Essential services should go on. By this strike railwaymen will only be antagonising the people and get-



[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

ting away from the main stream of national life, because the railway lines go through every part of our country.

It is the duty of the Government to see that the essential communications are kept in order. So, I would again make an appeal to the railway workers that they should rise to the occasion; they should turn deaf ear to this sort of misleading of some of their leaders and cooperate with the Government. Also they should realise the feelings of the people of this country and they should not isolate themselves from the mainstream of the national life and they should come out and see that the strike does not take place and see that the railways run the services as efficiently as possible.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (स्वालिंयर) :** सभापति जी, इस स्थगन प्रस्ताव की परिधि बहुत सीमित है। रेल मंत्री इस बात से इन्कार नहीं कर सकते कि रेल कर्मचारियों के जो नेता उन से बातचीत कर रहे थे उन्हें कल रात में गिरफ्तार किया गया। वह इस बात से भी इन्कार नहीं कर सकते कि उन नेताओं को आज सबेरे रेल मंत्री से मिलना था। यह सदन जानना चाहेगा, इस देश के 20 लाख रेल कर्मचारी जाना चाहेंगे, इस देश की 56 करोड़ जनता जानना चाहेगी कि जब आज सबेरे 10 बजे मुलाकात की समय तय हो चुका था और श्री जार्ज फरनान्डीज बातचीत के लिये दिल्ली आने वाले थे तो रात में उन की गिरफ्तारी क्यों की गई। सभापति जी, इस बात का अभी तक कोई समाधानकारक उत्तर नहीं दिया गया है। कांग्रेस के मित्र मुझे क्षमा करें उन्होंने कल रात रेल कर्मचारियों के नेताओं की गिरफ्तारी कर के अपने को गलत स्थिति में डाल दिया है। . . . (व्यवधान)। किस ने गिरफ्तारी की? क्या बिरोधी दल वालों ने जार्ज फरनान्डीज को पकड़ा

है? . . . (व्यवधान)। सभापति जी, वह कह रहे हैं कि उन्होंने अपने से गिरफ्तार कराया होगा। यह बात हंसी में टालने की नहीं है। आज अगर इस मामले को इस तरह से मजाक में टालना चाहते हैं तो इस हड़ताल जैसे गम्भीर प्रश्न पर आप जानता का समर्थन प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते। आप को लोगों को संतुष्ट करना होगा कि कल रात से ले कर आज सबेरे तक क्या बात हुई जो सवेरे 3 बजे लखनऊ में श्री जार्ज फरनान्डीज को, और अन्य रेल कर्मचारियों के नेताओं को दिल्ली में गिरफ्तार करना पड़ा?

अगर आप का कहना यह है कि वह हड़ताल की तैयारी कर रहे थे तो यह कोई नई बात नहीं है, वे ऐसा चोरी छिपे नहीं कर रहे थे। खुले आम कर रहे थे। आप भी हड़ताल को रोकने की तैयारी कर रहे थे। आप भी चोरी छिपे नहीं कर रहे थे। खुले आम कर रहे थे। उसके बाद फिर गिरफ्तारी करने के लिये कौन सी उत्तेजना थी, कौन सा प्रोवोकेशन था, इस के बारे में सदन को विश्वास में लिया जाना चाहिये रेल मंत्री का मौन इस सारे प्रश्न पर एक ऐसा रहस्य का पर्दा डालता है कि जो सरकार की नीयत के बारे में शक पैदा करता है। सभापति जी, मुझे शक हो गया है कि सरकार ईमानदारी से सभ्यता वार्ता नहीं करना चाहत है। और यह संदेह पुष्ट हो गया है. . . . (व्यवधान)। आप का आचरण बोल रहा है शर्मा जी।

**श्री ए० पी० शर्मा :** बराबर कोशिश इस बात की हो रही थी कि सभ्यता हो।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** आप यह बताइये कि जार्ज फरनान्डीज को और अन्य नेताओं को कल रात क्यों गिरफ्तार किया गया? . . . (व्यवधान)।

सभापति जी, शर्मा जी ने स्वयं इस बात को स्वीकार किया कि जब कोम्प्राइजिनेटिंग कमेटी की श्री कुरेशी से बातचीत शुरू हुई तो चर्चा का पहला मुद्दा था विक्टमाइजेशन । क्या इस का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि विक्टमाइजेशन हो रहा था ? चर्चा से पहले रेल कर्मचारी पकड़े जा रहे थे । दंड देने के लिये उन के तबादले हो रहे थे ? यह उत्तेजनात्मक कार्यवाही किस ने शुरू की ? अगर विक्टमाइजेशन नहीं था तो यह पहला मुद्दा प्रायः कैसे ? विक्टमाइजेशन या इसीलिये रेल मंत्री बातचीत करने के लिये तैयार हुए, और उस विक्टमाइजेशन की परिणति गिरफ्तारी में हुई । प्रारम्भ से ही सरकार चर्चा के द्वारा रास्ता निकालने के बारे में प्रामाणिक नहीं थी ।

दूसरी बात, यह कहा गया है कि बोनस का मामला रिब्यू कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आने के बाद देखा जाएगा । सभापति महोदय, यह बाद में सोचा गया विचार है—आफ्टर थोट है । जब शर्मा जी इस देश में नहीं थे, पता नहीं विदेश में थे, कहां थे भगवान जाने, तब आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० के प्रेसीडेंट, श्री भगवती अन्य कुछ नेताओं के साथ प्रधान मंत्री से मिले थे... (व्यवधान)

श्री ए० पी० शर्मा : इस के ऊपर बराबर बातचीत चलती रही और यह निगोशियन्स के दौरान में तय हुआ था ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आई एन० टी० यू० सी० के नेताओं ने प्रधान मंत्री को कहा था कि बोनस की मांग उचित है। अभी शर्मा जी ने दावा किया कि बोनस की मांग हम पहले से कर रहे हैं । लेकिन जिस दिन आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० के प्रेसीडेंट श्री भगवती प्रधान मंत्री से मिले तब यह नहीं कहा गया कि हम बोनस रिब्यू कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आने तक इकने को तैयार हैं ।

यह कहा गया था कि बोनस की मांग उचित है, सरकार को मान लेना चाहिये । अगर सरकार नहीं मानेगी तो रेल कर्मचारियों में असंतोष फैलेगा ।

सभापति जी, आप को याद होगा कि एक बैंकिंग कमीशन बना था जिस की कार्यवाही चालू थी, लेकिन जब सरकार को बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण का फैसला करना पड़ा तो उस ने बैंकिंग कमीशन की रिपोर्ट की चिन्ता नहीं की, रिपोर्ट की प्रतीक्षा नहीं की । यह जी बोनस रिब्यू कमेटी की बात है यह बहानेबाजी है । इस में भी ईमानदारी नहीं झलकती... (व्यवधान) । सभापति जी, अब हमारे कांग्रेसी मित्रों को चिन्ता हो रही है कि बोनस में पैसा देना पड़ता है । जब इन्होंने कानून बनाया था कि जो कारखाने घाटे में चलते हैं उन्हें भी बोनस देना चाहिये तब पैसे का ख्याल नहीं आया था । (व्यवधान)

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद) : वह गलत हो गया ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अगर रेलवे मिनिस्टर और लेबर मिनिस्टर यह बात मान लें कि वह गलती थी कि हम फिर से अपनी स्थिति पर विचार करने के लिये तैयार हैं ।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय रेड्डी जी, आप बीच में न बोलें ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, जब एक बार कानून बन गया कि जो कारखाने घाटे में चलते हैं उनके कर्मचारियों को भी बोनस दिया जाएगा तो कोई भी उद्योग बोनस देने से नहीं बच सकता । आप अपने ही जाल में फंस गये हैं । आप ने ऐसी मांग को स्वीकार किया है कि जिस से आप लौट नहीं सकते । सभापति महोदय,

(जी एटल बिहारी बाजपेयी)

एक कर्मचारी जो टाटा के कारखाने में रेल के इंजन बनाने का काम करता है वह बोनस पाता है, और दूसरा भारत का नागरिक जो भारत सरकार के इंजन बनाने के कारखाने में काम करता है वह बोनस नहीं पाता, यह स्थिति अब किसी के गले के नीचे नहीं उतरेगा। यह अन्याय कोई बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगा। यह समझ लेना चाहिये। जिस दिन आप ने बोनस का कानून बनाया उस दिन आप ने सबके निम्ने दरवाजे खोल दिये। अब कोई खिड़की बन्द नहीं की जा सकती, अब किसी रोशनदान में कपड़ा या टाट लगाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। रेल कर्मचारी बोनस मांग रहे हैं। उनकी मांग उचित है।

सभापति महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सचमुच में (व्यवधान) अगर रेलवे को तो आइडियल एमप्लायर होना चाहिए, रेलवे को तो आदर्श मालिक होना चाहिए अगर बोनस का मामला बोनस रिब्यू कमेटी से जुड़ा हुआ था तो प्रधान मन्त्री जी को मुख्य मन्त्रियों को यह पत्र लिखने की क्या जरूरत थी कि सरकार बोनस देने की स्थिति में नहीं है? मान लीजिए बोनस रिब्यू कमेटी ने कह दिया कि रेल कर्मचारियों को बोनस मिलना चाहिये तो प्रधान मन्त्री के पत्र का क्या होगा?

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS  
(SHRI L. N. MISHRA): We reserve  
our opinion.

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : अच्छा, इसका मतलब यह है कि अगर रिब्यू कमेटी ने कह दिया कि बोनस मिले तब भी यह बोनस नहीं देंगे। तो फिर बोनस कमेटी की बात न कीजिए... (व्यवधान)।

यह देखिए बिल्ली बिले से बहर आ गई।

शर्मा जी कहते हैं कि बोनस का मामला रिब्यू कमेटी के सामने है... (व्यवधान) प्राइम मिनिस्टर को चिट्ठी लिखने की क्या

जरूरत थी कि सरकार बोनस देने की स्थिति में नहीं है। क्या इस से कर्मचारियों के मन में सन्देह पैदा नहीं हुआ? मामला अगर बोनस कमेटी के ऊपर छोड़ना था, तो छोड़ देना चाहिए था, लेकिन अब अधिकार आप चाहते हैं कि अगर बोनस कमेटी उसके पक्ष में सिफारिश करती है, तो अन्तिम निर्णय हमारा होगा।

श्री एल० एन० मिश्र: ऐसा तो सब में होता है।

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : अगर सब में अन्तिम निर्णय आपका होगा, तो फिर मजदूर अब आखिरी कदम उठाने जा रहे हैं। मैं उन्हें दोष नहीं दे सकता। अभी जो बहस हुई है, उससे यह बात साफ हो गई कि रेलवे कर्मचारियों को जो कुछ मिला है, वह संगठित होकर और कलेक्टिव बार्गेनिंग करने के कारण मिला है। मियाभाई ट्रिब्यूनल की शर्मा जी ने बहुत चर्चा की है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मियाभाई ट्रिब्यूनल का फैसला कब हुआ? जुलाई 1972 में हुआ और अब है मई 1974। उस ट्रिब्यूनल ने जब अपना एवार्ड दिया, तो रेलवे मन्त्रालय ने उस पर अभी तक कोई अमल नहीं किया।

श्री ए० पी० शर्मा : बहुत सारा अमल किया।

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : जब मजदूर संगठित होकर कार्यवाही करने के लिए विवश हो गये, जब उन्होंने अपनी शक्ति के प्रदर्शन करने का फैसला किया, तब आपको ऐसा लगा कि उन की मांगों को मानना चाहिए लेकिन मियाभाई ट्रिब्यूनल की सिफारिशों का अब कोई मतलब नहीं है। लोको कर्मचारी हड़ताल कर के काम के घंटों पहले ही काम करने का फैसला करा चुके हैं।

क्योंकि कर्मचारियों के हड़ताल के बाद ही आप को उन की मांगें उचित लगीं? इसलिए हर श्रेणी के कर्मचारियों में यह भावना भर गई है कि यह सरकार तब तक नहीं सुनेगी मांग चाहे कितनी भी उचित हो, कितनी भी तर्कसंगत हो, जब तक हड़ताल की घमकी नहीं दी जाएगी और अब कर्मचारी यही कर रहे हैं। अब अगर आप कर्मचारियों को हड़ताल के रास्ते से वापस लाना है, मैं नहीं चाहता कि हड़ताल हो, हड़ताल देश में ऐसी कठिनाइयाँ पैदा करेगी जिन का वर्तमान स्थिति में हम सामना नहीं कर पाएंगे, लेकिन इसका तरीका यह नहीं है कि बातचीत जारी हो और नेताओं को गिरफ्तार कर लो।

चव्हाण साहब मेरे सामने बैठे हैं। मुझे इतिहास का एक उदाहरण याद आता है। दिल्ली के दरबार में औरंगजेब बैठा था और आप छत्रपति शिवाजी का त्रि-शताब्दी राज्या रोहण समारोह मना रहे हैं, औरंगजेब ने जय सिंह के पुत्र राम सिंह को भेज कर छत्रपति शिवाजी को वार्ता के लिए बुलाया और जब वे आ गये, तो उन्हें जेल में बन्द कर दिया। उन्हें वहाँ से जाने नहीं दिया। (व्यवधान)

सभापति जी, इतिहास अपने को दोहरा रहा है। आज औरंगजेब नहीं है, आज छत्रपति शिवाजी भी नहीं हैं, मगर औरंगजेब किसी एक युग में नहीं पैदा होता, औरंगजेब हरेक युग में पैदा होता है। प्रश्न मनोवृत्ति का है। बातचीत जारी रहते हुए कर्मचारियों के नेताओं को गिरफ्तार किया गया, इस का औचित्य क्या है? सभापति महोदय, अभी भी समय है। रेलवे कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल का फैसला 8 मई का है, आज 2 मई है। स्थिति को बिगड़ने से रोका जा सकता है। जो नेता गिरफ्तार हुए हैं, उनको बिना शर्त रिहा कर दिया जाना चाहिए और बैठ कर बातचीत के द्वारा एक रास्ता निकालने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। अगर विनीत कठिनाइयाँ हैं, तो

रेलवे कर्मचारी उनको समझने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं, यह मैं मानने को तैयार नहीं हूँ। रेलवे कर्मचारी देशभक्त हैं। यही रेलवे कर्मचारी युद्ध के समय आप के साथ कन्धे से कन्धा मिलाकर खड़े थे और उन्हीं कर्मचारियों ने हर संकट काल में आप की योजनाओं को सफल बनाने में योगदान दिया है। आप कर्मचारियों की देशभक्ति को जगाइए। उन पर आप दमन का दूधारा मत चढ़ाइए कर्मचारियों से प्रेम से बात करिये, अप्रामाणिकता का परिचय मत दीजिए। अभी भी कर्मचारियों के नेताओं को छोड़ा जा सकता है और उन से बातचीत की जा सकती है।

सभापति महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सच नहीं है कि जब कर्मचारियों से बातचीत जारी हुई और यह सवाल आया कि उन की जो मांगें हैं उन की फाइनेन्सियल इम्प्लीकेशन्स क्या हैं, इस पर थोड़ी बहस हो जाए, तो रेलवे मन्त्रालय की ओर से कहा गया कि इस पर चर्चा नहीं हो सकती है।

श्री ए० पी० शर्मा : चार घंटे चर्चा हुई।  
 (व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : क्या यह मुद्दा खुला हुआ है कि अगर रेल कर्मचारी चाहें तो बताएँ कि खर्च को किस तरह से घटाया जा सकता है, अ मदनी किम तरह से ब्रसकनी है और तब तरह से उन की उचित मांगों को पूरा करने के लिए धन इकठ्ठा यह किया जा सकता है। मैं रेल मन्त्री के मुँह से सुनना चाहता हूँ, शर्मा जी के मुँह से नहीं। क्या यह विषय अभी भी खुला हुआ है चर्चा के लिए?

श्री ए० पी० शर्मा : इसके लिए एक कनेक्ट बनाई हुई है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जिस मामले को टालना होता है, उस को कमेटी के सुपुर्द किया जाता है।

16.56 hrs.

(Shri Ishaque Sambhali in the Chair.)

सभापति जी, शुक्रिया, आप का स्वागत है। अब मुझे घंटी बजने का डर कम हो गया है।

सभापति जी, मैं यह कह रहा था कि अभी इस पर विवाद हो रहा है कि कर्मचारियों की पूरी मांगें पूरा करने के लिए कितने करोड़ रुपये की आवश्यकता होगी। रेडियों, समाचार-पत्रों, प्रचार के सारे सरकारी साधनों जनता को इस बात पर गुमराह करने में लगे हैं कि अगर हम ने कर्मचारियों की मांगें मान ली तो 500 करोड़ रुपये लगेंगे।

श्री ए० पी० शर्मा : साढ़े चार करोड़।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कर्मचारियों के नेता कहते हैं कि ये आंकड़े ठीक नहीं हैं, इससे कम रुपये लगेंगे। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस बारे में बैठकर, आप मानें या न मानें, एक आंकड़े पर नहीं आ सकते ? क्या बातचीत के द्वारा इस बात पर फैसला नहीं हो सकता।

रेल मंत्री कह सकते हैं कि हम जाज बोनस देने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं, आप की बोनस की मांग उचित है, मगर आज उसको पूरा नहीं कर सकते। हम बोनस का सिद्धान्त मानते हैं, 50 फी सदी आप आज ले लिये और 50 फी सदी हम आपके प्रोवीडेंटफण्ड में जमा करा देते हैं। अगर समझौता करने की इच्छा हो, तो कई रास्ते निकल सकते हैं जहाँ चाह वहाँ राह लेकिन जहाँ परवा नहीं है, वहाँ सारे रास्ते बन्द कर दिये जाते हैं, अभी समय है, परिस्थिति को संभाला जा सकता है, उतेजनात्मक कार्यवाही को बापस

लिया जा सकता है, देश को गहरे आर्थिक संकट में डालने से रोका जा सकता है। लेकिन सरकार ने दो बड़ी गलतियाँ की हैं, एक है प्रधान मंत्री जी के पत्र का प्रकाशन और दूसरा नेताओं की गिरफ्तारी। इस से सरकार की नीयत में शक पैदा हो गया है। आप जनता को भी नहीं समझा सकते हैं कि आप ईमानदारी से समझौता वार्ता करना चाहते थे। कल की गिरफ्तारी ने आपके सारे मामले को बिगाड़ दिया और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि शासक दल में ऐसे सदस्य निकलेंगे जो इस समय बुद्धिमत्ता और विवेक का परिचय देंगे और सरकार पर दबाव डालेंगे कि जो गलती हो गई है उसको ठीक करो और नेताओं को रिहा करके वार्ता को फिर से आरम्भ करो और समझौते के द्वारा समस्या का समाधान करो। इसी से रेलवे की हड़ताल टानी जा सकती है, नहीं तो रेलवे के कर्मचारी हड़ताल के लिए मजबूर होंगे और फिर सारे देश को उसके परिणाम भुगतने होंगे।

श्री भागवत झा अजाद (भागलपुर) : सभापति महोदय, आज सब से बड़ा प्रश्न जो देश के सामने उभर रहा है, वह यह है कि रेल की सम्पत्ति सिर्फ ट्रेड यूनियन वालों की है या इस देश की है या जनता की है। आज रेल में काम करने वाले 20 लाख कर्मचारी हैं और इन दो फेडरेशन्स में काम करने वाले अधिक से अधिक 60 प्रतिशत होंगे इस से भी कम हैं, अर्थात् 20 लाख में से 10, लाख ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं, जो सम्पूर्ण रेलवे को, देश की इस जनता को, तमाम लोगों को अपनी इच्छा के अनुरूप नचाना और नोचना चाहते हैं। सम्पत्ति किसकी है ? क्या रेलों में काम करने वाले आठ लाख कर्मचारियों को या इस देश की 55 करोड़ जनता की ? रेलें अगर जनता की सम्पत्ति हैं तो क्यों ये आठ लाख व्यक्ति हर बार, हर महीने स्ट्राइक करके देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को तोड़ना चाहते हैं उसको बिगाड़ना चाहते हैं ?

17 00 hrs.

इनकी क्या मांगें हैं ? इनकी छः मांगें हैं । छः में से चार को मान लिया गया है । सिर्फ़ दो को नहीं माना गया है । दो में से एक यह है कि इनको पैरिटी दी जाए । अब आप ? कल्पना करे कि पैरिटी का असर क्या पड़ता है वे कहते हैं कि हमारी तनख्वाहों में तथा दूसरी-सुविधाओं में तत्काल बिना सोचे हुए 75 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि कर दो । अब इसके पीछे कौन सा तर्क है, कौन सा तर्क है, कौन सी दलील है ? यही है कि चूँकि हमारी यूनियन है, चूँकि हम रेलें चलाते हैं, हम गार्ड हैं, हम फायरमैन हैं, अगर इसको माना नहीं जाता है तो हम रेलें नहीं चलायेंगे । दूसरी मांग जो मानी नहीं गई है, वह बोनस की है । इन दोनों तथा तमाम दूसरी मांगों पर रेल मंत्री उन से बात कर रहे थे । तीस अप्रैल को रेल मंत्री ने उन से बात की । बात करने के बाद दो निर्णय लिए गए । एक यह था कि दो मई को फिर एक बैठक की जाए और दूसरा यह कि एक मई की प्रातःकाल तमाम यूनियन के प्रतिनिधि जिन मुद्दों पर सहमत हो गई हैं उन पर दस्तखत करने के लिए आएंगे । लेकिन एक मई को हमारे मित्र तत्कालीन कोम्रोडिनेशन कमेटी के चेयरमैन श्रीमान् जार्ज फरनेंडीस महोदय उपस्थित नहीं हुए । हमारे वाजपेयी जी कहते हैं कि उनको गिरफ्तार क्यों कर लिया गया ? मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि बातें सिर्फ़ आमने सामने नहीं होती हैं, बातों का अन्दाजा भी लगाया जाता है, लोगों के कारनामों और कार्रवाइयों का इस बात से पता चलता है कि वे क्या करना चाहते हैं । अगर जिन चार बातों पर सहमत हो गई थी और जिनको कार्यरूप में परिणत करने के लिए रेल मंत्रालय 80-90 करोड़ रुपये तक अधिक देने को सहमत हो गया था तो आप क्यों दस्तखत करने नहीं आए ? कोई भी एम्प्लायर अगर नब्बे करोड़ रुपया देने को सहमत होना है और किसी यूनियन के साथ दस्तखत करना चाहता है तो क्यों उस यूनियन के नेता, कोम्रोडिनेशन कमेटी के सभापति

हाजिर नहीं होते हैं कहां चले जाते हैं ? चले जाते हैं लखनऊ । लखनऊ जाकर वह क्या करते हैं ? वहां पर तथा दूसरी तमाम जगहों पर भाषण देते फिर रहे हैं । एक तरफ उन्होंने रेल मंत्री को आश्वासन दिया है ।

"It is just a technical matter to give notice. It shall not in any way prejudice the negotiation."

ये उनके शब्द हैं । लेकिन दूसरी तरफ तमाम देश में घूम घूम कर कह रहे हैं कि तार काटो, रेलों की पटरियां उखाड़ो, इन्हें जला दो । इस तरह की बातें वे तमाम जगहों पर कहते फिर रहे हैं—

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

श्री भगवत झा आजाद : जिस तरह की उनके पास इनफॉर्मेशन है उस तरह की हमारे पास भी इनफॉर्मेशन है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस तरह की बातें कही हैं, कही हैं, कही हैं—

श्री रामवतार शास्त्री (पटना) : झूठ बात है ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जब चर्चा शुरू हुई थी तब भी जार्ज फरनेंडीस का नाम लिया गया था । तब शर्मा जी ने उनका कोई भाषण पढ़ा था । तब आपकी जगह जो अध्यक्ष थे उन्होंने कहा था कि जिम्मेदारी की भावना से ही ऐसी कोई बात कही जानी चाहिये । अब जो कुछ माननीय सदस्य कह रहे हैं कि जार्ज फरनेंडीस साहब ने यह कहा कि पटरियां उखाड़ो, तार तोड़ो, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह किस अवसर में भ्राम्य है जिसके आधार पर वह यह कह रहे हैं ? क्या इटलीजेंस

[ श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ]

रिपोर्ट के आधार पर कह रहे हैं या श्री जार्ज फर्नेंडीस को बयानाम करने की यह चाल मात्र है ? यह रेलवे आन्दोलन पर लान्छन लगाया जा रहा है, कीचड़ उछालने की कोशिश की जा रही है। सदन में इस तरह की बात कहने की इजाजत नहीं दी जानी चाहिये।

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : पूरी जवाब-देही के साथ मैंने यह कहा है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह भाषण उन्होंने कब और कहाँ दिया है ? इनको कैसे पता चला ?

सभापति महोदय : मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें सवाल और जवाब का इतना बड़ा मसला नहीं है। वाजपेयी जी ने जो चीज कही है खुद आप उसको कर सकते हैं। सदन में अनेक बार इस तरह की रूलिंग हुई हैं। मेरी दरखवास्त आपसे यह है कि जिन रिफ़ेसिंस के बारे में आपके पास अखबारों की कोई कटिंग हों या उनकी कहीं किसी स्पीच की कोई कापी हो जिससे आप सबूत दे सकें, उसका तो आप रेफ़ेस दें और जिस चीज के बारे में आपके पास कोई इस तरह का सबूत न हो, किसी भी मेम्बर के पास न हो, वह मैं समझता हूँ कि मुनासिब नहीं होगा। इस तरह की रूलिंग दी जा चुकी है कि उस तरह की चीजों के बारे में रेफ़ेस न दिया जाए।

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : मैं सहमत हूँ कि मैं ऐसी कोई बात न कह जिसके बारे में मेरे पास सबूत न हो। आप जानते हैं कि ज्ञान प्राप्ति के तीन प्रकार के स्रोत होते हैं, नालेज के तीन स्रोत हैं, परसनल, डिस्टिक्टिव और आर्थेटिक। यह मेरा परसनल नालेज है। श्री जार्ज फर्नेंडीस किसी बन्दकमरे के भाषण नहीं देते हैं। पब्लिक मीडियम में वेते हैं।

असंश्लोक में, धनबाद में, कलकत्ता में, बखानक में, इन्होंने भाषण दिए हैं। वहाँ एक नहीं हजारों हाजिर थे जिन्होंने उनके भाषणों को सुना है। अगर आप चाहते हैं तो आप कमेटी बहाल करें, हम आपके सामने सबूत दे देंगे कि जार्ज फर्नेंडीस साहब ने इस तरह की बातें कही हैं।

श्री जार्ज फर्नेंडीस एक तरफ यह कहते हैं कि हम इस बातचीत को प्रेजुडिस नहीं करेंगे लेकिन दूसरी तरफ—(व्यवधान) याद रखिये मैं इन में से किसी को बोलने न दूंगा। ये रेलों को जलाते हैं, उखाड़ते हैं लेकिन इनको हिम्मत नहीं होती है यहाँ सच बात सुनने की।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : गलत बात मत बोलिये।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Sir, you have given a clear ruling that the hon. Member should give the source, either newspapers report or some kind of a document, to support his statement. Now, the hon. Member says that the sources of knowledge are personal, derivative and authoritative. I do not know whether these three sources of knowledge are compatible with the ruling that you have given. The hon. Member says that it was his personal knowledge that Mr. George Fernandez made his speeches in Calcutta, in Bombay, in Delhi and in other places. I would like to ask the hon. Member whether he was present in Calcutta, in Bombay and in other places. If he was not, he cannot say that it was his personal knowledge. About the veracity of his personal knowledge also, I would like to ask him, whether he has got the tape record of the speeches which he says were made by Mr. George Fernandez. Otherwise, his personal knowledge

cannot be authentic. He should clarify this. Otherwise, he cannot make such remarks. If he makes such remarks, he has to face obstacles.

**सभापति महोदय :** यह कोई प्वाइंट ऑफ़ आर्डर नहीं है। मैं पहले कह चुका हूँ और उसको फिर दोहरा देता हूँ कि आप साहिबान जो इस में पार्टिसिपेट कर रहे हैं, सीनियर मेम्बर हैं और रूल्ज और रेग्युलेशंस से वाकिफ़ हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता कि किसी बन्धन में मैं आपको चलाऊँ। लेकिन मेरी दरखास्त यही है कि मेहरबानी करके आप रेफ़्रैस सिर्फ़ उन्हीं चीज़ों का दें जिनके बारे में आप कोई सबूत दे सकें। साथ ही आप इस तरह वक्त जाया न करें। ऐसा करके आप उनका समय बढ़ा रहे हैं और हाउसकी खिमदमत नहीं कर रहे हैं।

**श्री भागवत झा आजाद :** मेरा यह सौभाग्य है कि श्री समर गुह की तरह की मेरी पार्टी नहीं है या उम पार्टी का मेम्बर मैं नहीं हूँ जिसके दो मेम्बर तो यहां हैं और चार बाहर। मैं उम पार्टी का फालोअर हूँ जिसके हजारों लाखों फालोअर देश में हैं। हमारे पास अनेक सॉसिजि हैं। लेकिन अगर माननीय सदस्य सत्य को नहीं सुनना चाहते हैं, अगर उनको बहुत कटु लगता है, तो मैं इसको छोड़ देता हूँ।

अब मैं बताऊँ कि श्री जार्ज फर्नेंडीज जब मंत्री महोदय से मिल कर, नेगोसिएशन के बाद, बाहर आये, तो उन्होंने प्रेस कान्फ़ेस में क्या कहा? अब लिखी हुई बात सुनिये। उन्होंने कहा, "इट इज ए मीनिंगलेस एक्सरसाइज।" एक तरफ़ तो वह रेल मंत्री से बात कर रहे

थे और उन्होंने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि स्ट्राइक का हमारा टेकिनकल नोटिस इन नेगोसिएशन्स को प्रैजुडिस नहीं करेगा, और दूसरी तरफ़ उन्होंने प्रेस कान्फ़ेस में यह कहा कि "इट इज ए मीनिंगलेस एक्सरसाइज।" उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि "स्ट्राइक फ़्राम एट्थ स्टैंड्स",। यह उनकी ईमानदारी है, यह उनकी इन्सानियत है।

ऐसी स्थिति में अगर ऐसे व्यक्ति को गिरफ़्तार न किया जाय, तो क्या किया जाये? यह तो आवश्यक था। सरकार ने ऐसे व्यक्ति को गिरफ़्तार करके अच्छा किया। एक तरफ़ तो वह नेगोसिएशन्स टेबल पर आते हैं, और दूसरी तरफ़ कार्य और भ्रमण उसके विपरीत करते हैं।

मेरे ये दोस्त फिर नाराज होंगे, लेकिन उन्होंने कल लखनऊ में क्या कहा? सरकार बताये कि क्या मैं झूठ कह रहा हूँ या सही कह रहा हूँ। श्री जार्ज फर्नेंडीज ने लखनऊ में कहा कि जो लोग इस स्ट्राइक में भाग नहीं लेंगे, वे अनपैट्रियाटिक हैं—उन्होंने "ट्रेटर" बर्ड यूज किया। उन्होंने कहा—यह इन वर्टिड कामाज में है : "गद्दार सालों को पहले पहचानों और ठीक करो, स्ट्राइक के बाद नहीं।" सरकार बताये कि उन्होंने कल लखनऊ में यह कहा कि नहीं। मैं चैलेंज करता हूँ। क्या यह एक लीडर की भाषा है? कोऑर्डिनेशन कमेटी के चेयरमैन के भाषण, उनका व्यवहार और उनके कार्य यह प्रकट करते हैं कि उनके मामले देश और रेल कर्मचारियों का हित नहीं है, बल्कि उनके लिये अपनी व्यक्तिगत महत्वाकांक्षा और अपनी पार्टी की राजनीति सर्वोपरि है। वह देश की और रेल कर्मचारियों की भलाई नहीं करना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि उनके भाषण, कार्य और व्यवहार सब इसके विपरीत हैं।

इस स्ट्राइक के सम्बन्ध में उनकी सारी भावना राजनीति से प्रेरित है, यदि नहीं है,



[श्री भागवत झा आजाद]

तो क्या उन्होंने स्ट्राइक के लिये सबको पूछ लिया है ? मैं दावे के साथ कहता हूँ कि उन्होंने ऐसा नहीं किया है। उदाहरण के लिये रेलवे स्टेशन मास्टर्स की यूनियन को उन्होंने नहीं पूछा है। मैं विश्वास करता हूँ—मेरी खबर है कि रेलवे स्टेशन मास्टर स्ट्राइक नहीं करेंगे ? (व्यवधान) सभापति महोदय, क्या मैं उनसे पूछ कर बोलूंगा ? क्या मैं उनके मन के अनुसार बोलूंगा, या अपने मन के अनुसार बोलूंगा ? (व्यवधान) श्री जार्ज फरनेंडीज ने यूनियन में जो व्यवहार किया है, वह यूनियन के लीडर का व्यवहार नहीं है। वह बगैर किसी को पूछे काम कर रहे हैं।

उनकी मांगों पर विचार किया गया है और रेल मंत्री ने उनकी मांगों को माना है। उस पर 80 करोड़ रुपया खर्च होगा। आज वे क्या चाहते हैं ? पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग के साथ पैरिटी—यानी पैरिटी के नाम पर रेलवे कर्मचारियों की तनखाह बिना किसी काम के 75 परसेंट बढ़ा दी जाये। वे चाहते हैं बोनस, और बोनस देने का अर्थ है कि रेलवे मंत्रालय को और 500 करोड़ रुपया देना पड़ेगा। आज रेलवे का वेज बिल 530 करोड़ रुपया है। रेलवे कर्मचारियों को बोनस देने से वह दुगुना हो जायेगा। यह रुपया क्यों खर्च किया जाये ? क्या इस देश की जनता की तुलना में रेल कर्मचारी अधिक दुःखी हैं ? इस देश के जनसाधारण की वार्षिक पर-कैपिटा आय 600 रुपये है, जबकि रेल कर्मचारियों की 4200 रुपये है। इस देश में एक मजदूर को प्रति दिन 3, 4 रुपये मिलते हैं, जबकि रेलवे में कम से कम 8 रुपये मिलते हैं। आज इस देश में 20 लाख ऐसे आदमी हैं, जबकि इस देश की जनता 55 करोड़ है। क्या किया जाये ? क्या देश के कुछ लाख चुने हुये आदमियों की तनखाह बढ़ाने के लिये रेल किराये और भाड़े में वृद्धि कर दी जाये? अगर रेल कर्म-

चारियों को उनके मन के अनुसार दिया जाय तो इस देश में रेल किराये और भाड़े में 100 प्रतिशत वृद्धि करनी पड़ेगी। क्यों उनको यह दिया जाये ?—क्या इसलिये कि वे सारी ट्रेनों को लेट चला कर जनता को असुविधा पहुंचाते हैं, क्या इसलिये कि वे बिना टिकट वालों को ले जा कर पैसे अपनी जेब में रखते हैं, क्या इसलिये कि उनकी आर० पी० एफ० अपने कामों के कारण रेलवे पिलफ्रेज फोर्स के नाम से जानी जाती है। आखिर किस गुण, विशेषता या योग्यता के आधार पर रेलवे कर्मचारी यह मांग कर रहे हैं ?

जहां तक बोनस की मांग का सम्बन्ध है, सरकार ने बोनस की प्रथा चला कर गलती की है। बोनस के अर्थ क्या होते हैं ? बोनस को प्रोडक्शन से लिंक करना चाहिये। अगर कर्मचारी बारह महीने काम कर के नार्मल प्रोडक्शन से दस परसेंट अधिक करते हैं, तो उनको दस परसेंट बोनस अवश्य मिलना चाहिए। आज समय आ गया है कि भारत सरकार अपनी गलती को सुधारे और बोनस को प्रोडक्शन से लिंक करे। यह करना बहुत जरूरी है।

आप जानते हैं कि मई, 1973 में रेल मंत्री जी ने यह उदारता दिखाई—हमारे विचार में गलती की—कि उन्होंने एक अन-रेकग्नाइज्ड यूनियन के साथ बातचीत शुरू कर दी, जिसने बिना स्ट्राइक का नोटिस दिये और बिना स्ट्राइक पैलट किये हड़ताल कर दी थी। मंत्री महोदय की उस उदारता का परिणाम हमारे सामने है। हर महीने स्ट्राइक हो रही है। तब से आज तक चार बड़ी स्ट्राइक्स हुई हैं जिससे रेलवेज को 68 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा हुआ। अगर रेलवेज को एक रुपये का घाटा होता है, तो देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को दस गुना अधिक घाटा होता है। अर्थात्, सिर्फ एक बरस में रेलवेज की चार स्ट्राइक्स से इस देश को 680 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा हुआ है। उन चार स्ट्राइक से के बाद हुये समझौतों का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन करने से रेल कर्मचारियों को 190 करोड़ रुपये की सुविधायें मिलीं।

इस देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को अस्त-व्यस्त करने वाली यह स्ट्राइक बिल्कुल गलत होगा इस स्ट्राइक के परिणामस्वरूप हमारे स्टील प्लांट बन्द हो जायेंगे और जनता तक अन्न, कोयला और अन्य आवश्यक समग्री का पहुंचाना बन्द हो जायेगा। इस लिये हम तमाम लोग इस स्ट्राइक का पुरजोर विरोध करते हैं। हम सरकार से यह निवेदन करना चाहते हैं कि जो लोग काम पर आना चाहें, उनको सब प्रकार की सुविधा और सुरक्षा दी जाये, ताकि जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि हमारा ट्रेड यूनियन राइट है कि जो हमारे साथ न चले, हम उसको पीट दें, उनके इस प्रिविलेज को तोड़ दिया जाये।

मैं इस देश की 55 करोड़ जनता की ओर से इस स्ट्राइक का विरोध करता हूँ, क्योंकि यह गलत है और यह देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के लिये हानिकारक है। इसको बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जाना चाहिये। रेल मंत्री जी इस बार न झुकेँ, यही मेरी प्रार्थना है।

**SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam):** I support the motion moved by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu. Before I come to the subject, I want to make one observation. At that time I did not want to add to the noise that was already here in the House. I concede that the Minister has a right to make a statement whenever he wants. But that right should not be misutilised and abused, because it did not look as though Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu was moving the Adjournment Motion. At 3.00 p.m. the hon. Minister was on his legs to make his statement. When the motion had been fixed for 3.00 p.m., it would have been fair to the House if the Opposition had been allowed to move the Adjournment Motion and then if the Minister had made his statement after that, it would have been all right. He should not abuse the right given to him.

I do not want to go into very many arguments that have been put forth on the merits of the negotiations. We are concerned here over the indiscriminate arrest of leaders of railway workers like Mr. George Fernandes. We are protesting against this procedure. What are the points of negotiations? How far has the Minister been able to accommodate them? What are the points raised on the labour side? These points should have been thrashed out at the negotiating table. It is not as if you are going to concede every one of the demands; it is not as if they are bent on the strike even if one point is not conceded by you. Otherwise, there need not be any negotiations at all.

Strike at this juncture will, no doubt, add to the economic crisis. Everybody is aware of that. But the strike itself is an outcome of an economic crisis. Why should workers go on strike?

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Why are you inviting strike?

**SHRI SEZHIYAN:** The strike was invited by Mr. L. N. Mishra. You put the question to him.

Somebody went to the extent of saying that there were some privileged class of workers; they were getting Rs. 8 a day; what about persons getting Rs. 4/- a day? I concede. Make a law that no worker should get more than Rs. 4 or 8, and that law should be applicable not only to the railway workers, not only to the mill workers, but it should be applicable even to the executives. Nobody in this country should receive more than, say, Rs. 200 per month. The maximum can be fixed. Even Members of Parliament should accept this maximum. We should not receive more than Rs. 8 or 10 a day? If a railway worker can manage his family with Rs. 4 per day, why not a Member of Parliament with Rs. 8 a day? (Interruptions). Now let us see the logic of the argument. If you

[Shri Sezhiyan]

think that strike is going to affect production—it will affect production; everybody is conscious of that; you should be more conscious than anybody else—then ban all strikes, ban all lock-outs. Why are you speaking with two minds? At one stage Mr. A. P. Sharma says that strike is a fundamental right of the worker but when the worker goes on strike, he calls him a 'traitor'. If you do not like a person, you call him a traitor and put him inside the jail. They have quoted many speeches of Mr. George Fernandes. I do not know what Mr. Fernandes spoke or did not speak at Asansol. What about Mr. N. Chakravarty against whom I am told, a warrant is pending. What heinous crime did he commit warranting his arrest? What crime did Mr. Mhalgi commits for which you put him inside the jail and sent him also to Heavens? I am objecting to the procedure. You called the other side to the negotiating table. The negotiations are going on. You had fixed 10.00 a.m. for the negotiations, and all the representatives were due to come. Then what happened? Mr. George Fernandes and other negotiators who were to come were put inside the jail? (Interruptions). Why were the persons who had been asked to come to the negotiating table arrested? It is dubious. I am objecting to that. (Interruptions). I do not know about Mr. George Fernandes. What about Mr. N. Chakravarty? What about Mr. V. R. Mhalgi and hundreds of others who were put inside the jail? Just because you do not like them, you could not carry on the negotiations with them, you could not fulfil the obligations, you put them inside the jail and you say that they are traitors. Why the workers' representatives who were considered fit enough to come to the negotiating table....

**SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur):**  
Saboteurs.

**SHRI SEZHIYAN:** That is your language, Mr. Lakkappa. Two years ago you were not speaking the same lan-

guage. After going over to the Congress Benches you have started speaking like that.

This attitude of the Government of inviting the representatives of the workers to the negotiating table and clapping them inside the jail, that is what I am objecting to. You negotiate with them. You say it will cost Rs. 500 crores and we cannot give. Somebody said that even granting of bonus will cost Rs. 500 crores. I do not know what calculation machine he used. I said, discuss with them. Then, what is the use of these discussions at all if the Government and the Ministry have already made up their mind. If they want to sabotage, then why form a negotiating table. That is the thing I am objecting to. I cannot understand the procedure adopted by the Government to invite the representatives, giving the hope to the Parliament and the country that a negotiation is going to take place, that the strike will be averted, but, in the meantime, clapping them inside the jail. This is worse than fascist rule. You give a hope and dash it outside. This is exactly what the Japanese did in Pearl Harbour. They were doing negotiations on the one side and launched attack on the Pearl Harbour on the other. This pearl of Bihar is doing the same thing as what Tojo did in 1939—1944. That is the thing we are objecting to.

I think all the Parties here—somebody said why Jana Sangh, why Swatantra and others should join on this motion. It is just because it is a right cause. What you have done is a heinous crime. Otherwise, I do not think there is much in common between Mr. George Fernandes and Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan politically but, in the labour field you are taking away a fundamental right. You are inviting the people to the negotiating table but clap them inside the jail. This is a thing which leads us to a suspicion, to a strong suspicion, that the Government from the beginning has made up their mind to precipitate the strike and that they do not want to avert the strike and they want

to divert the attention of the country to the strike so that for whatever <sup>ills</sup> that have come out of their economic bungling, by their bad planning, by the inflationary economic programmes they have undertaken and unfulfilled hopes, they want a scapegoat and they want to use this strike as a scapegoat. So they want to provoke a strike, they want to participate the strike and they want to precipitate the strike and that the strike will be precipitated. Only with this end in view they have released the letter written by the Prime Minister herself to the State Chief Ministers. How did this letter come to be published? Did anybody take note of that one? Why should a letter written by the Prime Minister to the Chief Ministers find a place in the Press?

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister must have done it.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: I take it very seriously. You come out and make the same charge. I will take it to the court. If you have got the guts, come out of the House and make that charge...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lakkappa, please do not interrupt.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: You say Mr. Karunanidhi has leaked it to the Press? If you feel honestly so and feel convinced, come out and say that. He cannot make a very irresponsible statement. He is going too far. He can have political differences. I am arguing a point which is a basic one. If he feels that the Tamil Nadu Government has leaked it, I for one will go against him. Come out and prove it. I will take it to the court. I will ask him. Just because they have got the protection of the four walls of this House, they think they can talk anything.

One thing comes out again and again from the Congress Members. Even Mr. Sharma also made that point. Even Mr. Dandavate was asked to raise a question by the Speaker.

He said, let us decide, let the House decide. What does it mean? Because you have got 360 members and only 140 members are here, you think you can carry on everything? (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lakkappa, please sit down.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: He has got a full right, he is a new-fund of the Congress. He is more loyal than the queen herself.

If they want to decide every issue by 360 members, no discussion need be raised, no adjournment motion is going to be of any use. We cannot argue anything. We can as well go to the streets and argue.... (Interruptions).

I am very grateful to the mercies shown to us. If the same state of affairs continues, we do not know today it is Mr. George Fernandes who is put in jail, tomorrow it may be the entire Opposition may be clapped inside the jail. You have got the ruthlessness; you can come to any depravity; you are not running democracy; you are running a limited dictatorship....

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: No man is above law.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: You are above law, Mr. Lakkappa. You have been above the law of the House for a long time.

Therefore, my appeal to the House and my appeal to the Government is this. This question has been engaging us for a long time. The House expressed its concern again and again. On Monday this came up yesterday was a holiday; day before yesterday we were agitating and the House was very much exercised; they did not come to the House with a statement. They did not say anything about the letter written by the Prime Minister. They did not come when the whole House was exercised over the matter. They said they will continue negotiations, but we find in the newspapers

[Shri Sezhiyan]

that leaders representing workers have been arrested and put into jail. Without aggravating the situation, I would appeal to the Government to release these leaders and continue negotiations. Mr. Sharma may oppose me when I say this but when the strike is successful and the workers' demands are conceded, then, he will come and take a lion's share out of that success. So I wish that Government should see the wisdom of the step that they are taking. Instead of adopting these draconian laws, time and again, and adopting dictatorial attitude, they should take concrete steps and they should release the workers and start negotiations. They say *garibi hatao*; what they are doing is, they will *hatao* all the *garibs*; not *garibi*; they will kill all the workers, by the way they are proceeding in this regard. I appeal to the House had I appeal to the Minister. Let them release all the workers and let them come to the negotiating table; let them take the House into confidence in this matter. With these words I conclude. Thank you.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola):** I feel pained that we have come to such a pass in this country that trade union movement, the worker's attitude and the attitude on the other side of the Railway Board, has brought us to a stage where the most vital sector of our country is likely to come to a grinding-halt throwing the entire economy in absolute disarray. There is already a grave crisis in the national economy which we are facing. Here is a situation created out of misunderstanding of basic issues involved.

I have worked for 25 years in the Trade Union movement and that too, a militant trade union movement. Therefore I know what is the feeling of employees and so I beg to submit one thing to my trade union colleagues. Considering the situation in the country, what is to be done? I have recently had the advantage of listening to the evidence of what happened in Chile. I would like to place some of

the facts before my learned colleagues here. The Ambassador of Chile in Washington gave evidence. There was a plan of economic chaos that was perpetrated in Chile before Allende was shot dead and his Government was overthrown. That plan consisted precisely of what had happened in some parts here. I don't know whether willy-nilly we are falling in that sort of trap. What was the plan, Sir? I am sure none of the patriotic people here would like that thing to happen. The plan was, first create an economic chaos by price rise, by scarcity of commodities, by a league, by a conspiracy with the monopolists of those countries, and make essential commodities scarce.

After that is done, contact the vocal elements in the society like lawyers, professors, students, engineers and so on and provoke them to create dissatisfaction and disrespect against the Government—the progressive Government of Allende,—create conditions there because they know they can take advantage of that situation. He has nationalised the copper mines because the imperialists were not willing to buy their requirements of copper in the international market at a fair price. The economic situation was getting difficult and so, taking advantage of it, it was stated by the Ambassador, that a plan was hatched. Transport system was most vital in the country. In that country it was not the railways but the road transport which was owned by the monopolists, the capitalists of that country. They joined hands to provoke the employees.

There, they provoked the drivers, workers to create chaotic conditions; and then you ask them to go on strike. This is precisely what has happened. Transport came to a grinding halt in Chile. There were some among the opposition parties who called themselves belonging to the Cristian Democratic Party. There may be parallel parties like them here. And those parties thought that the best thing to do was to provoke them. At last they could not do that and so, there the military and the police joined together

to utilise such a condition that they can shoot and kill anybody and take over the power. At this moment, this is what is being attempted in this country. (Interruptions).

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** According to you, to bring about economic crisis is the most progressive thing to do. (Interruptions).

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** As said by Shakespeare, I think that the arrow has gone home. Please do not misunderstand me.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I hope the arrow has gone home. You are now reeling under it. High prices are progressive, corruption is progressive and unemployment is progressive!

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** Here the economic crisis is because of less production and we have not been able to handle the distribution of essential commodities properly.

What should have been the demands of the trade unions in this country and working class? I would be completely with you if we were to tell the Government that we are the masters of the means of production—not the Railway Board. If you were to say that we run the railways and so we want a share in the management of the Railways and if this was your demand, I would completely support that demand and in every public sector, if such a demand is made. If we are really the true citizens and if we feel that this is our country, what should the vanguard of the vital sector do is to have more production. We should say that this does not belong to a few bureaucrats but this sector belongs to us, and, therefore, we shall manage it and we shall run it and we shall bring about economy and we shall give more production and then we shall also get a better deal for ourselves. This is the attitude that the trade unions should have adopted and they should have compelled the Government to agree to this. I have pleaded with the Government that the best

way to solve the problem is not to have a showdown. But as things stand today, even in the trade union movement, I do not think all are agreed on this, because there are some people who make impossible demands. Let us all put our hands on our hearts and consider whether in the present situation, it is possible for this Government and the railways which are already so heavily burdened, whatever be the management or the mismanagement—I grant mismanagement too—to give you Rs. 450 crores more.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** Bonus.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** Mind you, Sir, it is not only bonus, but it is bonus plus parity. You should consider what parity would practically cost. In other public sectors it is said that a man is getting Rs. 320, but here a railway worker is getting only Rs. 196 and, therefore, he should also get Rs. 320. Where can they pay this Rs. 320 from to the smallest worker?

**SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA (Telli-cherry):** Let them stop the concessions they are giving to the monopolists.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** There, he is right. What I am saying is that he must not juxtapose it. That is what I am saying. They cannot say 'I am asking for such and such a thing; if you cannot give it to me, go to hell'. There, I do not agree....

**SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN:** We never said 'Go to hell'. It was the Railway Minister who said 'Go to hell'.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** If the complaint is against monopolists, then by all means stop the monopolists, and stop the concessions to them.

But now the situation is such that they have also made it a point of prestige. Unfortunately, this thing has made strange bed fellows. Otherwise, I do not see how Shri George Fernandes and my hon. friends of the CPI could stand together and work together.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): We have always cooperated.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I do not know how they can work together when one of the parties is making impossible demand for a showdown. My hon. friends know that it is an impossible demand. And what is the logic? On the one hand, they are making preparations for a showdown on the 8th. What is a government worth its salt to do under those circumstances? Are they to surrender and to capitulate? What are they to do? Therefore, there is only one alternative which they leave by making an impossible demand, knowing full well that it is an impossible demand. I would like to ask whether any one of the responsible unions told the Government that they would wait for the report of the Bonus Review Committee? They have a progressive Labour Minister atleast. According to some of my hon. friends, even the Railway Minister is a progressive Minister. Why did they not go and tell him that at least so far as bonus was concerned, they could await the report of the Bonus Review Committee?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Let him ask for the Labour Minister's opinion confidentially.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: It was at the instance of the Labour Minister that that matter was referred to the Bonus Review Committee. Therefore, could they not say that they would await the report of the committee, and if it was not favourable to them they would decide what action should be taken? Why do they try to forestall the thing and say that review committee or no review committee, they want a commitment from the hon. Minister here and now as far as this bonus question is concerned. Did any one of them say this? Did any one of them say that they would wait till the Review Committee gave its decision? What could the Prime Minister do? When they insisted at least as far

as the negotiations are concerned, on both these demands, what could Government do? I am talking in regard to parity now, and I am talking of the attitude of the leader Shri George Fernandes. I do not know what Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan has to say about parity.

कोम्राडिनेशन कमेटी जिसके अध्यक्ष जार्ज फरनांडीज हैं उनमें आपकी यही मांग थी।

This was the demand: parity, which would have meant....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Equal pay for equal work. That is parity.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Correct. Equal pay for equal work.

लेकिन जो आज का कंटेक्ट है उसमें बात कर रहा हूँ।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Do you want a national wage or not?

श्री बंसन साठे : बुनियादी तौर पर मैंने कहा मैं चाहता हूँ नेशनल वेज, मैं चाहता हूँ नेशनल पालिसी, मैं चाहता हूँ मोनोपोलिस्टों को खत्म करना, मैं चाहता हूँ प्रोडक्शन हमारे हाथ में रहे, हम चलायें—यह सब मैं चाहता हूँ लेकिन मैं तो आज के कंटेक्ट में बात कर रहा हूँ। क्या आज आप कह सकते हैं, आज के हालत में पैरिटी की मांग रखकर कि वहाँ साढ़े तीन सौ मिल रहे हैं इसलिये यहाँ भी मिलने चाहिये ? फिर एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर क्या कहेगा ? क्या वह नहीं कहेगा कि मुझे भी मिलना चाहिये और फिर उसको आप कैसे डिवाई करेंगे ? तो आज के हालात में यह इम्पॉसिबिल है।

It is impossible. You know, everybody knows, that this is impossible. Did you go and tell him: 'On these two demands we are not going to insist'. The rest of it; fair price shop—yes. Fair price shops on the same footing as there are fair price shops elsewhere but here run by the department so that the railway labour need not be required to go ten miles for standing in queue. Therefore, there must be fair price shops on the railways.

But what about this idea of extra subsidy? Can you give additional subsidy?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: It has been given in Kashmir.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Do not confuse the issue like this. Therefore, I humbly submit that when the railway authorities found that George Fernandes and some of his colleagues, on information which they had with them, are indulging in preparing for virtual sabotage....

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Wrong, wrong. I am drawing your attention to this. It is a serious charge against him. Shri Sathe is trying to isolate him....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: All his lifetime he has been a trade unionist.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: He is trying to isolate him from the National Co-ordination Committee. Just now he has uttered a word that he wants to sabotage the whole thing.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Yes.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: This should be expunged or he should substantiate it.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: My friend has not heard me correctly. I say with the Government or the authority which is placed in that position, which is in the know of a particular thing. I am not, but they are the persons on the spot who are dealing with the situa-

tion. So if they have some information on which they have to act to protect this vital link, the country is going to hold them responsible and not George Fernandes. Therefore, if they in their wisdom and according to information received by them thought that this was the only preventive step that was to be taken....

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: What information? Share it with the House.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: ....they are perfectly justified in taking this step.

Therefore, on this basis, I oppose the adjournment motion.

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी : 'चेयरमैन साहब, मेरा प्वाइन्ट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। जब श्री गोस्वामी जी चेयर पर थे तो दो प्वाइन्ट ऑफ ऑर्डर रोज़ किये गये थे और उन्होंने यह कहा था कि जो शब्द यहाँ मौजूद न हो उनके बारे में कोई खास चीज़ कही जाये तो उसमें ऐसी बात न कही जाये जिसको वे डिफेंड न कर सकें। अभी साठे जी ने कहा है, उनके पास जो इन्कारमेशन है या जो इन्कारमेशन उन्हें दी गई है....

श्री बसन्त साठे : मैंने कहा सरकार के पास होगी, यह नहीं कहा कि मेरे पास है।

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी : उन्होंने कहा जार्ज फरनांडीज़ सैन्टाज करने के लिये जा रहे हैं। मैं हल्ल पर आपकी रूनिंग चाहता हूँ कि एक शब्द जो जेलखाने में जा चुका है, जिसने इतनी हड़तालें लड़ी हैं—आप उनके विचारों से एक्जिलाफ कर सकते हैं, उनकी एक्टिविटीज से एक्जिलाफ कर सकते हैं लेकिन बम्बई में इतनी हड़तालें हुईं जिसमें उन्होंने लीड किया क्या किसी जगह भी सैन्टाज हुआ ? इसलिये ऐसे चार्जज न



[श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी]

लगाये जायें। मेरे पास भी इन्फारमेशन है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि चेयरमैन रेलवे बोर्ड ने सीनैटली लोगों से कहा कि फिश-प्लेट्स रिमूव की गई। वे चाहते हैं सैन्टाज किया जाये, वे चाहते हैं रेलवे प्रापर्टी को नुकसान पहुंचाया जाये। मैं बिल्कुल कहना चाहता हूँ कि एजेन्ट्स की मार्फत यह कर रहे हैं और उसमें सबसे बड़े एजेन्ट ए० पी० शर्मा हैं।

**सभापति महोदय :** इसमें कोई प्वाइंट ग्राफ आर्डर नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक उस इन्फारमेशन का ताल्लुक है जिसकी तरफ माननीय बनर्जी ने कहा, जब उन्होंने खुद ही कह दिया कि सरकार के पास होगी, उनके पास कोई सीस नहीं है, तो उन्होंने अपनी इन्फारमेशन को सबके सामने साबित किया। इस के बाद मेरा खयाल है कि कुछ कहने की जरूरत नहीं है।

**SHRI N. K. SANGHI (Jalore):** On a point of order. Somebody who is not present here should not be quoted. That is the practice. In spite of the fact whether his information is correct or not, Mr. Banerjee has said that the Chairman has been instigating people to remove fish plates and do works of sabotage. It is a blatant lie and it should be expunged.

**सभापति महोदय :** आपको मालूम है कि जब से यह डिस्कशन शुरू हुआ अनेक बार प्वाइंट ग्राफ आर्डर मांगे गये। इस बारे में मैं देख रहा हूँ कि कभी किसी का ग्राप नाम लेते हैं, कभी किसी का ग्राप नाम लेते हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि मैं किस के बारे में क्या कहूँ। ग्राप खुद भी इसके बारे में गौर करें कि कहां तक किसी के बारे में कहन कितना मुनासिब है। कितनी बार प्वाइंट ग्राफ आर्डर के बारे में फैसला दिया जाय।

**SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore):** A slur has been cast on the negotiating committee.

**सभापति महोदय :** मैं समझता हूँ यह ग्राप पर्सनल एक्सप्लेनेशन दे रही है।

**SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN:** On a point of personal explanation. I am a member of the Negotiating Committee. I want to make it clear that in the circular issued by the committee over the signature of George Fernandes it has been stated clearly:

- "1. Passenger trains should not be stopped in the block sections and the engine and other staff should leave the trains at the nearest railway stations so that passengers are not put to inconvenience.
2. No attempt should be made to burn or damage railway stations or other railway property and such attempts if made by agent provocateurs should be foiled collectively.
3. Abusive language and filthy propaganda against individual Ministers or officers should not be allowed to be made."

George Fernandes has signed this circular.

**18 hrs.**

**श्री मधु लिमये :** (बांका) : सभापति महोदय, एक घंटे से मैं सत्ताधारी दल के सदस्यों के भाषण सुन रहा हूँ। और यहाँ पर विरोधी पक्ष के द्वारा जो मुद्दे उपस्थित किये गये हैं उनका तर्कसंगत जवाब देने के बजाय कीचड़ उछालने का काम किया जा रहा है। सभापति जी, श्री जार्ज फरनान्डीज को इन लोगों से मैं ज्यादा अच्छी तरह और नजदीक से जानता हूँ, और यह कितनी भी गाली गलीच करें इनसे मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज इन्होंने जो काम किया है उससे श्री जार्ज फरनान्डीज की हैसियत कम होने के बजाय

और बढ़ गई हैं और रेलवे मजदूरों की भी बढ़ गई है। इसलिये इनके गाली गलौज का जवाब मैं नहीं देना चाहता।

सभापति महोदय, असली सवाल यह है कि क्या केन्द्र सरकार बातचीत के जरिये इस समस्या का समाधान निकालना चाहती थी? अगर बातचीत के जरिये इस समस्या को वह हल करना चाहते थे तो कल रात को 12 बजे उनकी गिरफ्तारी का और दूसरे रेल मजदूरों के नेताओं की गिरफ्तारी का षडयंत्र रच कर उनको गिरफ्तार करने का जो काम हुआ है उस के लिये इनको सदन से माफी मांगनी चाहिये और इन नेताओं को तत्काल छोड़ कर फिर दुबारा बातचीत का दौर शुरू करना चाहिये।

श्री फरनांडीच ने जेल से यहां आने के बाद जो पत्र भेजा है उसी में से कुछ जुमले में आपके सामने रखूंगा ... (व्यवधान)।

एक सदस्य : आपको कैसे मिल गया जेल से भेजा गया पत्र ?

श्री मधु लिमये : क्योंकि सारे लोग हमारे साथ हैं, उनका सहानुभूति है। यह हीम मिनिस्ट्री कुछ नहीं कर सकती है। इसलिये यह कितना असत्य बोल रहे हैं और श्रीमती पारवती जी ने ... (व्यवधान)। मैं स्पीकर साहब को दिखाने के लिये तैयार हूँ, सभापति जी, श्रीमती पारवती ने कहा कि कल 1 मई को जो बैठक होने वाली थी उसका उद्देश्य बहुत सीमित था और वह यह था कि आज तक जो बातचीत हुई है उसमें एक राय किन चीजों पर हुई है और मतभेद का क्षेत्र क्या है यह लिखित रूप से होना चाहिये। यह उद्देश्य था और इसमें ए० आई० आर० एफ० हो या कोई और यूनियन हो, इसका सवाल नहीं था। एक शर्मा जी की फेडरेशन को छोड़ कर बाकी जितने मजदूर

संगठन हैं सब लोग नेशनल कोऑर्डिनेशन के तहत एकजिंत हो गये हैं और इस कमेटी की ओर से श्रीमती पारवती कृष्णन् और श्री गजानन गोखले को सारे अधिकार दिये गये थे।

सभापति महोदय, श्री जार्ज फरनांडीच ने खुद कहा :

"The talks, as you know, were scheduled for today. There was an assurance from Mishra that there will be no arrests while the talks are on. Choubey, Choudhury and I are members of the Negotiating Committee. In the case of LRSA comrades, there was a written assurance that the members of the Loco Running Staff Grievances Committee would not be arrested while they continued to be members of the Committee. Both Barua and Choudhury are members of the Committee and they were to have a meeting of their Grievances Committee today at 4 P.M."

और इसलिये यह जो आरोप किया जा रहा है कि जानबूझकर बातचीत को तोड़ना चाहते थे, यह बिल्कुल सरासर झूठा आरोप है। यह तथाकथित मिनट्स हैं वह लेखबद्ध करने के लिये नेशनल कोऑर्डिनेशन कमेटी के दो प्रतिनिधि मौजूद थे अधिकाधिक ढंग से। उसी तरह से लोको ग्रीवान्सेज कमेटी की बैठक आज 4 बजे होने वाली थी। आपने वचन दिया था कि जब तक बातचीत चलेगी, लिखित वचन है, गिफ्तारियां नहीं होंगी। इसको आपने तोड़ा है।

रेलवे बोर्ड के बारे में यह लिखते हैं :

"A statement has been put out by the Railway Board and it was broadcast by AJR last night that the CPM and George Fernandez did not turn up to draft the minutes. Lalit knew that I was in Lucknow yesterday. On our behalf, both Gokhale

[श्री मधु लिमये]

and Parvati were to be present to draft the minutes. The Railway Board's lies must be nailed."

यह जेल से श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज ने, सभापति महोदय लिखा है। इसलिए यह झूठा प्रचार जो आज रेलवे मंत्रालय कर रहा है, सरकार कर रही है, उस के ऊपर किसी को भी विश्वास नहीं बैठेगा।

सभापति महोदय, इस के अलावा आज बातचीत होने वाली थी, लोको कमेटी की बैठक होने वाली थी, इस के अलावा चार बातों की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ : नं० 1 बात तो आज आप ने अखबारों में पढ़ी होगी कि केरल के मुख्य मंत्री श्री अच्युत मेनेन और तमिल नाडू के मुख्य मंत्री श्री कर्णानिधि की श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज ने एक पत्र लिखा था कि रेल समस्या का समाधान होना चाहिए सम्मानीय ढंग से और इस का हल निकालने के लिए आप अपने गुड आफिसेज को इस्तेमाल कीजिए। उन को मौका दिया जाना चाहिए था। वे दो जिम्मेदार मुख्य मंत्री हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : बाकी के नहीं है।

श्री मधु लिमये : क्योंकि वे विरोधी दल के हैं।... (ब्यवधान)...

नं० 2 बात यह है कि इधर एक असें से कांग्रेस पार्लियामेंटरी पार्टी के जो सदस्य हैं, उन से लगातार मरी बात ही रही है और कांग्रेस पार्टी के जनरल सेक्रेटरी श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव, आज वे यहां दिखाई नहीं दे रहे हैं, और पार्लियामेंट पार्टी के जनरल सेक्रेटरी श्री विट्ठल गाडगिल, जो तीन दिन पहले मेरे

घर पर आये थे, उन दोनों से मेरी बातचीत हुई थी कि क्या आप चाहते हैं कि रेल हड़ताल का कोई हल निकले : तो उन्होंने कहा कि हम जरूर चाहते हैं। मैं ने कहा कि मेरी भी यही इच्छा है कि रेल हड़ताल न हो क्योंकि यह अर्थ-व्यवस्था के लिए बहुत खतरनाक हो सकती है। इसलिए हम लोगों को प्रयास करना चाहिए कि कोई रास्ता निकले सम्मानीय समझौते का। दोनों ने इस बात को माना और मैं ने यह सुझाव दिया कि मैं श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज से पूछूंगा कि क्या आप कांग्रेस पार्लियामेंटरी पार्टी के सदस्यों से मिल कर आपस में बातचीत करने के लिए तैयार हैं बाकि कांग्रेस सदस्य आप की स्थिति क्या है ; इस को जानें और आप भी जानें कि कांग्रेसियों के मन में क्या है और इसी आधार पर, सभापति महोदय, यह आप उन से पूछ लीजिए कि यह बाद वाली बात नहीं है। कल मई दिवस को, सभापति महोदय, 1 मई को श्री विट्ठल गाडगिल को जो पत्र मैं ने लिखा है, मुझे समय दीजिए क्योंकि श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज के ऊपर लांछन लगाये गये हैं, इसलिए मैं सफ़ाई पेश करना चाहता हूँ, उस को मैं पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। मैं ने श्री विट्ठल गाडगिल को यह पत्र लिखा था।

"Dear Shri Vithal Gadgil,

Subject: The Railway Dispute

In the last few weeks, I have been having informal, off the record discussions with Members of the Congress Parliamentary Committee in the lobbies of Parliament. I found that there was genuine concern among many of them about the present state of our economy, especially the four key sectors. viz. coal, power, steel and railways. Naturally, they were anxious to know the position with regard to the industrial dispute on the railways. When I told them that the National Coordination Committee was very serious about a negotiated settlement on an honourable basis, some of them expressed their sympathy for the cause of railway workers. They

also agreed that the denial of parity to the railway workers with the employees in other public sector undertakings was anomalous. At the same time, some were apprehensive about the economic consequences of the railway strike. A few of them also gave expression to their suspicion that the leaders of railwaymen were politically motivated and were bent upon having a confrontation with the Government.

In the course of my consultations with George Fernandes, Convener of the National Coordination Committee, I asked him whether he would be prepared to meet Congress Members of Parliament at an informal discussion so that the Congressmen may acquaint themselves with the real grievances and intentions of the Railwaymen's organisations. He readily agreed to meet them.

I also discussed the matter with you the other day and told you that I would formally write to you suggesting a meeting. Subsequently, I discussed this with the General Secretary of the Congress, Shri Chandrajit Yadav. He also liked the idea.

I shall be grateful if you would let me know, or my friend George Fernandes directly, when such a meeting can be conveniently held. Please remember that the time is running out...."

मैं ही इस पर जोर दे रहा हूँ ।

"...and all men of goodwill have to bend themselves to the task of averting the railway strike by reaching an honourable settlement of the dispute. The telephone number of George Fernandes is 74532."

तो सभापति महोदय, यह कल दोपहर मैंने पत्र श्री विठ्ठल गाडगिल को लिखा था ।

इस तरह से नं० 1 बात तो यह है कि श्री कल्याणनिधि और श्री अच्युत मेनन को श्री

जाजं फरनन्डीज ने पत्र लिखा था कि आप इनिशियेटिव लीजिए। नं० 2 बात यह है कि मैंने श्री गाडगिल को पत्र लिखकर कांग्रेसियों के बीच में और जाजं फरनन्डीज के बीच में एक बैठक कराने के लिए प्रयास किया था । तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक भ्रसं से श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी कह रहे थे... (व्यवधान)... तर्क को तर्क से काटिये, मैं इस तरह से दबने वाला नहीं हूँ । तीसरी बात यह है कि श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी और दूसर सदस्यों ने कहा था कि जब प्रधान मंत्री जी ईरान से लौटेंगी, तो पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों का एक डेलीगेशन उन से जा कर मिले और वह रेल हड़ताल के बारे में कोई समझौता कराने का प्रयास करे । यह भी बात हम लोगों के बीच में, सभापति महोदय चल रही थी और चौथी बात आप जानते हैं कि प्राज विज्ञेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी की बैठक हुई थी और रेलवे के विवाद पर इस सदन में बहस करने का मौका देना चाहिए था ताकि कोई सम्मानीय रास्ता निकले, यह भी बात थी । ये चारों बातें अपनी जगह पर है पृष्ठभूमि के रूप में ।

और पांचवी बात यह है कि प्राज जब की अन्तिम महत्वपूर्ण दौर बातचीत का शुरू होने वाला था, इस पृष्ठभूमि में मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि भ्रगरं जाजं फरनन्डीज को, लोकोमैन के नेताओं को और दूसरे हजारों हजार रेल मजदूरों को भ्रगर कल रात को या प्राज सबेर गिरफ्तार नहीं किया जाता, तो कौन सा प्रासमान टूटने वाला था ? इस से तो मुझे, सभापति महोदय, ऐसा लगता है और सरकारी सरकूलर स भी यह बिलकुल साफ़ हो जाता है कि इन्होंने पहले से यह तय कर दिया था कि बातचीत के जरिए इस समस्या को हल न कर के रेल मंत्री को दिखाना होगा कि राज द्वारा हल कैसे होता है और आप रेल मजदूरों को दमनकारी रास्ते से सीधा करना चाहते हैं । कैसे आप के भ्रास इण्डिया रेडियो के तरह-तरह के कार्य क्रम होते हैं । एक भ्रसं से रेल मजदूर मुझ को कहते चले आ रहे हैं कि हवा महल में

[श्री मधु लिमये]

एक कार्यक्रम होता है, श्री इन्द्र कुमार गुजराल यहां बंटे हुए हैं, कि तीन जवानों के बीच में एक बात चलती है और उस में एक तीसरा सिपाही बोलता है कि मुना है कि रेल मजदूर भी हड़ताल पर जाने वाले हैं, तो सब सिपाही, यह हवा महल में है, सब जवान एक साथ कहते हैं कि रेल मजदूरों को सीधा करना पड़ेगा। क्या आप की सेना रेल मजदूरों और श्रमिकों को सीधा करने के लिए है या जो बड़े बड़े दुश्मन भारत के ऊपर आक्रमण करने वाले हैं, उन का मुकाबला करने के लिए यह सेना है?

एक माननीय सदस्य: यह कौन से 'हवा महल' की बात करते हैं।

श्री मधु लिमये: बात काटना है, तो श्री इन्द्र कुमार गुजराल काटें, मैं बिल्कुल सही बात बोल रहा हूँ।

सभापति महोदय, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन के बड़े बड़े पदों पर जो लोग बैठे हुए हैं, जो सेना को इन्फिरियर आयात दे कर हमारी सुरक्षा को खतरे में डालने से भी बाज नहीं आते हैं और ये लोग हम को देशभक्ति का पाठ पढ़ाते हैं। सभापति महोदय, इन सब लोगों की देशभक्ति का पाठ सुनने के लिए हम लोग यहां नहीं आये हैं। सीधा सवाल यह है कि क्या आप की इच्छा थी, क्या आप की अभिलाषा थी? यह जो आप ने परिपत्र दिया है, उस से बिल्कुल चञ्च साफ़ हो जाती है। पूरा इस में गिरफ्तारी का नक्शा बनाया गया है। इस में से तीन जुमले में पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। पहला अनुच्छेद (2) में है:—

"One of the important ingredients of effective preventive action will be the arrest and removal from the scene of their activities of persons who other contribute to the success of the strike or create serious law and order problems...."

आगे क्या कहा है:

"Premature arrests may precipitate strike and other law and order problems, even while attempts are being made to avert them...."

इसलिए आगे क्या कहा गया है:

"I am, therefore, desirous to suggest that you may await our specific clearance regarding the day from when preventive arrests should be carried out."

आप खुद जानते थे कि प्रेसीपीटेड में मामला खराब हो जाएगा। तो स्पेसिफिक क्लियरेंस के लिए इस गंदे सरकूलर में आप कम से कम इतना तो रखते कि स्पेसिफिक क्लियरेंस के बिना गिरफ्तारी न हो। फिर क्या वजह थी कि रात के बारह बजे उनको गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया? कुरेशी साहब को भी शायद मालूम होगा, रघुनाथ रेड्डी साहब से भी बात की गई है, हम सब लोग लाबी में कह रहे थे कि यह बहुत अफसोसनाक बात है और इस तरह से नहीं होना चाहिए था—

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat): Something transpired between him and some other members. That is totally a private affair, and he is passing on that information to the House. Is he working as an intelligence man?

श्री मधु लिमये: कोई बुरी बात मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं किसी को गाली नहीं दे रहा हूँ। मेरे तर्कों से ये घबरा रहे हैं, तथ्यों से घबरा रहे हैं। तर्कों का जवाब तर्कों से और तथ्यों का जवाब तथ्यों से आप दें। बीच में झड़गा डालने से कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलने वाला है। आप प्राइवेट कहते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कोई शादी या विवाह की चर्चा थी?

सभापति महोदय: आप सोलह मिनट ले चुके हैं।

श्री मधु लिमये : श्री जार्ज फरनेडी को बहुत गालियां दी गई हैं। मुझे थोड़ा बहुत मीका दें। मैं देश की भलाई की बात कर रहा हूँ।

जब उनको गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया तो मुझे पहले तो ऐसा लगा कि दफा 144 सखनऊ में होगी जिसको उन्होंने भंग किया होगा और उनको वहां की सरकार ने गिरफ्तार कर लिया होगा। मैंने पहले उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार से इसके बारे में जानना चाहा और मुझे पता चला कि उस सरकार का इसमें कुछ हाथ नहीं है, दिल्ली प्रशासन के आदेश का केवल उन्होंने पालन किया है। तब मैंने ललित बाबू को फोन किया, दीक्षित जी को किया। श्री दीक्षित जी को मैंने कहा कि दस बजे बातचीत होने वाली थी और आप अपने अधिकारों का इस्तेमाल करके उनको छुड़वाइये, दूसरे नेताओं को छुड़वाइये और दस बजे बातचीत का दौर शुरू होने दीजिये। उन्होंने मुझे कहा कि मैं शाम तक कोई जवाब नहीं दे सकता। बार बार उन्होंने इस पर जोर दिया कि शाम तक मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता हूँ। अन्त में मेरे ध्यान में आया कि शाम को प्रधान मंत्री आने वाली हैं इसलिए उस समय तक ये कोई जवाब देने को तैयार नहीं हैं। वह इसकी पृष्ठभूमि है।

अब जहां तक मांगों का सवाल है, ट्रेड यूनियन नेता साठे जी कहते हैं कि पैरिटी की मांग उचित नहीं है, उन्होंने इस मांग के बारे में ऐसे कहा जैसे कोई वे अपराध कर रहे हैं, पाप कर रहे हैं, इस मांग को सम्मने रख कर—

श्री बसन्त साठे : आज की परिस्थितियों में उचित नहीं है।

श्री मधु लिमये : हम भी जानते हैं कि इसको कार्यान्वित करने में दिक्कत हो सकती है। इसको नेशनल कोओर्डिनेशन

कमेटी वाले भी जानते हैं। लेकिन उनका कहना यह है कि सिद्धान्त आप मान लें और कार्यान्वयन का एक समय बड़ा कार्यक्रम बनाएं। मैं आज इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि बहुत बिन पहले प्रधान मंत्री जी को मैंने एक व्यक्तिगत पत्र में भी इन बातों पर जोर देते हुए समझाया था कि नेशनल कोओर्डिनेशन कमेटी के लोगों की भी कोई ऐसी जिद्द नहीं है। वे चाहते हैं कि सिद्धान्त मान लिया जाए, क्यों माना जाए, यह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। आज कोल स्टील वाले रेलवे खीन कोन से हैं? ईस्टर्न और साउथ ईस्टर्न। इसमें आपके सारे बड़े बड़े इस्पात के कारखाने, बोकारो, दुर्गापुर, भिलाई, राउरकेला, दुर्गापुर एलाय, रांची हेवी इंजीनियरिंग आते हैं। क्या आप सोचते हैं कि रेलवे मजदूरों के मन में यह बात नहीं आती कि हमारे यहां टर्नर को यह मिलता है, और वहां यह मिलता है, फिटर को यह मिलता है और वहां फिटर को यह मिलता है, ड्राइवर को यह मिलता है और वहां यह मिलता है... (व्यवधान) गांव वालों से आप बड़ा प्रेम जताते हैं। अगर ऐसी बात होती तो ब्लैक मार्केटियज को आप पहले पकड़ते, रिश्वतखोरी को बन्द करते।

पैरिटी की मांग बिल्कुल न्यायोचित मांग है। 27 साल से आपने रेल मजदूरों को गुलाम बना कर के रखा हुआ है।

जहां तक बोनस का सवाल है, इस सवाल को लेकर बनर्जी साहब और शर्मा जी के बीच में झड़प हो गई थी। उसके तहत अगर यह मामला आता है, रेलवे मजदूरों का मामला आता है तो मैं सरकार से पूछता हूँ कि वह क्यों नहीं कहती है कि हम टर्मज आफ रेफंस को एमेंड करते हैं—

श्री ए० पी० शर्मा : बदलने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है।

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं सरकार से पूछ रहा हूँ। सरकार स्पष्ट ढंग से क्यों नहीं

[श्री मधु लिमये]

कहती है कि रेल मजदूरों के बारे में भी बोनस रिब्यू कमेटी विचार कर सकती है। मैं सम्मतिता हूँ कि बोनस रिब्यू कमेटी का मामला बीच में लाकर मजदूरों को और देश को गुमराह किया जा रहा है। आज भी ललित नारायण मिश्र जी को मैं चुनौती देता हूँ कि वह घोषणा करें कि बोनस रिब्यू कमेटी के टर्म्स आफ रेफ़ेंस को हम बदलते हैं और कहते हैं कि रेल मजदूरों को बोनस देने के बारे में भी वह सिफारिश दे दें।

अन्तिम वाक्य मैरा यह है कि रेल मजदूरों की मांगें बिल्कुल न्यायोचित हैं। उनको कार्यान्वित करने का एक समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम आप बनाएं। वे सम्माननीय समझौता चाहते हैं। लेकिन सरकार ने अनापशनाप ढंग से ये गिरफ्तारियां करके समझौते को तोड़ा है। इसके क्या नतीजे निकलने वाले हैं इसको भी आप देख लें। एक तो यह निकलने वाला है कि कल बम्बई में हड़ताल होने वाली है। और मैं ललित बाबू को कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो मजदूरों के प्रति निष्ठावान रहता है उसको आपको चार दस साल जेल की सजा भी दे दें तो उसका कोई नुकसान नहीं होता है। 1963 में भी डिफ़ेंस आफ इण्डिया रूल्ज के तहत आपने श्री जार्ज फरनेंडीज को पकड़ा था। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1963 में इतनी जबर्दस्त हड़ताल मजदूरों की बम्बई में हमने की थी कि महंगाई भत्ते के इण्डेक्स नम्बर को सुधारने के लिए आपको मजदूर होना पड़ा था। तब मजदूरों के महंगाई भत्ते में वृद्धि करवाने का काम हम लोगों ने किया था। आप इतिहास से सबक सीखें। दमन को रास्ता छोड़ें। फिर से नैगोशियेशन टेबल पर आएं। सभी रेल मजदूरों तथा उनके नेताओं को छोड़ें। इतना ही मुझे इस अवसर पर कहना है।

श्री नरसिंह नारायण पांडे (गोरखपुर) : श्री अयोधिमय बसु के भाषण को मैंने ध्यान से सुना। लिमये जी ने भी बड़े तर्कपूर्ण ढंग से अमाने की कोशिश की कि कोओरिनेशन

कमेटी के चेयरमैन श्री फरनेंडीस यह चाहते थे कि समझौता किसी तरह से हो जाए, बातचीत न टूटे और रेलों में शान्तिमय स्थिति पैदा हो। मंत्री महोदय जो बयान देते रहे हैं और जो बयान उन्होंने सदन के सामने अभी पढ़ा है उसमें उन्होंने बताया है कि 27, 29 और 30 तारीख को, इन तीन दिनों में बैठ कर श्री कुरेशी की अध्यक्षता में बातचीत हुई और उसमें बहुत सी बातें तय हुई और जो तय हुई उनको वे लिपिबद्ध करना चाहते थे और उसके बाद चाहते थे कि और जो दूसरी बातें हैं उन पर भी और चर्चा हो। लिमये जी ने कहा कि मंत्री महोदय समझौता करना नहीं चाहते थे। मैं उनसे जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात उन्होंने कहां पर किस पत्र में या बयान में कही, इसको वह बताएं, कैसे यह साबित होता है कि मंत्री महोदय समझौता करना नहीं चाहते थे। यदि समझौता नहीं करना चाहते थे तो मीटिंगें क्यों हुईं। उन्होंने हमेशा यह कहा और अखबारों में बयान देते रहे और यहां तक कि श्री जार्ज फरनेंडीस साहब ने भी यह कहा कि मंत्री महोदय समझौता करना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने यह बयान अखबारों में दिया था कि मंत्री महोदय समझौता करना चाहते हैं। बातचीत बहुत अच्छी तरह से चल रही थी। श्री फरनेंडीस ने यह भी अखबारों को बयान दिया कि कुछ बातों के ऊपर निश्चय हम कर चुके हैं और एक मत हो चुके हैं।

श्रीमन्, मैं यू० पी० का रहने वाला हूँ और बनर्जी साहब भी वहीं के रहने वाले हैं। वह भी ट्रेड यूनियन मूवमेंट में बहुत दिनों से काम करते आ रहे हैं और मैंने भी इसमें उनसे कम दिन काम नहीं किया है। रेल मजदूरों में मैं भी 25 साल से काम करता आ रहा हूँ। आज भी बहुत सी यूनियज का मैं प्रेजीडेंट हूँ। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज भी हड़ताल हुई या जो हड़ताल करने का आपने निश्चय किया है ऐसे समय में जब कि रीस्ट्र एक संकट से गुजर रहा है,

ऐसे समय में जब कि इस सदन में पचासों बार हमारे बिरोधी पार्टी के लोग महंगाई की शिकायत करते हैं, देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को दुस्त करने की बात करते हैं, क्या यह उचित है? ऐसे समय में इन लोगों ने हड़ताल करने का जो निश्चय किया है, जिसके लिए वे तैयारी कर रहे हैं, क्या वे उमको राष्ट्र-हित में मानते हैं? क्या यह ट्रेड यूनियन मूवमेंट का तरीका है कि जब राष्ट्र एक आर्थिक संकट से गुजर रहा हो, तब रेलवे की हड़ताल का नोटिस दिया जाये? हम देख रहे हैं कि मंत्री महोदय ने जिन मांगों को स्वीकार कर लिया है, उन की उपेक्षा करके हड़ताल पर बल दिया जा रहा है। ट्रेड यूनियन का यह तरीका होता है कि अपनी कुछ मांगों के माने जाने से जो कुछ मिल जाये, उसको स्वीकार कर लिया जाये और बाकी मांगों को मनवाने के लिए आगे तैयारी की जाये। लेकिन इन लोगों ने इस स्थिति को बदल दिया है। मुझे यह देख कर दुख होता है कि इस देश में ट्रेड यूनियन का मूवमेंट कहाँ जा रहा है। श्री मनु लिये समाजवादी धुरी की बात करते हैं, देश में समाजवादी व्यवस्था लाना चाहते हैं और देश की प्रतिक्रियावादी, रजतपसन्द और पूंजीपरस्त ताकतों का मुकाबला करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन आज देश के आर्थिक संकट के समय में वह जिस तरह से उन्हीं ताकतों से हाथ मिलाकर देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था में बिगारी लगाना चाहते हैं, कोई भी राष्ट्र-हित को समझने वाला और ट्रेड यूनियन मूवमेंट में विश्वास करने वाला उनको समर्थन नहीं दे सकता है।

श्री मधु लिये ने बहुत होशियारी के साथ एक पत्र का हवाला देते हुए कहा है कि श्रीमती पार्वती कृष्णन को, जो कोभ्रोडिनेशन कमेटी की उपाध्यक्षा हैं, पावर दे दी गई थी कनवीनर की ओर से कि वह संमन्त्रिता वार्ता करें। लेकिन आप रिफाई उठा कर देख लीजिए, श्रीमती पार्वती कृष्णन ने इस सदन में

खड़े होकर एक बार भी यह नहीं कहा कि कोभ्रोडिनेशन के कनवीनर से उनको कोई पत्र मिला है। उन्होंने उस पत्र का अपने भाषण में कोई हवाला नहीं दिया है। उसका हवाला कौन देता है? श्री मधु लिये? वह बड़े होशियार आदमी हैं, वकील आदमी हैं, उन में काफ़ी सूझ बूझ और वक्तूत्व कला है। यह कितने आश्चर्य की बात है कि श्रीमती पार्वती कृष्णन के पास तो कोई पत्र न हो और वह इस बारे में कोई हवाला न दे सकें और श्री मधु लिये उस पत्र को पढ़ कर सुनायें। मैं नहीं जनता कि श्री मधु लिये के पास जो पत्र है, वह फ़ैक है या असली पत्र है, जो सही तरीके से श्रीमती पार्वती कृष्णन को लिखा गया। अगर वास्तव में वह पत्र श्रीमती पार्वती कृष्णन को लिखा गया था, तो वह खुद इस दन में बता सकती थीं।

हम भी चाहते हैं कि मियांभाई एवाड और बेज बोड की विभिन्न सिफारिशों को फ़ौरन इम्प्लीमेंट किया जाये। एक प्रश्न यह भी है कि तीन लाख के करीब जो कैजुअल लेबरर्स हैं, उनको परमिंट किया जाये। उनकी लिस्ट बनी हुई है। उनको काम करते हुए दस बारह साल हो गये हैं और अब उनको परमिंट किया जाना चाहिए। मंत्री महोदय ने कोभ्रोडिनेशन कमेटी के चेयरमैन और मेम्बरों की बात को स्वीकार कर लिया है और कहा है कि इस बारे में जितना भी पैसा लगे, हम इनको इम्प्लीमेंट करेंगे। रेलवे का मजदूर चाहता है कि मियांभाई एवाड को लाना किया जाये, और वह लाना किया गया है।

यह मांग भी की जा रही है कि रेलवे मजदूरों को बोनस दिया जाये और पब्लिक ग्रंडरटेकिंग के कर्मचारियों के साथ उनकी पैरिटी कायम की जाये। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि ये मांगें सही नहीं हैं। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि क्या इन मांगों पर जोर देने के लिए यह कोई मनासिब मौका है। आज



[श्री नरसिंह नारायण पांडे]

जब कि दश एक आर्थिक संकट से गुजर रहा है, उत्पादन कम हो रहा है, पावर हाउसिज बन्द हो रहे हैं और देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था अस्त-व्यस्त हो रही है, कांफ्रान्शियन कमेटी की ओर से रेल मजदूरों को कहा जाना चाहिए था कि हमारी तीन चार मांगें मान ली गई हैं, इस समय सब ट्रेनों को चलने को बहुत जरूरत है, इस लिए वे इस आर्थिक संकट का मुकाबला करने के लिए सरकार और देश के हाथ मजबूत करें। लेकिन ऐसा न करके उन लोगों ने हड़ताल का नोटिस देना बेहतर समझा ?

मेरे नाम से पोस्टर निकलवाये गये। मैं भी एक एसोसियेशन का प्रेजिडेंट हूँ। मैं ने गोरखपुर में स्टेशन मास्टर्ज और एसिस्टेंट मास्टर्ज की कांफ्रेंस में साफ़ तौर पर कहा स्टेशन और आज इस सदन के माध्यम से मैं अपनी यूनियन के लोगों को कहना चाहता हूँ—कि आज देश के सामने जो आर्थिक संकट है उस का मुकाबला करने के लिए उन्हें पूरा सहयोग देना चाहिए और अगर ऐसे समय में कोई हड़ताल का नोटिस दिया जाता है, तो हम उस के साथ नहीं है। मैं भी ट्रेड यूनियन मूवमेंट में काम करता हूँ और मैं जानता हूँ कि अगर हम सब एक सही तरीके से और परिपक्व दिमाग से काम नहीं करेंगे, तो इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था दुरस्त नहीं हो सकती है। आज प्रतिक्रियावादी, दूरजघ्रतपसन्द और पूंजी-परस्त ताकतें बाहरी ताकतों के साथ मिल कर हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को छिन्न भिन्न करना चाहती है। जो तत्व आज इस देश में बदभ्रमनी पैदा करना चाहते हैं, भ्रारजकता फैलाना चाहते हैं, इस देश की स्थिति को खराब करना चाहते हैं, अगर को-आडिनेशन कमेटी के लोग, और उन का समर्थन करने वाले माननीय सदस्य, उनको प्रश्रय देना चाहते हैं, तो रेलवे वर्कर उस बात को पसन्द नहीं करेंगे। जब रेलवे वर्कर इन लोगों को सही

तरीके से जान जायेंगे, तो वे उन का साथ नहीं देंगे।

मुझे विश्वास है कि आज की आर्थिक स्थिति में रेलवेमैन पर जो जिम्मेदारी है, उस को समझते हुए वे देश का साथ देंगे और राष्ट्रीय भावना से प्रोत्साहित हो कर राष्ट्रीय अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मजबूत करने में मदद देंगे।

सभापति महोदय : अभी कांग्रेस के कितने ही मेम्बर साहबान बाकी है और चार साहबान ने आपोजीप्शन की तरफ से भी बोलना है। मुझे 7.30 बजे मिनिस्टर साहब को बुला लेना है। इस लिए कोई भी मेम्बर साहब दस मिनट से ज्यादा न लें। श्री श्यामानन्दन मिश्र।

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Mr. Chairman, Sir, what has struck me during the course of the debate is that the Communist Party of India had not relented so far in spite of the passionate plea that had been made by the Ruling Party. The hon. member, Shrimati Parvathi, true to her name, has not softened her attitude in this matter. It is, however, clear that the trap is being laid by the other side. We all want the problem to be solved. We do not want to come in the way of the solution of the problem. We would rather like to assist in all possible ways to solve the problem by finding a solution to it. This is not the way to go about it. They lay a long trap for certain elements in the Opposition and then think that they can bring about a solution in the manner they like?

We are neither strike-addict nor do we claim any special skill in organising strikes. That does not mean that we are not among the workers. Our people are interested in keeping their union completely free from party politics. Therefore, our workers are playing a magnificent role in that magnificent organisation—Textile Workers Association of Ahmedabad. That is now an ideal organisations. Even so far as the

workers in the Railways are concerned, our partymen are playing a very constructive role.

But, what has happened last night is something shocking and reprehensible. They use on occasions what is called a midnight missile. We have been particularly accustomed to these midnight missiles which had been used by the leaders on the other side at the time of split in the Congress. Mr. George Fernandes and some other labour leaders had been arrested when they were engaged in the process of negotiations. I am not suggesting that at the point of time when they were arrested they were actually engaged in the process of negotiations. But, they were, in fact, in the midst of negotiations for a number of days and the negotiations were continuing, it makes the story all the more shocking and distressing and there is an element of grave provocation in the arrests of these important leaders of the labour movement.

(Interruptions).

The basic proposition which I want to make is, that a strike today would be calamitous in every conceivable way. This must be averted. There must be an effort on the part of every right thinking person to avert this strike. It is also clear that the railway employees also want to avert this strike if they can. Secondly, this strike has to be averted not by long term methods the coercive powers of the State. It must be averted through a process of negotiations. It is categorically imperative that Government must engage itself sincerely and seriously in the process of negotiations.

We have our doubts that the Government really wants this process of negotiations to go on. Certain steps which they have taken during the last few days makes their intention suspicious as to whether they really want to bring about some kind of a settlement of this matter. Certain provocations have already been pointed out by the leaders of the labour

movement on this side and one thing which stands out clearly is the letter of the Prime Minister to the Chief Ministers of the States which has been deliberately leaked out to the Press. Now, it does not simply wash for the Members on the other side or the ruling party to say that it was leaked out by some Chief Ministers belonging to the Opposition. That plea cannot convince anyone and we naturally have our suspicion in this matter. Probably the Home Ministry and the Railway Ministry have been at odds and they have not been seeing eye to eye on certain matters and it is someone on the Government side who has to own responsibility for this. This letter of the Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, shows clearly that the attitude of the Government is truculent, intransigent and worden. This is very clear, and therefore, I say that it was a provocative act on the part of the Government. Then, there was an announcement only a few days back that MISA would be used generously against the workers of the Railways. That announcement was made on the floor of the House. I was not present here at that time, I was in the south. I read in the newspapers, very prominently flashed that MISA would be generously used against the workers. Then, comes the arrest of these important leaders who would have been greatly helpful in bringing about a settlement of this matter.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we are also very clear in our mind that there must be certain principles and norms in dealing with the employees of the Government in various industries and services. These principles and norms have to be applied uniformly and without any discrimination in all branches. If the Government agree to this basic proposition then Government have to show demonstrably that they are applying these principles in the manner in which they ought to.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: Which principle?

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** The principle that I mentioned that there should not be any discrimination in dealing with the employees in the various industries and services.

**SHRI A. P. SHARMA:** He is talking about parity?

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I am speaking of pay parity, of course.

**SHRI A. P. SHARMA:** This question of parity has not been accepted by the workers.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I am putting forward my own point of view. If there is no pay parity, I ask him why it is so? Why should there be discrimination?

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** He wants him to accept charity, not parity.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I ask him whether it can be called a principle of uniformity and non-discrimination if they pay differently to employees doing the same kind of job in the various services and industries. Secondly, if they pay bonus to one and deny it to another, would it be called a principle of non-discrimination? These are the questions which must be answered very clearly by the spokesmen of the Government?

Now, the charge is that the present movement is politically motivated. But may I say that if this contagion has spread, it is the Government which has done it? The ruling party is always at the hustings, and I must tell them that if they want to solve the problems which this country is facing at the present moment, they must not keep on fighting the elections all the time? But they cannot desist from doing that and they do not seem to be addressing themselves to the serious problems which the country is confronting. So, it is the Government which is politically motivated in all its acts it cannot be

said to be so much true of the attitude of the Opposition.

It has also been said that it is an effort to lead the country to chaos and anarchy, and in fact, the charge has been made and a very extreme charge at that, that they want to do what was done to the Allende regime. Some time back, the Prime Minister had said to her own AICC that some people wanted to do on Allende to her. May I say that there could not be a more irresponsible charge than this there are elements in the country who want to do something on the lines that had been done in Chile? That cannot simply happen in this country and there are forces which would not allow that thing to happen? But it is by such irresponsible utterances that they are fouling the atmosphere in the country. My submission is that Government by their thorough mismanagement of the economy and by their economic-populism and pseudo-radicalism have brought about this situation which is so very much bad Government have accepted, we are told, the demands in respect of (a) casual labour (b) hours of work (c) supply of foodgrains; I am not quite clear in my mind whether the demand of the workers in respect of the supply of foodgrains has been fully met. But that is what the hon. Member, Shri A. P. Sharma seemed to claim. If certain demands are met, we are glad. But it beats me completely why Government are dragging their feet in the matter of bonus. It is said that it is before the Bonus Review Committee. . .

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** It is not.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** What Shri A. P. Sharma said was, if I had understood him correctly, that it was *quo motu* taken up by the Chairman of the Bonus Review Committee. . .

**SHRI A. P. SHARMA:** Bonus Committee.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**... *suo motu* the chairman of the Bonus Review Committee had brought up this matter. It is not Government which has referred this matter to the Bonus Review Committee. Now, why should it have been left to the sweet will of the Chairman?

**SHRI A. P. SHARMA:** Since he has referred to me, I would like to tell the House that the Bonus Committee is reviewing the bonus scheme. The Bonus Committee has interpreted that they can cover those industries also which are not covered by the bonus scheme. That is why they invited both the parties, the railway workers and the Railway Board, to submit their case before the Committee.

**SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN:** That is no guarantee that they will give bonus.

**SHRI A. P. SHARMA:** There is no question of that.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** We want that the Bonus Review Committee should also consider whether the workers in departmental undertakings like the Railways, P & T and Defence should not be considered for the purpose of bonus. This was not included as one of the items in the agenda of the Committee.

**SHRI A. P. SHARMA:** Does he want that the Committee should not consider it?

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** The Committee is not considering that. Now they have given evidence before the Committee. That does not mean that it is within the terms of reference of the Committee. He can give evidence throughout the country. Who bothers about it? The point is that this should be included as one of the items within the terms of reference. That the Government can say that it is within their terms of reference.

**SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN:** The Prime Minister has already given her opinion before the Bonus Review Committee has done so.

**SHRI A. P. SHARMA:** Do you want that the Committee should not consider this question?

**SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra):** We want bonus.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** We want bonus.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** My submission is that it does not pertain to the legitimate domain of the Chairman of the Committee to bring up this matter. This matter should have been more properly brought up before the Bonus Review Committee by the Government and Government must not hesitate to place this matter before the Bonus Review Committee. That would give more confidence and assurance to the workers that the Government is really serious about it.

My suggestion, finally, would be these. All these leaders of the movement must be immediately released if the Government want to give an earnest of their sincerity to go about the business of negotiations. Secondly, I think I have the permission of the other side of the House also to say that the entire House sends its sincerest condolences to the family of Shri Mhalgi, and that adequate compensation must be announced to the family of Shri Mhalgi by the Railway Minister when he replies today.

Then there must be a national policy on wages and salaries. On that the Government must make an announcement that they really want such a policy and will appoint a Commission to go into this matter.

**SHRI H. M. PATEL (Dhandhaka):** I have been listening to this debate with not just interest but with a heavy heart and I found to my great surprise not one speaker from the Congress side applying himself to this question in a constructive manner. Are we not concerned with preventing this strike? The whole reason, justification, for this adjournment motion was that the action taken by Government in arresting these leaders will precipitate something that we are all concerned to

(Adj. Motn.)

[Shri H. M. Patel]

avoid. Railway strike will be a disaster if it takes place. How great a disaster it will be, it has not been spelt out. Mr. Sathe did say that it would bring the economy of the country to a grinding halt. Undoubtedly it will. It will do much more. It must inevitably result, if it lasts for any length of time at all into chaos, and there will be no law and order in the country. This is the situation we must all try to fight. What are we doing towards it? All these verbal duals do not take us very far.

Mrs. parvathi Krishanan pointed out the facts of the negotiations. Apart from that what constructive suggestions have been put forward. Shri Shyamanandan Mishra, at this stage came forward with certain suggestions. They are long term suggestions. I want to know, what is going to be done immediately in this matter so that the strike may be averted. It is quite obvious that so long as the leaders remain arrested, we could not expect anything except a strike, a prolonged strike. Is that what we want? If that is not what we want, surely the first decision that the Government should take is to retrace their steps and release those leaders and resume negotiations. Even on items on which agreement is said to have been reached, there is misunderstanding. This should be cleared.

The fair price shops are something quite different from what the a railway worker wants. The railway worker wants a guaranteed supply of foodgrains which should be made available to him by the Railways. The Railways had undertaken this responsibility during the last World War and during the years immediately afterwards. What is special or difficult about it? The fair price shops are intended to see that the vulnerable sections and those railwaymen belong to that category—do receive foodgrains that you desire that they should receive. Why cannot then the railways be given a quantity of foodgrain to which their men are entitled and en-

able them to distribute them in the most efficient manner possible. That will be one section of the public distribution system at least that will be successful.

The other two questions relate to bonus and parity. By what stretch of imagination did the Government think that they will escape having to give bonus to the public sector enterprises. Once they gave to the private sector enterprises whether they made profit or loss? By what stretch of imagination they say that the Railway workers are Government servants and; therefore, they are not eligible for bonus? Why not? A Worker in the Chitteranjan Locomotive Works, Diesel Locomotive Works at Varanasi or the Integral Coach Factory at Perambur, how is he working in any different way and in what different circumstances than those at the Heavy Engineering at Ranchi or the Heavy Electricals at Bhopal, what is the difference? What is your justifiable explanation... (Interruptions)? Railway workers' demands are perfectly justifiable and very cogently arguable. They have also cogent case when they ask for parity. Why should they be treated any different from other public sector enterprise workers.

But for historical reasons differences exist. To expect these things can be remedied overnight would be absurd. If the workers expect that to happen they are also expecting something that is quite out of the question. But as was suggested by Mr. Madhu Limaye, is it not possible to accept the justness of these demands? You can say the demands are acceptable in principle, they are reasonable and acceptable in principle but these involve tremendous amount of money, and therefore we will endeavour to see that over a period of time these are met.' Someone today asks what about the agricultural workers; are they not getting much less than the railway workers. Similarly by an entirely misleading analogy Mr. Bhagwat Zha Azad said that the per-

capita national income is X and the railway employees' income is several times that income. Is it a fair comparison? Per capita income is not the one you should compare with. Railway 'employees' income should be compared not with that but with the income of the workers in other public sector enterprises or in the private sector enterprises. That is the correct thing to do. To mis-lead the House in this way is totally unnecessary. Railway workers are better paid, far better paid, than industrial workers of a number of enterprises that I can name. They—the industrial workers—are of course far better paid than the agricultural workers and the agricultural workers have been the most exploited section in the country. But we are not talking about them.

It seems to me that the railway workers have a just case to put forward for serious consideration, I would strongly urge the Minister to consider this for the reasons which I have already advanced, that the consequences of railway strike are so serious that it is not possible even to contemplate or envisage that a strike should take place. Let the Government realise this. Let not the Minister strengthen the charge contained in the capsule, which Central Government servants buried under ground the other day—summarised as "wasted words and broken promises". Is it not a shame that Government has to face such a charge against them by their own employees that for years they have been urging acceptance of demands, which they have been discussing and negotiating with the Government, but these negotiations have become just wasted words, just promises which they have given, which have been held out to them and have been broken.

I hear, that in this case, negotiations will not simply be wasted words and all that has been said, not in anger, But in sorrow, will be headed to by the Minister. I also hope that he will arrange to release all these leaders, resume negotiations and see to it that

this matter is brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Thank you, Sir.

श्री दरबारा सिंह (होशियारपुर):  
चेयरमैन साहब, मैंने कुछ दोस्तों के बयान सुने हैं। मैं बहुत थोड़े समय में आपसे कुछ भर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। मुझे अफसोस इस बात का है कि कुछ लोग सिर्फ इसलिए यहाँ बात करते कि हम यह बता सकें कि हमारी सिम्प्ली वर्कर्स से है जैसे कि इस तरफ किसी की सिम्प्ली वर्कर्स से नहीं है। जहाँ तक कि बोनस का सवाल है, सिर्फ इन्हीं लोगों ने उसको नहीं उठाया बल्कि सभी ने उसको सोचा और उसके लिए एक कमेटी बिठाई। अब इसमें देर लगती है तो उसके लिए हम कह सकते हैं कि उसका फैसला जल्दी हो लेकिन यह कहना कि उस कमेटी को टर्म्स आफ रेफ्रेन्स नये दे दो, मैं समझता हूँ यह ग्राज आफ्टर-थट बात है। ग्राज आप सोचते हैं कि इस पर हम बात करें ताकि यह मामला और काम्प्लीकेटेड हो जाए। इस हाउस में बहुत देर से बजट सेक्शन में बहस बरते समय एक बात हमारे सामने आई कि फूड का मसला है, हर तरफ से यह बात कही गई कि जहाँ डेफिसिट है वहाँ ग्लूला पंडुचाना चाहिए। जहाँ पर भी खराबी है उसको दूर करना चाहिए। कोर इन्फ्लेट्री के लिए जो चीजें दरकार हैं जैसे लोह, सीमेंट, कोयला या दूसरी चीजें वह वहाँ पर पंडुचानी चाहिए। बिजली की जो कमी है उसको दूर करने के लिए थर्मल प्लान्ट्स पर जल्दी से जल्दी कोयला पहुँचना चाहिए। बारिश न होने की बजह से बहुत से प्रोजेक्ट्स खड़े हैं या उनमें कम बिजली पैदा हो रही है। यह सारी बातें हर तरफ से हर पार्टी ने कही है। इस सारी बातों का एक ही मकसद था कि पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिए यह सारे साधन हम अख्तियार करें। दूसरी तरफ ग्राज आप जो हमारी लाइफ लाइन है उसी को तोड़ना चाहते हैं और साथसाथ यह सारे काम भी करवाना चाहते हैं; यह दोनों बातें कैसे होगी?

ग्राज अगर यह कहा जाए कि सरकार ने मांगे नहीं मानी तो वह कहाँ तक ठीक है

### श्री बरबारा सिंह

वह तीन चार दफा जो स्ट्राइक्स हुई है उसमें जितनी कमिटेन्स सरकार ने की है उनको सरकार ने माना है और उनका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन या तो हो गया है या उस प्रोसेस में है। इस लिए सरकार की नीयत पर शक करने की गुंजायश नहीं होनी चाहिए। पुराने बाकयात को वह बताते हैं कि पुरानी स्ट्राइक में सरकार ने जो वायदे किए उनको उसने पूरा किया है। यह पूरे होने की प्रोसेस में है।

बोनस का जो सवाल है वह अगर थोड़ा ब्या काम्प्लीकेटेड होता तो कोई बात नहीं थी लेकिन उसमें बहुत बड़ा काम्प्लीकेशन है। प्रूटेल साहब ने जो कि फाइनेन्स सेक्रेटरी रह चुके हैं उन्होंने कहा कि मसला तो बहुत बड़ा है लेकिन चूंकि पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रंडरटेकिंग में बोनस है फिर यहां क्यों न हो। में कहता हूँ कमेटी इसको देख रही है, उसको देखने दीजिए, यह सवाल उसके बाद उठने वाला है जो उठायें। जहां तक जाँच फरनांडीज, जिनको मैं जान कहता हूँ उनको जो तकरीरें हुई है उनमें ब्रह्मा मालूम होता है कि एक तरफ तो वे ब्रह्म सरल करते हैं कि कोई भी आदमी ब्रह्मा न करें, 'जैसा कि हमारे दोस्त ने कहा कि उन्होंने सर्कुलर किया है कि सैट्टाज न करें और सारी बातें उसमें ऐसी है लेकिन जो उन्होंने तकरीर की उसमें कहा कि सब कुछ करना चाहिए। अब "सब कुछ" में क्या आता है? यही आता है कि खराबी पैदा करो, रेलों को जाने से रोकें, रेल आगे न बढ़ें और कहीं कोई चीज बक्त पर न पहुंचे। अब यह अगर सारे सिस्टम को पैरलाइज करना नहीं है तो और क्या है? जो उनकी गिस्फतारी हुई है उसका लिए आप कह सकते हैं कि अभी बातचीत चल रही थी लेकिन बातचीत को किसने रोका? ये एक तरफ बातचीत भी करते थे और यह बातें भी कहते थे। सी पी आई की बातें मैं समझ सकता हूँ जो कुछ अकल से काम कर रहे थे (व्यवधान) आहिस्ता 2

वे अकल की बात ले प्रायेंगे। आज उनकी गिरफ्तारी से थोड़ा मसला बन गया लेकिन वे समझते हैं बेगलती पर थे, अन्दर कुछ कहते थे और बाहर कुछ कहते थे। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि यह लोग अपनी समझदारी का असर दूसरों पर भी डालेंगे। लेकिन यह मसाला सिर्फ जान साहब ही तय कर सकते हैं, दूसरा कोई नहीं कर सकता है (व्यवधान) मैं उनको फरनांडीज ही कहता हूँ, उसमें कोई फर्क नहीं है। तो सरकार की तरफ से इसको नहीं तोड़ा गया, आज भी यह बात नहीं कही गई कि मुलाकात करते या बैठकर फैसला करते के लिए हम तैयार नहीं है।

19 hrs.

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी : मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि दिन में बहस करते और रात को पकड़ लेते।

श्री बरबारा सिंह : मैं ने आप से इसलिये कहा है कि आप जो बात कह रहे हैं मैं समझता हूँ आप इन के चंगुल में फंस गये हैं। उस से निकलिये एक तरफ वायलेंस प्रीच करेंगे और दूसरी तरफ यह कहेंगे कि हम इस में यकीन नहीं करते, यह दोनों बातें की जा रही थी इसलिये सरकार को हाथ डालना पड़ा क्यों कि सरकार को पता था कि एक तरफ कहते हैं कि हमें कुछ नहीं करना है और दूसरी तरफ पब्लिक स्पीचेज में कहते हैं कि करना चाहिये। आप इस को इंकार करें तो करते रहें, लेकिन जो फीकट है वह अपनी जगह पर है।

माननीय मधु लिमये जी ने जो कहा की श्री फरनांडीज की ताकत बहुत बढ़ गई है गिरफ्तारी के बाद, पहले से बहुत बढ़ गई है, अगर यही तरीका है तो आप को मुबारक। एक तरफ धमकी भी देते हैं कि अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो यह करेंगे और दूसरी तरफ आप कुछ कहते हैं, मेरी राय में यह डबल डीलिग डीक नहीं है। आप बेट के नीचे सारों चीज करवाना

चाहते हैं, जो कोई भी सरकार मन्जूर नहीं करेगी। इसलिये थूट को वापस लेना चाहिये और सरकार पर छोड़ना चाहिये तो इस को तय करने के लिये कौन सा मौका वह ठीक समझती है। बोनस की बात पर सारी चीज को खत्म कर देना जब कि रिव्यू कमेटी बँटी हुई है, ठीक नहीं है।

मेरी गुजारिश है कि जब एक देश क्राइसिस से गुजर रहा है ऐसे मोके पर हड़ताल की धमकी दे कर देशवासियों के लिये और क्राइसिस पैदा करना मुनासिब नहीं है। लेकिन अगर फिर भी यह पोलिटिकल पार्टिज, क्राइसिस पैदा करती हैं तो उस की जिम्मेदारी इन पर ही आ पड़ती है, हम पर नहीं आ सकती।

SHRI PRIYA RANJAB DAS MUNSI (Calcutta-South): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I straightway oppose the Adjournment Motion. It is not because I am entirely against the interest of the working people. But at the present moment, when the state of our economy is at great distress and we all consider that decisive steps would be taken by the Government in co-operation with other political forces, we should understand the present situation and see how to overcome the situation.

The saddest part of the present-day working people's movement is that the biggest undertaking of the Government, the Railways, the working people of this vital sector when I consider as patriotic as we are, is being pilloted and headed by a leader like Shri George Fernandes—I do not like to accuse anybody—whose evil designs, disruptive methods and political philosophy, the way he had interpreted the character of the country in the last three years, is well-known to the working people of this country. In any way, it is not a question whether he is leading them or not leading them.

I am surprised to see that the progressive forces, those who claim

themselves to be so, are perhaps not considering the problems of the country at the moment but are considering the prestige of their Coordination Committee which is headed by Shri George Fernandes.

Sir, just seven days before, I witnessed a scene of our country—I think, that is the real scene of our country at the present moment. In most of the schools—I spoke about it earlier also while speaking on the Finance Bill—40 to 50 per cent of the students are not going to schools to study, not because they have no books, not because they have no teachers, not because of the fact that they have no school buildings, but the pitiable reason is that they have no full meal, and they are going about with an empty stomach to school. They get food only twice a week. I witnessed it in Durgapur area. This is the situation of the country.

At the moment, when we are facing the crisis of power, when the industrial production is stagnant, when the wagon movement is not so quick, when the piles of stocks of coal are lying in the coal mining areas the entire economic situation for which the Members from the Opposition are accusing the Government for taking the country to economic disaster the inflation and so on, I do not know on what objective ground, the idealism, which promotes the growth of socialist movement at the moment, they allow such sort of activities and movement which further lead the Government to go in for another deficit Budget and economic disaster.

I have my every respect for the working people's movement in this country for which a number of trade union leaders and workers have sacrificed. But I do not know for how long they will continue to champion only the cause of the organised working people who can vocally submit their demands and who can create a situation which can either compel the Government to agree to their demands or to surrender to them. What about



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those who are un-organised, who have no spokesman of their own? Their problems are not being highlighted by the so-called progressive working people's leaders. And as a result of that, they are the only section in our country which are facing the actual trouble in this economic situation. I do feel that the railway workers have their genuine demands, and the Railway Ministry and the other departments are going on with the negotiations.

Now two parts have been discussed in this debate. One is when the negotiations are going on arrests of trade union leaders are unjustified and as such the demand is that they should be released and the negotiations should go on. The other part is what the Government is saying, that the negotiations were going on, a section of the leadership of the working people behaved against the interest of the negotiation itself.

I do not know why Mr. Madhu Limaye and others were angry when some friends were taking the name of Mr. George Fernandes and were quoting what he had said. Nobody can bring a taperecorder here and prove it. I can say that I have never spoken a lie in my political career. In Calcutta, in Dhanbad, it was Mr. George Fernandes who not only spoke those things which have been uttered by my hon. friend, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad, but also invited the students and youth and said, "Get ready for the movement; you have to create the situation; you have to prove what you had done in Gujarat and Bihar". What does it mean? I am talking with the full sense of responsibility. I have no witness here at the moment, but there are people working in the Railways who do not listen to Mr. George Fernandes; there are people who love the country more than Mr. Fernandes. My straight question to Mr. Banerjee is—he is rational; his approach is

sometimes scientific—if he were in the Government and apprehended danger to peace, if he had found things being precipitated in this manner not by negotiation but by such utterances and incitement to violence outside the negotiation scope, what would he have done? In such a situation, what alternative can Government have except to take action to maintain law and order? Whether the arrest of Mr. George Fernandes is good or bad, I am not going to argue. The working class leaders have been arrested and they are demanding that they should be released. So far as Mr. George Fernandes is concerned, I would like to ask one thing. It has been said here many times that the Congress Party is collecting money. It is my personal appeal to you and through you to the Government: let the negotiations continue; we want the railway strike to be averted. But my demand is that Mr. George Fernandes' activities for the last one month and the way he raised the fund, how he got tremendous resources, should be probed into thoroughly by the Government. I know, about ten lakhs of workers have been compelled to follow him because they have no recognised leadership at the moment. There should be a probe by the Government as to what Mr. George Fernandes has been doing. What Mr. Fernandes has been doing is not in the interest of the working people. He feels that the present economic situation is the right moment when he can pull down and rub the nose of the Government.

I entirely agree that the railway workmen are facing a crisis. I know about Rajadhani Express. I have seen the conditions under which the employees in the generator car are working. In the last four years, five persons died on account of T.B. When all the passengers travel by ACC, these workers work in a condition where there is no air-conditioning. It affects their health; they cannot breathe properly. Their demand to the Railways is that they do not want

anything but a coach, a place of work, where they can breathe normally. I have repeatedly requested the Railways; I have written several letters. but nothing has been done. It has been done in the Bombay section; not in the Howrah Section. The conditions of the Class IV workers are also very bad and poor. Only one appeal to you, Sir. Let the trade union leaders also satisfy the Government. Can anybody say from the Members of the Opposition whether they get the services that we expect when we travel on our Railways and whether the services are upto the mark. I am referring to the aspects of cleanliness and the attitude of the ticket checking staff. I have witnessed, not once but a dozen times that there is a flourishing black-market in sale of tickets...

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI (Vellore): Who is responsible for that?

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: I know it. I have seen. The sense of patriotism should not only come from a section of the political parties. It should come from the entire people who are working for the national welfare.

SHRI PILOO MODY: There is no patriotism there.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: Unless this country is safeguarded, this country is going to face a serious disaster.

Do not take this adjournment motion so lightly. It is not reflecting the wishes of the working people. In any way if the Government fails to maintain the situation and if we are not sensible, this is the warning that this will be the last day of the Parliament in the Indian Decomraoy. This is the plan, this is the arrangement. I know you personally. I appeal to you

to consider the consequences seriously. I want and wish that the strike should be averted and I wish that a sensible role should be played by them. I want to plead only one thing that Mr. George Fernandes is not a man who is working for the railway workers' interests. He just got the opportunity to play the game because there is no player at the moment in the ground. His game would not help the situation in the country and the working people.

About the role of the trade unions I would like to submit only two or three important points.

The Railway Minister is kind enough. He has discussed with the Labour Minister. He has discussed with the workers' representatives. I know their grievances are sometimes not heard by the Railway Board people. I only want to request you and through you the Railway Minister, that in the absence of the Railway Minister, the attitude of the working people to the passengers, the attitude of the Railway Board, I tell you, unless it is changed, it will create further more problems for the interests of the nation and the progressive policies of the Government. I know it. I confess it. That at least something should be changed.

would not help the situation. That is No. 1.

But, at the present moment I do feel that this adjournment motion

No. 2.—The way they are precipitating the crisis in this country, it is not the crisis of the Government. I request and I promise and I appeal to the Government, if this threat comes to us continuously by a section of those forces who want the destruction of democracy, let the Government take the challenge and face the situation and not stand on the prestige issue. Either this Party or the Congress Party would rule this nation for progressive forces or we

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shall be removed from office. No compromise in between. But there shall be no compromise with those forces who want to destroy the nation. There shall be no compromise with those forces who want to sabotage the democratic set up. The forces behind Mr. George Fernandes, the forces surrounding Mr. George Fernandes are against it.

Mishraji said that there is no dearth of feelings. I do not believe that our people are like that. There is an attempt, there are methods, calculated methods to pull down the Government and to create a serious disaster. The time is now to discuss food, the time is now to give food to the vulnerable sections of the country, the time is now to understand the economic situation in the country and also the time is now to give some sympathy to the working people and not to play in the hands of those who are creating trouble.

I conclude that if Mr. George Fernandes, whether he is released tomorrow or not, he does the same thing after getting his demands conceded by the Government or not and if anybody does not protest, let the working people get whatever benefit but those who are in the non-organized section, those who are not getting the benefit, they will all units to face the situation with all responsibility.

**SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY** (Kendrapara): Sir, this is not an occasion for going into the relative merits of the railwaymen's demands and their ultimatum to go on a strike from the 8th May. That would require a different occasion. But, personally, I feel that the debate on the adjournment motion has been confused, thoroughly confused by bringing in the various issues of the railwaymen's demands which were not the subject matter of the adjournment motion. This adjournment motion was very limited in its scope. It did not relate to the railway strike

nor to the demands of railway workers. This adjournment motion only related to the precipitate action of the Government while negotiations were proceeding, in arresting the leaders of the railwaymen who were at the negotiating table on their behalf. Mr. A. P. Sharma referred to the ulterior motive of the railway leaders to disrupt the nation's economy. This has been repeated parrot-like by some of the members of the treasury benches. Accusations had been levelled that the railway leaders were bent on disrupting the nation's economy, to bring down democracy, to bring out a Chilean type of *coup-d'etat* to dislodge the Government and so on. Sir, any objective analysis of the situation would lead any fair-minded person to come to the inevitable conclusion that it was the Government which had precipitated the railway strike even before the Railway workers were considering whether they should go on strike on the 8th May or not; the Railway Ministry stopped as many as 200 pairs of trains. I would like to know the rationale for it. I would like to know the justification for it from the Government and from the Railway Minister. What was the particular reason for stopping 200 pairs of trains and causing untold suffering to the travelling public, disrupting the movement of foodgrains, coal, etc. etc. Some days ago I went to my constituency. I found the people were absolutely panic-stricken due to the stoppage of so many trains which had pushed up abnormally the prices of perishable goods and other thing. I would like to know who is responsible for it. What was the particular rationale for stopping 200 pairs of trains. That was done even before the railwaymen were considering whether to go on strike or not to go on strike ...

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** (Diamond Harbour): Sir, on a point of order. Neither the Railway Minister nor the Deputy Minister is here. Will you kindly help us?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is coming; please sit down.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ख नियर):  
गलत बात है, दनों मे से कोई तो हाना यह  
चाहिये ।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Let the Labour Minister deal with the dispute, Sir.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY: It is the Government and Government alone which has provoked the railwaymen to strike. I am sure the railwaymen were not responsible for this present situation. While the Government was on the one hand provoking and precipitating the railway strike, on the other hand it was negotiating with the railway leaders with the ostensible intention of averting the strike. From the trend of the talks it was obvious that the railway leaders were in a conciliatory mood and today at 10 A.M. the final round of talks would have taken place. This is to be the final round of talks. I would like to know, the House would like to know, the country would like to know why certain fiat was issued to the UP police to arrest Mr. George Fernandes on some warrant. This shows that their intention was to precipitate a show-down for reasons best known to them alone. It is non-ethical and it is against the cannons of justice and of fair-play.

No word would be enough to condemn the activities of the Government for their precipitate stand, which is unwarranted. Therefore, I plead that the arrested leaders should be released immediately and negotiations should be resumed.

In conclusion, I would say that much is being said today about democracy. It is like the devil quoting the scriptures. These men are returned to the Assemblies and Parliament through rigged elections. If they talk of democracy it is really a fantasy and it is a figment of imagination.

I only plead again that the Government should release the arrested

leaders of the railwaymen and bring them as quickly as possible to the negotiations table so that the railway strike is averted.

Sir, I support the Adjournment Motion.

श्री जगदीश चन्द्र बोस (सीतापुर):  
सदन के सामने रेलों की हड़ताल ने जो प्रश्न प्रस्तुत किया है वह गम्भीर और विचारणीय है। इस सदन से इस विषय पर सारा देश एक मार्गदर्शन और नेतृत्व कर्त्ता प्राप्ता करता है। इसलिये यह सदन स्वयं कोई कलैक्टिव बार गेनिंग का फोरम बन जाए तो अच्छा नहीं है। हमें यह देखना है कि रेल कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल और उनकी मांगों के पीछे जो वृत्ति है और उसके साथ साथ जो रेलवे बोर्ड की तरफ से बातचीत करने की बात हुई, उस सब में कितना श्रौचित्य है और किस प्रकार से उसका सम्पादन होना चाहिये। होना तो यह चाहिये कि हम एक हल पेश करें अपनी इस चर्चा में। इस लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि रेलों की हड़ताल के सिलसिले में जो भी बातें हैं उनके श्रौचित्य पर मुझे इस समय कुछ नहीं कहना है। लेकिन जब हम सामूहिक सौदेबाजी या कलैक्टिव बार गेनिंग की बात करते हैं तो हम यह मान कर चलते हैं कि जो मांग हम रखते हैं यह जरूरी नहीं है कि उसको पूर्ण तरह से मान ही लिया जाए। कलैक्टिव बारगेनिंग में हमें यह देखना है कि किस सीमा तक हम अपनी मांग को मनवा सकते हैं। जिस समय कलैक्टिव बारगेनिंग के क्षेत्र में आप अपनी मांगों पर अडिग हो जाते हैं और बहुत रिजिड हो जाते हैं तो इसको आप समझ लें कि तब जो उद्देश्य उसका होता है वह उद्देश्य उसी समय समाप्त हो जाता है। इसलिए कलैक्टिव बारगेनिंग की वृत्ति न होने के कारण जो परिणाम हो सकते हैं वे हमारे सामने हैं। रिजिड रख उसके पीछे है। चाहे कोऑर्डिनेशन कमेटी हो या वर्कर्स तथा उनके प्रतिनिधि हों उनका रख या स्टैंड सही है, यह कतना मुश्किल है।

श्रमिक आन्दोलन में वर्षों तक रहने के नाते मैं न दो रिटो और न ही बोनस की मांग

## [श्री जगदीश चन्द्र बोस।]

के बारे में राय देना चाहता हूँ और न ही इन मांगों के औचित्य के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन इतना मैं जरूर कहूँगा जब हमारे देश ने पन्द्रहवीं लेबर कांफ्रेंस में स्वीकार किया कि मजदूरों को नीड बेस्ड वेज मिले और उसके नाम तय किए जाए तो 1955 से लेकर आज 1974 तक इतने दिनों तक हमारा मुल्क जब अपनी कोई नैशनल वेज पालिसी नहीं बना पाया तो इसके लिए हम संसद् के सभी सदस्य उत्तरदायी हैं। इसलिए जब तक नीड बेस्ड वेज पर निर्णय न हो जाए और उस स्तर पर मजदूर वर्ग न पहुंच जाए उस समय तक भिन्न भिन्न विकल्पों का प्रयोग होना स्वाभाविक है। उन विकल्पों में एक परिटी वाली बात है। परिटी का मतलब यह है कि एक ही काम करने वाले भिन्न भिन्न उद्योगों में क्या पाते हैं। उसी में एक विकल्प बोनस का था। बोनस का भ्रन्ध जहां उत्पादन से जोड़ा गया था वहां इसका डेड वेज भी माना गया है। बहरहाल कुछ भी हो आज यह मांग भले ही अच्छी लगे कि पब्लिक सैक्टर के साथ परिटी होनी चाहिये लेकिन अगर हम इसको स्वीकार भी कर लें तो मजदूर आन्दोलन को अपनी उस बुनियादी मांग को छोड़ना पड़ेगा कि वेतन आवश्यक के अनुसार मिले, नीड बेस्ड हो। इसलिए इस विकल्प को लाना और इसको स्वीकार कराना जिसमें श्रमिक आन्दोलन को अपनी बुनियादी मांग को, नीड बेस्ड वेज पर छोड़ना पड़े, ठीक नहीं है।

रह गई बोनस की बात। रेल कर्मचारियों को बोनस मिलना चाहिये, इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती हैं। इसके बौ कारण हैं। मुख्य एक यह है कि बहुत सी रेलें 1946 के पहले व्यक्तिगत क्षेत्र में थीं। बाद में पब्लिक सैक्टर में आईं। दुनियां जानती है कि टैक्सटाइल कारखाने और रेलों के कारखाने हैं। हिन्दुस्तान में इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के

जन्म दाता हैं और यह भी जानती है कि मजदूर आन्दोलन ने जब से 54 वर्ष पूर्व अखिल भारतीय स्वरूप धारण किया तो उसके मुख्य मुख्य जो लीडर थे वे या तो रेलों से आए या टैक्सटाइल से आए। जब रेलें व्यक्तिगत क्षेत्र से पब्लिक सैक्टर में आईं तो स्वाभाविक था कि यह मांग सामने आए कि जब दूसरे क्षेत्रों में बोनस मिल सकता है तो यहां क्यों न मिले। यह बात सामाहिक सोदेबाजी की है और सब को यह देखना पड़ेगा कि किस सीमा तक हम जा सकते हैं और कैसे यह हो सकता है। जिद पकड़ने से न श्रम आन्दोलन को लाभ होता है और न ही कलक्टिव वार्गेनिंग को। यह प्रश्न व्यय का है और न इस तर्क में आता है कि कोई क्यों गिरफ्तार हुआ और गलत हुआ या नहीं हुआ। आन्दोलन कोई आगे चलेगा तो कैसा स्वरूप वह धारण करेगा, यदि कानून के खिलाफ कोई जाएगा तो उस को कानून का शिकार होना पड़ेगा। क्षमा करें आप उस बात के लिए जो मैं कहने जा रहा हूँ। मैं लखनऊ से आता हूँ और इम वान की मुझे व्यक्तिगत रूप से सूचना है। श्री जार्ज फर्नेंडीस ने लखनऊ में जो कुछ कहा है उसको यहां आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने यह जरूर कहा है कि जो लोग हड़ताल में हिस्सा न लें उन्हें तुम पहले पहचान लो, हड़ताल का इंतजार मत करो और उन्हें दुस्त करना है। मैं लखनऊ से आता हूँ और मुझे इसकी जानकारी है और निश्चित तौर पर मैं कह सकता हूँ कि जो उद्गार उन्होंने प्रकट किए हैं ये सभी इस तरह के जो आन्दोलन होते हैं उनकी परम्पराएं होती हैं उन से अलग हैं। ऐसी अवस्था में जो परिणाम होंगे जो उत्तेजना पैदा होगी उनके निवारण के लिए इस तरह के कदम उठाना बड़ा आवश्यक था।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि सदन एक अच्छी इंडस्ट्रियल रिलेशन पालिसी तथा नेशनल च पालिसी इबालव करे और ऐसे नाम तय

करे जिन से कि क्लैक्टिव बारगेनिंग अच्छे तरह से सम्पादित हो सके?

अन्त में मैं रेल कर्मचारियों से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि वे सहज पथ पर आएँ और इस हड़ताल में हिस्सा न लें। मैं उस प्रस्ताव का विरोध भी करता हूँ जो कि श्री बा. ने रखा है।

श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतीहारी) : सभापति महोदय, एडजर्नमेंट मोशन के लिए ढाई घंटे का समय निश्चित किया गया है। हम ग्यारह बजे आते हैं। यहाँ कोई नियम कायदा भी है और है ना? उसका पालन हम क्यों न करें। अगर उसका पालन नहीं करना है तो इस चीज को ग्राम हाऊस में लाएँ और हाउस की स्वीकृति लें कि हम उस कायदे को हटाना चाहते हैं। नियम में यह है कि चार बजे एडजर्नमेंट मोशन को लिया जाएगा और इसको साढ़े छः बजे खत्म कर दिया जाएगा। आप नियम को देख लें। या तो नियम के मुताबिक आप चले और नहीं चलना तो इस चीज को आप सदन में लाएँ कि हम इस नियम को तोड़ना चाहते हैं। अगर ऐसा नहीं करना चाहते हैं तो नियम को हटा कर आप दूसरा नियम बनाएँ।

सभापति महोदय : आप तो सीनियर मੈम्बर हैं। आपको तो मालूम होना चाहिए कि रूल में यह लिखा हुआ है कि ढाई घंटे से कम नहीं दिए जाएंगे। यह नहीं है कि कितने दिए जाएंगे। फिर स्पीकर साहब ने खुद तीन घंटे इसके लिए रखे हैं। फिर इस ग्रहम चीज पर, रेलवे स्ट्राइक जैसी ग्रहम चीज पर आप जैसे बुर्जुआ घबरा जाएं, तब बड़ा मुश्किल होगा।

श्रीविभूति मिश्र : मैं घबराने वाला आदमी नहीं। स्पीकर हो या राष्ट्रपति हो या प्राइम मिनिस्टर हो, कायदे कानून के अन्दर सब को काम करना होता है। उनको मान कर ही चलना होता है। मैं सारी रात बैठने के

लिए तैयार हूँ। लेकिन नियमों का पालन तो करना ही पड़ता है। जिस राज्य में नियम नहीं होता है वह राज्य चल नहीं सकता है।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): When this debate on the adjournment motion is drawing to a close, it is natural that most of the things that need to be said have been said already. Nevertheless, I am rising with your permission, Mr. Chairman, Sir, to emphasise such of those aspects of the whole problem which I feel still require emphasis.

When one hears the debate, especially the speeches from the ruling benches, one is amazed at either the total ignorance and indifference of the Members of the ruling side or the deliberate playing down of a tremendous crisis that has enveloped us all in this country. I wonder whether the Treasury Benches and the members on the Government Benches have realised this crisis only now! If they have at all realised this crisis, what is their behaviour? Are we getting any evidence of any seriousness, any earnestness in action to show that the Government mean serious business? It is only when Government have been forced to yielding to legitimate demands of the people at large that they begin to think of these excuses, crises etc. When I look at the Ministers, the way they live, the way they behave, the way they spend money, the way they go on having all kinds of projects, I am not at all convinced that they are showing any realisation of the great crisis that has enveloped us all.

They are talking of democracy. They are talking of corruption in certain quarters, specially of the railway trade union leaders. My friend, Shri Das Munsli, in particular referred to Shri George Fernandes and others and said that there must be a probe done into the whole thing. I ask you: is this

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

Government capable of any probe, this/corrupt Government, with its hands deep down in corruption, from top to bottom and from bottom to top? Is it capable of talking to the whole nation through this hon. House that there should be a probe into all these matters?

The whole difficulty is that this Government have lost both the will and the capacity to govern. They are confused and harassed by their own misdeeds. Now, it is no use their coming to this House and through this House to the country and say, "please save us. What can we do? Do not do this business of strike, etc. because there is difficulty." But I ask: who created these difficulties? They themselves have created these difficulties.

Government supporters are charging that the trade union leaders are politically-motivated. I want to suggest that the government action has been politically vitiated. Not only politically vitiated, but look at the way in which they have tried to create a situation of panic among the public by cancelling a number of trains in all parts of the country, presumably because they wanted to tell the people that this is what is going to happen if the strike takes place. Therefore, perhaps Government wanted to get the sympathy of the people. But the real fact is that people are more in sympathy with the railway people.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Your shouting is not going to detract from the truth of what I am saying. The fact of the matter is that whatever Government are doing, they are putting out the defence mechanism only, and they are trying to show to the whole nation that it is the workers who are disrupting. But, the whole

point is that the Government themselves have been disrupting the economy, disrupting democracy, disrupting parliamentary life, disrupting public life in general.

Therefore, I want to suggest that what the Government have done, particularly this morning by arresting Shri George Fernandes and other leaders is nothing less than an act of treachery. This is my charge. They themselves have committed an act of treachery and not only will this House not tolerate it—of course at the end of the debate, this motion will be lost because the members of the ruling party have a huge majority—but the fact remains that the vote of this House is not going to reflect the mood of the people at large.

The feeling of the people today is that the Government are talking one thing and doing exactly the opposite.

My point is this: can you expect anything to result from this kind of combination, namely, of the corrupt and the bureaucrats? They have combined, nay conspired, to corner the working classes and the trade union movement. Government's intentions are neither clean nor clear. They talk of negotiations and at the same time, while talking of negotiations, they are negotiating torture on the trade unionists and on the trade union movement.

I ask: have Government really been honest about these negotiations? Do they want a negotiated settlement? If they do, have they made any serious attempts without loss of time in the recent past? On the other hand, you will find that the workers' representatives are quite sincere and serious about an amicable settlement. As recently as on the 12th April I

wrote a letter to Shri George Fernandes and requested him to do something about it. I shall quote from his reply because he has been misquoted and misrepresented here. This is what he wrote to me on 23rd April:

"Thanks for your letter of April 12. As you must have seen from the press reports, we are having some kind of negotiations with the Railway Ministry. But they are not seriously doing anything to settle our dispute. The whole exercise seems to be intended only to buy some more time."

"While we shall do everything possible to come to a negotiated settlement, we shall have no alternative but to resort to strike if a reasonable settlement is not forthcoming."

I do not want to repeat the arguments so ably given by Shri Vajpayee about the bonus. When the Bonus Review Committee was mentioned why was the Prime Minister's letter used not only to prejudice but to prejudice and coerce and pressurise the members of the Bonus Review Committee against giving bonus to Railwaymen? Sir, the Government throws people like Shri George Fernandes and other leaders into the jail. Unfortunately, one of them died in the jail today in Bombay. These arrests are an extraordinary step and it is an extremely provocative step. You say: negotiate, but you begin to arrest the people. Who will then believe your words? But, perhaps, this is the impression you want to give to the whole country: Government assurances are not to be trusted. In any case the days of this Government are numbered and the sooner they go the better it will be for the country. Before it is too late let them release the leaders as early as possible and resume negotiations. Even if they do not do it, today or tomorrow I am quite sure that ultimately they will be forced to do both the things: release the leaders and renegotiate. They will be forced

to do it. Let them accept at least in principle all the points which are legitimate and justified from the side of the workers. They can then say on certain points: we will do it a little later because of the present very difficult financial situation. But to say that we are not prepared to accept anything just and proper, and then deliberately mislead the whole nation and mislead the House will be very wrong.

(THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL): Hon. Member Shri Madhu Limaye while speaking a little while ago referred to a feature in 'Hava Mahal' of the All-India Radio. I have made a detailed check from the A.I.R.

In a spot in the series "Suniye aur Sochiye" which was broadcast on 5th April in Vividh Bharati Hawa Mahal programme, a soldier on the front receives a letter from his home in which he is told of violence, strikes and disruption being caused in the country resulting in shortages of essential commodities. While talking to among friends, he brings the news of the threatened railway strike. They discuss the repercussions of the strike when one of them makes the following remark:

"अगर मुझे कोई रेलवे का कर्मचारी मिल जाये, तो देश के प्रहरी की हैसियत से मैं हाथ जोड़ कर उस से कहूँ: दोस्त, तुम अपनी तन्खाह बढ़वाओ, काम के घंटे घटवाओ, भगवान् के लिए देश की जनता का रहना न मुहाल करो। देश के साथ दुश्मनी मत करो।"

The shot ends there. Obviously the information given by Shri Madhu Limaye is incorrect.)

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): I want to draw your attention to one point. This should not be made a precedent in future. In one adjourn-



[Shri Samar Guha]

ment motion one Minister or one hon. Member should not be allowed to talk twice. / Today we are not sure whether the statement that was made by the hon. Minister formed a part of this or not. That has not been made clear. In future this may set a dangerous precedent. For that reason, I want you to make it clear that this is an exception and this will not be made a precedent in future.

सभापति महोदय : मेरा ख्याल है कि प्रोफेसर साहब भी यह पसन्द नहीं करेंगे कि इतना डिस्कशन सुनने के बाद मिनिस्टर साहब को न सुनें। हो सकता है कि उनका राय बदल गई हो। हो सकता कि वह कोई बेहतर एलान करें।

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS  
(SHRI L. N. MISHRA):

सभापति महोदय, मैं राय बदली नहीं है। मेरी वही राय है, जो पहले थी।

At the outset I should like to make one point clear. In the course of the debate Members tried to pick out certain actions and they said that the Railway Ministry was not responsible and that the Home Ministry was responsible. Or some other Ministry was responsible for the arrest of Mr. George Fernandes and others. At the outset, I would like to say that I preside over the Ministry of Railways and it is my responsibility. If any decision has been taken, it has been taken with my knowledge and with my consent and I would like to say that I will not run away from my responsibility.

It has been said that we do not believe in democracy and we do not also believe in trade unions. On many occasions in the past, I have stated in the House that I am a strong believer in trade unions, not in weak trade unions, but in strong trade unions and at the same time in an enlightened management. In meetings and conferences held in Rail Bhavan,

I have been stressing this point and I have said this to my officers also. I have been telling them that unless we have a strong trade union and enlightened management there would not be peace in the Railways. This is the real problem we have been faced with. We have weak trade unions and we have multiple trade unions. But, at the same time, I would also confess that our approach to the problem is not as enlightened as it should be. That is why, trouble comes and we suffer from those troubles.

I thought hon. Members would raise some points relating to the Miabhoy Tribunal award, which we had accepted. As a result of the settlement which we have just arrived at, the railway workers would be getting Rs. 70-80 crores per year. This is in addition to Rs. 110 crores per year, as a result of the implementation of the Pay Commission's recommendations. So, as a result of the implementation of the Pay Commission's recommendations and as a result of the settlement which we have just arrived at, workers would be getting Rs. 190 crores per year. This means in one year, workers of the Indian Railways would be getting a wage rise by about 40 per cent. I do not know whether in any other industry, there has been a wage rise in one year by about 40 per cent. I do not think there can be any reason for complaint so far as wage part is concerned.

About bonus, I would not like to say anything further because a number of Members have already spoken and Government's stand is well-known. In the statement that I made in the beginning, I have explained Government's stand on the question of bonus. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee raised this point and I will tell him that we still stick to the position that we have stated on the statement that I made earlier.

Sir, it was also said that we are not serious about a negotiated settle-

ment. We have been very very serious about a negotiated settlement. I have made a number of statements in this House. It is I who invited the trade union leaders. We want a negotiated settlement. But, unfortunately, when we had almost reached a settlement point, something, some unfortunate thing has happened and we could not reach a final point of settlement. For that, of course, I am sorry.

Before I go into that—I am sorry, I forgot—I would like to express my heart-felt condolences on the death of Shri Mhalgi, a worker of the Railways who died this morning in Bombay. I am extremely sorry for it. I would like to express my heart felt condolences.

(Interruptions)

About compensation, I will look into it and whatever is possible, under the present circumstances and rules permitting, will be done. I am extremely sorry for his death. Then, it was also said that no promise was kept about arrests. They also said that an assurance was given that so long as negotiations go on, no arrests would be made. Yes, Sir it is fact. At the same time, it is also a fact that while negotiations go on, we also said that no other activity should be carried on. I will read out from some reports to show how during the course of negotiations, all possible preparations were afoot for the strike of 8th May. On the 30th evening, when Mr. Fernandes was leaving Rail Bhavan, he met some pressmen and some pressmen met me also. I said that we have almost reached a point of settlement. Mr. George Fernandes said, as pointed out in my statement made earlier, in his letter 'It was a futile exercise and the strike will begin on 8th May'. He said this. Therefore, it is clear that he has not been working for peace and he has been working for a strike. We have authentic information about it. Instead of working for peace, they were working for a strike. Naturally, as a Government, and as an alert Government, it was proper

and necessary....(interruptions) for us to take notice of these activities of these people, who are directing the action. As a result of that, after giving full consideration to all aspects, we had to take this painful decision of making some arrests. Some people have been arrested. One of them is Shri George Fernandes, the President of the AIRF.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Why don't you arrest Shri Sharma also?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I was surprised to find out thing here. I hope Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan will excuse me when I say that her approach and the approach of Shri Shyamnandan Mishra seem to be more or less the same. I do not know what a strange combination is taking place those who stand for leftism and progressive socialism are hand in glove with the right reactionaries. It pained me as one of those who believe in the unity of the progressive forces. There is no doubt about it that Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan and her friends represent progressive forces and Shri Shyamnandan Mishra and others represent the right reactionary forces in this country.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Which forces does Shri L. N. Mishra represent? He represents the forces of corruption.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: A number of points have been raised about industrial disputes in railways. I had a talk with Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, who was the Deputy Minister of Railways, whether things were smooth while he was in charge of this portfolio. He said that even then things were not happy. I was looking at the figures. This year alone 75 strikes have taken place in the Indian Railways, resulting in a loss of Rs. 65 crores directly. Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad rightly pointed out that a loss of one rupee to the railways means a loss of Rs. 10 to the nation. So, we have lost Rs. 650 crores of national income or national wealth, whatever, you may say. Therefore, these disturbed industrial

[Shri L. N. Mishra]

relations have done the maximum damage to the Indian economy, especially at a time when our economy is passing through a great crisis. That is why we are very much interested in seeing that there should be peace in the Indian Railways.

Sir, as you know, most of the speakers have concentrated their attention on the arrest of Shri George Fernandes. To be precise, I would like to read out from a note. I will not make any extempore speech on this point; I would also be laying it on the table of the House, as it shows what forced us to take this action. I will say that if anybody is responsible for this action, the first person is Shri George Fernandes himself.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, on a point of order. The Minister says that he is going to lay on the Table of the House the charges against Shri George Fernandes.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Yes, I will lay it. I will not run away. I am going to lay it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You are too fat to run away.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I am prepared to substantiate whatever I said. The actions of the AIRF are not something accidental. The press pronouncement of Shri George Fernandes on the 30th was an indication of it. During the last few days, after the commencement of the negotiations, Shri George Fernandes through speeches at various meetings of railwaymen was openly inciting them to violence and even to setting fire to railway property... (Interruptions). He has talked of setting fire to railway property and terrorising loyal workers to prevent them from going on duty. He has even been threatening a clash

with territorial army personnel if they dare to interfere in this strike.

Lest I be charged with making sweeping allegations, I would like to quote from various statements of Shri Fernandes at his meetings with railwaymen in recent days.

On March 23, speaking in Calcutta at a public meeting of railwaymen. Shri Fernandes threatened "a clash with territorial army personnel if they interfere with the strike".

On 24th and 25th April, Shri Fernandes declared that the strike was meant "to cripple the entire country and lead to rebellion on the part of the people".

The same day, he advised that active party leaders "should stop movement of trains even by setting fire to railway property" and "by terrorising loyal workers to prevent them from joining work".

In another statement, Shri Fernandes said on the same day, "pro-strike employees of the Central Railways were planning to dislocate communications and lock up signal systems at important railway stations with a view to preventing movement of trains"... (Interruptions).

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: He is making sweeping charges... (Interruptions) It is a slander... (Interruptions). These are all concocted stories... (Interruptions). He cannot do it. It is against all sense of propriety; it is against all parliamentary practices. All these charges have been concocted by the Railway Board... (Interruptions) We cannot allow him to do that. He is the comrade of so many friends here... (Interruptions) I am not going to tolerate it; I am not going to allow him to go on making sweeping charges... (Interruptions)

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** On a point of order, Sir. The practice in the House has been that whenever serious charges are made against any person, then a proper notice should be given to you and you are apprised that the charges are going to be made. In this connection, I would like to quote an instance. When there were certain charges made by the hon. Member, Shri Sarjoo Pandey against the Chairman of the Railway Board when he was Member (Administration), immediately the hon. Minister rose and said that the charges should not have been made because previous notice was not given. Here, Shri George Fernandes is the Convener of the National Coordination Committee.... (Interruptions)

He is an ex-Member of this House. Charges are being made, sweeping remarks are being made, on the basis of the so-called intelligence reports which are anything but intelligent. I want to know what is the source.... (Interruptions).

19.55 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have come at a time when I was going to raise my point of order. I was reminding the Chair of your direction, the direction that you have given here several times, that charges should not be made in this House against a person who is not here to defend himself without giving prior notice. The hon. Minister has mentioned about Mr. George Fernandes. Is it proper for the Minister or any member of this House to make sweeping charges against the Convener of the Co-ordination Committee, an ex-Member of this House and Chairman of the All India Railwaymen Federation recognised by the Government of India? When he is in jail, charges are being made about sabotage and other things. I want a ruling from you.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** We want to know whether the Minister has given any notice. Otherwise, how did the Chair allow him to mention those things?

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** We want to know whether prior notice was given to you. Also we want to know the source from where he is quoting, whether it is CIB report or CBI report.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Let him not say that he got this information from Mr. Uma Shankar Dikshit.

**MR. SPEAKER:** Mr. Banerjee, what are the charges you are referring to?

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE:** It has been said that in a particular place Mr. Fernandes spoke about sabotage, burning of properties, preaching violence, fighting the Army and the Territorial Army, asking the students to create the conditions for revolution and so on. He was reading out. Can he make such charges here? Also we want to know the source from which he was quoting....

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH** (Nandyal): On a point of order.

**MR. SPEAKER:** There is already a point of order raised by him.

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:** Can he make a long speech like this while rising on point of order?

**MR. SPEAKER:** Please sit down.

This Adjournment Motion has, after all, arisen out of the arrest of Mr. George Fernandes. This morning the main reason given was this, and, therefore, anything which they think has led to his arrest, the Minister has the right to explain. What is wrong about it?

[Mr. Speaker]

20 hrs.

There is nothing against his personal character or his personal lapses. It is just a part of the whole debate. You might have imputed many things and motives to the Government and they impute to you also. There is a general debate going on. There is nothing personal about it.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: In another statement, Shri Fernandes said on the same day:

"Pro-strike employees of the Central Railway were planning to dislocate communications and lock-up the signal systems at important railway stations with a view to preventing movement of trains."

Reports received by the Government clearly show that Mr. George Fernandes....

SHRI PILOO MODY: I would like to know whether you have given permission to the hon. Minister to put any paper on the Table of the House because I just saw the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs surreptitiously pulling out a paper and leaving it on the Table. I wanted to know whether he has taken your permission.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I have nothing to do with that.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): I only placed on the Table what I took from there.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Have you taken the permission of the Speaker?

MR. SPEAKER: There is nothing about which you should worry.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: As you have rightly said, we had not charged and we had not arrested innocent persons. I was only giving facts that led to the arrests.... (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: What about others?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Reports received by the Government clearly show that Shri Fernandes and his associates warned the railway workers that those 'betraying the strike will be dealt with severely'. They have openly threatened that lathis and acids will be used against loyal workers.... (Interruptions).

These threats have already been brought into action in some places as for instance at Bombay when a Head of a Department, while on a routine inspection, was pushed down, injured and an attempt was made to assault him.

I would only like to say one thing. That is that it is the AIRF and Mr. Fernandes who have sabotaged the talks by deliberately boycotting yesterday's meeting. Both at the Conference Table and outside, Shri Fernandes has adopted a negative posture and has been actively inciting the workers to violence and bloodshed.

The House, I hope, will agree that political adventurism has no place in a trade union movement.

The Railways have suffered heavy losses in 1973-74 running into crores of rupees due to various strikes and work-stoppages. The net deficit for 1973-74 was more than Rs. 100 crores. In spite of this difficult financial position, I have agreed at the negotiations to meet demands aggregating to a total of about Rs. 80 crores. This is in addition to the additional wage bill of Rs. 110 crores due to the implementation of the Third Pay Commission's recommendations.

Lastly, before I conclude, I again reiterate that I am very keen for a negotiated settlement and if the AIRF and the workers withdraw their strike notice, I am prepared to sit together..

(Interruptions) If they withdraw the strike notice, they would be released.  
(Interruptions) If they withdraw their strike notice, we are prepared to have negotiations, etc.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** How can you ask them to withdraw their strike notice? You negotiate with them. That means you do not want a negotiated settlement. If the Minister says that before they withdraw their strike notice, he will not talk to them, it is now plainly evident that he never wanted a settlement....

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** No, no.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Because the doors are closed for ever. How can you make a silly statement like that? Do you realise the consequences of that?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** The first thing is: whether there was a difference between the Home Ministry and the Railway Ministry. Now I want to understand one thing. Why is it that on the one hand Mr. Lalit Narain Mishra assures the Railwaymen that no action will be taken till such time the negotiations are over, and he says 'we have an open mind' and on the other hand Shri Uma Shaakar Dikshit goes on arresting them. We want a clear explanation for this. He is preaching sermons on the one hand and sheds crocodile tears on the other. Miabhy Commission gave its decision a long time ago and the Railways if they are sincere about it, should have implemented the recommendations at least some years ago. You talk about wage rise for railwaymen. I have compared it. Be honest about it. That is a word that is unknown to you. If you are fair in the matter, have you ever bothered to go and compare the wages they get with those of the others in similar jobs in the public undertakings? You have not done that. Now you say, they are bent upon going on strike. Are you aware of the fact that India has the highest price rise and

the lowest per capita income in the world? Yesterday we were told that Miabhy Commission report would entail Rs. 35 crores; today it is Rs. 80 crores. We do not know what are all these things.

You will find that they were not at all serious about these negotiations from the beginning. First you deputed the railway officials. Then you slightly climbed a little bit, you deputed your Deputy Minister. This is what you have been doing. You said they are wanting to have a strike and they are not for settlement. This is most regrettable, unwarranted and baseless. Let us come to the real business. The decision to arrest Mr. George was not taken yesterday. There is this Home Ministry's secret circular that I have laid on the Table of the House. This is dated the 7th of April 1974. Prior to that there is the circular of 2nd of April. So, this has been pre-planned. You talked about 75 strikes in one year. Whom do you blame for this? Who has created such a situation?

You even talked about Mr. George Fernandes saying things at various meetings. I think this is also an after-thought because if Mr. George Fernandes has said something on 23rd of March, why did you wait till the 2nd of May? I want to know that. You read about what Mr. George Fernandes had said. It would have been much better and we would have appreciated you to some extent if you quoted the source. Is it your Research and Analysis wing? Is it Intelligence Branch? Which one is this source, we would like to know. Or is it a mixture and concoction from that side of the House and nothing else? This is a clear case of putting up concocted cases against railway people. If you cannot get them by their straight neck, this is what you proposed to do. The secret circular says that 'the provisions of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) could be profitably invoked while undertaking preventive action. Section 1(a) (xiii) specifically enables the detention of any person with a

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

view to preventing him from acting in any manner.

What more do you want? On the one hand your own ministry is negotiating and taking to the delaying tactics and on the other you are trying to put the dagger on the railway workers. This is what you have been doing.

SHRI PILOO MODY: This is the way he establishes a revolution.

MR. SPEAKER: Even though he is not doing, you will make him to do it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Mr. Speaker, you had a restful afternoon. All that I want you, through your good offices, to do is—though I am not entitled to it—that we should be told by him as to how many warrants have been issued and how many arrests have been made. The House should be told about it. You owe a duty to tell this. Our adjournment motion covers all the arrested persons connected with the railway strike. It is not connected with Shri George Fernandes alone. Therefore, the hon. Minister has deliberately escaped from fulfilling his responsibility. He is talking about losses. In the Public Accounts Committee, we had some chance to look at the papers. The losses were due to high corruption. You are responsible for the mismanagement, wastefulness and inefficiency. The railways would come to a half if that remains at the hands of the people who are controlling it at the present moment. The question is: let us come back to the issue a little more soberly, because enough heat has been generated although the situation demands it. And, a lot of fury came from the people opposite and no logic is behind it. I heard Shri Inder Gujral saying that the workers in the All India Radio are traitors in this country and what not. I am ashamed to hear that.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: He did not say 'traitors'.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Then, Sir, during negotiations, it was repeatedly pointed out that we were so reasonable. It was repeatedly pointed out that they should accept the principle of the need-based minimum and abolish the disparity between the railways and other public sector institutions. I must reply to all the cock and bull story. The Coordination Committee has been very serious in arriving at a negotiated settlement. Now, they have come out to stab them at the back. Therefore, negotiations in the present circumstances are impossible. They are misquoting Shri George Fernandes. It is really very unfortunate. If you are really serious about averting this strike, Mr. Mishra, at least change your attitude, release all the people and sit coolly in a room and settle this issue.

You are now spending crores of rupees to break this strike which will never work. I appeal to you not to sit with the Railway Board officials but you may consult and take advice from the veteran trade union leaders. You will find a solution and they will be completely helpful to you to find a solution. It cannot be settled on the basis of falsehoods but it has to be based on only certain facts. The men sitting over here should realise this that there is no dearth of funds for the railways if the Government is serious about this. Do you know, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that the biggest investment of the railways, 65 per cent of the investment, is on the tracks. Do you know the utilisation rate? I do not want to load you with those figures but, they are disappointing.

Shri Azad said that the bonus would cost Rs. 500 crores. My dear friend, Shri Azad is poor in pure and simple mathematics. It would cost only from Rs. 30 to 35 crores. It was actually only about Rs. 30 to 35 crores. If there had been real dearth of finances and

resources, how is it that the police budget is jumping up year after year? How is it that the defence budget is going up year after year? How is it that the Prime Minister had to pay Rs. 60 lakhs in one stroke for foreign travels? They do not have any dearth of money. Their three scores of Ministers, each costing Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 50,000 p.m. sitting and eating and doing what I do not want to say....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Their salaries are Rs. 12 lakh a year.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The railway workers are subsidising the society, transporting cheaply through sweated ill-paid workers. This should stop at once. Social burdens are borne by the railways and the British started it. In other countries, it is met from general revenue through grants-in-aid. Social burden is currently Rs. 225.44 crores and another Rs. 34.64 crores was thrown away through mismanagement, corruption and other malpractices.

No reference was made to the Bonus Review Committee. Government's attitude is clear through Shrimati Indira Gandhi's letter. Bonus is a deferred payment. So, the question of profit and loss does not arise.

In summing up, may I appeal to the hon. Minister of Railways—I really mean it—that for God's sake, let him get out of the hands of these people and form a council at once with veteran trade unionist and come for a settlement at once. Let him unconditionally release all those whom he had arrested in connection with the railway strike.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Before you put the motion to vote, I want to know when was the last time when the Railway Minister travelled in a train.

MR. SPEAKER: I would let him know later on.

SHRI PILOO MODY: That is a commitment on the floor of the House. So, you will have to let me know.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, I shall put the motion to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That the House do now adjourn"

*The Lok Sabha divided.*

Division No. 16) (20.24 hrs.)

**AYES**

Bade, Shri R. V.  
Banera, Shri Hamendra Singh.  
Banerjee, Shri S. M.  
Bhattacharyya, Shri S. P.  
Bosu, Shri Jyotirmoy  
Chandra Shekhar Singh, Shri  
Chandrappan, Shri C. K.  
Chavda, Shri K. S.  
Chowhan, Shri Bharat Singh  
Dandavate, Prof. Madhu  
Deshpande, Shrimati Roza  
Guna, Shri Samar  
Horo, Shri N. E.  
Kalingarayar, Shri Mohanraj  
Krishnan, Shrimati Parvathi  
Lalji Bhai, Shri  
Limaye, Shri Madhu  
Mavalankar, Shri P. G.  
Mody, Shri Piloo  
Mohanty, Shri Surendra  
Mukherjee, Shri Samar  
Pandeya, Dr. Laxminarain  
Ramkanwar, Shri  
Sambhali, Shri Ishaque  
Shakya, Shri Maha Deepak Singh  
Singh, Shri D. N.  
Ulaganambi, Shri R. P.  
Vajpayee, Shri Atal Bihari

**NOES**

Ahmed, Shri F. A.  
Ambesh, Shri  
Arvind Netam, Shri  
Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar  
Banerjee, Shrimati Mukul  
Barua, Shri Bedabrata



Barupal, Shri Parma Lal	Lakkappa, Shri K.
Besumatari, Shri D.	Lakshminarayanan, Shri M. R.
Bhagat, Shri B. R.	Maharaj Singh, Shri
Bhagat, Shri H. K. L.	Mahata, Shri Debendra Nath
Bhargava, Shri Basheshwar Nath	Majhi, Shri Kumar
Chandrakar, Shri Chandulal	Malaviya, Shri K. D.
Chaturvedi, Shri Rohan Lal	Malhotra, Shri Inder J.
Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh	Mandal, Shri Jagdish Narain
Chavan, Shri Yeshwantrao	Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad
Chhotey Lal, Shri	Maurya, Shri B. P.
Daga, Shri M. C.	Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
Dalbir Singh, Shri	Mishra, Shri Jagannath
Damani, Shri S. R.	Mishra, Shri L. N.
Darbara Singh, Shri	Misra, Shri S. N.
Das, Shri Anadi Charan	Mumsi, Shri Priya Ranjan Das
Deshmukh, Shri Shivaji Rao S.	Murmu, Shri Yogesh Chandra
Dharia, Shri Mohan	Nahata, Shri Amrit
Dixit, Shri Jagdish Chandra	Naik, Shri B. V.
Doda, Shri Hiralal	Negi, Shri Pratap Singh
Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar	Oraon, Shri Kartik
Engti, Shri Biren	Pahadia, Shri Jagannath
Ganesh, Shri K. R.	Painuli, Shri Paripoornanand
Gavit, Shri T. H.	Pandit, Shri S. T.
Ghosh, Shri P. K.	Pant, Shri K. C.
Godara, Shri Mani Ram	Paokai Haokip, Shri
Gokhale, Shri H. R.	Parashar, Prof. Narain Chand
Gomango, Shri Giridhar	Partap Singh, Shri
Gopal, Shri K.	Patil, Shri T. A.
Goswami, Shri Dinesh Chandra	Raghu Ramaiah, Shri K.
Gotkhinde, Shri Annasaheb	Rai, Shrimati Sahodrabai
Hansda, Shri Subodh	Raj Bahadur, Shri
Ishaque, Shri A. K. M.	Rajdeo Singh, Shri
Kadannappalli, Shri Ramachandran	Ram, Shri Tulmohan
Kailas, Dr.	Ram Dhan, Shri
Kakodkar, Shri Purushottam	Ram Swarup, Shri
Kapur, Shri Sat Pal	Rao, Shri Nageswara
Karan Singh, Dr.	Rao, Shri Pattabhi Rama
Kaul, Shrimati Sheila	Ravi, Shri Vayalar
Kedar Nath Singh, Shri	Reddy, Shri M. Ram Gopal
Khadilkar, Shri R. K.	Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila
Kinder Lal, Shri	Roy, Shri Bishwanath
Kushok Bakula, Shri	Sadhu Ram, Shri

Samanta, Shri S. C.  
Sanghi, Shri N. K.  
Sankata Prasad, Dr.  
Sarkar, Shri Sakti Kumar  
Satpathy, Shri Devendra  
Sayeed, Shri P. M.  
Shankaranand, Shri B.  
Sharma, Shri A. P.  
Sharma, Dr. Shankar Dayal  
Shashi Bhushan, Shri  
Sher Singh, Prof.  
Shinde, Shri Annasaheb P.  
Shivnath Singh, Shri  
Siddheshwar Prasad, Shri  
Sinha, Shri Dharam Bir  
Sinha, Shri Nawal Kishore  
Sohan Lal, Shri T.  
Subramaniam, Shri C.  
Surendra Pal Singh, Shri  
Swaminathan, Shri R. V.  
Swaran Singh, Shri  
Thakur, Shri Krishnarao  
Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
Uikey, Shri M. G.  
Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.  
Venkatswamy, Shri G.  
Verma, Shri Balgovind  
Yadav, Shri D. P.  
Yadav, Shri R. P.

MR. SPEAKER: The result\* of the division is: Ayes: 28; Noes: 119.

*The motion was negatived.*

#### BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

##### FORTY-THIRD REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-  
TARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU  
RAMAIAH): I beg to present the  
Forty-third Report of the Business  
Advisory Committee.

20.23 hrs.

##### FINANCE BILL, 1974—contd.

MR. SPEAKER: We resume consi-  
deration of the Finance Bill, Shri  
Satpal Kapur to continue.

श्री सतपाल कपूर (पटियाला) : मैं  
इससे पहले कह चुका हूँ कि ग्राज जो ग्रीकयोर-  
मेंट की पांलीसी हम ने सरप्लस स्टेटस में  
बनाई है, उस पांलीसी को तब्दील करने की  
जरूरत है, उस पांलीसी को रिब्यू करने की  
जरूरत है।

पश्चात् प्रश्न : अब आप कल  
जारी रखें।

20.26 hrs.

[The Lok Sabha then adjourned till  
Eleven of the Clock on Friday, May  
3, 1974|Vaisakha 13, 1896 (Saka)].

\*Shri Ram Bhagat Paswan also voted for NOES.