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LOK SABHA

Unstarred Question No.180

To be answered on the 16th November, 1960/the 25th Kartika,
1882 (Saka)

Pay Commissions' Recommendations reg: Holidays

QUESTION

180. SHRI S.M.BANERJEE:

Will the Minister of Finance be pleased
to state:

(a) whether Pay Commission's recommendations
regarding 16 paid holidays and 7 days casual leave to
industrial workers have not yet been implemented; and

(b) if so, the reasons for the same?

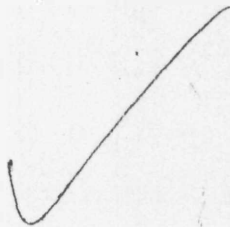
ANSWER

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai)

(a) Yes Sir.

(b) Before reducing the number of holidays
as recommended by the Pay Commission, the information
is being collected in regard to establishments where
the number of holidays enjoyed at present is in excess
of the limits prescribed by the Pay Commission.

That is the thin ~~edge~~ end of the wedge. I know that anybody who is an employee and who is a leading member of his union can be sacked today and victimised tomorrow. He becomes an ex-employee and an outsider and can no longer have a place in the union. We are not prepared to accept that position. Apart from that we are not afraid of it. Some ~~INTU~~ gentlemen may be apprehensive of losing their jobs but we are not afraid."



CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES STRIKE ECHO IN THE LOK SABHA

The Lok Sabha debated for two days, August 8 and 9, the resolutions put forward by some members of the Lok Sabha disapproving the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance and Governmental steps in meeting with the situation pertaining to the strike.

Speaking on these two issues several members of the Parliament made ~~xx~~ impressive arguments in regard to the case of the Central Government employees and showed how hollow and baseless the Government argument was in this connection.

Speaking on the genesis of strike of the Central Government employees, Com.A.K.Gopalan pointed out that the strike was an unprecedented event of the recent times and the conduct of the Government during the periods of pre-strike, during-strike and post-strike has been shocking. The official propaganda, attempt to screen accumulated discontent of employees from public, ~~x~~ perpretrating terror, the Ordinance, Prime Minister's appeal - all failed to produce ostensible result and the strike did take place;

He said that he was of the opinion that the lessons of the strike have not been understood by the Government, ~~xxxx~~ whose record as an employer was very bad and who for the last thirteen years ^{were} ~~xxx~~ not able to win confidence of the employees. He said, it was high time they should realise their inability to function with the employees and quit.

He stressed that it was expected that Government would at least understand and look into the root cause as to why the employees went on strike and show a minimum sense of responsibility instead of self-righteousness but, he argued ~~d~~ Government tried to show their stand was correct and political parties incited

the strike. The Government viewed it as a rebellion inspired from outside by somebody.

Com.Gopalan also traced the back ground of the employees demand emancipating right from the recommendations of the first Pay Commission, and commented that the employees were compelled to believe by the actions of the Government that, without pressure this Government would not move, and as a matter of fact, due to united pressure of the employees, Government have moved.

Com.Gopalan emphatically said that if the Government employees were to be benefited by the small increase, then, certainly, Government must hold the price-line. That and the giving of a need-based minimum wage - are the two most important things, he added; Com.Gopalan made it clear that "if the cost of living index goes higher and higher and Government are not able to hold the price line, certainly the wages must also increase."

Com.Gopalan criticised the Government attitude and pointed out the incorrectness and far-fetched argument that the Second Pay Commission's report was an Award as also their stubborn refusal to come to a settlement with the employees and thereby precipitating a crisis.

Referring to the alleged disruption of the social and economic life of the country, Com.Gopalan argued that it was the Central Government employees who were doing it but on the other hand, it is the profiteer, the black-marketeer and the hoarder -- who are being supported by the Government -- who are disrupting the economic and social life of the country and responsible for the rise in prices.

Com.Gopalan mentioned instances of wide-spread victimisation that was going on the Government offices, and which in many cases has been taken the form of

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form
taken the ~~place~~ of satisfying the personal grudges and insatiable vindictive attitude.

Com. Gopalan also mentioned the disgraceful role played by the All-India Radio by catering most inaccurate news and that the Press Trust of India became Press Mistrust of India. He also cited examples and showed how dangerously authoritarianism was being exhibited by various departmental heads. Lastly, he requested the Home Minister to review all cases of disciplinary action by August 15. ~~and~~

Com. Asoka Mehta emphatically brought out that the strike was not a political strike but a trade union strike and challenged others to prove it otherwise. He also sharply attacked the Congress members who was trying to making a point by means of an innuendo against him. Com. Mehta said that getting into the habit of pursuing the policy of brinkmanship (by either party), some time or ~~the~~ other, ^{might lead} one or the other ~~possibly~~ to tumble over the brink.

Com. Mehta pointed out that "the need-based minimum wage cannot be dismissed by the Government. When national income has gone up by 42 per cent steps have to be taken to ensure that the standards of life of Government servants do not suffer."

Strongly opposing a ban on strikes, he appealed to the Government not to be vindictive: "This is a situation for straightening out industrial relations and creating atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill and not for settling scores in a spirit of political vendetta."

He also pointed out that living as we do in these difficult, dynamic, fast-changing, fast-moving times, that we are unable to come to grips with a problem only when we are

confronted with it in all its seriousness" and therefore if an arrangement was to be made, "let us not put the wrong foot forward. Let us not start by saying that we are going to ban the strike."

Minoo Masani in his speech tried to make out that " the tragedy which we are discussing is, like all real tragedies, not a clash between right and wrong, but between two kinds of right. There are two kinds of right principles or logic which have come into clash on an occasion like this. On the one side, our fundamental rights in our constitution give every citizen the right of freedom of association and the right to deny his labour." " On the other hand", he elaborated, " there is an equally valid principle, and that principle is that of normal functioning of a community".

Com. Nath Pai made ^a brilliant speech and at the out set of his speech quoted passages from a letter from the Prime Minister~~s~~ to the Chief Ministers of States dated June 30, in which he has said:

" We have thus far not evolved any adequate machinery for rapid settlement of disputes of this type. The Government's way of dealing with such matters is a leisurely way, and months and even years pass sometimes before we come to grips with the problem; a problem which perhaps could have been solved with greater ease, becomes more difficult. Frustration takes place and passions are aroused, and those lead to a conflict which is ultimately good for no one."

The other point, Com. Pai pointed out, " is the attitude in the higher echelons of the administrative machinery of the country. These offices reek with stings of snobbery. The higher officials feel nothing but contempt for what they

call the Class III and Class IV clerks and babus. On this point also, he quoted a passage from Nehru's own view-points about the administrative set-up.

Com.Pai said that the strike had become inevitable because "there are some people who can be generally defined as the authorities of the country who are not reconciled to the goal of socialism and who have never taken kindly to the objective that this country should march towards socialism, but who because of the fear only of the Prime Minister, as he always succeeds in bullying his allies and his associates, are paying lip-sympathy to the idea of socialism. This is why a strike becomes inevitable."

He also pointed out the illogical argument of the Government that the Pay Commission recommendations were in the nature of the terms of an award and said that by trying to modify the award, not implementing it, trying to ban strikes, withdrawal of recognitions - all go to show that the Government has no respect for the sanctity of the award, which according to them the Pay Commission's recommendations are supposed to be.

He also pointed out that the Law Commission was also presided over by the best judicial minds but what happened to their recommendations, he asked. "With contempt, they have been pigeon-holed", he remarked. "It is a tragedy of national life that a premium has been placed on building pressures and then only justice is done", he regretted.

He also argued that the appeal of the employees was distorted into^a/threat and having taken this wrong posture, wrong measures were adopted by the Government. He also quoted from various news papers the opinions which they had expressed with regard to the strike, although they were not at all friendly towards the workers. He said it was the ~~adversary~~ ^{adamant} attitude

of the Government on the very simple and legitimate issue of dearness allowance that the negotiations broke.

He also argued that "when our own little class III employees comes and begs for clemency, mercy and consideration you (Government) say 'you are a rebel'. He is honoured, of course, with an appellation of rebel. But the fact remains that there was a collapse not of the Government but of statesmanship."

~~Mr~~ Com. Pai also made caustic reference to Nehru's remark after his release from jail in 1946: " If I have the power I would ~~hang~~ hang these blackmarketeers by the posts" but what has happend ? ~~How many~~ In how many instances, ~~check~~ has been placed on the activities of these people who are making all these unconcionable gains, he asked.

Concluding, he said : "... we had an illusion- that when the first concerted ~~actions~~ effort of an organised section of our community was there and when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was still at the helm of affairs, they would be regarded by him as allies and colleagues and they would be patted on the back by him instead of getting the big rod from him. It was to this tragic miscalculation that some hon.members referred yesterday. Perhaps the lesson has been learnt now."

Com. Indrajit Gupta, Secretary, AITUC, made his maiden speech in the Lok Sabha coincided with this occasion. With a powerful oratory, he made his debut and earned a place among the seasoned parliamentarians.

Com. Gupta began his speech saying " ... I am afraid, after listening to the hon. Prime Minister's very angry and eloquent oration, I fail to be convinced particularly regarding his invitation to appear before him in sack cloth and ashes. I am

afraid I must decline that invitation politely but firmly, because I find that in all the speeches made in this House both yesterday and today on behalf of Government the central issue which has been raised through this strike and which has been referred to here repeatedly by a number of hon. members is being evaded."

He said: " No answer is being given to that question; that question is this - are the ^{Central} Government employees, who, everybody here admits, are not in the run of ordinary employees because they occupy a particularly strategic and vital position and who do not number just a few thousands but 22 lakhs which means that, if you take into consideration their dependents and families, they may come anywhere between one to one and a half crores of people, which is quite a substantial section of the population of our country, are those people to have any sort of guarantee or assurance that their existing real wages are going to be protected ? No answer is being given to this point as far as I have been able to follow the arguments of the speakers on behalf of the Government. I would like a reply to it because unless we get a reply to this we cannot be convinced by other arguments."

Referring to the border defence, which he pointed out, was breached by the Prime Minister, he said that the question of border defence would have sounded a little more convincing if it could have been seen that the Government took some vigorous action to defend the rear pf those brave soldiers who are not standing only on the western borders but also on the north-eastern borders of the country as well. "Are ^{there} not ~~there~~ our jawans there and what kind of rear did the Government create for them when for ^{long} 18/days arson ,looting and plunder was

going on in Assam? " he asked.

He pointed out that "defence has no meaning without a ~~xxxx~~ strong rear, without contented civil workers manning our railway lines, our postal, telegraph and telephone services, our coal mines and our steel plants." He asked: " Could you treat the workers there to starvation and to hunger and expect your defence to be strengthened ? "

The question of prices, the crux of the issue, he pointed out vigorously/^{saying} that " ~~what~~ the employees were out for some sort of release, release from this perpetual nightmare which has been haunting them for so many years, this nightmare of rising prices and falling real wages."

He referred to the "experience which these employees have suffered repeatedly at the hands of this Government from 1946-47 and onwards, namely, that unless you do something, unless you shout, unless you put pressure, unless you give a threat of strike and unless you go on ~~strike~~ ^{and} or some sort of struggle nothing ever comes out ^{and added that} this basic lesson has not been contradicted.

He emphasised that as a byproduct of this strike, the employees have been able to wrest from the hands of the Government despite their terrible sufferings. This has been a sort of a catalytic agent for higher wages in ~~xxxx~~ States too.

On the question of out-siders in trade unions, Com. Gupta pointed out: " As far as we from the AITUC are concerned - my friends from the INTUC sounded a bit apprehensive yesterday - we may say that at the last Indian Labour Conference we made it clear that we are prepared for the exclusion of outsiders from all trade unions - not only from those of the Government employees. But your definition of outsiders must not include ex-employees."

Com. Gupta said that he wanted an answer from the Government on one central point and that is the question about post-strike repression and victimisation of the employees. He said: "much has been said about leniency - lenient attitude ~~which~~ towards the majority of employees and stern measures against just a few who were guilty of violence or sabotage. The Home Minister said yesterday - if I heard him right - that he had got information about 135 cases of ~~in~~ sabotage and some 200 cases of violence, intimidation etc. If that is so, why is action taken against thousands of employees throughout the country? A veil is being thrown over realities." (It may be mentioned here that almost every member of the Lok Sabha, barring a few Congress members, ~~had~~ demanded of the Government a lenient action.)

Com. Gupta also submitted that since the highest judicial authority in the country - the Supreme Court - has decided in a number of cases that for mere participation in a strike, even if it is an illegal strike, an employee cannot be dismissed from his job, then is it not unwittingly casting a reflection on the Judges of the Supreme Court, whose decisions are now being flouted by every petty bureaucrat and officer who considers himself to be little dictator in Governmental offices?

He also wanted to know if the Government was prepared to give any kind of machinery or provision for providing for safeguard to workers and employees against possible misuse of these powers by the officers. Will any form of appellate body be considered or the Government was going to leave it completely in the hands officers to do what they please ~~and~~ with no body to question or check up, he asked.

It may be mentioned here also that the opposition was

voted down by

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For members only

IN PARLIAMENT
(Lok Sabha)

✓ full book ✓

DEBATE ON GENERAL STRIKE

(8th-9th August '60)

AN EXTRACT

Issued by :

Civil Aviation Department Employees Union

(H. Q. New Delhi)

Central Govt. Employees' Strike

Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance

On the 8th August 1957 the Prime Minister made a statement in the Lok Sabha indicating Govt's preparedness to meet six of the seven demands in the strike-notices served by Unions and Associations in the Confederation and by the N.F.P.T.E. It was a big victory for the Govt. employees, and the strike notices were withdrawn.

Three years hence, on the 8th August 1960 the treasury benches in the Lok Sabha started throwing scorn and ridicule on the employees' struggle. The debate on the Central Govt. employees' strike and the Ordinance continued for two full days. Govt. spokesmen justified promulgation of the Ordinance, condemned the strike and berated the strike leaders. The cause of the workers was stoutly defended by members from the opposition benches. Outstanding amongst them was Shri Nath Pai. His speech was sober and factual, forceful and hard-hitting.

Before the House were a resolution by Shri Nausher Barucha M.P. disapproving the Ordinance, and a motion by the Home Minister (Shri G.B. Pant) for considering the situation arising out of the strike and Govt.'s action thereon.

Shri Nausher Barucha moving his resolution said :

"I am not asking the House to hold a *post mortem* examination on the strike situation, but to consider the grave questions of our policy towards healthy development of trade unionism in this country, the question of the efficient working of the Government machinery and indeed also the question of the success or failure of our Third Five Year Plan. The Government's momentary victory over labour must not lead them to the conclusion that the matter will end there, but it behoves the Government to look carefully into the genuine grievances of the employees, and even at this belated hour to listen to the request repeatedly made by the leaders of labour, namely, to sit round a table and hammer out the differences between the two parties."

He recalled that the recommendations of the Pay Commission, particularly on the important items, were based on wrong data. The recommendations had generated great dissatisfaction. Quoting from the debate on the 17th December 1959, he said that the labour leaders had made repeated efforts at negotiations. He asked: "How can it be afterwards said, when repeated approaches by labour leaders were turned down by Government, that they were merely seeking political advantages?" He

said "Approaches were made to the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the Railway Minister and the Labour Minister. While the Labour Minister showed some sympathetic approach, it appeared that he was helpless in the face of the unanimous decision of the Cabinet, and ultimately all efforts at negotiation were rejected. The various labour unions did not rush into the strike. The Joint Council of Action was formed in April 1960. But before any strike was called, they requested the hon. the Prime Minister to intervene..... When all efforts failed, there was no other way left open to them". If strike-notice was not served after that, he said, he would have called these leaders shirkers of their duty. Referring to the Prime Minister's remark that strikes are outmoded in essential services he said: "To ban strikes without built-in safeguards for arbitration, which would automatically come into operation, would mean reducing the position of the employees to that of bonded slaves".

When Shri Barucha wanted to speak on the demands of the employees the Speaker asked whether all these should be gone into once again since the Parliament had, on an earlier occasion, debated on the Pay Commission Report. It took some time of the House and many members had to intervene before it was decided that no reference in detail will be

made to the recommendations of the Pay Commission.

Shri Barucha observed that five honourable Ministers Shri Nanda, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Jagjivan Ram, Shri L.B. Shastri and S. Swaran Singh were present in the 15th I.L.C. He said : "it was agreed that the minimum wage has to be need-based and should ensure the minimum human needs of the industrial worker irrespective of any other consideration."

Shri Morarji Desai intervened and said that he was present only when the Conference opened. Shri Barucha replied, it made little difference whether all the five Ministers left one by one. According to those decisions it was incumbent on the authorities concerned to justify the circumstances which prevented them from adherence to the laws laid down.

His second point was : "that in making a demand for a need-based minimum wage, the strike leaders who sponsored the strike were making a reasonable demand which the Union Government Ministers agreed was reasonable. There was nothing unreasonable in that."

Regarding dearness allowance he asked : "can you accuse the leaders of the strike as being unreasonable if they have adopted a policy and made a demand in respect of dearness allowance, which policy is being enforced on the textile industry by the Government themselves ?"

Strongly repudiating that the strike was a political one, he said that the strike was really and truly an industrial dispute it was a symptom of frustration at the Government's refusal and persistent refusal to sit round and talk with the employees. It was a result of desperation ; in fact, it was a struggle for survival. The President promulgated the Ordinance, and immediately the entire machinery of the Government went into operation to crush the strike.

He was sorry to say that in this deplorable episode the INTUC played a part which was miserable and anti-national.

He said : "Instead of promulgating the Ordinance the Government could have taken action under sections 10, 22, 23 and 24 of the Industrial Disputes Act. Why was not that done ? Had the Government no desire to adopt their own machinery for the resolution

of industrial disputes ? The Ordinance is an extra-ordinary remedy."

Shri Barucha criticised the Ordinance section by section—Definition of "Essential Service" is according to the sweet-will of the Govt. Clause 3 prohibits a strike in public interest, which is an elastic term.

He said : "The strike which was legal at the inception has been made illegal by the ordinance with retrospective effect... But having given a strike notice, at a time when it was legal, today, you make it illegal with retrospective effect, which means that you render the union punishable with a penalty in the form of withdrawal of recognition, merely because you chose to use the word in the ordinance in the way it is done. Thus, the bonafide exercise of a fundamental right is made the excuse for the withdrawal of the union's recognition. Then comes clause 4 of the ordinance which inflicts penalty with retrospective effect in violation of article 20 (1) of the Constitution, which says :

"No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence....."

"Then clause 7 overrides the Criminal Procedure Code which is intended to safeguard the liberty of the individual so that nobody can be arrested without the issue of warrant. This ordinance knows no distinction between cognizable and non-cognizable offence or anything whatsoever. Then, clause 8 overrides the Industrial Disputes Act. May I know whether the Government of India have abjured by statute the principle of resolving industrial disputes by arbitration ?"

In conclusion Shri Barucha said "There has been too much discretion left with the heads of the Government. This House has a vital responsibility. Can it merely rubber-stamp the ordinance and give its approval ? ...

Do we have the statesmanship to build up conventions to respect the law, or do we desire merely to kick under our feet two millions of our Government employees ? The remedy, to my mind, would be, there should be no banning of strikes in essential services. Only those cases must be dealt with harshly - here I fully agree—where there has been intimidation in resorting to violence or instigation to rule violence. All cases merely of absence from

duty must be withdrawn. A sort of general amnesty should be declared. No black marks on service records should be placed. No victimisation should be done especially to local trade union leaders. Temporary hands should be reinstated. There should be no breaks in service. There should be no withdrawal of trade unions' recognition. Even the Pay Commission has not recommended any such withdrawal. Disciplinary action in departmental cases should be withdrawn and the Government should sit round a table and discuss the entire situation of the country....

"There can be no justice in a struggle between the Government and its employees so long as the Government tramples down on human sentiments of the employees and so long as whoever has asserted the trade union rights remains in fetters and loses all the privileges. In politics, there is no permanent victory and permanent defeat. In the words of Lord Buddha that victory is best in which neither side is defeated. I invite the House to approve my resolution."

Shri G. B. Pant, Home Minister in support of his motion said :

"So far as the ordinance is concerned, it embodies only the provisions of the bill that was passed by this House in 1957.....The position today, or at the time rather when this essential ordinance was introduced was really grave. Shri Barucha might be thinking of victory or of defeat, but to me it is not a matter at all of any pleasure that Shri Barucha should appear on the scene as an advocate of even a section of the Government servants. I feel that my relations with them are more intimate and my desire to serve them and to do the best for them is much more sincere than that of any other person whosoever."

Shri Naushir Barucha : Hence the ordinance.

Shri G.B. Pant. Government servants are not like industrial workers. Shri Barucha said it was a sort of an attack on labour unions as such. He is doing some injustice to the public servants when he places them on an even category with the industrial workers in factories and other places. They are here as trustees of the nation and it is their duty and function to serve the nation. Whatever allowances they get are not necessarily adequate,

because in a country the measure of adequacy cannot be determined on theoretical grounds. It has to be related to the conditions prevailing in the country.

Narrating the dreadful results that would have followed if the strike succeeded, Shri G.B. Pant said :

"I think he (Shri Barucha) will concede that it would only be a tragedy and a disaster and it would only lead to, what some people might wish—the Government being placed in a difficult position—chaos and disorder, with the result that the aspirants, whosoever they may be, will not be able to find a foothold even here. An ordinance was justified when there was a threat from only one of the essential services and those connected with that movement were sensible enough to withdraw it after the ordinance had been passed. Here, we are concerned not with the threat by one, but by a very large number of unions and there, we have a committee of action....

"A Joint Committee for action, dominated mostly by people who do not belong to the services. To incite the services to go in for a strike does not look very appropriate.

"We have many cities which have not got stock of food for more than three or four days. Thousands and thousands would have to starve there. At the same time, our water works, our electricity, our industries depend on the supply of coal. If coal did not reach them for three or four days, there would be no water to drink in cities and there would be no light and there would be nothing but anarchy and chaos. So, if an ordinance like this was valid, permissible and necessary in 1957, it is much more so today. And then there is another salient feature about it. In 1957 when the threat of the strike was held out, it was because the Government servants had not got any sort of relief or increment. Here, this strike threat is held out because in the meantime, their emoluments have been increased."

He said that the strike was launched because Govt. did not turn down the recommendations of the Commission presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court and who heard view points of all.

Various matters including the resolution of the 15th Labour Conference were considered by the Commission and the members expressed

their views on it in very clear terms in their Report. It was conceded by all sensible and reasonable persons that this proposition of the 15th ILC was feasible. He said: "The basic pay, which used to be Rs 30 or Rs. 35 has been raised to Rs. 70. With Rs. 10 as dearness allowance it comes to Rs. 80. And there are other things which they have forgotten, that there are annual increments which are double of what they used to be and the maximum has been raised to Rs. 85 plus Rs. 10. That is to say, the real scale of emoluments now will vary between Rs. 80 and Rs. 95. There is the guarantee of pension and there is that security in Government services. I venture to think that anyone who is outside Government and getting Rs. 150, would be quite glad to change his place with a Government servant getting a sum of Rs. 95 scale. The Pay Commission has discussed the matter fully and it is said that in private industries in many places the minimum pay comes to only Rs. 70 ; in others it may be even less....

"Nearly Rs. 15 crores will be added to the annual bill of salaries and later it will rise to Rs. 55 crores. That means during the period of five years of the Third Plan Rs. 250 crores will have to be paid....

"If a Government servant is entitled to a minimum salary for his bare maintenance, then every citizen is entitled to that.... Now the salary that a State Government servant is getting is much less than what the Central Government servant is getting. A local-body employee is getting only half of what they are getting. There are so many millions of people. They can ask Shri Gopalan what steps the Communist Government in Kerala took when the N.G.O. Government servants, teachers who were under training and others, held out a threat of strike. They said that they could not give any further relief though the salary that they were getting was much less than what the Central Government servants had been getting and it would be much less as compared with what they will be getting now. The Government does not pay anything out of any profit. If you pay your servants more, you have to take more from those whose condition is, as compared with our servants, at the bottom of the ladder—poorer and more pitiable. Should you take away from Peter who has no clothes on his body even the loin-cloth that he

has so that Paul may have a tie ? That is not the position which, I think, could be accepted.

"The strike was condemned by every sensible person. For the first time after Independence the citizens of this country shed off their placidity and came out in the open to condemn this strike. Thousands and thousands offered their services and apart from that more than four-fifths of the Government servants did not go on strike for even half-an-hour.... That reply has been given by this that more than 80% were present every day and there was hardly any place, except perhaps in some parts of Bengal and Gujarat and in Bombay City, where the normal working of the essential services was interfered with. Here, in Delhi when we got up on the morning of the 12th July we were told that every train had been running to a minute all the night, that every letter had been regularly posted and that everything was being done in a manner which showed greater efficiency and promptness than in normal times. Such were the reports from various other states....

"There were people who had told that somebody was not handled properly. I would not like anyone to be mishandled nor any subject to be mishandled, whether it be animate or inanimate. But so far as this particular thing goes, there were at least 135 cases of sabotage and more than 200 cases of intimidation, obstruction and so on. Abusive language was used in various places. Those whom we hold in the highest respect were the subject of wild slogans. Then there was also in some places this much that effigies of some of the responsible leaders in this country were taken round, beaten on the way and ultimately burnt to ashes. I have not heard a word of condemnation from anyone so far.

"I say that if the Government had not taken the steps that it did then we would have lost all that we had gained since the achievement of independence. That is not my judgement; that is the judgement of the entire country... The public services are there to serve the people. When they refuse to take coal to the water works, when they refuse to transport food to the starving people, it is an unpardonable offence. But they are our own people. We cannot be very strict with them. They belong to the large family to which we also happen to belong for the time being.

"So what causes me regret is the loss that has been inflicted on them. They have lost more than Rs. 70 lakhs in wages. The Government has lost more than Rs. 4 crores in the earnings during the four or five days of the strike. There has been a national loss in various departments, industries and the like, so that it is difficult to give a correct estimate of it.

"It has been said that the Prime Minister had refused to meet the leaders. That is not correct. What the Prime Minister had said, and what any reasonable man would accept as being the very minimum that had to be accepted, was this that so far as the basic recommendations are concerned we cannot discuss them because if the foundations are undermined, then the entire structure falls down. But the Prime Minister was always prepared to consider matters within the framework of the Pay Commission. And even in his broadcast he has said that matters can be discussed within the framework of the Pay Commission's report.

"There were talks between the Labour Minister and the leaders of the Committee of Action, not as members of the Committee of Action but as respected individuals.

"We have to raise the standard of efficiency, *per capita* efficiency and *per capita* productivity in the country. Therein lies the real key to the maintenance of a proper price line too. If every one can produce more, then there can be no difficulty in maintaining the price line. But if everyone is asked to go slow while on work, or if everyone is advised to strike every day when one gets an opportunity and also to go in for a little violence, then the difficulties increase. But, again, the question which arises is who is responsible? I do not say that we have no responsibility so long as we are here. But in these matters it must be understood that others also have a certain responsibility.

"There was another reference here, that the Prime Minister had said that in Russia there was no right of strike. If Mr. Barucha has greater regard or affinity for another country, say U.S.A., where all strikes of government servants are not only prohibited by rule but are regarded as penal offences, I will just acquaint him with what one of the greatest statesmen of the United States of America, which is not alike to Russia and which belongs to a different school, has said in this respect.

Shri Naushir Barucha: What I said was that in that case pay them the U.S. scales and then prohibit the strikes.

Shri G.B. Pant: President Roosevelt sent a letter to the President of the National Federation of Federal Employees in 1937 in which he said:

"Particularly I want to emphasise my conviction that militant tactics have no place in the functions of any organisation of Government employees... Since their own services have to do with the functioning of the Government, a strike of public employees manifests nothing less than an intent on their part to prevent or obstruct the operations of Government until their demands are satisfied. Such action, looking towards the paralysis of Government by those who have sworn to support it, is unthinkable and intolerable...."

"I may say that the withdrawal of strike was a formal one, because before that most of the unions had already withdrawn their notices and there was hardly any possibility of the strike dragging on for another day or two. We received the news of withdrawal of the strike with a certain amount of relief, because we did not want even a few of our servants to suffer under the influence of others. It is my pleasant duty today to express my appreciation of the loyal and devoted services rendered by the large number of Government servants in spite of all the persuasive and coercive methods that were employed against them. I am also grateful to the various State Governments for the masterly way in which they handled the situation. The whole administration worked as one unit with a determined purpose in a methodical way, and for that I think, we have to be grateful to them. That showed and demonstrated the capacity of the Government in this country.....all of them happen to be now associated with the Congress.....to handle any crisis. I am also thankful to the public.

"Now it is our desire to do all we can to avoid anything that may lead to any misunderstanding between the Government and its employees because the relations between them should be of utmost cordiality. There should be mutual confidence and the Government servants should have greater trust in the Government than in anybody else. That is the task which now faces us.

"We have, on the one hand, issued instructions that those who had been arrested, or those

who had even been convicted, or those who have even been suspended, should be dealt with leniently, and should be punished only to the extent it is necessary in public interest and for the maintenance of discipline and efficiency and also for avoiding a repetition of such scenes again. That is what we want to do. And I can say that action has already been taken on these lines, and large numbers have been already released, or now allowed to resume duty, but here the action taken by us is not final.

"We have now to devise means so that there may be no strike. Strikes are going to be banned in public services; and neither the railways nor Posts and Telegraphs can indulge in such a sort of suicidal and dreadful upheaval. But we will have a sort of different industrial code for them, so that they may have their unions, but the unions should consist of the services themselves. Also, we propose that there should be some definite machinery in all branches of the services for conciliation, negotiation, and where necessary, reference to arbitration, so that things may proceed harmoniously and justice may be done to all.

"I think the Government wants to do its best to its services. It has accepted the recommendations; it has even given some of the public servants more than what has been proposed by the Commission. It has also accepted the proposal for review of the position when there is a persistent rise of ten points in the index of prices for twelve months and it is possible that the Government may take a decision that at least half of such rise or the loss or hardship due to it should be neutralised automatically. And for the rest, if necessary, a reference may be made to an impartial body.

"What I have said, I think, proves, if anybody has any doubt, Government's earnest desire to do its best for its servants and, at the same time to do its best for the people at large, to whom it owes primary responsibility".

Substitute motions to the Home Minister's one were moved by many members. Almost all of them held the Govt. primarily responsible for the strike and regret withdrawal of recognition. Shri A.B. Vajpayee's and Shri S. M. Banerji's motions were similar and regret that Govt. has gone back on the 15th L.L.C. findings, that price line has not been held in check, that the Prime Minister refused to meet

representatives of employees, that unfavourable recommendations of the Pay Commission have been implemented, that wide and arbitrary powers were resorted to by the Govt., that Govt refused to release and reinstate employees who participated in strike etc. Shri B.K. Gaikwad's substitute motion takes exception to wide powers given to officers to take action against employees, particularly scheduled caste employees. Shri Tridib Kumar Choudhury's disapproves Govt's launching upon punitive measures as suspension and discharge of employees on a mass scale and the entire policy of the Govt, in handling the strike. Shri A.K. Gopalan's regrets Govt's refusal to negotiate with representatives of employees on the most important questions of dearness allowance and minimum wage, Prime Minister's refusal to meet the Standing Committee of the J.C.A., resorting to severe repressive measures by the Govt., trampling under foot all democratic values and creating a reign of terror, failure to take any step to arrest the enormous increase in prices, going back on the assurances held out on the eve of the strike, vindictive attitude to employees and victimising them on flimsy and unjustifiable grounds etc. Shri T.B. Vittal Rao also had given notice of a substitute motion.

Shri A.K. Gopalan: "The Central Government employees' strike was an unprecedented event of the recent times. The conduct of Government before the strike, during the time of the strike, and after the strike, has been something which has shocked the conscience of every honest man in this country, barring some, perhaps, on the other side. There was official propaganda to belittle the wide extent of the strike. There was also an attempt to screen from the public the accumulated discontent among the Government employees. But, notwithstanding all this terror, the Ordinance and also the appeal that was made by the Prime Minister, the Central Government employees, nearly a million of them, struck work. It may be that merely a million of the employees have gone on strike. Due to fear, due to terror and due to so many other intimidations and other things, many of them may not have joined the strike. Does it mean that Government should not understand the magnitude of the situation and why in spite of the terror of the Ordinance and the appeal made by the Prime Minister, lakhs and lakhs of employees went on strike? Ever since 1946

the workers wanted that the recommendations of the First Pay Commission should be fully implemented, and they waited for some time. They thought that Government would do something in the matter, but when they found that nothing was done, they gave a strike notice in 1957. They gave a strike notice because they had found that it was only after a big pressure that Government would move. Even as far as the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission are concerned, why is it that certain changes and modifications have been made only after the strike and not before the strike? So this time also, as usual, Government have made the employees to understand that it is only after pressure that they would move; and due to the united pressure of the Government employees, Government have moved... The Home Minister has said that Government are giving something more to the employees. But he did not see the other side of the picture. What is the use of giving Rs. 10 more to the worker, if the price of cloth rises by 40 per cent, if the price of sugar rises, and in fact, he cannot get it in the open market but has to purchase it in the black market, or if the prices of the other essential articles rise by 20, 30 or 40 per cent? What the Central Government employees have been saying from 1947 is that if they must be benefited by the small increase that is given by Government, then, certainly, Government must hold the price-line. The most important things are the holding of the price line and the giving of need-based minimum wage. It is not a question of force or pressure; it is not a question of an Ordinance. The question is of meeting the two main demands. Can the Home Minister say that there is a need-based minimum wage as far as the Central Government employees are concerned, according to the First Pay Commission Report?

That is the reason why those two demands have been put forward. As far as the Second Pay Commission was concerned, they found that it was a planned attack and offensive on their purchasing power, on the existing level of their wages. As explained by the Home Minister, they say it is an award by a Pay Commission presided over by an honoured Judge and they cannot change the award. I want to ask the Home Minister, what about the Bank Award, what about the Chagla Report, what about the SRC Report? Government have accepted some recommendations and rejected some. Have not the Government made some changes in the Pay Commission's

recommendations? After enumerating the steps taken by the employees to meet the Prime Minister, Shri Gopalan said: "So the Central Government employees thought that there was no question of even re-opening the two important things. Who is disrupting the economic and social life of the country? It is not the Central Government employees who are doing it. It is the profiteer, the black-marketeer and the hoarder... they are there and the Government are supporting them. If the object of the Government was to stop the strike and to see that they were punished, then the Industrial Disputes Act would have been invoked. But there was an Ordinance promulgated. Because Government wanted to break the morale of the Central Government employees to break their unions and they wanted them not to make an effort at collective bargaining for their demands.

The Ordinance is certainly against the Constitution. The fundamental rights given to the employees by the Constitution have been denied to them.

The Prime Minister said with regard to the 1926 general strike in England: 'I was vastly excited, and my sympathies were naturally all on the strikers' side. The collapse of the strike after a few days, came almost as a personal blow... I saw the haggard and pinched faces of the men and women and children, and more revealing still, I saw many of the strikers and their wives being tried in the local or country court. One case especially angered me: three or four women, with babies in their arms, were brought up in the dock for the offence of having jeered at the black-legs (now called 'volunteers' in our country)...

These are not the follies of youth but the noble sentiments expressed by him when he was not Prime Minister. I tell him that he has to treat the strikers in this country accordingly.

I say, more disturbing than stoppage of work by the employees is the calculated, planned assault on the nation's economy by the profiteers... If an Ordinance was promulgated to deal with those who are responsible for this increase in prices, the whole people and the Central Government employees would have been behind the Government. Then certainly there would have been no strike. It was a strike in which lakhs and lakhs of people all over India were involved. The Supreme Court and the L.A.T. have held that mere going on illegal

strike does not confer the right on the employer to dismiss the employee. As a model employer, what has Government done? There have been indiscriminate dismissals.

He cited the instance of the arrest of a doctor who had come out of the General Hospital and was waiting for a bus.

"Because the Ordinance was there the police officers and the departmental officers could do everything they liked," he said. "In the office of the D.A.G.P & T, Nagpur they heard that one Viswanathan misbehaved. They passed orders of suspension on one S. Viswanathan. He was a loyal person who did not strike and who attended to his duty. He asked: 'Am I to be punished because I did not go on strike?' There were five Viswanathans there. So, when he complained orders of suspension were passed on all the Viswanathans.

One of the first persons to be arrested was one Nirmal Bhattacharjee, an M.L.C. He is a professor and an M.L.C. He was one of those persons who were suspended, Shri Mukandam DEI, Telephones, Madurai used abusive words against girls; when they protested they were suspended.

He criticised the A.I.R. and P.T.I. for propagation of false news during the strike.

Shri Gopalan pointed out that the Departmental heads "say openly that they have got powers and they will do what they like. Is the Government going to leave everything in the hands of the departmental heads? The hon. Home Minister himself has said that the Government wants people to work efficiently. Certainly, if that is so, these things must not be allowed to be done by the departmental heads....."

Shri O.K. Ghosh, the Accountant General of the Maharashtra State says:

"I am not going to show any leniency to your Association leaders. I will give all of them the ultimate penalty....."

I want to know if this is the policy of the Government.

Thousands of people are going to the court. If things are done at this rate, discontent will spread in the country.

Now, let the Government be magnanimous, and let them see that all of them are in their offices before the 15th of August. If this

vindictive attitude is continued, it is not good for the country or for our national reconstruction work and for the people of the country.

Shri A.P. Jain said that two basic issues viz., dearness allowance and minimum wage were raised before the Pay Commission. There was no question of departing from their recommendations. He asserted that the whole strike-move was political. He read out a portion from a pamphlet by the President of H.M.S., which reads:

"If there is an attempt to stage a 'civil rebellion' and 'upset civil authority' through the medium of a trade dispute then it stands to reason that the terms of this dispute should be of such a character as is impossible for Government to concede and that the efforts for negotiated settlement must be conducted in such a manner as to make it impossible for the strikers and Government to find a common measure of agreement."

It is obvious that the demand made on behalf of the workers was a political demand, an impossible demand, which the Government could not fulfil; and therefore, the first criterion is satisfied. The second criterion also was fulfilled because, he contended, the leaders of J.C.A. were not amenable to reason during negotiations.

He said that majority of the Standing Committee of the J. C. A. were outsiders "with the result that this strike which could actually have been a strike by Government servants, became a political strike in the fullest sense of the term. Therefore, it had to be dealt with as a political strike. Is that not a justification for the promulgation of the ordinance?....."

"It was a strike against the people of India. Therefore, the majority of them—four-fifths of them—did not respond to the call for strike, and even those who responded to the call soon realised that it was wrong on their part that they should have become a victim of certain manipulations and certain devices and then they withdrew....."

"I must congratulate the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, on the effective manner in which they have handled the strike situation. I am not going to deny that there may not be an excess here or an excess there. Some officer of the Government may have been carried away by enthusiasm....."

"What should be the attitude of the Government now? The Home Minister said that the Government would not be vindictive. I per-

sonally wholly endorse it. I would not call it a civil war, but a civil dispute. The Government and its employees are going to work together and anything which leaves a feeling of recrimination or a feeling that the Government was vindictive towards its employees will not be a good thing."

He wanted outsiders to be removed from all service organisations. With regard to recognition, he said :

"If these unions which misbehaved in the past make amends, if they agree to abide by the law, then the withdrawal of recognition may be condoned. If, on the other hand, they insist that they will have a right to go on strike, let other unions be created and let them be recognised.... But it is necessary to provide a machinery for negotiations and for consultation, because, after all, you cannot deny the legitimate rights of labour for all times to come. You have to meet them."

He said that all perverse and dishonest awards should be brought before the Parliament and added: "There must be an assurance in the mind of the labour that the Government will abide by all reasonable awards."

In his opinion "it will not do good to anybody to punish a small man—a postman, clerk or chaprasi, who may have been misled, unless he was guilty of sabotage or violence or anything of the kind..... Punishment should be confined only to those who have been guilty, as already announced by Government, of sabotage, violence or gross misbehaviour or to those who have stimulated or prompted the strike. With the exception of these classes—their number should not be large—the cases against others must be withdrawn. Therefore, the policy of the Government should be that while it should not adopt an attitude which may encourage the recurrence or the repetition of what has happened in the past, at the same time, it must be one of moderation, kindness and good behaviour towards its employees."

Shri Asoka Mehta: "I feel that a situation which is already somewhat complicated, which needs to be handled with care and understanding, is sought to be made more difficult by importing into it not only heat of eloquence but heat of political antagonism. I was surprised that so senior a Member of this House as my hon. friend, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain should have said that this was a political strike

in which the Praja Socialist Party was directly and deliberately involved. I repudiate that suggestion with all the sincerity and all the integrity at my command....."

"I hope Shri Ajit Prasad Jain knows this much, if it were the deliberate policy of the Praja Socialist Party to create a civil rebellion in the country I would not have been outside the country and I have that moral courage to be in the country to lead that civil rebellion if it is decided upon, nor my colleagues in one of the States of India would have carried out the responsibilities with that firmness of purpose and that loyalty to their offices and to their responsibilities that they showed....."

Turning to the Prime Minister he said: "in the last 12 or 13 years unfortunately we have not handled our industrial relations with our employees in the manner in which we should have done. After the first Pay Commission not only the real wages of the Govt. employees have not increased by a single Naya Paisa but out of 13 years for 11 years the real wages went down, and therefore, there was the question of dearness allowance....."

"Not only was that formula (of 1st Pay Commission) not accepted but no alternative formula was evolved. In 1949 the shortfall in the real wages of the workers was to the extent of 12 per cent. They had to give a notice of strike in order that any attention would be paid to their demands. Again in 1951 and again in 1957 even this Pay Commission was appointed only when a notice of strike was given. If the Government on the one side and the trade unions on the other get into the habit of pursuing the policy of brinkmanship, some time or other one or the other is likely to tumble over the brink. And this is something which has happened in other countries also.

"What happened in the United Kingdom in 1926? I am quoting from a very objective record, the *Annual Register* of 1926 of the United Kingdom :

"A great majority of the responsible trade union leaders were personally strongly averse to such an extreme course. They thought, no doubt, that the Government would shrink from the challenge as it had shrunk in previous July (1925). In this they miscalculated. The truth was that in the Government also there was a section, no less eager than the militant trade unionists for a trial of strength, and these saw to it that the strike menace should be carried out, little as this was desired by those who launched it."

"There was this tragic miscalculation in England in 1926 and there was the tragic miscalculation in India in 1960. These tragedies can be averted only if we are going to set up a machinery and if we are going to show some alertness in this matter.

"I have no desire to condemn the Government but because the strikers are sought to be condemned I am not happy about many things but I would say this—before we condemn, if we want to improve in certain things we must realise that the Government and the Parliament were also responsible for a situation where this kind of miscalculations could take place.

"Secondly, how many people gave strike notice? According to Government's own figures 133 unions gave strike notices, having a total membership of 5, 57, 338, which means the strike notice was given by less than 25 per cent of the employees. Therefore whether just 25 per cent of the employees could have created a civil rebellion is a matter that needs to be carefully considered.

"When it is said that 80 per cent did not go on strike, may I point out that 75 per cent had from the very beginning declared that they were not interested in the strike?.....

"Let us remember that as far as the dearness allowance is concerned, only when my hon. friend, Shri Feroze Gandhi, came on the scene that a formula was evolved. Whether that formula is satisfactory or not is another matter. But why is it that all these years, for sixteen years out of 13 years the real wages of the workers pegged at 1947 level had been eroded by as much as Rs. 12/- to the maximum and by as little as Rs. 3/- to the minimum? For eleven out of thirteen years these people have suffered a chronic erosion of their meagre standard of living. Surely something should have been done about it.....

"There was this question of a need-based wage.... I had told the hon. Labour Minister after I had learnt about the conclusions reached by the Fifteenth Labour Conference that any quantification is likely to create all kinds of difficulties. I had told over and over again my trade union friends that this is a demand that cannot be put forward very lightly. I believe it was as a result of a constant pressure which I had exercised on my trade union friends that they ultimately said, "All we

want is that the Government should give an assurance that they will move in this direction." That assurance, of course, should always be there, namely, that we want to move towards a need-based wage....

"Their standard of life is pegged only to 1947 income. After that we have had two Plans. The national income has increased by 42 per cent. Surely the least we can do to them is to see that their standard of life will not suffer any further. I cannot understand the hon. Home Minister saying that it is even now only 50 per cent. Shri Feroze Gandhi's formula formerly was minimum 50 per cent; now it has become 50 per cent....

"The crucial question is how and in what manner will this dearness allowance be given? Cost of living indices come up only after three, four or five months. First there has got to be a period of twelve months. Then there has to be an average rise of ten points. It will become apparent only after 16 or 18 months when the cost of living indices are available. How are these people to live? I would like to find out that. Is this ten points something sacrosanct? If there is a perceptible and significant increase which is going to erode in their cost of living, Government should be willing to respond."

Shri Asoka Mehta mentioned how an editor in Rajkot was arrested three weeks after the strike and how six Vishwanathans were suspended in an office, as examples of misuse of power. He cited examples of heavy bail amounts being demanded and said: "Because the hon. Prime Minister used the expression civil rebellion—I do not know in what context did he use it—suddenly the whole machinery reacted in that manner.... That is the reason why in the post-strike period it is absolutely necessary that we are very careful in seeing that the damage that has been done is undone.

"I am told that there are automatic breaks in certain departments.... To what extent is the person to be penalised assuming that he went on strike which was wrong? How many people were suspended? How many people have been thrown out? What kind of punishments are being meted out? Before anyone had said anything, I said that those who have been proved guilty of sabotage and of indulging in violence must be punished...."

Shri Melita said that he was happy that the principle of arbitration was being accepted. Shri Jaya Parkash Narayan had suggested long time back that outsiders should be out of service organisations. He commented :

"Probably each one of us, all of us are so accustomed, living as we do in these difficult, dynamic, fast-changing, fast-moving times that we are confronted with it in all its seriousness. Therefore, if this kind of an arrangement is to be made let us not put the wrong foot forward. Let us not start by saying that we are going to ban strikes. The Second Pay Commission had said that the necessary institution should be created and the workers themselves will abjure the strike. In England, we find the Government, having crushed the general strike of 1926, took away many of the rights the employees were enjoying there. But what was the result? In two years that Government was pushed out of power and those very provisions (of Trade Disputes Act of 1927) were changed by 1929...."

"Therefore I would say, let us not talk about banning strikes. Let us try and re-orient, reorganise, re-formulate the trade union movement among the government employees...."

"Here let our approach be constructive. Let it not be one of trying to get over the backs of people who, we think, should not have done what they have done. They did it because there was a whole background. They did it because there was a certain situation."

"I would therefore beg of the Prime Minister and beg of his colleagues that this particular situation may be utilised for the purposes of straightening out our industrial relations for the purposes of creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and good-will which can be created, and needs to be created, and not for the purposes of settling any scores, and not in a spirit of vindictiveness and political vendetta."

Smt. Sushila Nayar: She considered that there was miscalculation on the part of those who called the strike and those who responded to it. She justified the ordinance and paid eloquent tributes to the people, who, according to her, rallied behind the Government magnificently! Talking about the post-strike situation she said, "I have no sympathy for those who organised the strike; I have no

sympathy for those who indulged in sabotage and violence and intimidation; I have no sympathy for those men who take Government's wages, work for Government, have their wherewithal as a result of Government service, but had the audacity to go on strike and shout slogans of 'Murdabad' against the leaders of the Government."

Shri S.M. Banerjee : My Hon. friend's sympathy is with the dacoits !

Smt. Sushila Nayar : While concluding she, however, conceded "We have to evolve a machinery for settling these disputes. We have to take action which will make it clear to those who have fallen a prey to the misguidance given by certain leaders, that what they have done is not good and that they shall not do it in the future...We must also do everything to hold these prices, to control these prices and to prevent undue profiteering on the part of some of our profiteers in this country and thus cut the ground on which these strikers can flourish and can come about in the future."

Shri Masani : "The rise in prices followed from Governmental policy. They followed from the pattern of planning which this country has seen during the past decade. The employees who are low paid come before the Government and ask for compensation....There is no denial that the employees' basic demand of 100 per cent compensation in principle is justified. Similarly, who has created this enormous class of underpaid civil servants? It is alleged that 3 clerks today do the work one clerk could do perfectly satisfactorily in our secretariat"

"The Pay Commission, if I may point out, is not a judicial tribunal, it was an advisory body- They tried to reconcile the conflicting points of view..."

"When Govt. becomes an employer, when the Government opens factories and runs railways, then, it ceases to be sovereign and it becomes like any other employer: somebody whose duty it is to conform to the norms of civilised society. I am very happy that at long last, 3 years too late. Sir, they have bowed to this principle after this very hard knocking which all of us had to suffer, and agreed to refer disputes with their employees to arbitration...."

"Ordinance is a lawless law; we have been brought up on that phrase when the British Government passed its ordinances." In regard to banning of strikes he requested the Government to avoid such a law. In conclusion he appealed for a healing touch and not to have a war of vindictiveness.

Shri A.B. Vajpayee : It cannot be denied that Central Government is to a great extent responsible for the strike. If the Bank Award could have been changed in the interests of Bank-owners, there is no reason why if the Pay Commission Report was an award, some changes cannot be made in it also while considering the interests of the employees. My complaint is that Govt. did not accept the Report as an award.... There were certain other recommendations which took away the benefits procured by the employees as a result of struggle of many years. Naturally, should not have the Govt. called the representatives of the employees for discussions before these recommendations were implemented? Because the 1st Pay Commission Report was in the interests of the workers Govt. put it in cold storage and started implementing the 2nd Pay Commission Report saying that it was an award of the *Panch Parmeshwaras*. The Finance Minister flatly refused to meet the workers' representatives and said that the Report would be implemented. This approach was wrong. Because of this the Central Govt. is responsible for precipitating this strike. I believe the Prime Minister had refused to meet the employees' representatives. But Govt. adopted an adamant attitude, with the result that we had to face the misfortune of having a strike. It was a misfortune to Central Govt. as well as to those in whose hands the leadership of Central Govt. employees lay, that we had to witness a strike in the country. But my submission is that if the Govt. had desired it could have put off the strike. The strike-leaders were not thinking that strike would have to take place, so much so that even no preparations for strike were made. They did not even entice the workers for strike. May be only 20% employees struck work, but behind their demands the sympathy of all Central Govt. employees was there and will be there. If they did a mistake by establishing a Joint Council of Action the Prime Minister should not have committed another mistake of refusing to meet

them. By this refusal Govt. closed the doors of negotiations. I understand, compelled by circumstances, they took the decision for strike. I had requested Shri Nath Pai that Shri. Feroze Gandhi's formula be accepted, even if it does not support fully the demands. But our strike-leaders had certain fears that if such a thing as would not satisfy the workers, was accepted it would create difficulties for them. I had proposed to Shri Nath Pai that if strike had to take place, let it be a day's strike, and not an indefinite strike, to demonstrate their protest against the policy of the administration, and all would have been saved of the evil consequences flowing from the present strike. But it appears that things slipped from their hands and strike took place. The Prime Minister's radio broadcast had a great influence on the employees because there was sentiment in it. He had drawn two pictures in it. My submission is that the two pictures are not merely of the military *Jawans* on the Himalayan heights and the employees working in fields and offices; these two pictures can be had in the mountains themselves, and they can be had in the fields also. If the Govt. accepts that the minimum wage of an employee should be Rs. 80/-, my point is that the highest wage should be Rs. 800/-. But a class IV employee gets Rs. 30/- or Rs. 40/- and a big officer gets Rs. 3,000/- or Rs. 3,500/-. This is the point which touches the heart of the employees. In Mahabharat, Kunti said, "My sons are hungry, I am not grieving over it. But when I find Kauravas in regal pomp, then anger flares up in my heart." Ordinance was promulgated against the Central Govt. employees; but ordinance cannot be promulgated against the mill-owners who increase the prices of cloth. My submission is that the action of the employees was not one of civil rebellion. It was an extremely unfortunate phraseology that the Prime Minister used. But today all over the country explosive discontent has been spread, which can burst out at the touch of any spark. If we welcome the strike because it has given a shock treatment to us, to the whole country, to the Govt., if we derive any benefit from it, and if we adopt measures by which there will be no increase in price-line, then it will be better for all. If the Govt. is not successful in holding the prices of essential commodities, there will be demands for

increase in wages and allowances, and no law of the Govt. will be able to stop those demands. Our Prime Minister in his broadcast observed that there had been delay in implementing the Pay Commission report. Who is responsible for this delay? If Govt. is responsible it should change its attitude. There is no necessity to make laws banning strike. Necessity is to remove the reasons for strike. Strike is not the cause of sickness; it is a symptom of sickness. My submission is that Govt. should arrange for, should set up such a machinery for joint discussions and consultations with the Central Govt. employees for settling differences of opinion and, if the differences are not settled, for referring them to compulsory arbitration.... Perhaps Govt. wanted a trial of strength and I am sorry the way INTUC behaved. After withdrawal of strike when Railway workers in Lucknow went back for duties Departmental heads allowed only those workers to enter inside whom the INTUC people standing at the gates, pointed out saying, "this can go in, the other cannot..." This is what was seen with my own eyes. INTUC should keep their leaders in control. This is not the way of winning the confidence of the Central Govt. employees. My submission is let by-gones be by-gones, it was all a bad dream which should be forgotten and new relationships should be started. But for this all those who are arrested, who are in jail, and are being removed from service should be taken back in service. And, let not violence be defined to cover those who spoke for strikes, let not a railway worker who clears coal from the engine before going on strike, be told you have sabotaged.

Seth Govind Das said that there were two reasons for the strike. One was the activity of the Communist Party and the other, the liberal policy of Prime Minister Nehru. The role of the Praja Socialist Party was "pitiable" and one which could not be understood. He said that the Prime Minister from now should adopt a "firm line" towards disruptive elements. Strike must be banned in all essential services and a severe law should be enacted to meet any strike threat.

Shri Kasinath Pande strongly defended the role of the Indian National Trade Union Congress during the strike and said it did not represent a few thousand workers but a

large mass of people who were opposed to the strike.

Shri A.M. Tariq said that the strike had a political aim and that was clear from the utterances of some of its leaders.

Shri Ramsingh Bhai Verma praised the Government's labour policy and the way it had been implemented and said that it was one of the finest in the world.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):



I think it will be better for us, to confine ourselves to the specific points at issue in this debate. They are: consideration of the general strike, that is to say, broadly speaking, whether it was a desirable or a permissible act, and the steps Government took, and the Ordinance, and whether that also was permissible or desirable or not. Though other speakers covered a wide field, what was important was the immediate past and not the distant past.

Replying to Shri Asoka Mehta's point that it was not a political strike, he observed: "every general strike is a political strike, and no general strike can be a general strike without being a political strike and without having far-reaching political consequences, apart from economic consequences and all that.....The sponsors of it may, in their naivety and simplicity, not see the consequences of something. That is a different matter, but I do say, and I say it with all the strength at my command that a general strike of the kind called for must essentially have wide far-reaching, political consequences, and therefore, it is a political strike in that respect. And you cannot escape from that conclusion. If that succeeds, it has tremendous political consequences; if it fails, it has not that type of political consequences, but still, political consequences and far-reaching economic consequences, causing loss to the nation and to the very unhappy persons who have been incited to go in for that strike..... and in effect, subversive consequences."

"Shri Asoka Mehta spoke about the desirability of workers and labour generally becoming mature; true; what I am concerned with is that the desirability of people who call for strikes becoming mature and considering questions with some maturity and not in this light-hearted way and not realising what the consequences are and then trying to ride a tiger when they cannot ride a donkey. (Interruptions). It is amazing, the irresponsibility of this whole thing is astounding."

A strike on the railways meant disruption of supplies. He chided the members of certain party who talked light-heartedly about the special efforts for the defence of the country. He proceeded to say: "Did those other gentlemen who sponsored the strike, think of the consequences, whether it is in the ordnance depots or whether it is on the frontier where every little bit has to be flown, food supplies etc? I ventured with great deliberation to point this out to some extent in the broadcast I made prior to the strike, and I would beg of the House to consider, apart from the general principle, the actual consequences which could only be disastrous to the food situation". If only 25% employees served strike notice, as was being claimed, he remarked.

"The obvious thing is that in spite of every effort of the sponsors of the strike, 75 per cent did not fall into line. I am pointing out the amazing and astounding irresponsibility of those persons who took up the strike. I say this regardless of the fact that the government employees may have hardships - let us deal with the hardships - regardless of the fact that they may have a valid point to raise; I say that in spite of all that; this action was a fundamentally wrong and vicious action." What amazed him further was that even when strike was a failure there was no repentance.

"All of us in our excitement—Government and the Opposition, err. The test of a person is not that he does not err, but that he recognises his error when it takes place and tries to correct it. I have yet to discover in the sponsors of the strike the least element of repentance, of an admission of error, although the error of all this stands out like a pikestaff for the whole world to see.

"What is more — regardless of my views or other people's views — even they should know one basic fact, that the people of India, as a whole were opposed to it.

"Therefore, I say it was an astonishingly irresponsible thing, a thing which could not possibly bring any benefit to those who had asked for the strike. Because, if it fails, it brings a sense of frustration on people who struck work.

"On the other hand, let us conceive of the strike succeeding in some measure. Then certain political consequences flow from it, obviously. If this Parliament continued then; it may or may not, somebody else would be sitting here in these Benches and we— this Government— would be somewhere else. All kinds of consequences flow from that and this whole process of success, if it came, would have done, for the time being, very very heavy economic damage. I do not know if there will be a Parliament if a strike like this succeeds. I am not at all sure that the Parliament will function after that, or what form of Parliament, I do not know; because it is not the parliamentary way of making changes. If you adopt a general strike in that way, you hit at the roots of parliamentary and democratic government. Therefore, I venture to say that this was an act—and I am putting it at the highest — of utterly irresponsible, immature, persons who somehow got on the back of this tiger and did not know what to do. They could not get off it. It is always a difficult thing for immature people who do not know riding to get at the backs of animals." He said that the provocation for this general strike was that the Pay Commission had not done justice to certain claims. The Commission consisted of people outside party politics, very eminent people who spent two or three years over this matter. It did not necessarily mean that the Pay Commission and the Supreme Court Judge were right. But it did create a very strong presumption that they are likely to be right.

"I say, your view may, perhaps, be right. But, is it right to the extent of your upsetting the country, calling for some action like a general strike, which has all these grave consequences and which, at the same time, puts an end practically to any future procedure of Pay Commissions and the like, because no decent man is going to serve on such Commissions after that, if peace is to be thrown overboard like this?" He asked what had labour and price policies to do with such a general strike which would ruin the country.

"And, what time did they choose for this? Just when, after a great effort, after years or months of labour, we produced the draft of the Third Five Year Plan." He said that the country could not give up planning and arrive at that paradise of private enterprise. Indian capitalism did not have the modernity of even the advanced capitalist state. He hoped the members of the Communist Party would realise "that these (five year plans, frontier situation, etc.) are serious matters which this country is dealing with and we are exercising ourselves to the utmost, that there are burdens that we have to carry because of this frontier and because of other things..... Everyone knows or everyone ought to know that in the last 3 months or so, the world situation has deteriorated greatly. Ever since the U-2 episode and failure of the summit and some other things, it goes on deteriorating. It is a dangerous situation and no man knows where the war may break out." Criticizing formation of Council of Action he said, "I have a vague idea that they started in the student world. And, the student mentality may be excused. But, surely, after a certain age, it functions more maturely. And, curiously enough, the Council of Action was constituted for this strike. The strike is for a period but the Council of Action continues, and meets".

He justified the Ordinance because "the point is that any Government faced with that situation inevitably had to take up the challenge.....If you take up some activity which leads to war, war follows. It is no good expecting a one-sided war in which one party hits out and damages and does everything and the other meekly submitting....In a situation like this, the Government is not only justified but it is incumbent upon it to take every step, whatever the step may be, to protect the country's interests.

"After the Pay Commission report and after the Government's major decision on it were announced, among the Government employees and others concerned, there was a measure of disappointment. May be if I had been in that position, I would have expected more. That is natural and I have no grievance against their feeling that way because, after all conditions in India being what they are, most

people live under strains, pressures and difficulties. It may be that Government employees are better off than many. But nevertheless we do not normally go about comparing our case with others and feel that we are better and therefore, we should be happy. Anyhow, there was no talk and no mention of the strike for several months. Oddly enough, the question that was raised and to which objection was taken was that of Saturday holidays—not, I venture to say, a major question.....However, my point is that it was on the basis of Saturday holidays that a demonstration was made—not on anything else—and that too months afterwards. It may be—I venture to guess—that seeing that the Saturday holiday itself had brought quite a large number of people to demonstrate, they thought: why not add something else to it and have bigger demonstrations and even bigger strikes? So, gradually, the idea of a strike came months after this originated. It is not a sudden reaction. It was coldly thought out, months after the reactions should have taken place.

"The strike is over with all the harm it did and the good it did.....The main good that it had done, I hope, is that it has made us think about the future. That is really the important thing because this business of settling things by strikes and lockouts is not the logical or a reasonable way. I realise the enormous value that labour attaches to the strike weapon because that has saved them for the last hundred years or so from being drowned, sat upon and crushed. Nevertheless, I think the way of settling things by strikes is an outmoded way. I do not for a moment refer to the ordinary industrial strikes. I am not suggesting that the strikes should be banned or forbidden because the fact of the matter is that strike is an inevitable concomitant of the capitalist system. If you have capitalists and have employee-employer relations, then you have to have something to protect the employee from the employer's pressures and other things.....

"The capitalist structure is based on strikes—I say the theory of it—although in modern capitalism an attempt is being made to get out of this. But it has not gone far but in some cases it has succeeded remarkably even in America or UK or elsewhere.....

"This kind of industrial war is also out of date just as people feel by force of circumstances that war between nations is out of date. But it is no good my saying that and no good my banning this kind of thing unless we can produce an adequate substitute for the settlement of such disputes, controversies that might arise..... I agree with my colleague the Home Minister that in regard to essential activities, essential services, strikes should particularly be avoided and should not take place because of their far-reaching consequences. In regard to Government employees the position is still more serious, it takes you still further, because they are the very structure in a Government which looks after its people. If that steel structure breaks down, then the result is likely to be chaotic. But it is essential to devise means which can progressively, as a question or a difficulty arises, solve that. The procedure may vary. For instance, for the Government employees in Secretariat etc., there may be one procedure. Sometimes it is referred to particularly, as the Whitley procedure....."

"We have to have post-mortems whenever deaths take place. A major death has taken place and we have the corpse of the general strike. We have to have a post mortem of it. But the real thing is the future. The major thing is how to evolve a system both for our general industry and the government employees but, for the moment, more particularly, I would like to concentrate on government employees.

"Government employees, again, are of two types. There are the Secretariat type of employees, the office type, and there are the industrial employees. There are slight differences. They may be treated somewhat differently depending on circumstances. The second is the broad industrial employment which is growing and growing in India. We have to devise methods, we have to devise a machinery, not even this Pay Commission machinery, which is useful enough, but which is rather a slow-moving machine. I do believe that the real thing that the Government should pay first attention to is not so much pay and salaries but to the amenities that are offered to its employees, whether it is education, whether it is health, whether it is housing and so on. These things are more important than a little rise in salary, certainly. Amenities

perhaps are more easy to give. So that, I submit, should be the approach to this problem.

"So far as this particular debate is concerned I do submit with all humility, that any person who would care to think about it can arrive at only one conclusion, namely, that general strikes are unreasonable in the modern day; they are bad; and this particular general strike was vicious and so foolish as to pass comprehension. It has occurred, and it is over. Let us realise that it was a bad thing and let us atone for it and perform *Prayashchitta*."

Shri Nath Pai : quoted the following :

न तेना बृद्धव वति येनास्य पलितं सिरः

यो वै युवः अधिमानास्तंग देवस्याविरं विदुः

(It is not a crime to be young, and maturity and mere grey hair do not go together). He was sorry that some speeches introduced a spirit of acrimony and polemics. The Prime Minister also poured contempt and ridicule "on the heads of those who, in their own way, had tried to learn from his own teachings earlier, to whom he had been consistently saying that the starving man must resist, and for whom all his sympathies were reserved all these years. That was the tragedy of miscalculation : that we took his teachings too seriously and tried to act upon them according to our lights". In spite of all unkind things said by the Prime Minister he wanted to confine himself to bare facts. He asked :

"Why did the strike become unavoidable ? Was it an act of irresponsibility ? Was it an act of all those who wanted to act in harmony with a foreign power ? The simple reason, and the real reply to this is that we do not have a machinery in this country for solving disputes, for ventilating grievances, and for solving the disputes by negotiations, so that these drift into disputes and the disputes develop into conflicts....."

"May I, Sir, be permitted to quote a letter of the Prime Minister himself who agrees with this analysis, in his letter to the Chief Ministers of States, dated 30th June ? This is what the Prime Minister says, and here is the plea which I am raising as to why the strike became inevitable. He says :

"We have thus far not evolved any adequate machinery for the rapid settlement of disputes

of this type. The Government's way of dealing with such matters is a leisurely way, and months and even years pass sometimes before we come to grips with the problem; a problem which perhaps could have been solved with greater ease, becomes more difficult. Frustration takes place and passions are roused, and these lead to a conflict which is ultimately "good for no one."

"This is one tragedy of life in this country that in spite of all the lessons we never try to act unless sufficient pressure is generated."



Another point of Shri Nath Pai was the attitude of the officers in the higher echelons, who reeked with the stink of snobbery, and had nothing but contempt for the Class III and Class IV staff. He quoted the Prime Minister on this issue also. He has said :

"Among those who have served in the ICS or other inferior services, there will be many Indians or foreigners whose services we may welcome when we have become free, but of one thing I am quite sure : that no new order can be built in India so long as the spirit of the ICS pervades over administration, and our public services. That spirit of authoritarianism and ally of imperialism cannot co-exist with that freedom. The new India must be served by earnest, efficient workers who have an ardent faith in the cause that they serve and are bent on achievements."

Shri Nath Pai continued : "Thirdly, I would like to mention a very serious point. There are some people who can be generally defined as the authorities of the country who are not reconciled to the goal of socialism and who have never taken kindly to the objective

that this country should march towards socialism, but who because of the fear only of the Prime Minister, as he always succeeds in bullying his allies and his associates, are paying lip-sympathy to the idea of socialism. This is why a strike becomes inevitable". Quoting from a latest book *The General Strike* by Julian Symons, he said that the inflexible attitude of Churchill was responsible for the General Strike in England in 1926.

He added : "it will be for future historians to say who played the part of Churchill in seeing that every effort made for negotiation, every request we made for a settlement, was contemptuously turned down. Then, because of the cumulative effect of this and because of the past experience of the employees, the situation began to develop where they were not finding any way." He referred to his letter of the 16th January to the Prime Minister, which ended with the following plea:

"I feel a genuine effort should be made to thrash out acceptable solutions and the matter should not be allowed to drift. I therefore plead with you once again to take action in convening a conference which will be charged with the task of meeting the legitimate demands of the employees where the Pay Commission has given them a raw deal."

He said : "The Prime Minister was kind enough to reply, the next day, and he stated that there was no need for such things. But to say that suddenly we come one day and demand all other things, without having given any premonition, any notice, without having made any effort to persuade the Government to see the legitimacy of our claims is patently unfair and is not in keeping with the true facts. There was this House in which a plea was made by me, which was yesterday quoted by an hon. Member. I continued my effort with all other Ministers. I had written a letter to the hon. Home Minister. The reply being marked 'personal', it will not be fair to quote from it. But the approach of the Government remained the same. It was, in the words of the Home Minister, "the fundamental issue of the sanctity of the award." Had it not itself modified the recommendations of the Pay Commission? Is it even today accepting all the Pay Commission's recommendations, may I ask? Yesterday the Home Minister said that we

are going to ban the strikes. Regarding the withdrawal of recognition, the Pay Commission has said something to which his present attitude is opposed. The Pay Commission has said that strikes need not be banned in this country, the present law is enough for it and with regard to the unions, a general liberal attitude may be adopted. Is this the respect for the sanctity of the award? When only the employee comes and says "let us modify it to remove some of our grievances", he is accused of defying the sanctity of the Pay Commission's recommendations. I want to ask the Government what has happened to the recommendations of the Law Commission presided over by the best judicial minds of the country? With contempt, they have been pigeon-holed. Had it always followed a consistent policy of upholding the sanctity of the Pay Commission, then the first Pay Commission's recommendations would not have been flouted the way they were.

"On three occasions in 1948, 1951, and 1957, on every occasion, when everything else failed, the Government employees got up and said, 'In that case, if every other door is locked and barred against us, then we may have to go on strike.' It was under this accumulated pressure that grants of Rs. 5, Rs. 10, and Rs. 5 have been made. It is a tragedy of national life that a premium has been placed on building pressures and then only justice has been done....."

"We appealed to the Prime Minister to use his unparalleled authority and influence to thrash out solutions to meet legitimate grievances.... May I say that two images came to my mind as I listened to his touching and moving speech? One was that of our Prime Minister that was the idealist of 1926, who was moved to tears at the plight of the British working class and the other of the Prime Minister of India of 1960, whom the tearful appeals of his own employees failed to move to do justice.... This was not an act of mutiny or rebellion. It was a pointer to him that there may be something wrong in the approach we are making....."

"It was a simple question of slightly modifying the dearness allowance formula of the Pay Commission's recommendations. That formula was inadequate. Even the *Eastern Economist* points this out regarding the

dearness allowance. The one crucial point on which ultimately the negotiations broke in spite of the innumerable formulae which we proposed was this.... The real wages of the employees have since 1947 gone down, while there is talk of prosperity, 40 per cent increase in national income, 20 per cent increase in *per capita* income etc. Where is all this going? The late Dr. John Mathai had demanded one thing and we are going to repeat that demand in this House. An enquiry must be instituted into the channels into which this new wealth is finding its way.... Into whose pockets or safety vaults is this wealth going and what is the share of the average man in it?

"The Home Minister in his masterful handling of rhetoric yesterday said, it is like asking Paul to give away half his loin cloth to Peter. The Government employee was not asking them to do any such injustice. The Government employee was pleading on behalf of the millions of Pauls and Peters in this country who are going about naked in this country, when there is an accumulation of wealth in a certain sector. May I point out, therefore, that this plea for dearness allowance being linked with the cost of living index was a most legitimate one? Here is the consolidated opinion of a paper, which is not very fond of us, I think, or of our policies:

"When the new pay scales come into effect very shortly, it is estimated that the average value of the consumer price index for 1960 might be around 125. The employee would need about Rs. 86—Rs. 6 more than his minimum pay in order to neutralise fully the rise in price level."

"The salary of Rs. 80 is not even what he was getting in 1947.... Except for the two years when nature helped us with a bumper crop and there was a slight improvement, in every one of the 13 years, there was a real drop and fall in the real earnings of the employees. Is this very much convincing proof of our being very sincere about a fairer share? This is the tragedy. We thought slogans we mouta about Welfare State, socialism and all that are very seriously meant and the poor employees thought, of course, that they could make a legitimate effort...."

"If it was a political weapon in our hands, why did you not try to prove us wrong by accepting one of the many formulae? We would have been proved wrong if you would have insisted on it. This was the only economic

demand out of the six, because on the demand of the basic wage, it was fully intimated to Shri Nanda that we are not going to press, provided Government accepted the principle of it and the progressive realisation of it. It was, therefore, the Government's adamant attitude and its determination to teach a lesson to those who wanted seriously to talk about a Welfare State and a fair share that led to the strike." He averred that there was no question of repentance for having courage of conviction. He rebutted the charge that a foreign power would have derived benefits, by saying: "we made it very clear that every Government employee in this country will die, if he is a postal man, defending a postal box rather than see it fall into the hands of an enemy and if he is a railway boy he will defend each fish-plate by laying down his life rather than see it go to a foreigner. He hoped after all this earnest plea there would be this earnest conviction that sooner than later these unfair and unjustifiable attacks and accusations should be dropped.

Referring to the 1926 general strike in Britain, he said that not even one-tenth of the emergency powers were used. But here "the role played by the entire apparatus of the State was turned against the employee. It was a unique spectacle. Here were small, unknown, insignificant men, we know. There was the apparatus of the Government with all its resources, with all the prestige of the men after whom this era will perhaps be named. It was an unequal fight. But was at least *Dharma* followed? Was there any talk of *Prayaschitha*? Was any regard for truth shown? What happened to the All India Radio?" He pointed out that during the 1926 General Strike even the B.B.C. genuinely attempted to maintain impartiality. "The BBC broadcast messages from the General Council as well as messages from Downing Street. It quoted speeches of trade union leaders in Parliament and out of it. It referred to the *British Worker* as well as to the *British Gazette*." That is what historians say. He did not know when AIR would rise to that standard.

"It has won a temporary gain, a temporary victory against whom victory has no meaning. But it has lost something permanent, and that is a tragedy for all of us. Nothing is more dangerous for a country than the people of the country should lose complete faith in the

integrity and impartiality of its chief instrument, chief agency of information, and that is the tragedy by its partisan spirit the All India Radio has brought upon it." Referring to the accusation by the Home Minister about some effigies being burnt, he said: "I am one with him in condemning this. But I would go deeper, in spite my immaturity, and ask, what is this continuation of, what is that hangover of? It is the hangover of those days when we thought of doing this thing as a legitimate expression of our disagreement. I would like, therefore, not to see more, though I agree in condemning it, than there is really in it."

He said: "when all these passions settle down, when we are a little removed from the event and when the heat is lost perhaps a better verdict will be passed. We had made superhuman efforts in seeing that in evolving solutions to the employees' demands those solutions must not be permitted even in the remotest degree to injure the larger interests of the community. We did it and if, Mr. Speaker, we failed in persuading those who had the power to listen to us it was the misfortune, it was the inefficacy of our persuasion though we pleaded in earnest. We called upon the employees in Assam not to go on strike; so also in Ladhak and in the border areas. Is this an evidence of irresponsibility? Is this a case of lack of consideration for the nation's interest?"

"Mr. Speaker, much back-slapping is done about the firmness... But against whom is this firmness? We have never seen such a firm attitude against the Salazar's mockery of India's flag on the territory of India in Goa. We do not see such kind of firmness against the mockeries which Pakistan makes now and then on our sovereignty. We do not see such manifestation of firmness against Chou-en-Lai, who was assured "We will negotiate, negotiate, negotiate till the bitter end". When our own little Class III employee comes and begs for clemency, mercy and consideration you say "you are a rebel." He is honoured, of course, with an appellation of rebel. But the fact remains that there was a collapse not of the Government but of statemanship.

"I would like to make this point very very clear, Mr. Speaker, that if there was the slightest danger that the civil authority would collapse we would have been the first

soldiers to defend it because our quarrel is with Jawaharlal Nehru. Yes, it is so, the hon. Prime Minister. His knowledge of history is better, his politics is also better. Bagehot, Maitland, Dicey and Laski will be turning in their graves, and he is the friend of the last, and a great student of political science too. His analysis is: if communications are temporarily jeopardised civilian authority collapses, which is an extraordinary thesis. The army was there, the police and the home guards and the entire loyalty of the country to you as Government was there. I do not think that when his anger subsides even he will entertain this kind of feeling. This dispute we have was not as our Prime Minister, which he remains, but as an employer, as the head of an employing agency. How can it be disregarded? How can it be completely ignored? Only yesterday, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri said something in the House and that is the essence of our plea and it is this. The prices of textiles have gone as much as by 40 percent. If the price is going up like that, a peasant will resort by increasing his price and if the food prices go up the whole apple-cart of our Plan will fail. What is being done against those people who are indulging in this kind of anti-national activities? What happened to the Essential Commodities Act which has been passed?

"The Prime Minister in 1946, soon after his release from Nagathanda, said "If I have the power I would hang these black-marketeers by the nearest lamp-posts..."

"Yesterday the Home Minister talked of Rs. 10 being given and when we asked for a little modification he thought that it was unfair and unpatriotic... He cannot be given Rs. 5 more now but we read in the papers there are people in the social Welfare State who can buy cars for Rs. 80,000. What an example of fair share, social justice, profit being pegged and everybody being given a fair deal... I would like to say there is no bitterness in our heart nor any animosity. There is, of course, no repentance. There is sorrow and sadness because many of our illusions have been broken for ever..."

"May I make an earnest plea, namely, that everything must be done by all of us to see there is no spirit of animosity and of conflict maintained in the departments? Let not the only monument of the Government's victory

against its employees and against immature politicians be symbolised by broken homes, by the ashes of frustrated homes and by the smouldering fires of suppressed bitterness and disappointment. I would in the end say that it should be the endeavour of all concerned to create a new spirit of dedication, an idealism among the employees, an awareness of the glory of participating in the mighty adventure of building a new India. That will be our endeavour. I do not know if those who are defeated should entertain such hopes. But we refuse to accept that we have done something for which we should expect forgiveness. We did the right thing and it will help democracy in this country and show that there are some small men who will raise their little voice against whosoever they may be when they have the conviction that they are standing for the right thing. This is good for India's democracy."

Shri Khadilkar: "I am one of those who tried their best to avert the strike on this occasion, but unfortunately we failed in that. We should be more objective when viewing events....."

"With regard to 1926 General Strike Prof: Laski says: 'all industry that is directly clothed with public purpose cannot involve itself in a major dispute without bringing the certainty at some stage, most usually an early stage, of Government intervention.....'

...The main criticism directed against the Government is that it failed to take appropriate measures to prevent the strike of 1926 from occurring at all.'

"Similar observations have been made by another eminent British social scientist, Mrs. Beatrice Webb....."

"In the nature of things, there is bound to be social conflict situated as we are and there is bound to be a strike. I submit that we had no political motives but that in the nature of things it was bound to take a political colour and that Government was bound to take it as a challenge to its authority. I told them, "For Heaven's sake, let us negotiate..."

"At that moment when the final decision was taken, I know, many responsible leaders were hesitating. They were not quite sure whether that action was right or wrong..."

"I call it a tragedy for two reasons.....

At the first stage when negotiations took place Shri Nanda with all sincerity had appealed and told Shri S. M. Joshi that if within the scheme of things it could be settled and if certain points of dispute remained behind, he would offer arbitration. I appealed to the strike leaders on that plea only.....But the tragedy of it is that nobody listened. A spirit of some type of romantic adventure was in the atmosphere.. It would be a short-sighted policy if the Govt. feel in terms of "now that we have come out with flying colours and they have been defeated." They should think inward and examine why a situation had arisen, which, as Laski has said, led people, the loyal government employees, to believe that they should follow this 'immature leadership' and give a challenge to the leadership enthroned by the people to rule over this country with long experience and sacrifice behind them...

"When the Pay Commission report was submitted to the Government, Government took several months but did not even process it... The whole report was more or less considered as the property of the Government, and whatever was found suitable was implemented..."

"The strike has retarded the Indian trade union movement considerably. It has strengthened reaction not only in the country but in the Congress. You must remember all this. These are the worst consequences..."

"Since 1947 to 1960 on an average the employees are getting Rs. 3½ per month less. Our wages are pegged at 1947.... The Government has failed to neutralise and give protection to his real wages, the corroding of his ordinary life has been stopped, and every lower class employee of Government has lost, by way of neutralisation, not less than Rs. 600 in these thirteen years....."

"Are we to suppose that during the period of reconstruction and development and planning all the burden is to be borne by the employees and the common people, that they are to be the pack horses of reconstruction and advance and progress; and that they should not even raise their voice that whatever advance you are making, adding to the national income, they must get some reflection of it in their daily earnings?..."

"In the post-war period, all power is given to the Heads of Departments. I have an inst-

ance of a P&T worker who has been suspended for activity that he is supposed to have done about four weeks back before the Ordinance was promulgated. See, in their enthusiasm, how the officers give retrospective effect to the blessed Ordinance... There is another case. One officer picked out a Harijan couple, serving in the Telephone Exchange. The wife has been transferred from the feminine section to a district place where she will not even get accommodation. I would appeal to the Government not only to be generous but to adopt a little more magnanimous attitude..."

"I appeal to the Government to forget what happened during the strike period. Let them call the leaders of the Unions, sit round a table and tell them you will not simply bear the burden, you will be active partners in this bold adventure of building of country, you will share it equally with us, let us evolve some machinery by which we shall at least for some years to come, in the industrial sphere and in the sphere of Government, establish a relationship in which there will be truce, and peace, so that our efforts will succeed..."

"In future if they do not draw proper lessons, they will be faced not with those small number of people giving a challenge, not the immature leaders. With the past experience and accumulated bitterness that they have experienced in the things which are contrary to the objective of the Government, all the people will combine and then it would not be easy for you. Therefore, be a little more careful. Apply your mind as to how to remove the deep-seated symptom. Do not deal with it in a superficial way, in a symptomatic way. That would not last long. That would not help us, nor help the country."

Dr. Melkote : "The country generally and every section of its population wishes to congratulate the Government for the wise way in which they have taken action.....At the same time, I have got to say that we, who are working in the labour field, feel a great amount of concern with the way that the strike took place and with the way things have developed in the country now..."

"It is not merely saying that the worker is suffering, the worker demands for justice..."

"Since the cost of living has been going up, it should be neutralised equally in the pay scales. In today's context, with the standard

of life and the national income that have gone up, the workers in the Government sphere should also be partners in the increase in the national income.....It appears that such a very good cause has been lost today, and it has damaged the labour union movement as it has never done in any other country of the world...

"A labour leader cannot put workers in difficulties.....In the railways 80 to 90% workers belonged to the INTUC, and yet Mr. Guruswamy and others want to negotiate with Government on equal terms....."

"This has occurred in Defence also. We have been pained at what has happened. The Indian National Defence Workers Federation was formed because of the tactics that these people were playing; we knew that this strike was developing in their minds, not only a few months ago, but for the past two or three years...

"The miscalculation referred to by Shri Nath Pai was that they felt that when they demanded very much more, they would be able to bring over all the INTUC workers on their very side, and, therefore, they egged them on to strike.The Communists were egging the workers for strike and then the P.S.P. could not go behind....."

"When the country was facing trouble, and there was invasion in Assam, the Communists created trouble in Punjab over the land reforms issue; when there was trouble in Longju in Assam, there was trouble in the Punjab, there was invasion in Assam; and when the Chinese were invading near Srinagar on that side, there was trouble in Bengal, and now when the Chinese are facing the Tibetan upheaval, there is trouble in the country, so that our country may not go and occupy the territory that belongs to us. This is the tactics that these people have been adopting..."

"And Shri Nath Pai and these people come up at this juncture and speak emotionally and say that they are not anti-national. Certainly, they are not anti-national. But if they had succeeded, it is the communists who would have been the leaders. Now, at this juncture, people come up and say that nothing should be done to those who had struck work. I personally feel that those people who have taken this wrong

cue and have misled the people should be severely punished. With regard to the rest, be magnanimous and be very liberal."

Malarajkumar of Vijayanagaram said that he would very much like to see very very strong legislation enacted so that future strikes, future *goondas*, as we would call them are not allowed to do what they have done during the strike.

Shri Braj Raj Singh : Drawing the parallel of 1942-struggle he said : "it is a historical fact that it is not difficult to suppress a popular movement, a non violent movement, whenever being intoxicated with power, arms are resorted to by the Government for the purpose.....It is a surprise that 20% responded to the strike call even after the broadcast by the Prime Minister. There is no doubt that such strikes will be a civil rebellion.

"We find that the wages of the employees have not remained at the level of 1947. Whenever you are asked to restore the 1947 wages you are not prepared to consider it..... Even accepting that such a strike can be a civil rebellion, I do not concede that there is any danger to democracy by that, that there will be an end of democracy. I am of the opinion that we should welcome such strikes. Such strikes may possibly lead to the end of the present Govt. But why the present Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues should hope for perpetually occupying their positions? They should be anxious whether the policies they are having are correct, true and wise. Did it not lead to discontent?"

"Prices of food-grains and other essentials of life are increasing. Then you tell those people who are hungry not to ask for more wages, and you are not prepared to listen to their demands, till they resort to strike..."

"Seven people lost their lives in the strike through police firing...During 150 years of British rule there were not so many firings as there were within the last 13 years.

"16,000 people were arrested in the strike... But sympathy of the entire lot of 20 or 22 lakhs of Govt. employees was with the strike. You have to have a serious consideration of all these. Not only for the sake of Govt. employees but for the sake of other employees, the peasantry and other middle class sections of the people you have to effect changes in your poli-

cies. Today when the hard-earned money of the people is being spent in thousands of rupees for the Five Year Plans you have also to see that the benefits of these Plans do not accumulate in the hands of a few people only. Sugar and textile millowners are making crores of black-market profit. The Govt. is not prepared to take any action against those who curry its favour, who praise it, who throw parties, who bank upon the policy and attitude of the Govt. This will be a dangerous trend for the country...It will be difficult for you to sit there if after 10 or 15 years as a result of your policies, this sort of protest, even if it be non-violent in character, happens in the people...Even today in the country poor is becoming poorer, and rich richer. You claim that you are going to build socialism. You say the salaries of Government employees cannot be raised by Rs.5/- or Rs 10/-, but when we say that pay of those drawing Rs. 4000/- should be reduced to Rs.2000/- or Rs.2500/- or Rs. 3000/- you reply that socialism does not mean that...Employees have the fundamental right of pressing their demands through strike, if all other methods are exhausted. Please do not think that by illegalising strikes of Govt. employees you can make them happy, or that other sections of the people can be convinced that this sort of thing is in keeping with democracy...I hope that Government intoxicated by its victory will not attempt at such type of laws, will not think of adopting any revengeful attitude towards any employee whatever part he has taken in the strike.

"Just now a railway employee came to me ; he was with INTUC and had no connection with strike, but without even being given a notice of having any part in the strike he was discharged from service. So, the powers that are being conferred on departmental heads are dangerous, because through these they can settle old scores or can talk in different tunes reaching harm to the people."

Shri Indrajit Gupta. "I find that in all the speeches made in this House both yester-



day and today on behalf of Government the central issue which has been raised through this strike and which has been referred to here repeatedly by a number of hon Members is being evaded. The central issue is whether the 22 lakhs of central Government employees are to have any sort of guarantee or assurance that their existing real wages are going to be protected.

"The Prime Minister's reference to defence, linking it with the strike, would have sounded a little more convincing if he had seen the Government take some vigorous action to defend the rear of those brave soldiers of ours who are standing not only on the western borders but also on the northeastern borders of the country. What kind of rear did the Government create for them when for 18 long days arson, looting and plunder was going on in Assam? Was that the way to strengthen the defence in a border state? He admits that in today's circumstances of the condition of the modern world defence has no meaning without a strong rear, without contented civil workers manning our railway lines our postal, tele graph and telephone services, our coal mines and our steel plants. That is why these arguments have not cut any ice, from the day that broadcast was made,...

"The fact remains even if 4 or 5 lakhs of employees out of 22 lakhs went on strike in conditions where they were threatened with this

kind of Ordinances, with immediate dismissal from work and where their own livelihood and the future of their families was at stake, is it to be taken lightly? What the employees were out for was some sort of release, release from this perpetual night-mare which has been haunting them for the last so many years, this night-mare of rising prices and falling real wages. Those who, according to the Prime Minister, tried to ride the tiger may have fallen off the back of the tiger; but what about the tiger? The tiger is there; the rider may have fallen off. Let us discuss what the tiger asked for. It is an unhappy simile. But the Prime Minister has used it.....

"I do not find myself in harmony with the sentiments expressed in this House that the strike has been defeated. Yes; it is being defeated, in the immediate demand which had come to the fore-front of getting an immediate increase in dearness allowance that the employees were not able to get. I say, ultimately, if you look at it a little deeper, the same experience which these employees have suffered repeatedly at the hands of this Government from 1946-47 and onwards, namely that unless you give a threat of strike and unless you go on strike or some sort of struggle nothing ever comes out. This basic lesson has been confirmed once again. The Prime Minister was good enough to admit that one good thing that has come out of the strike was that it has given us a jolt. The Government and other people who were not so keenly aware of those problems are now compelled to think about them. It is good; it is a gain of the strike. On the eve of the strike, the Joint Council of Action was prepared to call off the strike on the basis of the formula which they had put forward, namely, to compensate at least 50 percent of the rise if an average of 7 points is reached at the end of 12 months, the balance being referred to arbitration... But at that time, through the agency of the Labour Minister it was made clear that even if they accepted the Government's proposal of the average rise of 10 points over 12 months, the Government may or may not review the situation, let alone give an increase. Whether it would be reviewed or not was itself to be left to the discretion of the Government. But at least as a by-product of this defeated strike here, yesterday, in this House, the Home Minister as I understood him to

say has made a commitment before the nation that if the index goes up by an average of 10 points over 12 months Government will review the position—'May' is substituted by 'will'—and it might be compensated upto 50 percent.

"There are these new scales which have been announced and new increments and adjustments in pay and so on, were lying there for months together but now they have come out. It is a by-product of the strike. You may say that you were considering the matter. But the point is that nothing would have come out and it would have taken another six months or a year....

"There is our brave soldier of the Indian Army. After all he had some desire too, I think, that his family, poverty-stricken family, back in his home village—its condition should be improved a bit. He got from the Prime Minister of course very generous measure of praise which he deserves but that was not enough to feed his family. Anyway, we are glad that if only after the strike, from Rs. 55.50 or Rs. 52.50 his emoluments are raised to Rs. 66. It seems there is some catalytic agent working somewhere. Why are these things coming now one after another within the space of 3-4 days where they used to take months together? The public of this country will draw its own conclusion. Not only in the case of the Central Government employees has this happened Government of U.P. which was hitherto refusing to increase emoluments of its employees, on the 27th of last month has at last announced after the strike a raise of Rs. 5.50 for the State Government employees. Governor of Madras—he is not friendly to the Opposition or the strike—in his address to the joint session of the two Houses of the Madras Legislature says :

"One disquieting feature in the present economy of the country is the persistent upward trend in prices. This is indeed causing considerable hardship to the people, particularly in the fixed low-income groups. Unless this tendency is arrested the anticipated resources for the Third Plan may not over be forthcoming because the incentive and ability to save are diminished under inflationary conditions."

"As I said evidently, some by-products have come. Therefore we are not prepared to accept that the strike has produced no results at all.

"Certain proposals have been made here for the future. When these proposals come before this House, we shall have enough to say. But I want to say this much. If you want to ban the strikes, you will have to ban certain other things also. Otherwise, the unilateral ban would not work. The tiger is roaming about, though riderless at the moment; the tiger has to be satisfied. You have got so many Acts, bans and ordinances. But not one of them worked. I do not want to repeat what my hon. friends have said about the prices, blackmarketing, profiteering and speculation. If you can ban them, you can also ban the strikes. Otherwise, a hundred bans will not prevent people going on strike if their conditions become intolerable.

"The question of excluding outsiders from trade unions was raised yesterday. The AITUC made it clear at the last I.L.C. that we are prepared for the exclusion of outsiders from all trade unions. I know that everybody who is an employee and who is a leading member of his union can be sacked today and victimised tomorrow. He becomes an ex-employee and an outsider, and can no longer have a place in the union. We are not prepared to accept that position. Apart from that we are not afraid of it. Some INTUC gentlemen may be apprehensive of losing their jobs but we are not....

"I must say a few words about the post-strike repression and victimisation of the employees. I want an answer from the Government on one central point. Much has been said about leniency—lenient attitude towards the majority of the employees and stern measures against just a few who were guilty of violence or sabotage. The point is, for mere participation in the strikes, even if it is an illegal strike, the Supreme Court has laid down in the case of the Punjab National Bank, in the case of Burn and Company, in some other cases that for mere participation in a strike, even if it is an illegal strike, an employee cannot be dismissed from his job. I want to say, if the Prime Minister feels that any modification of a high-power Pay Commission's recommendations may lead to a situation where any decent man, he said, will think twice before serving on that Pay Commission again, is it not unwittingly casting a reflection on the Judges of the Supreme Court, the highest judiciary of the country, whose

decisions are now being flouted by every petty bureaucrat and officer who considers himself to be a little dictator in governmental offices?

"My final word is, are you prepared to give any kind of machinery or provision for providing safeguards to workers and employees against possible misuse of these powers by the officers? Will you consider any form of appellate authority? or are you going to leave it completely in the hands of the officers to do what they please and there is nobody else to question or check up?

"Finally, there is one question which has not been referred to by anyone. [*Inconclusive due to shortage of time.*]

Smt. Sucheta Kripalani : Speaking that the strike was untimely and ill-advised she advocated for establishment of good relations saying, "I do not think this is the time to apportion blame or to say who was responsible and who was not. Let us say that the blame was on both sides. At this time, I would appeal to the Government and to my hon. friends on the other side. What is our duty at the moment? Our duty is to see that normalcy is arrived at. Our duty is to try and see that good relations are established between the Government servants and the Government. Our duty is to see that the just grievances of the people are properly redressed, taking into consideration the entire situation obtaining in the nation....I would therefore, request the Government to see that all employees against whom suspension and dismissal orders have been served are allowed to rejoin. Individual cases may be studied. After scrutiny of the individual cases, if it is found that they indulged in sabotage or violence, certainly action can be taken. Such a general policy and such a generous attitude, I am sure, will give you good dividends."

She objected to the discretionary powers being given to the departmental heads saying, "...You should not leave the discretion of taking action against the staff to the departmental heads... When you leave the discretion with the heads of departments, there is a chance and there is a scope of wreaking vengeance on some private scores. Somebody might make use of this opportunity to get rid of the man concerned. Therefore, I appeal to the Government in all earnestness that for the future good of the country, for the future good

relations between the Government and the Government servants, they should see that all those servants are allowed to rejoin."

She pictured the pitiable position of the Government employees and appealed for the remedy saying, "I know how they live and I know how these Class IV or Class III servants find it difficult to meet the growing cost of living. It is true that Government servants are better paid than the people in other sectors, but even with all that, with today's high cost of living, a poorly paid Government servant finds it very difficult to meet all his demands at the end of the month. Therefore, they demand that they be given a minimum wage which is linked to the needs; that their dearness allowance be linked to the cost of living index. I might mention that this demand is not unreasonable. It is reasonable... This is so when our National Income is supposed to have gone up. Therefore, you cannot blame them if they say, 'Give us a share of the national income.' You cannot blame them if they say, 'We are in distress.'... But if the Government servant is in distress, if his shoe pinches, what can the Government servant do? The Minister also knows that these poor Government servants cannot pay the school fees of their children, that they cannot pay the grocers' bills etc. Therefore, they come and ask for a rise in the wage. I appreciate the Government's difficulty. I do appreciate what Shri G. B. Pant told us yesterday: that they have to think of the nation; that they have to consider the salaries that prevail in the states and in the local bodies etc. But with all that, I would appeal to the Government to try to give these people whatever relief they can, because, without that relief it is difficult for them to work efficiently."

She concluded saying the following few words on the decision to take away the right of strike: "Something very serious has happened as a result of the strike. You are taking away the right to strike from the trade unions. Trade unions came into existence in order to facilitate smooth adjustment between the employer and the employees. When you take away that right, you should create a really efficient machinery which will give an opportunity to them to negotiate with you properly. So, a proper procedure should be laid down clearly and precisely and such machinery should be quick and efficient."

The Minister of Labour (Shri Nanda):

"I would like to give an objective and calm appraisal of certain things which happened at a certain stage with which I happened to be associated....

"I am very conscious of the fact that I have had a great deal of goodwill and support for whatever I have been attempting to do....

"At the point of time when I entered on the scene, I dealt with these demands and all that had to be said on behalf of workers at very great length. I had prolonged discussions on behalf of Government on the 30th June, 1st or 2nd July. For hours, in the mornings and till late evenings, individually and in groups, we discussed all these things. I still have a lurking suspicion in my mind that at that stage certain other considerations—extraneous considerations—entered. On the face of it, on the face of their own record of demands and my offers made to them, nothing very much was left to be done.

"Among the demands there are some which touch the heart of the recommendations of the Pay Commission. We have no idea to bypass those recommendations. But within the framework of the Pay Commission's recommendations the maximum possible accommodation and latitude would be given. That is what I said regarding those two demands. Regarding the others I said that all that was possible would be done. How much was actually offered? It was particularly full satisfaction in respect of all those items of demands which were substantial. Sir, it may be that some modifications had been made. If you look into the whole gamut of the recommendations you find that those recommendations were very small which, in totality do not amount to very much.... I told them that whatever departures have been made from the recommendations of the Pay Commission, we will set them right and rectify them. Therefore, that point no longer remains.

"The other question was about the principle of arbitration. Here the Pay Commission had made some very good recommendations. If we do not want the Government servants always to be agitating or giving threats of strike then there must be some kind of assurance that when they have a grievance, justice will be done unto them. Therefore, I agree with them that so far as the recommendations

of the Pay Commission are concerned, they cover almost the whole range of things which interest the Government employees—conditions of service, everything. Any point arising out of implementation or non-implementation of these recommendations we will try to meet and discuss with each other. If we still differ then these differences will be referred for impartial settlement. Therefore, the principle of arbitration was accepted. Not only for the occasion but also later on we will establish a machinery, some kind of a joint machinery. Regarding the details I offered that within six months we will have a conference and we will decide all the issues ...

“But I did not rest content with that. On these two demands I entered into a close argument with them on the merits of the case. The 15th Indian Labour Conference broke new ground... Here we met in a particular situation and the situation was there was unrest increasing. The workers were asking for practically a 25 per cent increase in wages. The employers themselves were feeling that there should be some kind of norms set up, because the tribunals are creating a great deal of difficulty, because they are not fully acquainted with all these things. And what were the issues before the Labour Conference. The issues were discipline in industry, rationalisation of industry, workers' education, participation; in fact all aspects of labour policy were brought into the picture in that conference.

“Perhaps it is not known that the need-based minimum wage was a unanimous recommendation... They unanimously agreed because it was a kind of package deal. By agreeing to it they were getting in return rationalisation, discipline in industry and so on. And discipline in industry was not a small matter. The workers on their side agreed to it...

“I do not think there was anything wrong that was done. But I may say that some misunderstanding grew later on about the content and the meaning of this recommendation. I think if that recommendation is properly understood there should be no difficulty about this being accepted by anybody...

“I do not know how and where somehow the mistake occurred. That does not make an equivalent of Rs. 125/-. There has been a misunderstanding about the real content of this recommendation. That health bulletin of Dr. Aykroyd gives three different schedules—

is a balanced diet, the other is an adequate diet and the third is an improved diet. A minimum wage cannot be based on a balanced diet and on high ideas about how much food—grains of the best kind—so much eggs, so much milk and all that—be made available. But it was an improved diet which was necessarily to be taken and the improved diet—I have made the calculations—means Rs. 100/- to Rs. 105/-.

“Actually in the textile industry a section of the workers are getting more, that is, minimum wage and dearness allowance, not to think of bonus which they get from year to year. It was nothing so atrocious as is being made out to be... All that the Finance Ministry's letter said was, “Try it on its merits.” The Pay Commission did the utmost justice to this recommendation by making a detailed analysis of it, by going into it in its own way and by arriving at a certain conclusion of its own according to which it gave that figure which you know. They also said that it was not possible to give much more...

“In justice to the hon. Member and his colleagues who spoke to me and discussed this with me, I must say that they realised the force of all this and did not press the demand for a minimum wage. They said that it was a progressive realisation to which, of course, nobody could object. What are all these plans for and our effort at economic development except that in course of time all these things should be realised.

“The other thing was about dearness allowance. The Pay Commission took its stand on two grounds. One was that it was not proper that the emoluments of Government employees should be disturbed too frequently and should change. Secondly, they said that there should be no automatic linking, and they gave reasons for it.

“Then in regard to automatic linking... There is a difference between industry and Government. In industry if the cloth prices rise, simultaneously the workers get a little more wage. It is distributed over a whole community of consumers. But here the Government's revenues to pay its employees come from narrow sources. It is from taxation...

“We will be setting up the spiral of inflation of prices (if recourse to inflation and not taxation is made).

"I said that as soon as the conditions laid down in this formula are satisfied, immediately the Government will consider it. I also further assured them that if somehow we offered something and the employees' representatives do not find it satisfactory, the matter will not rest in the hands of Government alone; it will go for impartial settlement. Here was full-fledged arbitration, that is in respect of what was left as a ground for a strike. And it was not on the 11th but on the 3rd July.

"But they had got stuck on something. They said, 'whatever happens, let us vary this formula a bit'. The moment I vary it I throw overboard my main contention that the main and the principal recommendations of the Pay Commission are got going to be tampered with...

"And I knew all that was going to come...I told them 'No Government can tolerate it; you may not want to embarrass Government or to bring it down or create a rebellion or anything of that kind; but if it succeeds to any considerable extent it can have only those consequences; will any Government allow it to be done; it will use all its strength, all its capacity, all its resources legitimately for that purpose.' And I said, 'Then what will happen; how much suffering will be brought about; how much damage will be caused; the workers and the Government employees will be alienated from the public; there will be a greater gap between the public and the government employees and its repercussions on the government employees'. I told them all this.

"But there was still some inexorable fate which had taken them in hand and pushed them...And I also feel unhappy that such energy, such socialist passion should be wasted like this. It has other uses, other purposes, and more constructive purposes.

"There was something about the future...We are not going to ban strikes; we are going to make them superfluous...Even now we can ban strikes. There is the Industrial Disputes Act under which, when we refer a case for adjudication, a strike becomes illegal. So that, illegality is not a new concept...

"The stress is not on banning strike; the stress is on the machinery to be provided so that disputes will be resolved by mutual understanding. Occasionally if something remained, that would be settled by arbitration, or adjudication or by some process. This is superior

to anything that we have got in our existing legislation. Don't call it as something drastic or draconian or the intentions we have got about government employees...

"I have been an outsider for many years in the labour movement. Therefore, I may not be in a good position to state the case regarding outsiders dispassionately...One point is, you should have whole-time workers, a person who gives his whole time to it. It is not playing about with this union in his pocket or that union in his hand...The second thing is politics. This part-time trade union worker or rather the larger-time politician has his political interests always...They should forget their politics and devote their whole time to this."

Shri Frank Anthony was against the Ordinance. The Government, which had not attempted to hold the price line, was not blameless for the condition which permitted frustration and resentment among the workers. He said that regard for rule of law was rapidly disappearing and Government was the most guilty party. There were sufficient powers in the various Acts. Why ban strikes and outsiders, he asked. He was proud that his community remained loyal to the services at the time of strike. But he asked "Is this the reward you are going to give to the workers? You say, yes, you have been loyal; you have shown courage; but you are not able to protect yourselves and Government is going to protect you. Is that the protection you are going to give or are they going to be bound hand and foot?"

Shri Naushir Barucha: "Mr. Speaker, Sir, frankly, I am very much disappointed at the substance and tenor of the speeches made by the hon. Home Minister and Prime Minister. Frankly, I was shocked when the hon. Minister and Prime Minister laid on the floor of the House a novel dictum that every general strike is a political strike..."

"He said that the strike leaders were irresponsible, riding a tiger when, they even did not know how to ride a donkey...The point is that this hon. House in its wisdom had granted the right of general strike to the workers by enactment of Industrial Disputes Act. And so long as the law stands as it is, it does not lie in the mouth of the Prime Minister to say that a general strike is a political strike or a general strike should not be resorted to. Sir, in resorting to a general strike only of a limited section, namely the Central Government

employees, the leaders of the strike had done nothing except to exercise this right which the Industrial Disputes Act has given them ..

"In the First Schedule to the Act there are 10 services enumerated including transport, banking, foodstuffs, iron and steel, drugs etc. And these are called only public utility services (and not essential services) and the Act gives the workers of these services a right to strike even in those circumstances with a proper notice...

"May I ask the hon. Home Minister, 'Did not the House understand when it enacted this Act, the consequences of a general strike in essential services.' But, still this precious right to strike was given to the workers. It means that all these bogies now drawn before this House, namely, that there would be chaos, and other factors were considered by this hon. House and the hon. House said, 'Never mind all these things, the workers must have this right of general strike'. And the workers have exercised that right. Therefore, it does not lie in the mouth of the Government now to say that the country would have been paralysed and that Government would have been paralysed and there would have been civil rebellion...

"There can be only two alternatives if strikes are banned and the workers have got no other means of having their grievances redressed. They can only be reduced to the position of bonded slaves. If that is the intention of the House it can do it. But let us understand the situation. The House is supreme...

"Let it be understood that so far as we are concerned, whatever political affiliations we may have, we do not want strikes and it has been borne out by no less a person than Shri Nanda himself when he said that he put the question point blank to the representatives of the workers whether they want to have a strike and have a trial of strength or arbitration and they said that they wanted arbitration. They wanted to resolve the industrial disputes by negotiation, conciliation and arbitration. To ban a strike without any alternative remedies for the redress of the grievances means, democracy is at an end so far as the Government workers are concerned. The hon. Prime Minister has placed before this House no proposal to the effect that whatever disputes are there they will be automatically referred to arbitration and the Government undertake to be bound by the award. Unless that is said, how can the strikes be banned?

"In responsible papers it is stated that 50 per cent rise in the cost would be automatically neutralised...

"I should like to know from the hon. Home Minister as to what exactly he means. Shall I take it that if ten points have risen in the cost of living index for a year, automatically half of the rise will be neutralised?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri G. B. Pant) : Will you be satisfied if I say 'Yes'?

Shri Naushir Barucha : I am grateful to the hon. Home Minister for this because it is a small mercy and a small concession which the workers have got. For the rest he says that if necessary, a reference may be made to an impartial body. Shall I also take it that there will automatically be a reference for the rest and the Government will abide by the decision of that body? I hope he may say 'Yes'.

Shri G. B. Pant : "You should read the words I have used and if you cannot interpret them, I will help you outside the House,

Shri Naushir Barucha : "I should like a clear out assurance. Let him say that it will be referred automatically and the decision would be binding on the Government.

"Sir, these are some of the fundamental points... If the Government wants to ban strikes, I prefer Shri Nanda's phraseology that strikes should be made superfluous, not banned. If strikes are to be made superfluous our co-operation is with you provided you by a legislation provide the machinery where the worker would be able to refer the dispute to an impartial body or tribunal and the Government gives a promise that the decision of that tribunal will be binding on them....

"So far as my resolution disapproving the Ordinance is concerned, anybody who has the interest of the workers at heart and who understands the position that the worker did nothing more than exercise the right given under the Industrial Disputes Act, such a person should vote for the resolution. I appeal to the House to accept it.

Shri G. B. Pant : "I venture to think that the statements made by me yesterday stand almost, I should say, effectively unassailed, they remain as sound as they were when I made them....

"The question has been raised whether the recommendations of the Pay Commission were or were not accepted by Government as an award, or whether they were treated in a differ-

ent manner. Well, the attitude of the Government was like this, that so far as the two fundamental issues are concerned relating to the need-based wage and the linking of the salary or the wage with the price index, these matters were of such a basic and fundamental character that they could not be varied. If we tamper with them then the whole structure collapses and tumbles down. So we could not reopen these questions.

"Well, I think it was conceded even by the leaders of the strike that so far as their demand for the minimum wage on the basis of the resolution passed at the 15th Tripartite Labour Conference was concerned it was not very sound and they virtually dropped it—not virtually, but they dropped it—and as to the other there was also an attempt to find some solution. But there was a sort of stubbornness in the matter. I think it must be clear that the Government has made every attempt to avert the strike and the responsibility for it does not rest on the Government at all, either directly or indirectly.

"Something has been said here about the linking of the wage with the price index. A recommendation of that character was made by the first Pay Commission. It was also accepted by the Government. But it was found that it was unworkable. The Government could not enforce it and it had to drop it... In no other country have the governments accepted any principle of linking the price index with the wage structure. The Pay Commission has gone into the question thoroughly and after having given the utmost and careful thought to it, they arrived at the conclusion that this was not a feasible position. In the circumstances I do not see how anybody could have expected the Government to repeat the mistake which they had already committed in the year 1947 or 1948 and which they had to correct later.

"Since 1947 there has been a rise of about 22 points... Rs. 15 had been added to the minimum wage previously, and now the Pay Commission has added something to what had been allowed previously and it is accepted that it has at least neutralised all the rise that has taken place since 1947.

"It is said that there has been an improvement in the national income and other things. We are engaged in the planned development of our country today, (investments for which

come from the national income) which was not then the condition and which was not within the view of any person who was connected with the determination of these issues...

"So, in the circumstances, what the Government has done is the best that could possibly be done. I have already said that the Government might grant an automatic increase of half of what may be necessary to meet the hardship caused by a rise of ten per cent during a period of 12 months. So I think Shri Barucha should not have any grouse in this respect now.

"So far as other matters are concerned, there was no occasion for putting the country in such a dangerous position. The catastrophic step that was taken was hardly justified; it can never be justified and under these circumstances, it was something reprehensible. So, I think what the Government tried to do to avert the strike was neutralised by those who were determined to go in for the strike.

"I was surprised to hear Shri Asoka Mehta's remarks which he made the other day when he said that only 5 lakhs had balloted for the strike and only 3 lakhs from among them had perhaps cast their ballots for it or something like that. I do not know how these ballots were cast and whether they were genuine or otherwise. But he drew the inference from that that it was not a general strike, but what was intended was that only those people who had voted for the strike should go in for the strike. That is rather a queer way of looking at this. In fact, I have before me the resolution passed by the Joint Council of Action on the 10th July:

"The Committee feels confident that all Central Government employees will strike work at midnight on July 11, as decided by the Joint Council of Action."

"That was the expectation... So, the result of such a general strike can easily be visualised even by the unimaginative people. The Prime Minister stated in his powerful speech this morning, a general strike would be anti-social and subversive under any circumstances whatsoever...

"There is no fundamental right to strike. If it is admitted then what is necessary is to settle the disputes in a satisfactory manner, to see that the workers or the employees do not suffer in any way and that the differences are settled in a satisfactory and reasonable manner.

When it is said that the strikes should be banned it is also coupled with other proposals that some machinery should be set up for consultation, negotiation and settlement and, where necessary, reference to arbitration. This will not apply to the industrial concerns in the private sector but it will apply to Government servants and also to railways and post offices and perhaps, to defence installations. But that will have to be examined fully and the law or the Bill when ready will be placed before this House.

"I do not see how any reasonable man can say we must quarrel over a thing and not devise any such means as would enable those who have any grievance to get justice without going in for any suffering or any sort of trial or hardship. I do not see how it is right for anyone to suffer unnecessarily. Every person should be heard and justice should be done to him with the least delay and in a manner that may be less uncongential. So far as the basic matters go, I do not think there can be any two opinions in this House and if some of the hon. Members differ from this, then I think they will realise that the course that has been suggested is the best in the interests of the country and in the interests of maintenance of order and good relations and such relations of mutual confidence as should exist between the Government and its employees.

"In the course of this discussion there was also the question why is the Government going to de-recognise any of these unions. It was said that there would be an interference with the right of association. Nobody is going to lay down any law to the effect that there should be no unions in the industrial concerns or even in railways and post offices, but there will be a different code for the latter. These unions have to be de-recognised because they have taken a very subversive step which would have landed the entire country in an irrevocable catastrophe

"Here I would like to just refer to one or two statements made by those who had called this strike even after the strike had been called off. From a letter issued by Shri Peter Alvares I am giving the quotation below :

"The strike has been of an unprecedented character. Its dimensions are phenomenal. Its repercussions will be felt for a long time. It will have succeeded in lifting the trade union movement from a third class static administrative machinery

into an active and revolutionary economic instrument.

".....Its potentialities are both revolutionary and dynamic. A new economic force has emerged in the country. All efforts should be made to keep up this spirit and purpose."

There is another one, an extract from a circular letter issued by Shri Mahadeobeshwar, who is the Secretary of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha :

"Our strike was 100 per cent successful. More than 15 lakhs Central Government employees participated in the strike and over 20,000 of them embraced the ordeal of taking leading part and risking not only their service but even their lives....." for the common interest of the working class. Its actual effects and gains would be realised in the coming future and this historic economic struggle of all Central Government employees will prove an important landmark in the history of our trade union movement."

"I see that this conclusion cannot in any way be avoided and it has to be accepted that those who are in charge of these unions still intend to persist in this method so that they may work for a general strike which we all consider to be suicidal in the interest of the workers and also of people and the country.

"There is an exaggeration here that 15 lakhs had joined the strike. Shri Gopalan said that one million had joined the strike. I do not know whether he had been reading these news in the Chinese papers which made.....which had taken special glee in publishing these news. He said :

"The conduct of Government before the strike etc. had shocked the conscience of every honest man in this country barring perhaps nearly a million of them who struck work. It has shocked the conscience of everyone except those who are sitting on the opposite side."

"I do not know if he has at all any idea of the reaction that the strike produced in the country....I am glad to hear of conscience at least in this connection. It is something elastic. But I do not know whether his conscience was shocked when many steps were taken by the Kerala Government against the strikers and the warnings that were given to the strikers there.

"Sir, I hope that it will be realised by all sections of this House and of the community that these methods cannot but lead to disaster. I hope all will pledge themselves not to have recourse to anything by way of general strike

now and that every effort will be made by all to devise such means as will enable the country to march forward and to strengthen its defences and also its internal resources, so that we may gain strength on all fronts.

“One of the observations made here was to the effect, namely, while asking for this general strike, the organisers had said that Assam, Tripura and Manipur should be left out of this general strike. I do not know how it could help them. If they say that no railway in the country should function, no post office should function, no dockyard should function, nothing should be transported to these areas, what is to be done in these places? If you bind the hand and foot and you also shut up the mouth but keep one finger free, what is the result of it?”

“I hope, Sir that the resolution of Shri Naushir Barucha will be thrown out. Everybody here almost accepts, excepting those who were intimately associated with the general strike, that the general strike should not have been allowed in any way to materialise and steps should have been taken for that purpose. So this step was absolutely necessary and it was unavoidable. I hope, therefore, that my motion with the amendment (No. 6) of Shri Jagannatha Rao will be accepted by the House.

Mr. Speaker: I will put Shri Naushir Barucha's motion first. There are no amendments to this motion.

The question is :

“This House disapproves of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1960 (Ordinance No. 1 of 1960) promulgated by the President on the 8th July, 1960.”

The House divided.

Mr. Speaker: The result of the division is as follows :

Ayes : 38: Noes : 258

The motion was negatived.

(Amendments except the following were then voted out or withdrawn)

Mr. Speaker: I shall now put Shri Jagannatha Rao's amendment to vote.

The question is :

“That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely :

“This House having considered the situation arising out of the recent strike of some Central Government employees and the action taken by the Government of India in connection therewith, approves the action and the stand of the Government of India thereon.”

The motion was adopted.

CASH REWARDS FOR LOYAL EMPLOYEES --

GOVERNMENT'S APPRECIATION OF NON-STRIKERS IN CENTRAL SERVICE

NEW DELHI, AUGUST 31: Rupees twenty five thousand have been sanctioned by the Union Government to the Posts and Telegraphs Department to be disbursed as cash rewards amongst those employees who were loyal during the recent Central Government employees' strike, it is learnt.

The rewards will be made to those selected persons in classes III and IV who had remained at their posts of duty loyally during the strike.

The Presidential sanction has been given for the payment of these rewards up to a maximum of Rs. 500/- in each case.

These rewards are in addition to "suitable entries" in the character rolls of all loyal employees and letters of appreciation to selected persons in both upper and lower grades. The entries in the character rolls will be taken into consideration when questions of promotion, crossing of efficiency bars and the like arise. --(IPA)--

WOMEN'S DEPUTATION MEETS PRIME MINISTER --

JUDICIAL PROBE IN ASSAM HAPPENINGS DEMANDED

NEW DELHI, AUGUST 31: A women's deputation, headed by Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, met the Prime Minister on Wednesday, and discussed with him the situation in Assam, with particular reference to the plight of women and children during the recent disturbances there.

The deputation consisting of thirty ladies, representing various women's organisations in Delhi, was under the auspices of Joint Women's Relief Committee.

They presented a memorandum, prepared by delegates of Joint Women's Relief Committee, who toured the affected areas of Assam.

Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, in the discussion with the Prime Minister, deplored the heinous crimes perpetrated on women, and demanded a judicial enquiry into the happenings in Assam.

Among others included in the deputation were Mrs. Anasuya Giyanchand, President National Federation of Indian Women, and Mr. Kalyani Bhattacharjee.

The interview lasted for over half an hour. The prime Minister listened to the points raised in the discussion and promised sympathetic consideration.

--(IPA)--

TO ALL SUBSCRIBERS

Complaints of Postal delay and irregular delivery have come to us from time to time.

We shall be grateful if our subscribers kindly take the trouble of notifying any such case of irregularity, so that we may be better placed to take up the matter with proper authorities.

August 31, 1960

-- EDITOR, IPA

(TO BE ANSWERED ON THE 29TH AUGUST, 1960)

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES STRIKE

1705. SHRI B.C. KAMBLE :

Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state :

- (a) whether any instances of sabotage have occurred during the recent strike; and
- (b) the details thereof including -
 - i) the places where these took place;
 - ii) the extent of destruction, if any, of human beings and property; and
 - iii) the number of persons involved?

A N S W E R

SHRI G.B. PANT :

- (a) Yes.
- (b) A statement is laid on the Table of the House.
 - i) Destruction of human beings NIL
 - Destruction of property
by sabotage Rs.22,000/- (appx.)
 - iii) Information is not available.

STATEMENT SHOWING REPORTED INCIDENTS OF SABOTAGE
DURING THE RECENT STRIKE OF CERTAIN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
EMPLOYEES.

RAILWAYS

CENTRAL RAILWAY

1. Some fishplates were found loose between Kalwa and Thana.
2. Junnerdeo - Rail marker of the trolley refuse (approximately 6 ft. in length) was removed on the Amla-Parasia Section and this was kept on the track.
3. Kasara - A seven inch long rail piece was found wedged between the tongue and the stock rail causing derailment to two wagons of KMF 22 DW. Goods train.
4. Between Lonavla and Karjat - One 14 ft. rail piece removed from the buttress wall was placed across the down road.
5. A goods train was held up between Lalaguda and Moulali (near Secunderabad) due to greasing of track by some mischievous persons. As the train stopped a number of hoodlums collected and started dis-connecting vacuum pipes.
6. Two derailments occurred in Lalaguda shed in the Central Railway near Secunderabad.
7. The engine of No. 27 train was derailed at Undanagar on Secunderabad (Ponichalam meter-gauge Section) blocking the main line.
8. Railway Control telephone between Belwandi and Shirigonda (Ahmednagar) was tampered with.
9. There was a serious case of attempted sabotage to 9 down Madras Mail about 75 miles from Bombay on the Bombay-Poona main line. The attempt was foiled due to timely information.
10. Railway control wires were cut at Odha (Nasik).
11. Signal wire was cut near Diva Railway station (Thana).
12. Five keys of railway line near Chandur (Amraoti) were removed.
13. 14 ft. railing was removed from buttress wall near Monkey Hill railway station at Colaba (Bombay) and placed on railway track.

EASTERN RAILWAY

14. At Bhanera there was tampering of track with the result that 8 wagons of a coal pilot capsized and one engine, 3 wagons and a brake van got derailed.
15. Between Panagar and Birudiah fishplates were found missing.

16. Fishplates of Dn. Howrah-Burdwan Chord Line were found removed at two points. A permanent way Mate was arrested.
17. Dum Dum - Two rails and 2 sleepers were found across the track.
18. Near Dhanbad on the Dn. Kusinda Line an obstruction was found placed on the Spring Point.
- 19-48 30 cases of engines dropping fire were reported - 23 at Dhanbad and 7 at Jamalpur.
- 49-50 Two cases of dropping of fire from engines were reported at Dhanbad.
51. Two engines were detailed in the loco shed at Burdwan.
52. Some unknown persons tampered with the underground cable switch board at Belur, Howrah.
53. An attempt was made to remove fishplates from the mills near Bridge No. 2, South Section of the Sealdah Division.
54. At Burdwan railway station, drivers dropped fire and in some cases they were forced to drop fire by the rowdies.
55. Two crackers were thrown from a running lorry towards Howrah Railway J.C.
56. One cracker was thrown from Banaras Bridge and two near Bahlyganj. One Fireman was injured.
57. Block instruments, telephone and electrical equipments were damaged and cleaks of the cabin were removed at Kham railway station (Distt. Burdwan)
58. Crackers were thrown in Sealdah yard.
59. Railway line between Phakuria and Jadavpur (Sealdah Divn., Eastern Railway) was obstructed by placing logs on the railway line.
60. Between Naihati and Hali-shahar, 8 spans of high tension electric wires were found missing.
61. A cracker was thrown in the vicinity of Ramangachi shed.

NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY

62. Seven persons were reported tampering with a track on the bridge between Saharsa and Rajnathpur.

SOUTHERN RAILWAY

63. Between Bangalore City and Yeshwantpur, fish-plates were removed on two occasions.
64. Bangalore City - Bolts and nuts were inserted between the tongue and stock rails at a few points and crossing on the B.G. yard.
65. Bangalore City - A dog snike was inserted between rail joints on the Bangalore - Yeshwantpur Section.

.....contd..

66. Between Bangalore City and Kengeri - A boulder and a detonator were placed on the Bangalore City and Mysore Section.
67. The railway telephone line between Perinad and Karunagapally - 5 miles from Quilon was found damaged.
68. The vacuum hose-pipe of workmen's train from Tiruvallur to Perambur was disconnected by workmen at Thinnanoor.
- 69-70. Two cases of minor tampering of railway tracks near Bangalore were reported.

SOUTH EASTERN RAILWAY

71. Two rails on a bridge near Radhanagar were found removed. These had been thrown down the embankment.
72. Between Anara and Bhagalua, two fish-plates were removed.
73. Between Tatanagar and Haludpukar Stations, fish-plates were found removed.
74. Between Kharipur and Hijli, persons were detected tampering with a track.
75. Between Gautamdhara and Gangaghat, there was tampering of the track and this resulted in the derailment of one engine and one TLR bogie of 1 PL Up passenger.
76. Between Tamna and Kantadih, two steel sleepers and 12 steel keys were removed from a bridge.
77. At Radhanagar, fishplates were removed from both the ends of rails and this resulted in two engines and a brake van getting derailed.
78. At Damodar West outer signal, engine of a passenger train was derailed due to tampering with the track.
79. Between Talcher and Miramandali - Train No.435 Up was stopped when driver felt a heavy lurch. A few pieces of iron were detected across the track.
80. Between Tamna and Kantadih - Two steel keys were found inserted in the rail joints. Two steel sleepers and 12 steel keys were also found to be removed on Dn. line at Bridge No. 407 at the same place.
81. Between Mahoharpur and Posaita - Two logs of wood 4 ft. x 3 ft. packed with boulders were noticed across the rails.
82. Between Thulni and Jhalda - Two dogspikes were found inserted in the Railway track.
83. Between Barang and Mancheshwar - Two bolts were found from the track.
84. Between Purulia and Tamna Stations - One steel key was found inserted in the track.
85. Chatna - Dog spikes were placed between rail joints near Chatna.
86. Between Ramsagar and Bishrupur - Two sleepers were found lying across the track.

.....contd.

87. Between Tikapara and Ramrajtola - Some obstructions were found placed across the track when 2 Up Mail was due to pass.
88. Between Kalikunda and Nimpura Stations - Track was found tampered with.
89. The engine and a bogie of a passenger train on Lohardaga-Miri Line, were derailed due to removal of fish-plates.
90. Railway telegraph wire was found cut near Rajkharwan railway Station (South Eastern Railway).
91. Sabotage was attempted by tampering with fish-plates on Tatanagar-Miri Section (SER) but no damage was caused.
92. Railway telegraph and telephone lines were cut between Gondia and Gangazari (Bhandara).
93. Iron pieces were found placed on the railway track of Cuttack-Talhar branch line.
94. The railway control telephone wire was removed between Ehadrak and Bampur railway Stations.
95. One cracker was thrown at B.E. College Railway level crossing. One cracker was thrown at Paddpukur Railway Station.
96. The drivers of the three down local trains (one at Andul and two at Deulti) on the S.E. Railway were forced to drop fire. The cabin at Deulti had been damaged.
97. Some miscreants cut off telephone wires of the Office of the Station Master Nimpura railway station (near Kharagpur).
98. Live bombs were thrown at Bombay mail at Ramrajtala railway station.
99. Telephone wires were cut near Kharagpur railway station.
100. Telephone line was cut between Adra and JOC.
101. Leading wheel of the engine train No.37 Up Puri-Asansol passenger derailed on the West trailing point at Damodar.
102. One cracker burst in Balaghat shed.

WESTERN RAILWAY

103. Between Limkhera and Mangalmaudi, one pair of fishplates was found removed.
104. Between Sabarmati and Gandhigram, removal of fish-plates resulted in one engine capsizing.
105. Ujjain - A light engine which was being backed

experienced heavy jerk and on a search a dog-spike was found inserted between joint of two rails.

- 106 Mehsana - A jerk was experienced by the Guard and a Station Master travelling in 5 Up. A search revealed a piece of rail about 4 ft. having been inserted between the stock and the tongue rail of point No. 104. Another piece of similar size was found at the same spot afterwards.
- 107 Mehsana Yard - Train engine of 603 Up derailed on cross-over No. 23 while going on train. A search revealed a piece of hard stone having been placed between the stock and tongue rail near the point.
- 108 A goods train was derailed between Devgam and Bhabhar on Palampur-Gandhalgram section, as a result of which 8 petrol tank wagons were derailed.
- 109 Trunk wires were found cut between Rayaka and Dharolka. As a result Sabarmati control room was out of action for sometime.
- 110 Four wagons of 609 down train were derailed in Chikhra yard in Surat-Bansawal section.
- 111 The Control Room connection between Sarkhej and Gandhidam stations was found tampered with.
- 112 Driver of one goods train was forced to drop fire by accident at Surugauj Station.
- 113 A crude bomb explosion occurred over the bridge at Dadar Railway Station (Bombay), resulting in injuries to nine persons.
- 114 A big stone was put on the railway line between Rupbas and Banchipatraspar on Bayana-Agra line.
- 115 At Kotah an engine was derailed at Loco exit point.
- 116 At Kotah Cotton and Jute stored up in a room in the Loco shed was set on fire by breaking open the doors of the room.
- 117 Near Abu Road the fire of the engine of goods train was dropped by the strikers.
- 118 Railway Telegraph wires were found cut in 3 places between Dharatpur and Mathura at village No. 378.

NORTH EASTERN FRONTIER RAILWAY

- 119 Electric supply was cut at Katihar.

NORTHERN RAILWAY

- 120 Iron chisels were fixed between the rails in the track in Karnal District. They were, however, removed in time and accident was thus avoided.
- 121 One railway head fitter was found tampering with valve-gear of an engine at Barielly.
- 122 Between Dilkusha and Mallhaur railway stations near Lucknow 24 telegraph wires were joined by a thin wire thus causing a short circuit.

P O S T S & T E L E G R A P H S

ANDHRA PRADESH

- 123 Telephone wires were found cut at two distribution points in Bolaram area near Military Signal Office.
- 124 Three spans of telephone copper wire were cut at Vijrakerur between Guntakal and Urava Konda, Anantapur district.
- 125 One wire was cut at a distributing point in James Street, Secunderabad.
- 126 A piece of copper wire was found fixed between two telephone wires near Telephone exchange, Secunderabad.
- 127 Four Telephone wires were cut at Lalaguda, Secunderabad.
- 128 Some telephone wires were found tied together with ropes near Telephone exchange, Secunderabad.

KERALA

- 129 One telephone wire at the 26th mile on the K.K. Road in Kottayam was found cut.

MADRAS

- 130 Carrier cable between Bombay and Thana was found cut, affecting trunk telephone and tele-printer service between Delhi and Madras.

MAHARASHTRA

- 131 Trunk telephone wires between Nagpur and Bombay were found cut near Nagpur.
- 132 Trunk telephone wires between Nagpur and Raipur were cut a few miles away from Nagpur.
- 133 Trunk line was cut between Nagpur and Bombay at a few miles from Nagpur.
- 134 Wires on Nagpur and Raipur trunk lines were cut at about 41 miles from Nagpur.
- 135 Main telephone and trunk lines between Gondia and Tumsar (Bhandara) were cut.
- 136 Telephone wires were cut at 4th mile on Nagpur-Itarsi line.
- 137 Telegraph wires were tied together at two places near Bhiwandi (Thana).
- 138 Telephone trunk cable from Nagpur to Calcutta was tampered with.
- 139 Trunk wires were cut on Amrapati Road, 7 miles from Nagpur.
- 140 An instance of cutting of telephone line came to notice at Andheri (Bombay).
- 141 Telegraph wires were cut at Bhagur (Nasik).

- 142 There was a case of sabotage on the Nagpur Chindwara line within the limits of Nagpur division.
- 143 Alignment on Nagpur-Raipur trunk line was sabotaged at the 80th mile from Nagpur.
- 144 Telephone wires were cut between Ambarnath and Badalpur (Thana).

MADHYA PRADESH.

- 145 An unsuccessful attempt was made to cut telephone wires at Bhilai by strikers.

MYSORE

- 146 Telephone wires were cut at Malleshwaram.
- 147 One case of sabotage of cables at Agram (Mysore Circle) was reported.
- 148 A case of sabotage of cables at Cubbon Road (Mysore Circle) was reported.

ORISSA

- 149 Telephone wires between Biribati and Bidyadharpur (Cuttack) were found earthed.
- 150 Telephone wires along the Mission Road, Cuttack were found cut at a few places.

PUNJAB

- 151 Soda caustic was thrown on a letter box in Ludhiana due to which some letters were damaged.

RAJASTHAN

- 152 40 ft. telegraph wire was cut off on Udaipur-Chittor section.

WEST BENGAL

- 153 Water and electricity supply of Calcutta GPO was temporarily tampered with.

333 ✓
REPRESSION - SOME FACTS

The Coordination Committee of the Central Government Employees' Workers' Unions and Associations, West Bengal, in a letter^{addressed to} Members of Parliament, dated August 2, 1960, stated:

"An impression of police repression can be had from the fact that (railway) union offices in various places were raised,^{and} indiscriminate arrests were made all along the line.

"At Dhanbad and the surrounding coalfield areas, police broke into houses, manhandled the inmates, including women and children. Similar deprivations were also carried out in Gomoh and Barkakhana.

"Firing was resorted to at Burdwan and lathi-charges made consecutively for three days at Asansol, Ondal, Dhanbad and other places. Further, in many places, Section 144 and curfew were clamped down.

"The railway quarters at Sealdah and Howrah were visited by officers including the General Manager, Eastern Railway, accompanied by armed forces who went on threatening the loco and traffic staff either to resume their duties or face arrest and vacate their quarters.

"Railway establishments at Naihati, Ranaghat, Jhajha, Gomoh and other centres experienced similar threats. ~~Sakrigalighat and Dumka~~
~~Sakrigalighat and Dumka~~

"Those arrested at Sakrigalighat were tied round their waists and dragged upto the police lock-up at Sahibgunj and thereafter produced before the Magistrate at Bhagalpur with their cases sent for trial to the Court at Dumka.

"The total number of Eastern Railway staff arrested is 2,220 among whom 1,336 are still in police custody. The amount for bail demanded for each of them ranges from

Rs.10,000 to Rs.15,000 at different courts of Bihar.

"On the South Eastern Railway which runs through four States, widespread police repression was let loose on almost every railway colony or establishment, particularly in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The colonies were virtually turned into concentration camps with jeeps full of armed police roving around all through the strike period. The leaders of the union were imprisoned and some of the staff were forcibly taken into custody and pushed inside the railway sheds or offices and were asked at the point of bayonet, either to resume duty or face arrest and vacate the quarters. Even members of their families were not spared indignities. A deputation of 500 women consisting of the wives and relations of the employees went to the Deputy Commissioner at Purulia and sought his intervention.

"At Tatanagar, the police seized the belongings of R.N.Chakladar, G.P.Sengupta, M.Deki, B.Bhuma Rao and N.N.Rao on the allegation that they were absconding.

~~Incident~~

"In regard to arrests, the worst affected is Adra division of this railway. A total of 469 employees were arrested from Adra, Anara and Purulia stations. 151 employees were arrested from Bhojudih station, among whom were 122 workers arrested on July 17, for their refusal to resume duty until they received information about calling off the strike from their union. Out of the 900 arrested, 61 have been convicted and dismissed from service, although their cases are still pending in higher courts and about 200 are still in jail - the amount demanded for their bail at the court of Ranchi being as high as Rs.20,000 for each. Although 500 employees have been subsequently released unconditionally, only a few of them have been taken back to work. A huge number of suspended workers, more than a hundred including

permanent employees, have been degraded to lower posts.

"Many reports of arrests and other kinds of harassment by the police of the P & T workers have been received. Even after the withdrawal of the strike, 13 postal employees at Barasat were arrested on July 18, 1960, while they were working at their posts. Reports of arrests made at the instance of rival union leaders and departmental officers have also been received.

"Disciplinary action under the Territorial Army Rules has taken the highest toll from among the Posts and Telegraphs staff. In the Calcutta sub-area, those arrested for alleged violation of Territorial Army Rules are exclusively Posts and Telegraphs Department employees. There are seven officers and sixteen junior Commissioned officers besides a total of 897 of other ranks who did not respond to the 'embodiment' order. Those arrested number 692 and 41 including 24 and 10 women put respectively under 'open' and 'close' arrest. All these men and women are passing their days in the Army line camps near Ballygunj and Alipore under the rigour of the punitive measures of the Army. Those under close arrest are not even allowed to meet their friends and relatives and are, it is reported, subjected to heavy penal labour."

At VIZAGAPTNAM, a total of 33 persons were arrested, among whom 28 belonged to the Post & Telegraphs. In addition to this, 175 railway workers and 30 N.A.D employees were arrested and kept in the police station for a day and later let off. About 20 workers have been suspended.

+ + +

At CHITTARANJAN LOCOMOTIVE WORKSHOP, six temporary regular employees and eight apprentices have been discharged. 58 permanent employees have been suspended and ⁷⁵ court cases are pending. These 75 court cases include 64 against employees, 2 against contractors' labour, 3 against employees' family members, 4 against students and 2 against apprentices.

~~INDIA EASTERN RAILWAY~~

In CALCUTTA, trunk telephones, a permanent employee was struck several times with a switch board cord by a supervisor. On complaint made by the employee, action was taken by authorities by suspending the complainant.

ACCORDING to P & T workers and employees' leaders, the number of persons arrested in different States in the P & T is/ 6,945. Break up:

Bombay circle - 990; Rajasthan circle- 500; West Bengal circle - 67; Andhra circle - 890; Orissa circle - 315; Central circle - 1,250; Madras circle - 2,781 and incomplete reports - 152.

Total convictions: Bombay - 183; Rajasthan - 126; Andhra -19; Central - 200; Madras - 323; and incomplete report - 6.

Total number of suspensions in all these circles exceed more than 11,000 and notices of discharge have been served on 9,376 persons. The number of dismissals effected is 4,031.

In RAJASTHAN, days after the strike was withdrawn, ~~Swami~~ Swami Kumaranand, Keshrimal and Kalyan Singh, President, General Secretary and Secretary of the Rajasthan State Trade Union Congress were arrested. Till August 9, they were not granted bail. No person was allowed to interview them without the permission by the Collector of the area.

IN DELHI, prominent trade union leaders were subjected to humiliation and police arrogance. P.S.R. Anjeneyalu, Secretary-General of National Federation of P & T Workers was hand-cuffed and put in the "C" class in jail. The hand-cuffs were removed from his wrists only after the intervention of the High Court.

Om Prakash Gupta, General Secretary of the All-India Telegraph Engineering Employees' Union resorted to hunger-strike inside jail as a measure of protest against the ill behaviour meted out to him by the authorities, particularly the police. The police kept him hand-cuffed for hours together and subjected to ill treatment.

Very high amounts of bail securities were demanded in Delhi while granting bail applications. In some cases, it went upto ^{Rs.} 75,000. ~~xxxx~~ In most of the cases, the amounts asked for were more than normal.

IN SHOLAPUR, 104 employees of the Post & Telegraphs were arrested on July 11, in connection with the strike. All of them have been convicted and thereafter dismissed from services.

All persons arrested at Barsi were hand-cuffed and made to walk on the main streets of the town. Those who were arrested at Kurduwadi were made to walk to Madha and back, as there was no Magistrate before whom they could be produced. Later on, they were made to walk to reach the Sholapur jail.

The details of the action taken by the authorities against defence workers quite huge in magnitude. The number of arrests made in different defence establishments are as follows:

PANAGARH:- vehicle depot -8, vehicle depot workshop-1, ammunition depot- 4, ESD - 42; KANKINARAH:- ESD (M)-39, COSSIPORE:- 507 army base workshop -8; Gun and shell factory - 36, ICHAPORE:- ordnance factory - 25; AMBALA:- G.E(Projects)- 1; ~~WADALA:- 70; BOMBAY:- 1; KHAMARIA:- 4; AMBERNATH:- 23; POONA:- 38; BANGALORE:- 5; KIRKKE:- 497; TALEGAON DABHADE:- 35; DEHU:- 15; JALAHALLI:- 1.~~

BOMBAY:- central medical stores depot- 1; KHAMARIA:- Ordnance factory - 105 (including 17 women), inspectorate -8; ~~XXXX~~ AMBERNATH:- ordnance factory-17; PACHMARHI:- AECcentre and school - 11; POONA:- IAF - 28, MES- 9; BANGALORE:- IRDE - 5; BHUSAWAL:- reserve petrol depot - 1; ALWAR:- MES-1; KIRKKE:- ammunition factory- 40, HE factory-4, 512 army base workshop-3, Central AFV depot- 3; TALEGAON ~~XXXXXX~~ DABHADE:- ordnance depot - 2; DEHU:- central ordnance depot- 5, vehicle depot-6, ammunition depot-2, ESD-2; and JALAHALLI:- air force station-1.

Only one person has been convicted so far in Bhusawal reserve petrol depot.

The figures of suspension cases available are as under:

PANAGARH: 61 out of which 5 workers in supply depot were verbally told that they were undesirable and their passes were taken away. KANKINARAH-17; COSSIPORE-15; ICHAPUR-80; WADALA-70; BOMBAY-1; KHAMARIA-4; AMBERNATH-23; POONA-~~22~~ 38; BANGALORE-5; KIRKKE-497; TALEGAON DABHADE - 35; DEHU-15; JALAHALLI-1 .

Discharge notices have been served on 668 workers and 150 casual personnel at PANAGARH,

(2)

2 workers at Cossipore, 12 workers and 105 casual personnel at Ichapur, 1 at Amabala, 48 at Khamaria, 35 at Ambernath, and 3 at Poona.

Charge-sheets have been issued against 2,190 workers at Talegaon Dabhade, against ^{3,400}~~1,100~~ workers at Dehu, against 1,800 workers at Kirkee, 96 at Panchmari, 26 at Khamaria and 12 at Kankinarah.

In Kirkee 43 workers have been dismissed. Further report about dismissal is: ~~available from the following sources: xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx~~

Alwar-1, Cossipore-15, Kankinarah- 20.

Show cause notices have been served on ~~1,250~~ ^{1,930} workers at Panagarh/ ^{and} 872 workers at Poona.

In Delhi Cantonment, out of 30 MES workers, 26 have been issued with termination notices. Two workers have been suspended and one has already been discharged.

In the Punjab, the total number of arrests is well over 500. Reports so far available show the break-up as Amritsar-50, Jullundur-25, Ludhiana-60, Jagadhri-29, Ambala-9, Chandigarh-20, Hissar- 40, Pathakot-12, Kalka-4, Patiala-1, Dhuri-1, Samrala-2, Jagraon-1, and Simla-94.

The persons arrested at Ludhiana include seven workers of an engineering factory who were arrested under the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance for going on strike on July 14.

Baba Karter Singh Singh, President and Satish Loomba, General Secretary of the Punjab State TUC were arrested on August 3, 1960 on/charge ~~of~~ under the Ordinance.

Heavy bail amounts are being demanded from the persons who are under trial. Eight workers have been convicted at Pathankot and sentenced to undergo imprisonment for one year besides fines imposed.

(3)

During the strike period and after, many workers were brutally beaten. B.C.Dutt, Communist leader at Kalka and Prof.J.S.Patla of Chandigarh were seriously beaten inside Ambala central jail. Dua Ditta, Ram Saran Das and six other railway employees of Jullunder were taken to the City Kotwali and severely beaten up there.

Annop Rai, a trade union leader ~~and~~ of Jagadhri and 14 railway workers were seriously beaten up by the police following their arrest on July 13. Balbir Singh, Sadhu Ram and Arjan Singh of Jagadhri were arrested, the first two for the second time, when they went to Yamunanagar police station on August 4, in connection with some pending cases against some workers. A woman who was leading a demonstration at Ludhiana on July 11, was also beaten up.

At Ludhiana, Jullandhar and many other places, quarters of suspended workers were forcibly vacated, and belongings were thrown out on the streets.

In Lucknow, one thousand men were into custody ~~lax~~ on July 14, but there being no accomodation, they were sent to outstations and dropped some ten to twenty miles away in trucks and were robbed of their belongings and money by the police. These persons had to travel throughout the night to come back to the city.

In Lucknow, prosecutions are pending against 583 arrested workers. 1,209 persons, including 583 arrested, were suspended from duty.

The trade apprentices who went on strike were removed from services and their number is about 700.

In Moradabad, seven workers were convicted and another five are standing trial. All of them are suspended.

In Bareilly, four workers have been suspended and cases are pending against them.

In the Secunderabad Division of Central Railway, 300 workers were convicted. There are 300 undertrials more and about 800 suspensions.

Three hundred apprentices in Balguda workshop and Running Shed were dismissed from service.

The services of all casual labour were also terminated.

In Western Railway at Ratlam in Madhya Pradesh, the Divisional Superintendent issued instructions not to pay wages to those who had taken part in the strike.

BOMBAY.

BOMBAY:

Armed with the Ordinance and section 144 of the Cr.P.C promulgated on the July 11, the police made large scale arrests of leaders, activists and workers to suppress the strike. Among those arrested were S/S. Mirajkar, President, AITUC, K.N. Joglekar, President, MRTUC, B.S. Dhume, General Secretary, MRTUC and V.D. Deshpande, Vice President of the MRTUC.

leaders were
All the ~~xxxxxx~~ local JCA/~~was~~ arrested on the eve of the strike. Besides the, some 500 arrests were also made - mostly from the railways. Some 200 were rounded up from the Western Railway alone. The total number of arrests in Maharashtra was ~~xxxxxx~~ 985 according to the answer given by the Chief Minister of the State in response to a question.

The police resorted to lathi charge on a number of occasions. The Central Railway workshop workers were lathicharged inside the workshop on July 13 morning.

One Eamesh Paudit, a student was rounded up from a hotel and lodged in Worli jail but was later found to be dead having been electrocuted ~~him~~ by the high voltage of electricity which passes through the barbed wire compound of the jail.

Some 9,000 charge sheets were issued against the employees and all unions which participated in the strike have been de-recognised.

WEST BENGAL

The total number of persons who were issued suspension orders in the Post and Telegraphs departments was 1,495. Among these, 943 orders were withdrawn later. Orders of termination of services were issued on 2,262 persons.

In South Eastern Railways in West Bengal area, 1,049 persons were suspended, 100 reverted to lower grades, 63 persons convicted and 330 persons are under trial.

In Eastern Railways, 3,688 persons were suspended and 609 persons were served with order of termination of services. The total number of arrests in Eastern Railways was 2,220, among whom 34 were convicted.

In Customs Deptt, 24 persons were suspended and ^{services of} 141 were terminated. In Accountant General's office, 28 persons were suspended and services of 20 terminated. In Coal Commissioner's office, 33 persons were ~~served with~~ served with notice of termination of service.

In Medical Stores, 55 persons were served with termination notices. In the office of the Regional Director of Fodd, 37 persons were suspended and ~~terminated~~ 940 persons ~~with~~ were served with notice of terminations

IN RAJASTHAN, among the arrested persons are Punamia, Swamiji, Koshrimal and Kalyan Singh - all important trade union leaders of the area. No person was allowed to interview these leaders without the permission of the Collector and their bail applications are yet pending.

In the Eastern region of the Central Public Works Department, 4 workers have been arrested at Dum Dum aerodrome, 17 at Chakulia and 4 at Bhubaneswar. In this department, 11 workers have been suspended in Calcutta, 11 at Dum Dum, 17 at Chakulia and 4 at Bhubaneswar.

At DOHAD in Gujerat, a reign of terror was let loose on the railway workers (Western Railway) on July 12. The workers shouted slogans when the policemen used force while compelling women volunteers to enter prison vans. Police lathi charged and teargassed the workers. Thereafter they resorted to firing without any warning and killed one worker on the spot.

The angry crowd reported to have pelted stones on the policeman who in retaliation chased the workers and opened fire on them, killing two persons. The death figure finally rose to five when two more persons succumbed to their injury.

Later on, it is alleged, the police party entered the workers' colony and firing was again resorted to. Persons were brutally beaten up and houses were ransacked. Womenfolk of the houses were insulted and turned out of the houses. Property worth of thousands were mis-appropriated besides which were destroyed in the melees. It is estimated, a total of 50 rounds of bullets were used ^{by} police. About 10 persons injured besides those dead.

NAGPUR:

The Coordinating Committee of Central Government Employees' Unions in Nagpur in a statement on August 4, 1960, said:

"An instance from the Office of the D.A.G., P&T, Nagpur, would make it clear the haphazard manner in which the whole scheme of victimisation is working.

"One Shri Vishwanathan was to be victimised by the authorities on some hearsay. The authorities passed the orders and served the same to one Shri S.Vishwanathan. But the unfortunate position in this office was that there are five S.Vishwanathans. The man who was served with the order was one of the most loyal workers who had attended the office throughout the strike period. He started wondering as to whether he was suspended for not going on strike! He approached the authorities and explained the position. The authorities ordered that suspension orders be passed against all the five S.Vishwanathans pending further probe into the matter."

The Committee also stated that in Nagpur, 602 employees, including the 282 arrested by the police, have been suspended. The services of 148 employees have been terminated under Rule 5, six were removed from service departmentally and 12 punished departmentally.

Even after the withdrawal of the strike, arrests of employees continued. The arrested employees were kept in 'C' class in the prison. The Coordinating Committee stated that "the food served in the jail was the worst, even animals would not smell at it."

INCOME-TAX DEPARTMENT

The Income-Tax Department does not come within the purview of the notification issued under the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance. However, this did not prevent the authorities from arresting, prosecuting and insisting on conviction of the employees.

The Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, acquitted two employees of the Income-Tax Department of an alleged offence of having committed the breach of the Ordinance, with the observation that income-tax department employees do not come within the pole of the Ordinance and the strike was not illegal so far as the income-tax department was concerned. But this has not dampened the ardour of the prosecutors in getting as many people as possible convicted.

Employees have been convicted under the Ordinance in Virudhunagar, Vellore, Cuddalore, etc., in Madras State. ~~The employees concerned have been convicted under~~
~~the Ordinance.~~ There are also reports of arrests and prosecutions in Bombay, Nagpur and Hyderabad.

According to incomplete reports, till the first week of August, about 250 employees in the Income-Tax Department were under suspension and over 400 employees were under orders of termination. In Delhi, six persons were suspended and 16 persons served termination orders, even when there was absolutely no strike. The vindictiveness of the authorities can be seen from the fact that orders of subsistence allowance to the suspended employees have been withheld in most cases.

Not a few of these suspension and termination of services were inspired by private grudge and personal vendetta. One steno-typist in Calcutta lodged a complaint against his officer long before the strike for having

used extremely vulgar language about him. Precisely at the instigation of this officer, the steno-typist was suspended.

One Upper Division Clerk in Calcutta had the temerity of pointing out the repeated mistakes of his officer by reference to orders and instructions. The officer was thereby humbled. This employee, who was none of the strike organisers, has been served with notice of termination of services.

A clerk in Delhi could not oblige his officer by vacating a house where he is a tenant and which belongs to one of the relatives of the officer. He could not attend office on July 14 as he was ill and had absolutely no part in the brief demonstration in the Central Board of Revenue Building. However, the employee was placed under suspension.

A clerk in Bombay had long been suffering from illness before the strike. The notice of termination was served on him and he died of the shock.

A peon in Calcutta was a tubercular patient in the K.S.Roy T.B.Hospital, Jadavpur, Calcutta, since May 6. The notice of termination was served on his bed in the hospital.

On the resumption of duties after strike, no subordinate has been safe from ill-treatment and almost nobody has been spared. According to press reports, in Calcutta, a girl employee fainted in the office itself as a result of continuous interrogation and constant threat of action by her officer. The interrogation began on July 25 and continued till July 27, when the girl fell unconscious. ~~Six~~
The Government's Press Information Bureau put out an altogether different story that the girl dashed against a door and fainted. The President of Bengal Income-Tax Employees' Association contradicted the Government version and demanded an open inquiry.

Income-Tax

At Hyderabad, the/Commissioner's excess of zeal far outstripped others. An apology letter was drafted him him and this was extracted from every employee.

The recognition of the All-India Income-tax Non-gazetted Employees Federation has been withdrawn. ~~without having required the Federation to show cause against any such action~~

CIVIL AVIATION

According to the ~~significant~~ Civil Aviation Department Employees' Union, the significant feature of the strike ~~is~~ was the very high percentage that took part and the peaceful manner in which they conducted the struggle. Even provocations by local officials in some stations did not deter them from the avowed path.

However, the authorities resorted to large-scale repression. The reports upto July 26 show:

In Dum Dum airport, the entire temporary staff of 386 were served with orders of termination. (Majority have since been taken back on duty). 25 permanent employees are under suspension.

Seventyfour out of the total strength of 90 ~~struck~~ work and 43 were arrested and ~~s~~ placed under suspension.

~~The entire staff numbering 14~~

In Patna, 12 employees were arrested, ~~and~~ among whom seven were convicted for four months' rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs.200. Seven were suspended in Gorakhpur and in Cooch Behar, 12 employees were served with orders of termination of service or suspension.

Five were arrested in Bhubaneswar and 17 persons are under orders of termination.

The entire staff of Aviation and C.P.W.D. were arrested in Chakulia.

In the Bombay region, over 15 people were arrested in Santacruz, one in Jamnagar, two in Aurangabad, ^{and} 31 in Belgaum. In Aurangabad, the entire staff numbering 33 were on strike and 20 of them are under orders of termination of service.

Nine employees were arrested in Madras and 38 have either been suspended or under orders of termination of service. In Coimbatore, 13 employees are under orders of termination of service.

Seventeen persons were served with orders of termination

of service in Bangalore, ~~and~~ 42 in Begumpet (Hyderabad).
and 20 in Tiruchirapally. Six employees were suspended
in Begumpet and two in Tiruchirapally.

KERALA:

In Palghat district of Kerala State, it is reported that almost every striker was arrested.

Immediately on their arrests, they were taken to the court and before even having had time to think about seeking legal help, the charge-sheet was read and sentences were awarded. In the Ottapalam sub-magistrate's court, 106 people belonging to the railways and P&T were convicted for one month to six months rigorous imprisonment.

At Shoranur, 30 railway workers who were convicted, have been placed under suspension and notice of termination of their service has ~~already~~ reportedly been issued from the Divisional Office of the railways in Olavakkot. In P&T, at Shoranur, 70 persons have been given notice of termination from service.

In P&T Department in Kerala, according to available reports, ~~as on July 30, 1960,~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ 2,148 persons were arrested and ~~306~~ 270 convicted. ~~300~~ 155 employees were dismissed from service and those suspended number 1,219. 72 persons' services were terminated under Rule 5 of Temporary Service Rules.

Among the civilian employees of the Cochin Naval Base, 16 persons, all of whom were officials of the union were arrested. These 16 persons were also suspended later on, bringing the total number of suspension to 31.

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RAILWAY SENTINEL

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Journal of the Western Railway Employees' Union

Vol. IX No. 10

OCTOBER 1960

Price 13 nP

LABOUR EMPLOYER OPPOSE BAN ON STRIKE

GOVERNMENT DECISION TO BAN STRIKE UNCHANGED

The Tripartite Conference held in New Delhi on 25th and 26th September, 1960 is over. Shri Deven Sen of Hind Mazdoor Sabha, AITUC, INTUC, Shri Nava Tata, employers' representatives and some of the State Labour Ministers also expressed their opinion against ban on strike. The Labour representatives opposed the ban on strike by law and urged the Government to create machinery for redressal of dispute so that the strike action may become superfluous. Shri Deven Sen of HMS made fervent plea to the Government to deal with the strikers sympathetically and leniently. He also urged the Government to restore the recognition to the Unions which had served notice for the strike. The Conference was busy, most of the time discussing the recent strike of the Central Government employees.

From Shri Nanda's reply at the end of the Conference, it appears that Government of India and Ministry of Home Affairs have made up their mind to ban strike by law in Public Services run by

the Government. Necessary Bill will be introduced in the next session of the Parliament. The Minister of Labour, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda is also a party to this decision. Only point on which Shri Nanda is of two minds, is whether outsiders be allowed to hold offices in the Trade Unions of the Central Government employees or not. This is perhaps due to his concern of his old friends and colleagues in INTUC who will become unemployed if such a law is passed by the Government. But Ministry of Home Affairs (Police) it seems, have made up its mind to revise the rules for recognition banning outsiders from holding any executive offices in Government Services Unions/Associations. This means that only those Unions/Associations will be recognised which fulfill the conditions laid down in the revised rules for recognition. Unions in Railways will be allowed to continue their registration under the Trade Unions Act. The other Associations will not be allowed to get themselves registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926. As a compensation for the withdrawal of right

of strike for the Central Government employees, Government has accepted the principle of compulsory arbitration for resolving any dispute that may arise between the Government and employees. Unfortunately, it is not made clear if the Government will abide by the decisions of arbitrators. If sanctity of the awards of the arbitrators is maintained the (zohukmi) Railway officers who act arbitrary will be brought to book.

The other good result may be restoration of recognitions to the union by the end of November, 1960.

The right of strike is fundamental right of the workers and it should not be taken away so lightly by law. Conditions should be created that there need not be any possibility of strikes. Freedom of association means right of workers to elect office-bearers of their own choice in whom they have confidence. On principle, we believe that unions should be run by the employees concern and we would not have opposed the proposal of not allowing outsiders to hold any office in the Government Servants Unions/Associations if Government accept that the serving employees who are victimised and who retire from service after superannuation are not considered as outsiders. But

this is not accepted by the Government and it considered any one who is not paid from the funds of the Government as an outsider.

We are of the opinion that the decision of the GOI to ban the strike and outsiders holding offices in the Unions/Associations of the Government employees is wrong and short-sighted and it

will harm the very objective for which Government has come to this conclusion. We hope that wiser counsel will prevail and Government will reconsider its earlier decision referred to above and allow its employees the full rights of Indian citizenship—rights of freedom of speech and Association.

7. Shri Anilkumar Shridjarani,
8. Shri Harhar J. Bhatt,
9. Shri Dhirajlal O. Vyas.
In addition, Hind Mazdoor Sabha and other social workers rendered invaluable services by offering bail and getting arrested Railwaymen released. WREU heartily thanks them and is grateful for their help.

SERVICE BEFORE SELF

We are grateful for the legal assistance given to the Railwaymen by the following Pleaders and Advocates during and after the Central Government employees' strike of 11-12 July, 1960 :—

BULSAR/SURAT/UDHNA

1. Shri Vasant Dalal.
2. Shri Dinkarbai Desai,
3. Hakumatbhai Desai.

JAMNAGAR

Shri Purshottam Patil.

LIMBDI

Shri Devendra Vyas.

RAJKOT/WANKANER

1. Shri Krishnakant Vakharia,
2. Shri Chimanlal Sukla.

SURENDRANAGAR

Himatlal Seth and other lawyers who desire to remain anonymous.

JUNAGADH

1. Shri Prafulla Chandra Nanavati,
2. Shri Sneshkant Baxi.

NADIAD

1. Shri V. V. Bedarkar,
2. Shri Vijaykumar Parmar.

RATLAM/UJJAIN/INDORE

1. Shri Prabhakar Adsule,
2. Shri Laxmishanker Shukla,
3. Shri Bhatnagar,
4. Shri Rajendra Dharkar,
5. Shri Yagyadutt Sharma,
6. Shri Homi F. Daji.

JAIPUR

1. Shri Ramkrishna Purohit,
2. Shri Satischandra.

AJMER

Shri Nanakram Israni.

ABU

Shri Mahavir Singh Gahlot.

PALANPUR

1. Shri Jagirdar,
2. Shri Shantilal Parikh.

MEHSANA

1. Shri Amritlal Barot,
2. Shri S. M. Shah,
3. Shri Laxmishankar Bhatt.

BARODA

1. Shri Krishnakant Sheth,
B.A., LL.B.,
2. Shri Vasant V. Mehendale.

DOHAD/GODHIRA

1. Shri Natwarlal G. Parikh,
2. Shri Ramanlal,
3. Shri Fakhruddin M. Shaikh.

AHMEDABAD

1. Shri D. K. Shah,
2. Shri Ratilal K. Patel,
3. Shri Virendra Parish,
4. Shri N. C. Lala,
5. Shri Satendra Zaveri,
6. Shri Brahmakumar Bhatt,
7. Shri D. M. Sant.

BOMBAY

1. Shri Sushil Kuvalekar,
2. Shri P. D. Kamerkar,
3. Shri H. K. Sowani,
4. Shri Arjunrao Vichari,
5. Shri Bagal.

BHAVNAGAR/BOTAD/ DHOLA

1. Shri Manubhai Thakkar,
2. Shri Jayantilal M. Badodaria,
3. Shri Vamanrai M. Joshi,
4. Shri Anirudh V. Dave,
5. Shri Mansukhlal T. Mehta,
6. Shri Bahauddin A. Kazi,

"We hope that the Government will erect a monument to the struggle not in shattered homes, distressed families and embittered feelings among the employees, but, in the resurgence of the Union Movement and everlasting harmony, peace and contentment in the services."

"The Trade Union Movement in the Central Services presents today the spectacle of a great city bombed to shambles. We pledge ourselves to the rehabilitation of the wounded soldiers and resurgence of our movement. Out of the ashes and embers burning in our hearts shall arise a gigantic trade union democracy of the employees, wider in its sweep, deeper in its scope and more purposeful in its contents. The outlook for the future may appear to be bleak and absolutely dim at the moment but the darkness will vanish; light will shine. It is true that our physical capacity to resist oppression or suppression has been reduced to nullity but our mental resistance shall express itself mentally. The spirit of man has never been conquered. This is our respectful submission to the great statesmen who rule over our destinies today."

A BIG HAUX

Long awaited authorised scales of pay on the basis of the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission has been published by the Ministry of Railways. On detailed study of pay fixation rules, ceiling limits and meagre benefits and in many cases losses, one cannot help saying that the authorised scales of pay is nothing but unauthorised fooling of Central Government employees and jugglery of figures.

Those who had followed the Railway Budget of 1960-61, will remember that provision of Rs. 20 crores was made in the Budget for payment of dues of arrears of pay and to meet with extra expenditure for the current year. Subsequent to further liberalisation of scales of pay consequent upon negotiations with Congress-INTUC Federation of Shri Vasavada, this figure came down to Rs. 19 crores and finally it is reduced to Rs. 16 crores. This is also a paper figure and in actuality it will be much less. If this was not enough, Government has gone back on the Ministry of Railways announcement on 5th August 1960 modifying the scale of Mistry, Chargemen, Commercial clerks, Ticket collectors, etc., in the present grade of Rs. 100-185 to Rs. 170-260 instead of Rs. 150-240 as recommended by the Pay Commission. This is not the only instance. Persons who are senior and who are in the grade of Rs. 160-225 will suffer loss. Guards, drivers in grade of Rs. 150-225, 150-300 and 260-350 will also lose. It was trumpeted that ASMs and SMs will stand to gain by merger of Rs. 100-185 and Rs. 150-225 grade into one running grade of Rs. 150-280. If minutely examined this will result in loss

and stagnation as in the past a person in Rs. 100-185 grade on promotion started at Rs. 150 which was net gain and now there is no promotion in this grade but efficiency bars only and next grade will be a selection grade which is reserved for favourites and retired re-employed hands.

Persons in pay up to Rs. 75 in Bombay and Calcutta will lose Rs. 5 by way of reduced house rent allowance. Similarly, Railwaymen in 'B' Area will lose Rs. 5 per month. Thanks to Shri Vasavada and his Federation that Government will benefit in the long run instead of its employees by way of extra load of work, stoppage of recruitment in offices and workshop and reduced number of holidays and casual leave.

Opinion for What

On Western Railway administration are forcing Class III and IV staff to exercise option without showing them the stage in the authorised scales or what will be the difference in their total emoluments. Necessary tables for fixation of pay are not ready. The Personal Branch has not even cared to publish the rules and authorised scales of pay in the "Railway Gazette". "Railway Gazettes" and supplementaries are used for the publicity of the Top Railway Bosses and Railway Ministers and staff are kept in dark. The main purpose of the "Railway Gazette" is to educate the staff about the rules and regulation of Railways affecting staff. On Central Railway a special Gazette in this connection has been published. Will the personnel branch of Western Railway, instead of devoting the energy and time in humiliating and victim-

and take immediate steps to inform the staff about loss and gains of authorised scales of pay before they are forced to exercise option?

(We are glad to know that the Western Railway administration has also published special Gazette about the authorised scales of pay when this comments had already been composed. Better late than never.)

Mr. P. Tofahrn, General Secretary, Public Services International, London, sends Telegram to Prime Minister, Shri Nehru:—

"General Council Public Services International meeting 26th August Hague speaking for over two million public employees, sixty-seven organisations, thirty-five countries expresses indignation over illiberal and unjust attitude of Indian Government towards own employees as illustrated by what preceded and followed recent strike. Council requires your personal intervention with view to cancelling all reapraisals, re-establishing recognition staff organisations and making arrangements for joint consultation negotiation between Government and employees as outlined by you in broadcast on 7th July, 1960. This Council shares your concern for India's security but believes that patriotic devotion to duty cannot be obtained from workers whose sense of justice is offended."

JAGJIVANRAM STADIUM BLOWN OFF

A big part of the Jagjivanram Stadium measuring about 122 ft. of the eastern enclosure at Khagoal of the Eastern Railway, which was opened with fanfare of publicity in 1959 was blown off recently. The collapse of nearly half of the eastern enclosure of the stadium a few months after its construction, and the appearance scores of fissures and cracks

all over the building give rise to suspicion as the contract was given to one person without calling for tenders. This is yet another example of how Railway revenue are utilised or wasted.

AFTERMATH OF STRIKE

On Western Railway, over 2,700 Railwaymen were arrested, over 3,100 were put under suspension, services of scores of temporary staff and apprentices were terminated, casual labourers and approved substitutes were not taken on duty. 124 Railwaymen had been convicted and dismissed from service.

As a result of representation and liberalisation of GOI's policy regarding strikers, most of the temporary staff, apprentices, casual labourers and approved substitutes have been taken back. The progress of review of the cases of the staff under suspension in light of GOI's policy, is very slow. It is over two months, that strike was called off, still over 1,000 Railwaymen are under suspension and Police cases are pending against 439 Railwaymen. Railway Administration has adopted very unsympathetic mechanical attitude. In all the cases of suspension, charge-sheets of dismissal from service are issued and Departmental enquiries are ordered. Special Officers are appointed to conduct enquiries. Days are taken in asking irrelevant questions. One Shri Chaturvedi who was working as Class III and promoted as an officer to conduct enquiries of the staff of Bombay, Baroda Division, and Parel Workshop for the last two months, has not finalised a single case. It seems, he is interested in prolonging the enquiries. Some of the questions asked are, the name of school in which the employee had studied, number of subjects, whether he was participating in debating societies, was he a member of WREU?, what he is doing

in the Union, etc., and no evidence or witnesses are produced in support of the allegations. Proper procedure as required to be followed to fulfil the provisions of Article 311 is not followed. Whole purpose of enquiry is, it seems, to harass and humiliate the employees.

Persons are not given leave, passes and other facilities due to illegal imposition of penalty of break in service. Railwaymen who come forward are victimised by way of transfers. Thus, an atmosphere of terror prevails on Western Railway. Automatic break in service without following proper procedure is illegal. Mere absence from duty during particular period cannot be construed as participation in strike, which was initially legal but declared illegal with retrospective effect by issuing Ordinance.

The fact of participation in the illegal strike has to be proved in each case without reasonable doubt, and not on mere presumption or C.I.D. reports. There were strikes several times in the past, but at no time punishment of break in service was inflicted on Railwaymen. Not only this, but in addition, to break in service, double punishment of withholding annual increments affecting seniority and future increments, reduction of lower grade, are inflicted in almost all the cases. Persons on leave or absence due to sickness, even after producing Railway doctor's certificate are punished for active participation in strike. We are giving below a few instances to substantiate this charge:—

(1) Miss Catherine Furtado,

Clerk, Class I under F.A. and C.A.O. and Treasurer of the Union who was on leave without pay, much before the strike has been put under suspension and have been served with a charge-sheet for dismissal from service for alleged participation in the illegal strike. During the course of enquiry held on 14th September, one of the questions asked to her was that Railway Administration had informed that she was having relations with Trade Unionists other than those of Railways. She was also asked as to what she is doing as a Treasurer of the Union.

- (2) One Shri N. K. Sirdar, Clerk, Class I, Stores Account, Bombay who was sick and has a certificate from the Railway Doctor for the period from 12th July to 18th July has been put under suspension with effect from 27-7-1960 and have been served with the charge-sheet of removal from service and has now been awarded with punishment of withholding increment for one year.
- (3) One Shri Teckchandani, C.G.I. FA and CAO's office, Churchgate who was present on these days, has been put under suspension for carrying on undesirable activities.
- (4) Sarvashri Somaji Sonaji, Keyman; Hargovind, Gangman and K. M. Vyas, Time-keeper at Kalal and Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Kalol Branch of WREU, along with 68 other workers were taken to Choki near Junagadh on 10th July for an emergency duty. They

were kept there for a week without any work like in a detention camp. Strangely enough, after they were brought back to Kalal, they were brought back to Kalol, and have been put under suspension.

- (5) One Shri Nahar Singh, Fitter, Loco-shed, Bhavnagar had gone mad hearing the news that he has been put under suspension.
- (6) PWI-BVI, vide M/O. M/6/13 of 25-6-1960 issued one month's leave and a Pass from Jogeshwari to Bori Bunder to Mankapur in favour of Sorab Umed, Gangman, Gang No. 1. He resumed on 28-7-1960 when he was put under suspension and issued charge-sheet for dismissal for participating in illegal strike. He was not in Bombay. On his return, he surrendered his pass to PWI-BVI on 28-7-1960, still he has not been taken back on duty.

Taking advantage of the situation created due to strike, subordinates and petti-officers have taken law in their own hands to harass the staff and to square past animosity. This has given an impression in the mind of Railwaymen that the personnel branch of the Western Railway, consists of persons devoid of any humane consideration and fellow feelings. It is most astonishing that G.M., Railway Board, Railway Minister are allowing these officers to openly flout the G.O.I.'s policy on Railways in general and on Western Railway in Particular.

This policy of victimisation and humiliation will defeat the very object of Government's policy to improve relations with the staff. On the contrary, it is creating discontent and frustration and demoralisation amongst Central Government employees. This will

impair progress and reduce efficiency.

It is therefore desirable that except those involved in sabotage or violence (proved cases) the rest of them should be reinstated without any punishment. This will greatly enhance the prestige of Government in public and amongst the employees which will quicken the restoration of normal cordial relations.

DOHAD

A mass rally of Railwaymen of Dohad, under the auspices of Western Railway Employees' Union was held at Dohad on 8th September, 1960. Com. Maniben Kara presided. More than 3,000 Railwaymen attended the meeting. The meeting was addressed by V. B. Karnik, G. B. Sukhee and Ratilal Patel. The speeches made in measured tone, helped to great extent in removing fear from amongst the staff. Resolutions condoling the death of late Shri Phiroze Gandhi was passed. It was demanded that all Railwaymen under suspension be taken back on duty, police cases be withdrawn, Police officers involved in firing be shifted from Dohad, venue of Enquiry 'be' kept at Dohad, payment of reasonable compensation to the dependents of victims of police firing.

Com. Maniben stood before the Workshop gate for collection for the Relief and Legal Aid to the Police firing victims at Dohad. In a few minutes Rs. 1,001 was collected. Workers were moved by the appeal of Com. Maniben.

DOHAD FIRING INQUIRY

At the initial hearing, Shri Mehta, High Court Judge, appointed to enquire into the Firing, admitted Western Railway Employees' Union and Citizens' Committee as parties. The last date for filing statements was fixed on 19th September 1960 and the preliminary hearing will commence on 26th September 1960. The

WORKERS' EDUCATION

We are glad to announce that Com. G. B. Sukhee and his wife have been selected by the Hind Mazdoor Sabha for six months' training regarding workers' education in Israel.

Mehta Commission will visit the sites of Police Firing in Dohad on 29th September 1960. The regular hearing will commence from 3rd October 1960 at Godhra. Shri Ratilal Patel, B.Sc., LL.B., appearing on behalf of WREU. It is regretted that the Gujrat Government did not include the police atrocities on Railwaymen and damage and pilferage done to the quarters of Railwaymen in Dohad Colony as the terms of reference. It also most unfortunate that the place of enquiry has been kept at Godhra 40 miles distance from Dohad the actual place of firing and police atrocities.

WHY NO ACTION ?

It is learn that Railway Police Indore reported to the Station Master Indore on 1st September 1960 as under :—

Yesterday on 31st Aug. 1960) your subordinate Railway employees who were on duty, were found playing cards on platform No. 2 and 3 in front of the police station at 23 hours in night.

It is very bad practice of the Railway servants to play on the platforms when on duty. Due to this play, the outsiders assembled there and cause nuisance. Please take necessary action.

The names of the staff it is understood were as under :—

1. Shri Laxminarayan Dubey, P. Man, Indore on duty.
2. Shri Bhanwarlal, S/o. Onkarlal Jat, Gangman, Gang No. 14, B.G.
3. Shri Ramchandra, Waterman.
4. Shri Chiranjilal, S/o. Matbadan, Yard Fitter.

5. Shri Mahendra Prasad.

Shri Laxminarayan was reverted in the past due to accident at Indore Goods Cabin in the past. He was on duty on 31-8-1960 and the reception of Train No. 69 was in progress.

Till now the administration has not taken any action in this connection. Is it because they belong to the Sangh?

TRADE UNION RIGHTS DAY

Trade Union Right Day was observed under the auspices of Hind Mazdoor Sabha and other Central Trade Union Organisations throughout the length and breadth of the country on 4th September, 1960. On this day resolutions condemning repressive measures and vindictive policy of Government of India in suppressing Central Government Employees' Strike and opposing ban on strike were passed in mass rallies.

Mass Rally of HMS in Bombay was presided over by Comrade Maniben and was addressed by S. M. Joshi, Nath Pai, Bagaram Tulpule, Peter Alvares and Dr. Shanti Patel.

The rally, organised by the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (Maharashtra State) at Parel, viewed with apprehension the decision of the Government to enact legislation banning strikes by Government employees and debarring outsiders from occupying positions of office-bearers in Government employees' organisations. These measures, a resolution passed unanimously stated, would strike at the "very roots of the free and democratic trade union movement".

The meeting warned the Union Government that if it persisted in pursuing a "vindictive and anti-democratic policy", the working people not only in Government services but also in private sector would "get completely embittered" with dire consequences.

The meeting demanded the reinstatement of victimised employees, cancellation of suspension orders and withdrawal of cases pending in courts. The meeting also demanded the restoration of recognition of unions and the right to elect outsiders as office-bearers of unions as provided under the Indian Trade Union Act."

WITHDRAWAL OF RECOGNITION OF UNIONS MALAFIED INTENTIONS

(From an Editorial of
News Paper)
"STATESMAN"

"... the withdrawal of recognition from the Unions or associations which are a party to the general strike is a 'mistake'. . . . But the INTUC Unions remain and there is no doubt of their political complexion, in spite of disclaimers. Consequences of leaving these Unions in unchallenged, or almost unchallenged possession of the field, can be only guessed at. Among the possibilities are two, neither very desirable. The recognised Unions, being an offshoot of the ruling party, may become so subservient that their representative character will be very seriously in doubt—like that of trade unions in totalitarian countries. Alternatively, they may get so puffed up with importance that they shed their present political outlook and become wholly unmanageable. . .

"These points are somewhat theoretical, or 'immediate practical concern' is that rather over half a million Government employees will choose between continued membership of unions which will not be treated as bargaining agents, and joining other unions in which they have so far had no confidence or foregoing representation of any kind."

TIMES OF INDIA

"Leaderless men are no less a danger than men under leadership which is unrecognised. For satis-

faction of their demands, both have no option but to strike. . . The conduct and conclusion of the general strike have already caused acrimony among the parties of the Left. Surely this is enough without further action which is bound to spread the opinion that the Government is opposed to trade unionism as such."

WHO IS CRANK ?

It is understood that one Shri Ramanlal M. Shah, Station Master, Moraiya had complained several times against Asst. Surgeon Dholka for not attending the wife and child of one Shri Bijal Singh Punaji. Enraged by this, it is alleged that Asst. Surgeon Dholka sent urgent telegram to Dist. Medical Officer and Divisional Transportation Supdt., Bhavnagar for immediate relief and mental examination on the plea that he (Station Master) seemed to be 'crank' to Asst. Surgeon, Dholka. Shri Shah has got with him certificates of physical and mental fitness from the Civil Surgeon, Ahmedabad after the issue of telegram. However, he has been admitted in the Railway Hospital for examination. Who will decide who is 'crank'?

UNION BAITING

It is alleged that one Shri Omesh Chandra Puri, Guard at Phulera is utilising the name of Mazdoor Sangh to harass Railwaymen against whom he has personal enmity. It is alleged that he has sent telegrams to DS-JP and Railway Minister in the name of Sangh against certain individuals making false allegations with intention to harm them. This is not an isolated case. At many other places also Sanghists are harassing innocent Railwaymen for their ulterior motives, taking advantage of the post-strike situation. It is hoped that administration will not be misled and harm innocent workers.

BOOSTING UP THE INTUC BY RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION

The Udaipur branch of the Western Railway Mazdoor Sangh (a Union controlled by the Congress Party in power) asked for some accommodation at Udaipur Railway Station to run its office. Their request was immediately complied with by the Railway Administration without observing any formalities which are required to be completed before Railway premises is let out to an outsider. The administration had not only gone out of the way in providing accommodation to the Sangh but it is understood that the annual rent is not also being recovered with the result that Railway dues amounting to approximately Rs. 2,000/- have already become over due from the Sangh. This is how the Administration tries to boost up the Yellow Union at the cost of the Railway revenues. The readers will however be glad to know that despite all this indirect help received by the Sangh. It has not been able to gain its foothold in Udaipur section and the workers still rally round the banner of the Western Railway Employees' Union.

In Bombay, due to failure on the part of Mazdoor Sangh to pay the Telephone charges, the telephone of the Sangh has been cut off by P & T Dept. However, General Manager, W. Railway has written off thousands of Rupees of arrears of rent. Mazdoor Sangh has to pay dues to the Administration towards Loan Services. In spite of this, it is learnt, Railway Administration is agreeing to spare more railwaymen on loan Services with the Sangh.

With all these favours, concessions, and patronage from Administration and ruling party, Mazdoor Sangh cannot be foisted on the heads of Railwaymen. If any proof was needed, about the

real strength and character of the Sangh, it is non-payment of rent of telephone, office, loan charges, etc. Railwaymen know these facts and any amount of white washing cannot hide the ugly fact that WRMS is the stooge of Congress Government.

SANGHIST BECOMES SWATANTRA

It is reliably learnt that one Shri Madan Mohan, an active worker of the Sangh, having fed up with the Congress stooge organisation and its incapacity to fight against the administration in the interests of workers, has not only resigned from the Sangh but left Railway job and has become Swatantra!

ROLE OF I.N.T.U.C.

Shri Kanji Dwarkadas, a social worker speaking on "Indian Trade Union Movement" before the Rotary Club on 6th September 1960 made the following observation:—

The INTUC does not normally foment and encourage strikes, but it is a weak movement because of want of hard work and too much reliance on the patronage and support of its ally and patron—the Congress Government in the Centre and States. It lives on being spoonfed by the Government and no movement which is spoonfed can get basic strength and can stand on its own legs."

He said that the alleged behaviour of the Maharashtra Government Labour Office was "inexcusable from all standard" since it went out its way "to show partiality and favouritism, sometimes too openly, to the unions run by the INTUC."

SANGHIST LET OFF

One Shri L. K. Shah, an AGC working at Carnac Bunder was put under suspension for going on

strike. He was served with a charge-sheet of dismissal from service along with 10 others. All of them have been taken back on duty with punishment of withholding increments but Shri Shah has not been awarded any punishment and has been paid full allowances for the period under suspension. Why this double standard of dealing with the employees for the same offence and in the same department and that too by the same officer?

SHAMEFUL IF TRUE

It is alleged that one Shri J. G. Panchal, Clerk in the Commercial Branch of the General Manager's Office, Churchgate, was slapped on the face by a Junior Officer, Shri O. P. Nayyar on 8th September 1960 during office hours. Telegrams and representations have been made to all concerned. Unfortunately, no action is taken to bring to book the erring officer for his high-handedness. Or is this also due to post-strike situation!

FUNNY INDEED

Retired re-appointed Station Master of Ahmedabad, it is alleged has put remark in the report of one Railwayman that he is 'more faithful to the Union than towards the administration'. We understand that the record of service of this man is excellent and he has discharged his duty to the entire satisfaction of every body.

Then what business this retired re-appointed Station Master Kuverji has to remark like this? Has he any right to question the loyalty or faithfulness of another Government servant whose record of service is much better than this retired re-appointed Kuverji. Will higher authority take necessary action and show Shri Kuverji his proper place?

SHRI GURUSWAMI IN BOMBAY

Shri S. Guruswami, President, AIRF was in Bombay for three days. During his stay, large number of workers met him. He had important discussions and exchange of views with the active workers and office-bearers of Western Railway Employees' Union and National Railway Mazdoor Union (Central Railway) in connection with the recent strike of the Central Government Employees. He gave brief Report of the post-strike situation in the country and also addressed active Railway workers meeting in Parel.

He blamed Government for forcing the strike on the employees and suppressing the strike with the use of Military and Police. This was purely economic issue and ought to have been dealt as a dispute between an employer and employees. He observed that the causes for which Central Government employees had gone on strike were absolutely genuine and just. Government should have referred the dispute to arbitration, instead of issuing an ordinance declaring a legal strike as an illegal. Government instead of adopting liberal policy, has left it to the heads of the departments to deal with the strikers. He expressed hope that all the victimised workers will be taken back on work and the bitter memory will be forgotten. We have to learn a lot from this strike and build up sound, free and democratic trade union movement so that strike action may become superficial. Legal ban on strike will not help. In Japan there is ban on Railwaymen to go on strike. However, there were strikes in Japan by Railwaymen more than 50 times. Government will also take lesson

from Japan before legislating ban on strike.

Government should create machinery to resolve dispute by collective bargaining with the accredited representatives of Railwaymen so that in future strikes may be eliminated.

MIRACLES OF STRIKE

An ASM from KTT Division managed after two years' fervent efforts, his transfer to Bombay. However, when he came with joining memo to BCT, it was stated that his transfer had never been ordered at all and he would have to go back with his own ticket to KTT and wait for orders. All his efforts and requests for two months were futile. During the strike, he offered to work at any station without any pick up and when the Cabin ASMs and BS men went on strike, he was ordered to work at a Cabin where he stuck himself for more than 24 hours. And there he succeeded. He is an ASM for BCT Division since then.

Knowing that Guards in Bombay will go on strike about fifteen guards from Bulsar who had been trying for transfer to Bombay, were called upon to remain at BCT with the promise that they would be considered for transfer.

They were asked to perform duties of even the coupling-porters in the BCT yards which was totally deserted due to strike. All except one refused to do so. And he got the returns of doing the clothes like a coupling porter. He has been overnight transferred to Bombay although others much senior to him are waiting for vacancy in Bombay since last five years.

On 13th July, in the morning there was trouble in Parel Work-

shop and there was a lathi-charge. The first lathi was rightly or wrongly hit an AWM, who happened to be supervising the situation.

The booking register of Drivers and Firemen of BA-shed was reported to have been altered to mark some persons who were on strike, present. This was alleged to have been done as favour on some illegal gratification. However the change is made in the Register have now been all cancelled and the matter it is learnt is under investigation.

A parcel porter of PDGR was under suspension for over ten months on the alleged charge of accepting an amount of Rs. 50 from an approved substitute for giving him job. He being an active worker of WRMS was taken back on duty during the strike period so that he would perform duty and persuade others not to go on strike. However, he was left alone by over 200 porters who all went on strike and to save himself from the situation he too was away from work.

TCs and TTEs had a novel way of going on strike. Due to disturbed conditions they were permitted to come on duty without uniforms and also not to attend the gates if feared. They were thus free to move about while on duty and when asked they used to bravely say that they were on strike.

An RPF-Sainik on duty in Parel Workshop (Central Railway) was ordered to help the Police in a lathi charge on workers. He refused to do so with the argument that his duty was to protect railway material, etc., and not to beat anybody. He received the discharge letter the same day. "A brave victim of the strike."

Press-Matter.

Re-organisation of Toddy Tappers
Industrial Relations Committee.

Protest against the discriminatory
action of the Kerala Government.

In a statement issued to-
day by com: G. Gopinathan Pillai, Gen:
secretary of the Quilon chetna-
mozhi union says the Govt:
Notification has been concerning
the toddy tapping I.N.C. re-organi-
sation has been brought to my notice.
It is evident that in nominating wor-
kers representatives to the committee
the Govt: has shown discrimination.
The A.I.T.U.C. unions which represent
a majority of well-organised workers
of the industry has been deliberately
ignored to accommodate members of the
I.N.T.U.C. in the committee. The nomi-
nees from Trichur, Mukundapuram, and
Snerthalai taluqs are clear evidents
of the above mentioned discrimination.

85% toddy tappers in Quilon
talug belong to various unions of
the A.I.T.U.C. in Pathanamthitta, Munn-
athur and Karunagapally taluqs of
Quilon Dist: the entire toddy tapping
workers belong to the A.I.T.U.C. unions.

The A.I.T.U.C. is an un-quest-
ionable force in the field of toddy
tapping in the Dist: of Quilon. But
the sole member nominated to the
committee to represent Quilon Dist:
comes from the U.T.U.C. union, which
cannot claim representation of more
than 15% of the toddy tappers in
Quilon talug. U.T.U.C. union does
not function any where else in the
Dist: except in Quilon talug. U.T.U.C.
union operates only in certain toddy
shops. Besides this representative
is a stranger to both the workers
and shopcontractors of this area.

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Similarly 95% of the of-the toddy tappers in Sherthalai and Mukundapuram taluqs belong to the A.I.T.U.C unions; in spite of this the Govt: has been fit to nominate representatives of the I.N.T.U.C unions, which do not represent more than 5% of the toddy tappers of these areas.

In Trichur taluq it is worse, there the Govt: has nominated a representative of the I.N.T.U.C union, which cannot claim even 5% representation of the toddy tappers. While the Govt: went out of the way to represent minority unions in the committee the A.I.T.U.C, which commands the support of a vast majority of toddy tappers in Quilon Dist: and Sherthalai taluq has been conveniently ignored.

This glaringly discriminatory action of the Govt: violates the code of conduct in industries and is against the principles adopted at 17th Indian Labour Conference. A considerable portion of the Revenue returns of the state comes from this industry. An important factor which governs industrial peace is the satisfaction of the workers engaged in each industry. This cannot be forgotten. No industrial dispute can be settled with out the co-operation of the representatives of unions which commands the loyalty of vast majority of workers engaged in that particular industry. This kind of discriminatory actions by the Govt: in representing members of various unions in a committee may en-dange r, industrial peace and create disputes.

We strongly protest this discriminatory action of the Govt: . This deliberate partiality is a challenge thrown at the well-organised and well-determined workers of the A.I.T.U.C.

We request all trade union organisations in the state to protest strongly against this actions of the state Govt. We also invite the attention of the Kerala state chethu thozhilali federation to this matter and to take necessary steps to correct the actions of Govt. regarding the re-organisati re-organisation of the committee.

Quilon.
11.9.60.

G. Gopinathan Pillai
G. Gopinathan Pillai.

Press Matter.

Quilon. ✓
Octo:11.

Trade union rights day was celebrated under the auspices of the A.I.T.U.C and U.T.U.C District committees. A public rally was held at Railway maidan on sept: 15th in Quilon.

Processions had also been organised from various factories in Quilon town. The procession passed through the main street of Quilon town shouting slogans against Govt: attitude, towards the central Govt: Employees.

Com: J. Chitharanjan (A.I.T.U.C) presided over the meeting which was addressed among others, by P. Bhaskaran, T.K. Divakaran, and N. Sreekantan Nair

e. e. Ink

G. Gopinathan Pillay
T.U. Council Office,
QUILON. •

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PLANNING IGNORES EMPLOYMENT & WAGE LEVELS

NO THOUGHT TO PRICE ASPECT

Correct by concentration

In a forthright criticism of Govt's inconsistent attitude towards their wage policy in relation to Central Govt employees vis-a-vis their contribution at the Tripartite Conference, Dr DR GADGIL declared at a meeting of on 28 May 60 at Gokhale Hall that Planning in India was no planning at all inasmuch as it ignored the essential constituents of Employment, Wage level and Price line.

Dr GADGIL warned the employees that they were weak in their bargaining and it was necessary for them to unite and assert and state their reasonable claims in a firm and concerted manner.

Dr GADGIL stated that the question of wage level was one of national importance, fraught with various complexities. He said this was a problem to be viewed against the historical back-ground and in the totality of the situation.

Dr GADGIL said :-

"The question posed before me is of national importance and is of various complexities, having been considered by various boards, committees, commissions tribunals and so on. The whole question is to be looked at against the wide background of economy trying to develop from a backward and under-developed state into one of industrialisation. The level of wages and salaries is to be considered against the background of development. All controversies in relation to wages derive their existence from the general context of the country presenting a contrast between situations in an under and undeveloped and developed economies, the contrast being in relation to this particular question of wages, salaries in the labour market.

Generally, in an economy which is backward, is largely agricultural in which industry and urban growth have not reached a high level. In such an economy you find a labour market which is highly static and towns and villages having little direct connection with one another. The agricultural society is relatively stable. In it a great deal depends in terms of status, remuneration etc. All positions that may be said to be historical, give us a stratified society, a society with a hierarchy; there is little movement from stratum to stratum. Therefore, there may be large disparities, very large disparities between incomes, status and remunerations. Such a society may move into a small urban industrial class but even that class will have a number of characteristics of occupational stratification, lack of movement from one occupation to another; a great many classifications in a society derive their existence from heredity. When the movement takes place, it is towards a modern system and the chief characteristics in economy in terms of a more modern society are the fact of urbanisation and the fact of non-agricultural and industrial and related employment being much greater in proportion and increasing in proportion than in the older society. When this takes place, there is an effect both on the country-side and on the expanding towns and cities. The rural structure is broken up. It is rendered more mobile; it tends to move away for a variety of reasons; in various countries different types of reasons have brought about this dissolution or break-up of rural society due to pressures of one kind or another. It means a large free movement of labour force - which is a new labour force - from other occupations and places into towns and industry. On this movement depends the industrial and urban growth. When this process starts, you get changes coming about - changes which naturally transform the labour society which is hierarchical and stratified, into what is termed more open society. This is not the same as the one before which depended on birth, status which came about by inheritance. There is now thus a larger possibility of upward movement; opportunities become greater and

2 OCT 1959

The workers are eager to have whatever relief that will be coming as a result of the recommendations of the Pay Commission. They understand that all the important demands placed before the Pay Commission will not be conceded fully. What they expect is a rational pay-structure, revision of some of the main service conditions and some social security measures. If they derive Rs.10/- or so in cash as a result of a revision in pay-scales get some of the irksome service conditions like duty-hours, holidays etc changed and more promotional avenues assured, the dissatisfaction of the common run of workers will not be much.

But certain sections may feel dissatisfied. For example, the linestaff who had demanded categorisation as skilled workers may not find their claims accepted. The telegraphists who had been enjoying more privileges than other equivalent cadres may find themselves at par with others. The clerical sections also may have their holidays decreased and working hours increased. Therefore these sections, specially under the reactionary and sectarian leadership may clamour against the recommendations. Some of them may even talk in terms of struggle. It is also possible that the responsibility and blame for the whole thing will be thrown on others' shoulders. The disruptionists will find fertile ground here.

If the movement as a whole is taken, this is not a period when a programme of struggle can be had. Nor the workers in general envisage such a struggle programme, partly because of the feeling that such a programme will not be successful in face of the Government's adamant attitude and partly because of the partial satisfaction at the benefits derived from the Pay Commission and partly because of the growing disruptive forces. Further, immediately after the results are out the first efforts will be to straighten out the anomalies.

Since August, 1957, and particularly after the Solhapur Conference of the Postal Class III Union, the disruptionists had been very active. Due to our failure of not fully explaining the gains achieved as a result of 1957 struggle and of canalising the movement there was demoralisation in the minds of the workers. During this period the sectional feelings also came to the fore, because of the preparation of the memorandum and oral evidence before the Pay Commission. These were taken advantage of by the reactionary leadership to arouse disruptive feelings and to throw

and assessment gained during the conference, in contesting the general Secretaryship of the Postal Class III Union, which had become the rallying centre of all reactionaries. Since then a feeling of isolation came amongst the comrades in Postal Class III. Thereafter the slander campaign against us and against the Federation increased. The correct stand on all major issues viz., I-IV dispute, policy and Programme and mainly on election which we took at Jaipur defeated the reactionaries and brought us greater support. They did not take the defeat easily. Further slander at the Federation and us were and are being carried out through the journal of Postal-III and Linestaff Union. Rajan and Kabal Singh, the General Secretaries of these two unions, are in the lead. Patch-up alliances with Ramamurti and others were made on the basis of anti-communism, in which the Govt. also had a hand, and on the basis of distribution of posts. The editorial of "Telecom" under the caption 'Unity maintained', while bringing to the notice of the workers the role of the reactionaries, gave them a handle to slander further, probably because of the outspoken language.

But their hate campaign has only recoiled on them. Firstly, these differences of opinion at the top being paraded by them and their criticisms of us and the Federation have not polluted the rank and file. Secondly, the active workers at the branch levels who are aware of these are critical of the actions of Rajan-Ramamurti-Kabal Singh & Co. If at all the campaign has affected only some sections of the Postal Class III worker. At the same time the basic loyalty of the workers to the Federation and their desire to maintain unity at all costs remains specially in view of the tasks ahead with regard to the Pay Commission. Active workers have expressed their desire that such differences of opinion at the top level should not be paraded openly. The workers also saw that it was we who always came as the stoutest defender of unity. Therefore, there had been an increasing support to us. The confidence of the workers in us also increased during this period due to the most realistic stand of ours on the major issues before the Federation.

The fact that in spite of their slander they were not able to wear away the workers could be seen from the Patna conference of the Linestaff Union in June last, whose General Secretary is Kabal Singh. There his forces were so isolated that he could retain his general secretaryship only through a threat of walking out of the conference and

this threat and contesting successfully in all other important posts, including federal councillorship, was correct.

Secondly, as a result of the dignified attitude taken by the Federation and leaders other than Rajan-Kabal Singh-Ramamurti, in not stooping so low as to indulge in counter-slanders, as a result of our cadres in general actively functioning at the bases and as a result of the extensive tours of Gom. Gupta and others the honest elements at all levels have started to express their feelings that the differences of opinion between the top ~~leadership~~ leaders should be settled by sitting round a table instead of parading them through the columns of the journals and through speeches.

A feature to be noted in this unholy combine of the reactionaries is that there are contradictions within their camps. While Rajan and Ramamurti have joined hands differences will arise between them in their race for power. So also, though the reactionary top leadership in the Postmen Union like Dalvi, Akhtar and others join hands with Rajan their differences are not composed and their slogan "Postal III - Postal IV Unity, Zindabad" counterposed to the slogan of "P & T Workers' Unity Zindabad" still remains only a paper-slogan.

Then, almost all these reactionary leaders have some skeletons in their cupboards. Rajan had played a double game with the Confederation. For getting extension of his foreign service leave beyond three years, he came to a secret understanding with the Government and submitted a 'copy' of his resignation from Confederation to the Government; at the same time he did not tell anybody at all, including the Chairman that he was resigning. He had also apologised to the Department for his publishing in the 'Post' on 'Dies-non' circular and he had managed to square up the letter published in Blitz. Kabal Singh is reported to be in secret correspondence with the RTI. Similarly, some of their local leaders also are involved in some case or known to be hand-in-glove with the authorities.

Another feature of this combine is that they are mobilising all elements having links with anti-communists and reactionary forces in opposing us and other honest active workers who support us in the trade union work.

~~xxxxxxx~~ While there are efforts to disrupt from inside the organisation there are moves by the INTUC and the Government from outside. At the central level Kabal Singh seems to be the link of INTUC.

The original aim of the INTUC was to capture the organisation. But from their failure at Vinaynagar and the indifference shown since then, now the

that Melkote has been put in charge of forming a communication workers' union. Earlier they were also thinking of compelling the federation to adopt a militant programme, which was bound to fail and to fish in troubled waters. But we were able to outwit them by not falling a prey to provocation. Now that coxing is not being done. Perhaps, after the Jay Commission Report is out they may return to their tactics and in the name of that some may express lack of confidence in the federation. Thereafter the same elements will be rallied by the ANTUC. This appears to be the programme now.

A few days back about forty people from different places assembled in B.K. Patil's house. Sucheta Arpalani also was present. Here this line was placed out but Patil is reported to have dismissed them by saying that if they cannot capture it from inside there is no hope. One reason for this is that those assembled were discredited people and cannot carry any sizable number of workers with them. Another important reason is that the very constitution of the federation with nine autonomous unions makes it impossible to form a rival organisation. Nine rival unions have to be formed first and then the rival federation.

Therefore, it is reported that the ANTUC also has adopted the line of first making the present federation into a unitary organisation like the ex-PTU. Then they need form only one rival organisation. Indications of this are available from the recent advocacy by Rajan and others of converting the Federation into a unitary organisation. Though ideologically such a unitary organisation may be correct or not, tactically it will be wrong now. There are certain sections even now who have great desire for maintaining sectional autonomy.

Though Patil gave the disruptors a rebuff this time; but he had directly put his hand in these affairs earlier. Before Kolhapur conference he had given instructions to his henchmen to oust the communists. He was also responsible for snatching away many privileges like holding of meetings in office premises, immunity from transfer of office-bearers etc. But the strength of the movement and the failure of the reactionaries inside forced him to stop his attack further.

In this the bureaucracy also had a part to play. Though they are keen on victimising and harassing the active workers they are also interested to maintain peace and not to invite headaches. Therefore, they were not in favour of an all-out attack. The Federation had even been able to dilute some of the restrictions laid down earlier. Also numerous cases of victimisations etc were also annulled during this period. Further it is reported that the R & T officers are being pressed by the Home Ministry to withdraw some of the rights enjoyed by the R & T organisations, like election of outworkers as office-bearers etc.

but the P & T authorities do not want to force the issue and create difficulties for themselves. Therefore there are further possibilities of resisting any attack on the rights and privileges.

In the present situation a novel feature is the presence of the rTTI with enough American dollars in its pockets. Even before the decision by the Federation to reaffiliate with rTTI, a representative of theirs (SN) had been here on an extensive tour. He had developed many contacts at that time and carried on a whisper campaign against us. Nabal Singh is their horse now. SN is in correspondence with some including Nabal Singh. The P & T Industrial workers' Union is also affiliated to the rTTI. Its former general secretary, P.K. Banerjee is working now as a paid American agent. SN during his next visit to India (October '59) may rally all these once again. For this purpose an Asian Information Centre is being started in Delhi along with ICFITU-ARO. But we can get some control over this if we are watchful since the Federation and the Industrial workers' Union, whose present leadership is not bad, have necessarily a say in the affairs of this information centre.

To summarise:-

The dissatisfaction amongst the common run of workers will not be much if about Rs. 10/- or so cash increase is given, rational pay-scales and some immediate changes in the service conditions are made. In their mind the possibilities of successful programme of struggle now are also small. Sectionalism may come to the fore after the report is out. The reactionary leaders ~~may not~~ have not been so far successful to bring in disruption but post-day Commission period may give them fertile ground. Our strength has increased. There are still contradictions in their camp. The INTUC is now working actively on a line of establishing rival organisation. The Minister had tried his hand on curbing the rights and privileges. But better sense appeared to have prevailed on him. The bureaucracy is willing to wound but afraid to strike. So certain relaxations could be procured. The rTTI will play its role of anti-communism.

Therefore the general tasks are:-

(1) to isolate the disruptionists further. In this Madras comes first since it is the home constituency of Rajan-Ramamurti. But in this it should be remembered that the main aim is to draw the honest elements on our side. Steps which will alienate them should be avoided. Secondly, the disruptionists should be given convincing defeat in the local, if possible by our comrades

(2) To preserve unity of the movement. In our campaigns we should lay great stress on unity which was achieved after great sacrifices, the gains achieved through this unity and the dangers which are threatening it. For maintaining this unity we may have to share 'power' at various levels. But it is worth the price.

(3) To overcome sectionalism as a result of the report. This can be done if our comrades and branch activists take to serious study of the report and its effects. They should assess the gains correctly and not play up or play down this or that feature of the recommendations. They should study the anomalies that might crop up and suggest solutions for the same. The purpose of all these is to take the gains immediately available and to widen the prospects for further gains without allowing sectionalism and disruptive tendencies to raise their heads. Of course the main lead has to be given by the centre in these respects.

(4) To preserve our cadres and active union workers from exposure to victimisation and harassment. With the openly anti-communist attitude of the Government, if we lose a cadre of ours from an important government organisation it will be very difficult to have a replacement. While more and more cadres have to be recruited we cannot afford to lose even one now. Further, frequent harassments and victimisations in this period of comparative calm will bring demoralisation in the minds of the active workers. Therefore we should avoid any sort of head-on clashes or precipitate actions and should make fullest use of all avenues of peaceful settlement of issues.

(5) In the coming conferences there will be renewed efforts at disruption. The detailed tasks in each conference will have to be decided later. But a bare outline will be: Postal III - Replacement of Rajan by anybody else, tolerably good, by our support. Postal IV - Many of our cadres are already exposed in this union. It is doubtful whether we will secure any position openly. Therefore, our unexposed comrades and supporters should quietly get to positions wherever possible and they should not expose themselves. RMS III - The reactionaries are making a bid to get as much control as possible at local and circle levels. This should be stemmed. At the All India Conference delegates should come in large numbers so that the composition will be in our favour. RMS IV - same as above. Telegraph III - The new active workers who are coming up are good elements. At the All India level also the General Secretary and Asst. General Secretary had been on our side as far as the disruptionists are concerned.

could be made. Rights within the camp between the Treasurer and General Secretary have started. The important thing is that in numerous places the branch unions are functioning effectively and we have good influence. In other places also activities should be revived. Democratic pressure should be brought on the U.S. to convene the All India conference. He does not intend to call it as long as possible. About other unions there are no difficulties. In general our comrades should not seek extension of foreign service.

One point worth mentioning is that some areas completely neglect in sending full representatives to the conferences - e.g. Kerala. The unions are strong and well organised but they take no interest in the All India conferences. Similar situation can be found in some other areas also with regard to this or that section. The reactionaries manage to mobilise all their resources; even RTTI money may come to their help. Therefore our comrades should not fail to send full delegations on all occasions.

The tasks at the top level call for very great attention now. Ability for manoeuvres and for negotiations with authorities, sufficient drive with regard to the Ray Commission work, stamina to face the disruptors and confidence of all to work as a team - all these are required. But the chief executive of the Federation (RNG) after his last year's sickness has not been able to recoup and function as before.

On issues like 'outsiders' in the unions, 'invitation from china' etc what is required is not a straight fight with the government. It should be told that if such and such conditions are given outsiders will naturally be discarded etc etc. Such approaches will press our claims forward and at the same time take the wind out of the Govt's sails.

Regarding Ray Commission, the task of convening joint working committees etc are already laid down in the Federal Council resolution. These are to be carried out.

The Federation should insist on having a say in the RTTI information Centre being opened in Delhi - The Government is insisting that a formal application should be made to it for permission for affiliation of the Federation to the RTTI. This question can be dragged out now without making an application.