

Report

Mayavan, Shri
 Meghachandra, Shri M.
 Menon, Shri Vishwanatha
 Mohamed Imam, Shri
 Molahu Prasad, Shri
 Mukerjee, Shri H. N.
 Muthusami, Shri C.
 Naik, Shri R. V.
 Nair, Shri Vasudevan
 Nayar, Shri K. K.
 Patel, Shri J. H.
 Patil, Shri N. R.
 Rajaram, Shri
 Ramamoorthy, Shri P.
 Ramamurti, Shri P.
 Ranga, Shri
 Ray, Shri Rabi
 Satya Narain Singh,
 Shri
 Sen, Dr. Ranen

Sequeira, Shri
 Sharda Nand, Shri
 Sharma, Shri Beni Shanker
 Sharma, Shri N. S.
 Sharma, Shri Yogendra
 Shastri, Shri Ramavatar
 Shastri, Shri Raghuvir Singh
 Shastri, Shri Shiv Kumar
 Shivappa, Shri N.
 Somani, Shri N. K.
 Somasundaram, Shri S. D.
 Sreedharan, Shri A.
 Thakur, Shri P. R.
 Umanath, Shri
 Vajpayee, Shri A. B.
 Viswambharan, Shri P.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The result of the division is:

Ayes: 114; Noes* 75.

The motion was adopted.

15.39 hrs.

**COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
 TENTH REPORT**

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We take Private member's business.

श्री हरबयाल देबगुण (पूर्व दिल्ली) :
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

“कि यह सभा गैर-सरकारी सदस्यों के विषयकों तथा संकल्पों सम्बन्धी समिति के दसवें प्रतिबदन से जो 25 जुलाई को सभा में पेश किया गया था सहमत है।”

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

“That this House agrees with the Tenth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 25th July, 1967.”

The motion was adopted.

15.40 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. WAGE FREEZE POLICY

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri K. Ramani may now move his resolution.

Shri C. K. Chakrapani (Ponnani): Sir, I am moving it.

*Noes: The name of one Member could not be recorded.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yes; Shri Chakrapani.

Shri C. K. Chakrapani: Sir, I move the following resolution:

"This House is of opinion that the majority view expressed in the recent Chief Ministers' Conference regarding the wage freeze policy is detrimental to the millions of industrial workers and Government employees and recommends to the Government to take immediate steps to check the rising prices and ensure cent per cent neutralisation of the entire rise in the cost of living of industrial workers and salaried employees."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the subject under discussion is an important one. Before dealing with the subject, permit me to say a few words as a background to this resolution. Everybody knows that on the eve of the fourth Plan, this talk of wage freeze began in our country. It is the general economic crisis that led them to say so. In 1966, the then Minister of Labour, Shri Jagjivan Ram, referred to a wage freeze in the Indian Labour Conference. After that, after devaluation, Mr. Morarji Desai, in his memorandum to the Prime Minister, referred to this wage freeze. The Prime Minister quite publicly considered this matter to be extremely useful. Now, we hear that wage freeze will be accompanied by dividend freeze and price freeze. In this connection, I would like to say that even if the recent threat of dividend freeze is implemented, a portion of that dividend will go underground. Therefore, the talk of price freeze and dividend freeze is meaningless as far as this Government is concerned.

15.43 hrs.

[**SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA** in the Chair].

This Government cannot curb the rising prices. So, my contention is

that the slogan of price freeze and dividend freeze is meant to cheat the public.

This question assumes special importance in view of the recent discussion of the Chief Ministers. All the Chief Ministers, except the Kerala Chief Minister, directly or indirectly supported the concept of wage freeze. In this connection, I would like to add that the delaying tactics of the Government of India in granting dearness allowance to the Central Government employees is also causing concern among large sections of the Central Government and State Government employees.

While coming to the main problem, I must say that the concept of wage freeze is nothing new so far as this Government is concerned. The official statistics compiled by the Labour Bureau indicates that between 1951 and 1964 there has been no increase in the real wage of the Indian workers. I admit that some increase in the money wage was obtained through the bitterest struggle of the workers. So, my contention is that there has already been a freeze in this country. Three Five Year Plans have been implemented by this Government. I would like to know whether the living conditions of the workers have been improved. Certainly not.

In this connection, I would like to point out that the money wage between 1951 and 1964 has gone up to 42 per cent. At the same time, during this period, the price index has increased by 44 per cent. This means the real wage was less by four per cent.

I shall explain this. If a worker was getting Rs. 100 in 1951, after the implementation of the three plans, now he gets Rs. 142, though he is expected to get Rs. 144. Instead of getting Rs. 144, he gets only Rs. 142. This clearly means his pay is less by 4 per cent. Where is the increase in real wage? There is no increase at all. The conditions of the workers

have become worse. Between 1951 and 1967, prices have gone up by 93 per cent and money wage has certainly lagged far behind the phenomenal rise in the cost of living index.

Government says, the national income is increasing. Between 1951 and 1967, national income in real terms has increased by 20 per cent. I would ask the minister why the real wage of the Indian worker has not increased in the same proportion? Where has the surplus money gone, Mildly speaking, it is pocketed by the industrialists and big business people. Between 1955-56 and 1962-63, the industrial profits have increased by 85.8 per cent, according to the Reserve Bank. One can very well know where the money is going. This money is not distributed among the workers or salaried employees. Here I would like to say that this money does not include black money. This is the declaimed profit of the industrialists. Today the real wages are on par with 1939 wages. What does this mean? The real standard of living of the workers has not basically improved. It remains the same as that of the pre-war period.

The result of the low wage of industrial workers can be seen if we study the profitability ratios and labour share in industry. In 1951, according to the annual survey of industries, the emoluments received by the workers constituted 45.2 per cent of the total value added by manufacture. In 1963 the relative share of the workers' wage went down to 39.8 per cent.

Now let me examine the recent pronouncements of our Finance Minister. He has indicated freeze in money wage. If this is allowed to be implemented, it will mean a virtual cut in wages, and will lead to a serious situation all over the country.

What are these arguments of the Finance Minister? He says that wage freeze is meant for fighting inflation. He further adds that it is directed for

economic growth by augmenting savings. The third argument of the Finance Minister is that wage freeze may enhance our export.

My arguments are these. It is utter falsehood that by curtailing wages, we can fight inflation. During the three plans, real wages have not gone up. Still there is inflation. Such being the condition, who will believe that the Finance Minister is keen on checking inflation? The reality is that during the three plans, the real wage has not been increased. On the contrary, inflation in our country has increased. So, what is the intention of the Finance Minister? The intention is quite obvious. He wants a curtailment of the earnings of the workers demand DA as a result of price rise and it is not that the prices are increasing because of higher DA. The increase in direct taxation, deficit financing, and non-developmental expenditure are mainly responsible for inflation. The Government, it seems to me, does not think of these evils. Instead of checking these three evils, the Government now wants to attack at the roots of salaried employees and industrial workers.

With regard to my second point, I must say this to the government. Despite all these measures, our development is stagnating. The profitability of the concerns is going up. At the same time, the rate of production is going down. It is not due to the fault of workers that the production is going down. The main culprit is government and its bankrupt policies. The economic policy has to be changed. Unless there is a fundamental change in the economic policy of the government nothing can be achieved. We cannot come out of the present trouble unless some thing to that effect is done.

The third point is that our export is not an encouraging one. The Government should not put the blame on the workers, for our slackness in export. It is devaluation that has led

[C. K. Chakrapani]

our export to this state of affairs. The follow-up action is taken by this government at the dictates of American imperialism. There is no reason why workers should be subjected to hardship for the servile policy of the Government.

Now, coming to the Central Government employees, I must say that their condition is extremely bad. They are getting agitated. Before independence the lowest paid employee used to get Rs. 55. Today the lowest paid employee gets Rs. 117. This means his real wage is less by 20 per cent in comparison with 1947. Though the cost of living index is 205 today, he is compensated only up to 175 taking 1949 as the base year. He is not given cent per cent neutralisation with the result his real wages go down as and when prices increase. Now the reality is that government employees are not happy at the report of the Gajendragadkar Commission, because for higher categories he has reduced the rate of compensation and for the lowest category he has recommended only 87 per cent neutralisation. The Chief Ministers do not want to neutralise the rise in price. Here I would like to quote Professor Gadgil. He says:

"The draft outline of the Fourth Five-Year Plan contains extracts from a policy statement by the Government about wages and salaries of its employees. In this, the Government is explicit about the inability—almost undesirability—of giving, full compensation for a rise in the cost of living. This can only mean that the financing of the plans requires a cut in the earnings and, therefore, in the standard of living of even low-paid government servants.

The rise in prices in India after 1963 has been inadequately compensated for in relation even to the lowest paid Government servants; it may be safely presumed that in relation to all classes indicated above at vulnerable, it had a highly adverse effect."

When the Central Government employees wanted to have an interview with the Finance Minister, I must say that the attitude of the Finance Minister was arrogant and adamant. I shall read the contents of that letter No. 8743-PSF/67 dated 22nd July, 1967:

"With reference to your letter of 15th July, 1967, seeking an interview with the Deputy Prime Minister to discuss the recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Commission, I am desirous to say that since Government is already aware of the views of employees on these recommendations, no useful purpose is likely to be served by a personal discussion with the Deputy Prime Minister at this stage.

If however your deputation is keen to meet the Deputy Prime Minister, in spite of what is stated above, you come to see him on 8th August, 1967 at 1.15 p.m. at 12, Parliament House. May I have a line in confirmation."

This is a letter written on behalf of the Deputy Prime Minister. The Finance Minister should have given an interview to the Central Government employees. They were denied an interview. Of course, it will never solve the problem.

The Finance Minister knows our views. We know his views. Such being the case, what is the use of coming over here and discussing things? It will serve no purpose. However, the Finance Minister shows an adamant attitude towards the Central Government employees.

This and the other attitude of the Finance Minister shows that they are determined to implement the wage freeze. Now the Government is decontrolling commodity after com-

modity. You have lifted control over cement. You have lifted control over steel and coal. Control over textiles was partially lifted. Now they are planning to decontrol sugar. Under the present set-up, this decontrol will result in further increase in prices. You want the workers to suffer. If you stop the price rise, nobody will demand DA. If you fail to check the price rise, the industrial workers and the salaried employees will be forced to launch a struggle against this Government to compel this Government for full neutralisation.

In this connection the Central Government cannot evade the responsibility for financing the State Governments' DA to their employees.

The Central Government should give cent per cent neutralisation to industrial workers and salaried employees.

In all tripartite conferences the Government have accepted the linking of DA to the price index. But this has remained only on paper. Unless the Government take immediate steps to implement these decisions, Government will have to face unprecedented countrywide agitation in the coming months. So far as the prices are concerned, I warn the Government that if the Government does not put an end to the price rise, the price rise will put an end to this Government.

Mr. Chairman: Resolution moved:

"This House is of opinion that the majority view expressed in the recent Chief Ministers' Conference regarding the wage freeze policy is detrimental to the millions of industrial workers and Government employees and recommends to the Government to take immediate steps to check the rising prices and ensure cent per cent neutralisation of the entire rise in the cost of living of industrial workers and salaried employees."

There are some amendments also.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Sir, I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"and also to pay dearness allowance to the Government employees as recommended by Gajendragadkar Commission without any further delay". (1).

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi (Bhubaneswar): Sir, I beg to move:

That is the resolution,—

add at the end—

"and requests the State Governments to play their part in keeping in check the galloping rise in prices of essential commodities by ensuring equitable, efficient and fair distribution of such commodities." (2).

Mr. Chairman: Both the Resolution and the amendments are now before the House. **Shri Somani.**

Shri Randhir Singh (Rohtak): Sir, what about this side? There should be one speaker from that side and one from this side.

Mr. Chairman: Leave it to the Chair.

Shri Randhir Singh: It is always left to the Chair.

Shri N. K. Somani (Nagaur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are very few occasions when I agree with the statement of a leading Communist Member. It is one such occasion. Professor Hiren Mukerjee, a little while ago while opposing the third reading of the Finance Bill, said that all the problems of this country are due to inept, inefficient and unimaginative policies of Government. I could not agree with him more. The crux of the matter in this Private Member's Resolution here presented before the

[Shri N. K. Somani]

House is of such a serious consequence, which is affecting the whole country that all our plans and progress and the aspirations of the people . . .

Mr. Chairman: If I may interrupt him for a minute, there are a good number of speakers, both from the Opposition and from the Congress side and I would suggest that the Members might take as little time as possible.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: This is the only Resolution today. We can devote the whole time to it.

Mr. Chairman: Even taking into consideration the whole time, a number of speakers will not be accommodated.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Let it be 10 minutes to each.

Mr. Chairman: Ten minutes will not accommodate all the Members whose names I have got here. I have got 15 names sent to me.

Shri Ramga (Srikakulam): From our group only one name was sent. Let him have 15 minutes.

Mr. Chairman: This is a suggestion only for the convenience of all.

Shri N. K. Somani: Sir, I was saying before I was interrupted that this problem of rising prices is the crux of the matter and there is no point in considering either a wage freeze in isolation or a dividend freeze in isolation or a profit freeze in isolation because it is a part of our total economic picture.

16 hrs.

I would like to quote briefly from Shri Gajendragadkar's Report who has examined the entire issue of the dearness allowance very recently. He has observed:

"The most serious aspect of the national economy today is the steep and continuous rise in prices which has been witnessed in the

recent past. The problem of dearness allowance cannot be considered in isolation from this aspect and, to that extent, is even more complex than ever. During our deliberations, as indeed during the course of the whole inquiry, we have been impressed by the fact that the core of the problem relates not so much to be devising of a suitable formula for the payment of dearness allowance in future, as to the formulation of wise and purposeful economic policies which would achieve a reasonable degree of price stability in the near future."

He has touched the core of the problem and he has maintained and proved that if this Government follows wise and purposeful policies in this country, the price stability would be achieved and this continuous rise in prices, not only from week to week but from day to day in certain cities, will, certainly be arrested. Therefore, I submit that there is no point in discussing this problem in piecemeal. This is a splendid opportunity to have a close look at our entire economic structure.

The Finance Minister himself, in his Economic Survey for 1966-67, has admitted that the wholesale price level in the last year has risen by 16.5 per cent on top of a steep 25 per cent rise in the preceding two years and even in the period of the last few months when he had the opportunity of being the Finance Minister the prices continue to rise. Therefore, whether you grant D.A. or whether you freeze the wages in isolation, as an ad hoc solution to our economic problems, I submit, is not going to help our economy. I submit that this has to be examined more from a fundamental point of view as far as the Government policies are concerned.

About a year ago, the party in power thought that the panacea of all our economic ills lay in devalue-

tion of the rupee with which, I am sure, many Congress Members and the whole country is extremely disappointed today. Similarly, everyone in the country is being given the impression today that the panacea of all our current problems lies in the next good crop, in the next good monsoon. I submit that it is a part of the picture. What is going to happen to the imbalances that have been created in our economy? Who is going to challenge Rs. 800 crores investment that is being committed to the Bokaro Steel Plant?

Shri Ranga: It is a waste.

Shri N. K. Soman: When you look at problems from an ad hoc or a political view-point, it is bound to eat into the country's economy. The prices are not going to come down because our productivity, our national output, is not in relation to our productive capacity today. What is going to happen, for instance, if we have a good monsoon but the industry is not assured of spare parts, is not assured of adequate credit supply and is not assured of removing the anomalies that have arisen out of devaluation? A little while ago, you heard that the Finance Minister after one full year has provided a little bit of a remedy as a part of the follow-up action to devaluation which should have been taken one year ago. After all, if there is a serious disease, if there is an economic malady, we cannot afford to wait for a period of one year till the Finance Minister wakes up to the realities of the situation.

Then, you heard the day before yesterday, as a defence of the management about the profitability of the Hindustan Steel Ltd., the Steel Minister saying that the eight months inventory was justified because some other public sector projects had 36 months inventory. Is that an answer to our solution?

Further, the Food and Agriculture Minister a few months ago, wrote to

me that he was personally looking into the matter of the colossal amount of wastage of foodgrains due to the pests, rodents, storage and transportation. But two days ago, his Deputy Minister said, "We have not been able to locate the problem. We do not know how much quantity of foodgrains is being wasted like this." If they cannot locate the problem, how can they diagnose the same?

The Home Minister says that he is trying to control the situation all over the country. Does he not anticipate what is going to happen in West Bengal during the Puja season? Is he prepared for that? Does he also realise that the capital is flying away from West Bengal to the detriment of the whole country's economy? These are the problems. If the export possibilities have been created according to your export incentives and export policy at the beginning of the year, you do not record at all the fluctuations and the changes that occur in the world markets from time to time. You deny the export incentives that are due to the business or industry and yet, you expect them to export at par with leading producers in the world. This, I submit, is the main problem. Who is going to be responsible for the better return from the public sector enterprises? The Finance Minister and the Planning Minister, in the prestigious Annual Plan that has been submitted the day before yesterday to the House, have stated that the upward trend in prices has once again resumed from about the middle of April this year, after this Government came into the seat of power, and by the end of June, the index of wholesale prices had moved up to 217.2 as against 202.7 at the end of March which is a little over 7 per cent. All this, I submit, is a part of our entire economic malady which is afflicting our country. Then there are some suggestions, I think they are valuable, put forward by this Government in this Annual Plan of 1967-68, which must be urgently gone into.

[Shri N. K. Somani]

The first suggestion of additional resource mobilisation is in respect of the removal of food subsidy and the Finance Minister says that a good crop, with its favourable impact on foodgrain availability and prices, will create a proper condition for the withdrawal of the food subsidy. The Planning Minister has also hinted at the possibility of the removal of the remaining subsidy on fertilisers. He has also shown that the Government has to launch a drive, and the credit co-operatives have to launch a drive for collection of land revenue and other taxes, the arrears which are long overdue. Here is money which is lying with you, here is money which is due to you. Let the food subsidy be withdrawn, let the fertiliser subsidy be withdrawn, and be given to the minor irrigation projects of various States; let wells be energised. These are the ways in which we must remove these anomalies.

Coming to productivity and wages, I will just quote this. In an Address to the Trade Union Congress at Black Pool early in September, 1966, Mr. Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of U.K., observed:

"Increased money wages without higher productivity will be a hollow mockery."

This is also a relevant factor in our Indian economy. We cannot go on giving hundred per cent neutralisation for the price spiralling which is as a result of the unfortunate government policies, and the industry and business should not be made to suffer for that. Wages have at one stage—the earlier it is done the better it would be—to be related to the productivity of labour. Then only you will see that the cost of production comes down; then only you will see that prosperity comes to the nation; then only we will have our abilities to export at lower costs; then only a solid and abiding foundation for industry in India will be

laid. Therefore, I come once again to the premise that I began with when I raised this problem.

I am very grateful to the hon. Member for having given this opportunity to the House to go deep into this problem. I hope that the Government will look into it from the entire aspect and will see that the question of the total income policy is related to the realities of the day and not based on any doctrinaire consideration.

Before ending, I will just quote a few lines from the Report of the Gajendragadkar Commission. The Gajendragadkar Commission themselves have observed:

"If the Government were to show by action . . ." and not by prestigious documents, not by doctrinaire consideration; it says, and I repeat:

"If the Government were to show by action that they were serious about controlling the prices on an emergency basis, there would be adequate response from the employees in respect of this."

I can assure them that there will be adequate response from the employees, from the employers, from the Parliament and from the nation and the society at large. But let us first be convinced that the Government is honest in its sincerity and that it is prepared to have a fresh look at these problems, that it is prepared to fight in a cumulative fashion to rid this price spiral which is eating into our progress.

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi (Bhubaneswar): The monster of rising prices today has become a matter of concern for the entire people of this country, and particularly to those who are wage-earners. This problem of rising prices cannot be discussed or dealt with piece-meal. It needs an integrated approach. The most urgent thing is the stabilisation

of prices. If we fail to stabilise the prices and we ask the workers and the government servants that their wages should be frozen, we shall not succeed, and I do not think anybody either on this side of the House or on the other side of the House would agree to such a proposition.

Taking into consideration all these aspects, I believe the Finance Minister and Government are trying to evolve a kind of an integrated approach by which this monster of rising prices can be really checked. Otherwise, what will happen is that when once the prices rise, the wages also would rise, and again the prices would rise and again the wages would rise, and this would go on in a vicious spiral. People have begun to have a kind of disbelief as to whether Government would really be in a position to check the prices. Therefore, whatever action may be taken in the coming months, the people must at least have the confidence in the measures that are taken and they must be put into effect at least at some points so that the ever-increasing prices can be checked, at least so far as the essential commodities are concerned.

I was just looking into the rising figures of the consumer price index number for working classes. I am amazed to find that in almost all parts of the country this number has been increased. It was 240 in January in some place but it went up to 250 in May, and still it is rising. In June also it had risen and in July also it has been rising. In Silchar, it was 197 before and it had gone up to 220. In Cuttack, in Berhampore, in Gauhati and other places also, the consumer price index numbers for the working classes have risen very fast. The question before us now is this. When the consumer price index numbers are rising so fast, can we simply ask the workers to agree to a wage freeze, as my hon. friend Shri N. K. Somani was just trying to suggest when he said that the pujas were coming and so on?

What he was driving at was this, namely that since the pujas were coming, the working class population would demand greater bonus etc. because the puja period is the usual period when they bargain and get more money from the employers, and, therefore, that kind of an apprehension is there.

When we try to deal with this problem we should remember the large-scale unemployment in our country today. According to the latest assessment of the Planning Commission, the total number of unemployed today is about 10 million, 7 million in the rural areas and about 2.5 million in the urban areas. So, there is a rising tempo of the unemployment problem. As regards educated unemployment, there are 8 lakhs of matriculates and under-graduates, one lakh graduates and post-graduates, and over 5000 engineering graduates without jobs. When that is the position today, naturally, we want to provide more employment to the people. At the same time, we want to check the rising prices also. Therefore, it is high time we should think of an integrated policy without any further delay.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi: I have just a few suggestions to make.

Mr. Chairman: I am following him very closely.

An Hon. Member: Because of the puja?

Mr. Chairman: I am always devoted to puja.

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi: What is the present crisis that is being so much talked about? To my mind, the present stagnation in industries is given too much of publicity. I do not agree with some of my hon. friends here when they say that there is a

[Shri Chintamanj Panigrahi]

complete recession in the country so far as industrial development is concerned.

Therefore, I say there has been too much publicising in this country of recession. For what purpose? I say it is a calculated move to pressurise the Government and people of the country to give up the entire concept of planning, to give up efforts at unearthing black money, to give up getting more and more tax from private industry and to throttle the proposed control over banks, nationalisation of general insurance and also nationalisation of foreign trade. This is a kind of game, a conspiracy to achieve these objectives.

Some people have been saying that the banks because of the new policy of Government have curtailed credit. They complain that they do not get credit for private industry. But look at the figures of advances to industries by banks. As on 31st March 1964, scheduled commercial banks advanced Rs. 1104.40 crores; as on 31st March 1966, they have advanced Rs. 1509.79 crores; in July this year, it has gone up by Rs. 355 crores. Of course, the credit is selective; it should be.

My suggestion is that every industry in the country must have workers' councils. These councils must look into the accounts. Once they are taken into confidence, they will try to economise. Of course, there must be a limit to the rate of profit. During the last twenty years, under a kind of protection from Government, private industries have grown up. They have been day in and day out abusing the public sector. It is to their misfortune that now Government have stopped placing orders and there is this crisis. Out of the annual spending of Rs. 6,000 crores, namely Rs. 4500 crores have been

by way of orders placed with private engineering industries, chemical industries and so on for purchase. They have been the beneficiaries of these orders. When there has been a little tightening of this expenditure because of the present economic conditions, because of financial stringency, they raise a hue and cry.

It is time that every industry in the country, in the public sector and in the private sector as well organise workers' councils. If necessary, they must also forgo the margin of profit for some time and the profit should not be calculated at every point of production. And overall percentage of profit should be calculated. The margin of profit should be limited to 3 or 5 percent so that the workers will have more and more incentive to work, they will cooperate in effecting economies, and wasteful expenditure can be checked and cost of production cut down. In the last twenty years, with all these facilities given by Government to private industry, they have not been able to supply goods to the consumers at a cheap rate.

So far as the engineering industries are concerned, they have got the capacity of nearly Rs. 34 crores worth of production. They must try to maintain themselves without depending more on easy government orders. They should reduce their cost of production so that they can be competitive and help boost exports without depending only on internal consumption.

Therefore, at the present moment, any idea of freezing salaries and wages of government employees or of the working class cannot solve the problem; on the other hand, it will accentuate it. Therefore, there should be an integrated policy devised which will take into account all these aspects, profits, wages, dividends, cost of production and other things.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I am grateful to the hon. member who has tabled this most timely resolution on wage freeze.

You remember that a news item appeared in many of the newspapers in Delhi and particularly in the *Times of India*, it was covered by the PTI, on 24th July, 1987, and its heading was "Integrated plan to freeze wage-price is almost ready". I wanted to raise this question here, and I wanted a reply from the hon. Deputy Prime Minister, who is the Finance Minister of this country, and I wanted him either to confirm or deny this report.

The report reads:

"The Government of India is understood to be actively considering an integrated scheme to achieve price stability comprising measures of discipline both in respect of prices and wages applicable to the public and private sector alike. The packet of measures envisaged includes the deferment of increment in dearness and other allowances in both Government and private sector employees till the end of the current financial year, i.e. March, 1989."

It further says:

"The complicated exercise at the official level is nearing completion. Subject to the Union Cabinet's approval, the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, is expected to outline the plan in Parliament before it adjourns by the middle of next month."

It has been mentioned in this House that many of the Chief Ministers have suggested at the Chief Ministers' conference that there should be a wage freeze. I speak from personal knowledge as far as the Chief Minister of U.P. is concerned, and his

present victory shows he never suggested a wage freeze. What he suggested was that when the Centre raises the dearness allowance of the Central Government employees, obviously it has repercussions on the State Government employees, because I am one of those who feel, sincerely feel, seriously feel, that there should be no difference in the matter of dearness allowance at least between a State Government employee and a Central Government employee in the same city, because; if potato is available, say, at 50 paise per kilo, a State Government employee cannot go to the shop and say that he is working under Charansinghji and therefore he should be given at 25 paise. This is illogical. That was the main thing. The Chief Minister expected some financial and, rather some subsidy from the Centre. That was one of the reasons he said that if you increase the dearness allowance of the Central Government, he will have to do it. Many of the State Governments, especially the non-congress governments have declared that there will be parity in the matter of dearness allowance between the Central Government and the State Government employees, and we must congratulate them. So, there was no suggestion like that. Rather, it was suggested by the Finance Minister I am told, that he could not resist the pressure, if they wanted to resist the pressure, they could do it. What he meant by resisting pressure was that he was unable to resist the pressure because the Central Government employees agitated regarding full neutralisation of the rise in the cost of living, and the Gajendragadkar Commission was appointed. Mr. Gajendragadkar was no less a person than the ex-Chief Justice of India. When this commission was appointed, there was vehement opposition about its terms of reference, but still some of us decided to participate in the deliberations and give all co-operation to Mr. Gajendragadkar in this particular job.

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

The report of the Gajendragadkar Commission, certain portions, were read by my young but very learned friend Mr. Somani. Some of the portions we agree to. We do not agree even with the report because that has given neutralisation only in the case of one set of employees, the lowest paid employees, Rs. 70-109. Ninety per cent neutralisation is suggested only in one case—class IV employees. He has not suggested 90 per cent neutralisation in the case of class III employees, drawing Rs. 110-180, LDCs, the most troubled section, called the lower middle class. We were opposed to his report. We want a discussion and fresh arbitration. But even that report is not accepted by the government on the ground that it is not possible for the government to pay Rs. 62 crores. It is withholding D.A. from February 1967 on the basis of 185 points, from June 1967 on the basis of 195 points. Long live this government, if it remains in power. The report says that there should be pay revision once the index reaches 235 points. The terms of reference of the Gadgil commission was whether the DA has come to stay in the country. Mr. Gadgil is no more with us. Khandubhai Desai and others were members of that commission and I also tendered evidence. Mr. Gadgil came to the conclusion that DA had come to stay. Even the first pay commission envisaged that the prices might stabilise after the cessation of hostilities at 165-170. But that expectation was not fulfilled. This government has been unable to hold the price line after independence. This government does not want to pay D.A. even on the basis of the commission's recommendations. They are weeping that they will not be able to find Rs. 32 crores today. Today when I speak here another slab is due to be given to the central government employees. It is unfair. Legitimately, legally and morally also they should find this Rs. 120 crores. and they will have to pay it.

There is the question of recession in the country. It has not been denied by them. While replying to the debate on the Finance Bill, Shri Desai said that there should be more efficiency and people should work more; he complained that people did not work. People do work in this country. Otherwise, how is the government functioning? The entire government is run by the LDCs and UDCs. If you find out who the first man to sign on a file was, it will be the LDC; ultimately Mr. K. C. Pant or Mr. Bhagat or anybody else will sign. There is a saying in Urdu:

“अगर मुंशी की कलम से लिख दिया गया है तो नासूर बन कर खड़ा हो जाएगा। किसी आदमी की टालने का हिम्मत नहीं होगा।”

If a clerk writes with his pen something on a file, nobody can possibly change it, even the minister cannot change it. I was wanting a discussion on this subject and I would request you to give some time to speak on this. They want to have a wage freeze and in today's paper there is a proposal to pay the DA in the form of cash bonds. No government employee or even a private sector employee is going to have confidence that the present central government will not topple. This is the age of toppling governments, U.P. has already survived but you are losing in M.P. Today the House had been adjourned in Bhopal on a flimsy ground for two days.

Shri A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): It was for giving a ruling by the Speaker and for this reason the House was adjourned.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The toppling of the M.P. government will not affect Mr. A. S. Saigal here.

Mr. Chairman: Your five minutes should be put to the least use:

Shri S. M. Banerjee: He said that they must have the compulsory deposit. Why was that compulsory deposit scheme scrapped? Though it was meant to save something, it was found to be impracticable. What is to be saved? Today, when this Government in 20 years has not been able to check the prices or hold the price line, this Government is not morally justified to ask the Government servants to tighten their belts further. I am sure that if the DA Commission's report is not properly discussed, there will be difficulties. What was the reply of the hon. Finance Minister, when the employees' representations wanted to meet him; all of us signed it. His reply was that the Government is already aware of the views of the employees on these recommendations and so no useful purpose was likely to be served by a personal discussion with the Deputy Prime Minister at this stage. The Deputy Prime Minister added:

"If however your deputation is keen to meet the Deputy Prime Minister in spite of what is stated above, you come to see him on 8th August . . ."

After all, Sir, the Deputy Prime Minister is not Qutab Minar or Red Fort. We are interested to discuss the matter with him. He is not an exhibit. We want to discuss the entire matter with him. He refuses to discuss the matter with them.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I would only take one more minute and I shall have done. I support this resolution. I would request the hon. Minister to take steps in this regard. Shri K. C. Pant is here and the Minister of State in the Ministry of Labour, Shri L. N. Mishra is also here. Shri L. N. Mishra said in reply to a question that he is not going to make any wage freeze.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation (Shri L. N. Mishra): I still hold to that statement.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: So, the Cabinet is divided. It started from the Deputy and it has gone up to the top. I would only point out that the Labour Minister is opposed to the wage freeze. But the Finance Minister thinks that under a given circumstance, they should have this cash bond. What is this? They do not know what is happening. This is going to result in a big strike in the country. The Central Government employees are going to march towards Safdarjung Lane, to the hon. Prime Minister's house, on the 3rd August, 1967 with the request...

Mr. Chairman: So, not to Qutab Minar!

Shri S. M. Banerjee: No, Sir. We all hold her in high esteem. So, what I am saying is that they will march there, in deputation, to meet her in deputation and request her to persuade the hon. Finance Minister to see reason. The other day, the hon. Finance Minister said "I do not refuse to see anybody." But then I laughingly said he refused to see reason! So, Sir, in all seriousness I say, that the all-India Trade Union Congress to which I belong has taken a decision that any wage freeze at this hour, when there is a race between hunger and anger, when there is a race between starvation and famine, when the wages have fallen below 1947 level, if there is going to be wage freeze, it will be wrong, and that there will be a general strike and nobody then can rave it. I am not saying it in a threatening spirit. I really appeal to the Government through you to avoid that situation and let us build the country.

Shri K. R. Ganesh (Andaman and Nicobar Islands): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this proposal of the wage freeze now being actively considered by the

[Shri K. R. Ganesh]

Finance Minister is a proposal which in my humble opinion is fraught with serious consequences, because it affects the most organised sector of the Indian people, that is, the organised working classes and the Government employees. As we know, all trade union organisations in this country are opposed to a wage freeze.

An hon. Member: Including the INTUC.

Shri K. R. Ganesh: Yes; including the INTUC, as the hon. Member says. We also knew that in the past when this matter was brought in Parliament and in other platforms, many leading spokesmen of the Government had also opposed it, because as my friend Shri Panigrahi pointed out, there cannot be control of wages unless there is an integrated policy with regard to income and prices. It has been pointed out here that prices have been increasing and the basic problem before the Indian people is one of spiralling prices. We have failed to check the price increase in the past and I feel that whatever measures we may adopt we will fail to check the price increase in future because the checking of price increase will require an absolutely alternative policy. We know wages in India are about the minimum level and not even fair wages are given to the workers. Nearly all the trade unions in the country have demanded full neutralisation of the increase in the cost of living index. At such a time if there is freeze in wages, it will mean that we will be putting the workers and the middle-class employees almost at starvation level.

It has been pointed out by the Swatantra Party spokesman that productivity must be related to the wages paid. Such a thing may be suitable for advanced countries where high wages are paid to workers, but it cannot be applied to India, where in spite of the gains made during the

last 20 years, the worker is still getting a wage which is at a minimum level and which is being siphoned off by higher prices going to the pockets of industrialists.

We are proud of this concession which the Indian worker has won after protracted fight, namely, linking of wages and DA with cost of living. Freezing that concession would be a retrograde step. It will mean, whatever progressive aspects in the Indian labour laws, that will be eliminated. The example of UK is pointed out where wage-freeze and income-freeze policy has been pursued. The position in UK is completely different. There the worker gets a wage, which is not a minimum wage, but which is a higher wage. Any freezing of that wage does not depreciate his standard of living at that given moment of time. But the Indian worker cannot be compared with the UK worker. Even in UK there has been a tremendous opposition to their wage policy. We know one of the trade union leaders resigned from the Government, there. I had been abroad and I saw that the British trade union movement demanded from the British parliamentarians that those who were elected with the help of the British Trade Union Congress must be faithful to the working class.

We are having inflations, food shortage and recession. Over and above this, if we have a wage-freeze you can imagine what will be the picture of this country. This must be taken seriously, that the most organised section of the Indian public, the working class and the middle-class employees will never accept this. I do not think my hon. friends on that side are giving a threat to the Government, because it will not be possible for them to control the working class. After having won this concession of linking DA with the cost of living after fighting for 20 years, I do not think the working class will accept this wage-freeze. Any trade union

worker, worth his name, either on this side or that, will find it impossible to satisfy the working class if this is done.

Therefore, Sir, I congratulate our hon. friend, the hon. Member over there, who has given this opportunity to us, for having brought forward this resolution, so that the Finance Ministry may know the opinion of a large section of this hon. House.

It has been said by one hon. Member on that side that our panacea for all evils is the rains. To them the panacea for all the evils of this country is that we should cut down Bokaro, we should cut down the public sector, we should jeopardise all development in our country and we should hand over this country to heavy foreign investment. Sir, if an alternate policy is necessary; the alternate policy can only be that we have to produce consumer goods in the public sector so that cheaper consumer goods would be available; the alternate policy can be to control the prices at least of basic essential commodities; the alternate policy can be to nationalise banks, to nationalise export-import trade, to nationalise general insurance, to hit back and break this hidden sector of our economy.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan): Sir, you and I come from Bengal and we are deeply perturbed over what is happening in Naxalbari. That is a difficult area from the strategic point of view and a very sensitive area. In that area both democracy and stable government were in peril. But, Sir, the greater danger is the rising spiral of prices of essential commodities in West Bengal and other places. How to check that? Unless you check that, I think this talk of wage freeze is absolute moonshine and it is not proper. The other day, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani delivered a very thoughtful speech. She strongly opposed wage freeze. She very pertinently pointed out what is the mean-

ing of wage freeze. Unless there is price freeze, unless you can control the rising spiral of prices, it is absolutely absurd to talk of wage freeze, it will be really adding insult to injury and doing great injustice to the low-paid staff both in the Government departments and also in the industrial sector. Therefore, it is clear that responsible men are also opposing it apart from ordinary trade unions.

Even after passing the Finance Bill we have got to tackle this problem. We are happy that this resolution has been moved at a very opportune moment when we should fix our attention on this serious problem. Why are we saying that this wage freeze which has been passed at the Conference of Chief Ministers is not giving a correct lead to India? Why are we opposing it? We are opposing it on this ground that really the real wages have gone down although nominal wages have gone up. Rs. 55 was the salary that the lowest paid man in a government department got. Today he gets Rs. 123.

An hon. Member: Rs. 117. *

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I was told it was Rs. 123. Whether it is Rs. 123 or Rs. 117, it does not matter. But does he get what he used to get in 1947 for Rs. 55? He does not. Therefore, it is really a question of not merely squeezing out or giving this cash wages freeze. What about the real wages? I think Shri Banerjee was very indignant and he shouted for the poor paid staff. Why? Because they are not getting even the minimum which they used to get on the salary they used to earn in 1947. You have raised the salary from Rs. 55 to 123 or 117—a little over 100 per cent. But you know the basic index of price from 100 has become 299.

Three times the price index has gone up and your wages have gone up only 100 per cent or a little more

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

than that. The result is that the poorly paid staff is suffering intensely.

Sir, I had the privilege to appear before Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar when he was a Judge of the Supreme Court, also when he was a Judge of the Bombay High Court and also when he was the Chief Justice of India for many years. You could not get a more sympathetic Judge; industry, specially labour, could not get a more sympathetic Judge than Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar. Actually, he used to plead even when on the Bench for socio-economic justice. He specially used to go out of his way to help poor downtrodden labour. That was his outlook. With that outlook what has he recommended?

My hon. friend, Shri Banerjee, has given you the figures. He has recommended 90 per cent neutralisation only for people who are getting from Rs. 70 to Rs. 109 and only 70 per cent neutralisation for people getting Rs. 110 to Rs. 180. What we are pleading is that it is really too low. But it will be unfair to sabotage this Gajendragadkar Commission Report. Actually people getting Rs. 70 to Rs. 180—the so-called middle class—are really the starving people, men with a family, with children to educate, paying doctors' bills and other things.

What is Rs. 180 now-a-days? With the spiral going up it is absolutely essential that at least the Gajendragadkar Commission Report should be implemented without any delay. Frankly speaking, it is even worse from the worker's point of view than Justice Jagannatha Das Commission Report. He gave a little more neutralisation. I am not pleading for cent per cent neutralisation in every case. That is not possible, I know. But you must have some relation between the nominal wage and the real wage. When the spiral steadily goes up, what is the good of saying wage freeze?

First of all please have price freeze and then talk of wage freeze. If you cannot secure that, if you cannot control black money, if you cannot control the banks giving out money according to the dictates of big capital, it is no good merely saying wage freeze. That will not be proper. That will not be desirable. That will be thoroughly unfair. That will be discrimination.

16.43 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Mr Justice Gajendragadkar has also remarked very pertinently that you must secure price stability before you have anything else. We must secure that before we talk of wage freeze. Unless you have that basic factor of price stability, it will be absolutely useless, a bit dangerous, thoroughly unfair and inhuman to talk of wage freeze because that will be really hitting the poor people harder.

I know, Mr. Wilson, the British Premier, has said about wage freeze. But what is the good of quoting the British Premier in this House? They are talking of real wages. It is not nominal wages they are talking of. **There is no discrepancy between nominal wages and real wages there.** There is no price spiral like this there. Of course, prices have risen but the condition there is basically different. Therefore when he says, "I will not allow any wage increase unless there is efficiency increase, unless I see that they contribute more, unless I find that industry and labour are doing their duty; I am thoroughly against it", it is different. I say that that is not the standard which can be applied here. Our perspective should be different.

When I went to the Finance Minister the other day leading the delegation on behalf of the Supreme Court Bar, he told me, "Mr. Chatterjee, I never change; therefore, I am not going to respond to your

appeal to cut out this 22 per cent cut at source for every professional fee". You know, Sir, in the Finance Bill there was a provision with regard to lawyers, doctors, architects, engineers, accountants and all professional men that there will be a 22 per cent cut at the very source in respect of every payment of fees. We pointed out that it was wrong. I am very happy to say that although he told me that he seldom changes and although he has a reputation for rigidity and also obduracy, the Finance Minister has deleted that clause to the great relief of all professional men throughout India—not merely Supreme Court lawyers, not only men of law but all doctors, engineers, accountants, chartered accountants etc. He has done the right thing. I hope, he will give up his rigidity—Government will give up its obdurate attitude with regard to wage freeze. Tackle it properly; look at it from proper perspective. What are they demanding? Are they demanding something more? No. They are only saying, "Give us what we used to get before; give us that stuff which we used to get before independence." The prices have gone up. You cannot control them. Pathetic incompetence and inefficiency in controlling the rise in prices is the real trouble. It is a humane question. It is not a question of pampering them: It is a question of giving them the barest minimum.

I think, this Resolution demands the support of all sections of the House irrespective of parties or groups or other party loyalties. I hope the hon. Minister will also give us some hope that the Gajendragadkar Commission's Report will be implemented and that 90 per cent neutralisation shall be available not merely to people upto Rs. 100 per month but also up Rs. 180 which will mean some relief to the poor people, the oppressed middle-class people, who are suffering very badly

from this terrible rise in prices of essential commodities.

श्री: रसाधीर सिंह (रं हत ह) : स्पीकर साहब, जो रेजोल्यूशन हाउस के सामने है मैं उसकी हर्फ ब हर्फ पूरे जोर से ताईद करना हूँ। हमारे गरीब देश में गरीब लोग चाहे सेंटर के मुलाजमीन हों, चाहे स्टेट्सके मुलाजमीन हों चाहे फील्ड्रीजके मजदूर हों चाहे और दूसरे काम करने वाले हों, वह किस तरह से जिन्दा हैं यह बात समझ में नहीं आती। इतनी महंगाई, गर्दन तोड़ महंगाई, कमरतोड़ महंगाई और इतनी थोड़ी तनख्वाह, इतना बड़ा कुनबा एक-एक मजदूर के पास एक बीबी और दर्जनों बच्चे और शायद सारा खानदान एक-एक मजदूर का, एक-एक छोट मुलाजिम का चाहे वह यू० डी० सी० हो, चाहे दूसरा कोई हो, वह किस तरह से अपनी जिन्दगी बनाये हुए हैं यह एक ऐसी चीज है कि जब इसको सोचते हैं तो जिस्म कांप उठता है। मेरे ख्याल में जहाँ तक तनख्वाह का सम्बन्ध है हमारे इन छोटे मुलाजमीन को और मजदूरों को शायद दुनिया में सबसे थोड़ी तनख्वाह मिलती है। यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि देश बड़ा गरीब है। लेकिन हमने विधान में यह बात मान ली है कि हर एक का पेट भरने को गुजारा देगे। काड़ा उसको मिलेगा। रोटी उसको मिलेगी, दवा दारू उसको मिलेगी। लेकिन वह हो नहीं पाया। मैं ट्रेजरी बेंचेंज की तरफ से बोलने वाला हूँ पूरी जिम्मेदारी के साथ इस बात को कहता हूँ कि :

मुस्ताकी व सवूरी भजहद गुजिस्ता यारा।

गरतूस्केबदारी ताकत न मान भारा ॥

हमारा जो सब्र है उसका प्याला लबरेज हो गया है। हदूद को फांद गया है हमारा सब्र। हम तो बेसब्र हो गये। भापको सब्र होगा। हम तो बेसब्र हो गए। यह जो मजदूर हैं यह गरीब लोग हैं। यह जो बेचारे मुलाजमीन हैं मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि यह रेजोल्यूशन

[श्री रणवीर सिंह]

कुछ ज्यादा वसीय होता इतना महदूद न होता । इस रेजोल्यूशन में जो दूसरे लोग हैं जो गैर-सरकारी हैं लोकल वाडीज के वर्कर्स हैं या दूसरे वर्कर्स हैं और ऐसे आदमी भी जो बेरोजगार हैं, जिम्मेदारी है, बुनियादी जिम्मेदारी है सरकार की, कोई भी सरकार हो कि जहाँ करोड़ों इन्सान कीड़े मकोड़ों की तरह से रहते हों, जिनके रहने का इन्तजाम नहीं जिस्म पर कपड़ा नहीं, दवा दारू नहीं, यह मेरी राय नहीं एक्सपर्ट्स की राय है कि हमारे देश में उम्र इस वास्ते कम है बच्चे की, जवान की, औरत की या बुड़्डे को, कि वह न्यूट्रीशन बूकि दुस्त नहीं होता इस वास्ते कम है । या तो अंडर-न्यूट्रीशन है या माल-न्यूट्रीशन है । खाना पूरा नहीं मिलता है और खाना मिलता है तो सिर्फ अनाज अनाज मिलता है । अनाज में प्रोटीन नहीं होता । तो हिन्दुस्तान की जो उम्र कम है 60-55 या 50 साल स्पैन ग्राफ लाइफ है वह उसकी बजह यह है कि यह गरीब देश है । पूरा अनाज नहीं मिलता । जो गरीब लोग कारखाने में काम करने वाले हैं या छोटे मुलाजमीन हों अब्बल तो वह इतना किराया कैसे दे सकते हैं और फिर बच्चे को दूध भी चाहिए, पढ़ाने के लिए फीस और तमाम चीजें चाहिए, वह रह कैसे रहे हैं इस तनख्वाह में मुझे ताज्जुब तो इससे होता है । और फिर वर्कर्स की हालत तो इससे भी बुरी है । तो मैं आपसे कहना चाहूंगा कि यह रेजोल्यूशन जो आया है यह बड़ा बामोका है । इससे ज्या मीका और रेजोल्यूशन का कोई हो नहीं सकता ।

इसके साथ-साथ एक बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि एक तो फौजी की तनख्वाह का मामला भी इसमें आना चाहिए । क्योंकि गवर्नमेंट मुलाजमीन इसमें आते हैं तो हमारे फौजी जो कि बुरी से बुरी हालत में सब्त से सब्त हालत में बड़ी-बड़ी तंग पहाड़ियों पर और भयावने जंगलात में दिन रात सीना

तानकर दुश्मन से देश की हिफाजत करते हैं उन लोगों की तनख्वाह यहां के चपरासी से भी कम है, दफ्तरी से भी कम है—55 रुपये । तो स्पीकर साहब चूंकि रेजोल्यूशन आया और गवर्नमेंट मुलाजमीन का इस रेजोल्यूशन की तहत में जिक्र आ सकता है तो इसका फायदा उठाते हुए मैं खास तौर से फौजी भाइयों की तनख्वाह की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं और यह कहना चाहता हूं कि वह ऐसे पेड्रिक्ट्स हैं कि जो देशको बचाते हैं आगे भी जिन्हें देश को बचाना है और एक-एक फौजी के पीछे दस दस व्यक्तियों का कुनबा है । कई-कई तो दस दस साल में जाकर अपने बीबी बच्चों की शकल देखते हैं और दिन रात चौबीसों घंटे खड़े रहते हैं दुश्मन के मुकाबले में । तो जहां यह चीज आई इंडस्ट्रियल वर्कर का सवाल आया तो मैं सब से पहले चाहूंगा कि तनख्वाह बढ़ायी जाय । अगर तो फौजी का यद्यपि गजेन्द्रगडकर कमीशन में मुझे पता है फौजी का जिक्र नहीं है लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा खास तौर से चूंकि गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लायीज का सवाल आता है तो फौजी की तनख्वाह बढ़ाने पर तरजीह दी जाये । प्रायिटी दी जाये ।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहूंगा वह खास तौर से मास्टर, जो मुलाजिम पेशा टीचर हैं उस की बाबत है । उसका काम बहुत बड़ा है । वह नेशन को बनाता है । सारे देश के कॅरेक्टर को बनाता है । उसके पढ़ाये हुए कोई कर्नल, कोई जनरल, कोई डाक्टर, कोई इंजीनियर, कोई बजीर, कोई कुछ बनता है । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मास्टरकी हालत आज बहुत बुरी है, चाहे वह गवर्नमेंट मुलाजिम हो चाहे प्राइवेट मुलाजिम हो । तो मैं यह दो कैटेगरीज खास तौर से पुट करता हूं । अब्बल तो मैं सब की इज्जत करता हूं लेकिन यह बेचारे जो हैं इनकी नेक कमाई है । इन में गुंजाइश नहीं कि ऊपर की कुछ आमदनी हो जाय । धीरों में तो

ऊपर से भी कुछ कमाई कर लेते हैं। लेकिन मास्टर को कोई ऊपर की भ्रामदनी नहीं है और न फौजी को है। तो इनकी तनख्वाह खास तौर से बढ़ानी चाहिए।

तीसरे एक हरिजन की बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा। हरिजन की इस कैटेगरी में बात शायद नहीं आई इस रेजोल्यूशन के अन्दर। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोकल बाडीज में या गवर्नमेंट में भी जो हरिजन बतौर स्कैवेंजर के काम करते हैं उनका काम एक घटिया स्टैंडर्ड का है। यहाँ इसके बारे में एक सवाल पहले भी आया था। मैं ज्यादा गहराई में जाना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन उस चीज को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि अगर गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लायीज में वह नहीं आते हैं, दूसरी जगह लोकल बाडीज में चाहे वह आते हों तो भी हरिजन की खास तौर से स्कैवेंजर की जो बुरी दशा है और जितना कठिन काम वह करते हैं उसको देखते हुए उनकी तनख्वाह कम है। उनके ऊपर भी ध्यान दिया जाये।

एक चौथी चीज गांव के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। आप सोचेंगे कि हर बात में गांव का धड़ंगा लगाता है लेकिन आखिर यह देश ही गांवों का है। गांवों में बहुत बुरी हालत है। इसमें चूंकि दोनों बात आ गई हैं तनख्वाह का हिसाब जहाँ आया है वहाँ म्यारे जिन्दगी का जिक्र भी साथ-साथ आ गया है इसी दृष्टि से मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि गांवों में 85 प्रतिशत भ्रामदमी ऐसे हैं नजदूर क्लास, नान-किसान क्लास का जिक्र मैं कर रहा हूँ और मैं सही बात कर रहा हूँ, वेज फ्रीज का जिक्र तो नहीं आता लेकिन आखिर बन्दोबस्त तो उनका भी करना पड़ेगा। वह करीब 20-25 करोड़ इन्सान हैं, लेबर मिनिस्टर साहब यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं उनसे मैं कहूंगा कि उनका ख्याल करे। उनमें पढ़े लिखे भी हैं और अनपढ़ भी हैं। उनमें सेज्युएट भी हैं, मॅट्रिकुलेट भी हैं और हर साल ऐसे लोगों की तादाद बढ़ती जा रही है।

वह ऐसी तादाद बढ़ रही है कि कि कहीं नकस - बाड़ी पैदा कर देगी इस देश में। मैं खास तौर से कउन चाहता हूँ कि यह बेचारे पड़े लिये लोग हैं। दूसरे तो मनाये भी जा सकते हैं, हाथ जोड़ने से लेकिन वह नहीं मानेंगे। वह एक ऐसा इन्वलाबी तबका पैदा हो रहा है जिसको खाने को नहीं मिलता, रोजगार नहीं मिलता। 80-85 प्रतिशत उन में से ऐसे हैं जिनके पास आगे अपना जीवन निर्वाह करने का कोई साधन नहीं और वह हरिजन और बैकवर्ड क्लास के भ्रामदमी खास तौर से हैं। तो मैं ज्यादा टाइम न लेते हुए यह चाहूंगा, रेजोल्यूशन जिस शकल में है, मैं चाहता तो यह था कि भूवर महोदय इसको और एक्सटेंड करते, लेकिन जितना है उतने की मैं पुरजोर टाईड करता हूँ और गवर्नमेंट से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि इसकी जो गरज है उसका गवर्नमेंट पूरा करे।

17 hrs.

Mr. Speaker: Now, Shri Shiva Chandra Jha.

Shri Shri Chand Goel (Chandigarh): May I submit that the Jan Sangh group is not being given any time?

Mr. Speaker Their chance also will come. Hon. Members would speak one after the other. We should not forget the back-benchers also. Let us give some chance to them in these debates at least.

Shri S. Kandappan (Mittur): I also want to speak.

Mr. Speaker: Yes, his name is also there. All the names are in the list before me.

श्री शिव चन्द झा (मधुबनी): अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो इस वक्त वेज फ्रीज की चर्चा देश में चल रही है यह चर्चा बहुत ही अंतरनाक है और समाज की प्रगति के खिलाफ है। यह मैं कहूंगा कि दकियानूसी विचार है

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

खास कर हमारे देश में। हिन्दुस्तान में जब समाज को बनाने की बड़ी बड़ी बातें हैं, बड़े-बड़े धादश हैं तब हमारे बीच से कुछ लोग आते हैं और मजदूरी पर रोक लगाना चाहते हैं और इस विचार को उठाना चाहते हैं तो यह बड़ी हैरानी की बात है। लेकिन मैं तो यह कहूंगा अध्यक्ष महोदय, और आप को हैरानी होगी यदि मैं कहूँ कि पूँजीवादी अर्थ व्यवस्था में मोटे तौर पर हमेशा वेज फ्रीज रहती है। यह बात कैसे होती है? आप जानते हैं कि अर्थ शास्त्र का कानून है कि मजदूर जितनी मेहनत करता है उस की आधी तनख्वाह, आधी मजदूरी वह पाता है और आधी उस का मालिक हड़प लेता है। अपने संघर्ष की बदौलत, अपनी लड़ाइयों की बदौलत और अपने आन्दोलन की बदौलत अमातौर पर मजदूर वर्ग अपनी तनख्वाह को आगे बढ़ाता है और उन सीमाओं पर से जाने की कोशिश करता है जहां उस का पूरा हक है। कहने का मतलब यह है कि मजदूरों का बुनियादी तौर पर राइट टु होल प्रोड्यूस का हक है। विश्व का इतिहास इस बात का साक्ष्य है कि जितने भी इस तरह के संघर्ष हुए हैं वे इस "राइट टु होल प्रोड्यूस" के लिए हुए हैं इस के लिए सब जगह पैदा से सड़ाई चलती आई है। जो प्रोड्यूस वे बनाते हैं वहां उन को नहीं मिल रही है। इसलिए हमेशा पूँजीवादी अर्थ व्यवस्था में उस की तनख्वाह "फ्रीज" रहती है। जब उस में क्रिममें बढ़ने लगती है तो वेज फ्रीज होने के कारण वह तनख्वाह और भी कम होने लगती है और उन की हालत और खराब हो जाती है। मैं आप को दो उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ जब कभी कहीं कोशिश हुई है कि मजदूरों की तनख्वाह फ्रीज हो तो वे कोशिशें ना-कामयाब रही हैं। अमरीका में लड़ाई के जमाने में जब पर्ल हारबर के बाद मजदूर नेताओं के बीच में एक परस्पर समझौता हो गया कि तनख्वाह वे बढ़ायेंगे नहीं वेज फ्रीज रखेंगे अपने रूप में तो जब चीखों के

दाम बढ़ रहे थे तब फिर मजदूरों ने अपनी तनख्वाहों को बढ़ाने के लिए लड़ाई की, हड़ताल और संघर्ष किया बावजूद इस बात के कि उन्होंने स्वतः यह माना था कि लड़ाई में वह इस वेज फ्रीज को कबूल करेंगे। मजदूरों के रहनुमा जॉन लुईस ने वेज फ्रीज के खिलाफ लड़ाई शुरू की और इस तरह की हालत पैदा कर दी कि रूजवैल्ट की हालत एक तरीके से खराब हो गयी। कई दफे रूजवैल्ट ने धमकी दी कि मैं सारे राष्ट्र को जाकर कहूंगा कि यह जॉन लुईस किस तरह का काम कर रहा है, वरना तुम यह वेज बढ़ाने वाली हड़ताल बंद कर दो लेकिन कोई फल न निकला। इसी तरीके से ट्रूमन के वक्त में जॉन लुईस ने लड़ाई शुरू की। ब्रिटेन में भी लड़ाई के जमाने में सर स्टै-फोर्ड क्रिसन ने वेज फ्रीज की बात उठाई थी लेकिन पौंड के डिवैल्युएशन के बाद वह बात अपने आप खत्म हो गयी। यह वेज फ्रीज की बात कभी कामयाब नहीं हो सकती है। अब हिन्दुस्तान में जो कोशिश हो रही है जैसा कि प्रस्ताव में है कि मुख्य मंत्रियों के बीच में यह बात आई, प्रस्ताव किया गया कि वेज फ्रीज हो तो यह बहुत हैरानी की बात है। हमारे देश में खास कर जो बड़े बड़े प्रस्ताव हैं, लाहौर रेजोलूशन है, करांची रेजोलूशन है, राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन का एक रेजोलूशन है जिसमें दिखाया गया है कि हम अपने समाज को किस तरीके से नये सिरे से बनायेंगे, एक नया समाज बनायेंगे, मजदूरों की हालत हम किस तरीके से ऊंची करेंगे, किस तरीके से देश में समाजवाद और जनतंत्र लायेंगे और एक नया मानव पैदा करेंगे। यह बड़े बड़े धादश हैं। सरकारी तौर पर जो इस वक्त हमारे धादश हैं, सोशललिस्टिक पैट्रन फ्रॉम सोसाइटी, देश में समाजवादी ढंग के समाज की व्यवस्था जब हम लाना चाहते हैं तो वेज फ्रीज की बात आती है। वह बड़ी हैरानी व तकलीफ की बात हो जाती है। सब से बड़ी तानाशाही आप कह सकते हैं हिटलर की जर्मनी में थी।

वहां भी वेज फ्रीज की कोशिशें की गई थी लेकिन उस को तलवार की धार पर चलना पड़ा। अखिर नतीजा यह हुआ कि उस का खात्मा हुआ और उस की हुकुमत का खात्मा हुआ। इसलिए यह बात चल नहीं सकती है और यह प्रतिक्रियावादी बात है। मैं चाहूंगा कि जिस तरीके से हिन्दुस्तान में चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं और दाम बढ़ने से जीवन स्तर, कोस्ट आफ लिविंग बढ़ता है तो उसी के साथ-साथ मजदूरों की तनख्वाहें भी बढ़नी चाहिए। जिस अनुपात में यह मंहगाई बढ़ती है, जीवन स्तर बढ़ता है, कोस्ट ऑफ लिविंग बढ़ती है उसी अनुपात में तनख्वाहें बढ़नी चाहिए ताकि मंहगाई का असर न्यूट्रलाइज हो जाये। उन का जीवन स्तर गिरने न पाये इस की हमेशा कोशिश होनी चाहिए। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि जो कम तनख्वाह पाने वाले सरकारी मजदूर हैं उन के लिए गजेन्द्र-गडकर कमिशन की जो सिफारिशें हैं उन्हें सरकार तत्काल कबूल करे ताकि उन का जीवन स्तर कम न होने पाये। मैं यह जो प्रस्ताव मदन में पेश है उस का तहेदिल से समर्थन करता हूँ और मुझे पूरा यकीन है कि इस तरीके की बात कतई हिन्दुस्तान में चल नहीं सकती। हिन्दुस्तान की जनता इस की मुखालफत करेगी, संघर्ष होंगे, घेराव होंगे, हड़तालें होंगी, हर संभव कदम इस के लिए हम लोग उठायेगें लेकिन मजदूरों का जो एक जायज हकूक है "राइट टु होस प्रोड्यूस" उस मजिल तक हम मजदूरों को पहुंचायेगें, उसे कतई हम कम न होने देंगे। वेज फ्रीज की बात हम कतई देश में लागू नहीं होने देंगे।

Shrimati Lakshmikruthamma (Khammam): I think the Resolution of the hon. Mover has the support of the entire House, as seen from the speeches made on this side as well as the other.

I myself come from an industrial area where there are thousands of

industrial workers engaged in coal fields. They write to me so many times about implementation of the Coal wage Board's recommendations, improvement of their service conditions and so on. I was happy the other day to learn that Government have accepted the Coal wage Board recommendations.

So I was wondering how these two things could be there at the same time. On the one hand, we read in the papers about wage freeze. On the other, we see that Government are giving sympathetic consideration to the question of improving the service conditions of the workers. But this fear should be allayed. I hope the hon. Minister in his reply will allay the apprehensions of members on this subject.

The Government has always been sympathetic towards the labourers. In this House we passed the bonus Bill during the last Parliament, and it has benefited thousands of workers in this country. Similarly, the Government also appointed the Gajendragadkar Commission. In view of all this, this fear need not exist, and even if there is any such thing, it should be a sacrifice on the part of everybody in the country, not only by the wage-earners or officials drawing small salaries.

We know that, as it is, they live in an insecure condition. Whether it is the Government servant or the wage-earner, they have to provide for the food of their families, for themselves, for their children, clothing, education etc., and it is a very miserable plight sometimes with the low purchasing power in their hands and the rise in prices about which the hon. members are all perturbed, everybody is perturbed. Though a certain amount of price rise is expected in a developing and planned economy where assets are generated the rise in prices has been greater than was supposed to take place in the circumstances.

[Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma]

Hon. members have referred to checking prices. I feel there can be no single panacea or short cut to check rising prices. It appears to me that the fiscal measures followed by the Government should also be followed by a disciplined economic activity in the community itself in order to keep prices down. Experience has shown that neither an all-government machinery nor the professional co-operators can take charge of the responsibility of distribution. It cannot also be left entirely in the hands of traders whose motive is profit and more profit. A machinery should be so devised that the consumer has the largest stake in the distributions itself.

There can be no short cut to price stability. The consumers themselves have to take up the responsibility of distribution of essential commodities at fair price shops. The Government should subsidise ventures and make them viable.

There are several non-official bodies which are doing educational and humanitarian work with service motive only. Such bodies should now be encouraged to take part, and with the co-operation of the people, be enabled to take up the economic activity, particularly in the field of distribution so that efficient and honest persons from the society are drafted into these economic activities.

The idea may appear strange, but there is no reason why these bodies should not take interest in this activity which is in dire need of their participation today.

The method of running the stores either by officers of the Government, or in the alternative, leaving it entirely to private initiative, should stop. We should not be afraid of failures in this great venture of bringing economic activity to the door of the people and make them participate in it. There is just no other effective way of controlling prices.

Because of the rise in prices, the employees are justified in asking for an increase in dearness allowance, but even before the announcement of the increase in dearness allowance, the prices go up further. So, how are the people benefited by this period increase in dearness allowance. So, this vicious circle has to be stopped at some place. The beneficiaries themselves have to be persuaded to participate in a scheme calculated to ensure timely and efficient distribution of essential commodities to themselves. The amount spent on increased dearness allowance could easily be utilised for subsidising the activity of checking the rise in prices. This requires a well conceived scheme and the will to co-operate and do hard work with a positive outlook. If we cannot accept the challenge now when can we accept it? How long is the country going to rush towards disaster. It is time we accepted the challenge and went ahead with the right remedy.

There is another point which needs mention here. In organising economic activity there appears to be some conflict between different sections of our people who are engaged in this. This need not be so. For instance we feel there is a conflict between the trader, co-operator and the consumer. There need not exist this conflict. We have accepted mixed economy as our aim and we should take steps to bring results to the people and check the price rise.

श्री. हरबचान बेरगुल (पूर्व दिल्ली) .

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मजदूरी वृद्धि पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने के सुझाव का मैं अपूर्ण। श्रीर अपने दल को श्रीर से विरोध करता हूँ। आज की परिस्थिति में इस सुझाव पर अमल करना अनुपयुक्त ही नहीं होगा अति धीरे अत्याय होगा। आज जिन परिस्थितियों में सरकारी तथा गैर-सरकारी अर्थात् उद्योगों इत्यादि में काम करने वाले कर्मचारी जोदन निर्बाह

कर रहे हैं उन को देख कर यह कहना कि उन की मजदूरी में वृद्धि न की जाये, बहुत निन्दनीय बात है।

हमने अपने दल की ओर से तीन साल पहले दिल्ली में एक सर्वेक्षण किया था। 125 रुपये तक वेतन या मजदूरी पाने वाले लोगों का एक वर्ग बनाया, 125 से ऊपर और 250 रुपये तक वेतन या मजदूरी पाने वाले लोगों का दूसरा वर्ग बनाया और 250 से 500 रुपये तक मजदूरी या वेतन पाने वाले लोगों का तीसरा वर्ग बनाया और उन सब लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति की जांच करने की कोशिश की। उस समय जो आंकड़े आये उन को हमने तत्कालीन प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के सामने जाकर रखा। आप को जान कर आश्चर्य होगा कि दिल्ली में ऐसे लोगों की संख्या, जिनके परिवार की आय 125 रु० महीने से कम है, कोई 10 और 12 लाख के बीच में है। इसी प्रकार से जिन को मध्यम वर्ग के लोग कहते हैं उन लोगों की भी इतनी ही संख्या है। जो उच्च-मध्यम वर्ग है उन की संख्या भी करीब 7 या 8 लाख है।

जब हमने उन लोगो से जा कर पूछा कि वे किस तरह से अपना जीवन निर्वाह करते हैं और उनके सामने प्रश्न पत्र जा कर रखा कि वह लोग मकान का किराया कितना देते हैं और कपड़े पर कितना व्यय करते हैं, बच्चों की शिक्षा पर कितना व्यय करते हैं, उन को दूध कितना देते हैं, सब्जी कितनी लेते हैं? हमें जान कर आश्चर्य हुआ जब 125 रु० से कम वेतन या मजदूरी पाने वाले लोगों ने हम से कहा कि हम किस प्रकार के प्रश्न उन से कर रहे हैं। जब उन से पूछा गया कि वे सब्जी कितनी लेते हैं तो उन्होंने कहा कि कभी कभी एक छटांक दाल लेते हैं, उस में बहुत सा पानी मिलाते हैं और उस में भिगो

कर रोटी बच्चों को खिलाते हैं। कभी केवल प्याज और नमक से रोटी खिलाते हैं बच्चों को। यह हाल दिल्ली में रहने वाली जनता का है जिन की संख्या 10 या 12 लाख की है। परन्तु इससे भी ज्यादा दुर्दशा मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों की है, चाहे छोटे मध्यम वर्ग के हैं या बड़े मध्यम वर्ग के, बड़े मध्यम वर्ग की हालत तो बहुत ही खराब है। वह मुकाबला करते हैं उन पूँजीपतियों का जिन के पास बड़े बड़े औद्योगिक लाइसेंस हैं, जिन्होंने बड़ी ब्लैक मार्केट की है, उन लोगों का जिन्होंने रिश्वत में बहुत रुपया कमाया है, या उन बड़े लोगों का जो बड़े ठाठ बाट में रहते हैं। पांच सौ रुपया तनख्वाह लेने वाला दिल्ली का बाबू अपने रहन सहन में उनका मुकाबला करता है। वह चाहता है कि उन की तरह से उसके घर में रेडियो हो, उसी प्रकार से उसके घर में रेफ्रिजरेटर हो, मोटर कार नहीं तो उसके पास कम से कम स्कूटर हो, पहनने के लिए उनके पास बढ़िया सूट और टाई हो। परन्तु आप देखें कि पिछले तीन सालों में उस की तथा उसके बाल बच्चों की क्या हालत है। वह ऐसी हालत में है कि अपने बच्चों के लिए गर्म कपड़े तक नहीं सिलवा पाया है और इसका कारण यह है कि वह एफोर्ड नहीं कर सकता।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानते ही हैं कि दिल्ली में बिना स्वीटर के गुजारा नहीं हो सकता लेकिन आप को जान कप हारानी होगी कि मध्यम वर्ग के ऐसे लोग भी हैं जो कि पिछले पांच वर्षों से अपने बच्चों के लिए स्वीटर नहीं बनवा सके हैं, उनकी स्वीटर की जरूरत पूरी नहीं कर सके हैं। आप को यह जानकर भी आश्चर्य होगा कि जो ऊन बम्बई की पोर्ट पर आकर पांच रुपये पाऊंड पड़ती है और जिस पर कोई एक्साइज ड्यूटी नहीं देनी पड़ती है वह ऊन और उस का घागा यहाँ पर पच्चीस से पचास रुपये पाँड तक जा कर बिक्री है। ऊन से ऊन का घागा बनाने पर घाट घाने से अधिक मजदूरी नहीं लगनी चाहिये लेकिन

[हरदयाल देवगुण]

फिर भी यह पच्चीस से पचास रुपये पाउन्ड तक यहां बिकती है। ऐसी हालत में निम्न वर्ग के या मध्यम वर्ग के लोग इसे खरीद नहीं सकते। और न ही अपना तथा अपने परिवार वालों का निर्वाह कर सकते हैं।

आज कहने को कहा जाता है कि रिसेशन है, मन्दा भागया है। लेकिन आप देखें कि सरकार के खर्च कितने बढ़ गए हैं। आज आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत ही खराब है। हमारे बटर्जी साहब ने कहा है कि आज जो मजूरी है वह रीग्रल वेज नहीं है। आप इसकी तुलना 1947 की मजूरी थी उस के साथ करते हैं। आप देखें कि 1947 में जो मजूरी थी उस पर भी दूसरे विश्वयुद्ध का प्रभाव था। आप जानते हैं कि युद्ध का जो असर होता है वह असाधारण होता है। युद्ध की अननेचुरल कांजिज की वजह से भी दाम बढ़ जाते हैं। फिर भी यदि उस मजूरी से भी आप तुलना करें तो आज की मजूरी बहुत ही कम है। मैं कहूंगा कि हमें आज की मजूरी की तुलना 1947 से नहीं करनी चाहिये। इस की वास्तविक तुलना हमें करनी चाहिये 1938 के आंकड़ों में। 1938 में भाव क्या था और आज भाव क्या है, आज स्थिति क्या है। आज दिल्ली में स्थिति यह है कि भालू डेढ़ रुपये किलो मिलते हैं उसके मुकाबले में ग्राम सस्ता है। लोग कहते हैं कि ग्राम खालो और भालू मत खानो। यह जो स्थिति है इस से सभी को चिन्ता होनी चाहिये।

वास्तव में अगर सरकार को देश की आर्थिक स्थिति की चिन्ता है तो उसे अपना खर्चा बटाना चाहिये। हमारा देश बहुत बड़ा देश था। इसकी सीमायें बहुत दूर-दूर तक थीं। कांग्रेस और जवाहर लाल जी की मेहरबानी से जो देश के टुकड़े नहीं हुए थे तो इस देश की हदें खींच सक थीं, बर्मा भी इस में शामिल था। उस समय 92 करोड़ रुपये में सारे देश का

इंतजाम चलता था। सारी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चलती थी, फौज आदि का खर्च भी उस में शामिल था। उस के बाद हमने देखा कि इस देश में एग्जिटिव काउंसिलर पांच या सात हुआ करते थे। जब जंग शुरू हुई उस के बाद एग्जिटिव काउंसिलर की संख्या सतरह होगई और इन सतरह ने सारे इस विशाला देश का प्रबन्ध किया। तब बहुत अच्छा प्रबन्ध देश का चलता था। लेकिन आज 52 या 53 कांग्रेस के मंत्री हैं। हर एक मंत्री पर अपना खर्चा होता है। प्रधान मंत्री के सेक्रेटरी पर ही साढ़े सतरह लाख रुपया खर्च होता है। उन की ऐंटरेटमेंट्स पर, स्वागत आदि पर ढाई लाख रुपया खर्च होता है। हर एक मंत्री का बेपनाह खर्चा है। 1947 में जहां इस सरकार में 18 सेक्रेटरी हुआ करते थे वहां आज पचास से ज्यादा सेक्रेटरी हैं। जहां एडीशनल सेक्रेटरी सिर्फ दस हुआ करते थे वहां आज उन की संख्या पचीस से ज्यादा है। जहां ज्वाइंट सेक्रेटरी सिर्फ 34 हुआ करते थे वहां आज उन की संख्या 115 से भी ज्यादा है। जहां डिप्टी सेक्रेटरी 70 हुआ करते थे वहां आज उन की संख्या 300 से भी ऊपर है। जहां ग्रैंडर सेक्रेटरी तब 167 हुआ करते थे वहां आज उन की संख्या 500 के करीब है। अनप्रोडक्टिव स्टाफ, हाई पेड आफिसर्स सिर्फ 300 हुआ करते थे, अब शायद उन की संख्या 1000 के करीब है। इस प्रकार से सरकार का खर्चा बेपनाह बढ़ता जा रहा है। इस में किसी प्रकार की कमी करने की कोशिश नहीं की जा रही है। दूसरी तरफ मजूदरों से यह कहा जा रहा है तुम अपना पेट काट कर, अपने पेट पर पट्टी बांध कर रहो। यह बात नहीं चल सकती है। आप को चाहिये कि आप देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को ठीक करें। जिन कारणों से स्थिति खराब हो रही है उन को दूर करें। देश की आर्थिक स्थिति, यह साफ बात है कि, कांग्रेस की गलत नीतियों की वजह से खराब हुई है, गलत योजनाओं की वजह से खराब हुई है। सरकार को सामने आ कर उन गलतियों को

स्वीकार कर लना चाहिये और उन गलतियों को सधारने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

आर्थिक स्थिति की कुछ समीक्षा हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने बजट पेश करते हुए की थी। लेकिन उस में उन्होंने आर्थिक दशा को सुधारने का कोई इलाज हमारे सामने नहीं रखा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक आप कीमतों पर प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाते सकते हैं, जब तक आप कीमतों को बढ़ने से रोक नहीं सकते हैं, जब तक इन को कम नहीं कर सकते हैं तब तक आप को कोई अधिकार नहीं है कि आप मजदूरों की मजदूरी पर किसी प्रकार का प्रतिबन्ध लगायें। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि आप 1938 में जो चीजों की कीमतें थीं उन के साथ आज की कीमतों की तुलना कर के नए सिरे से देखें कि आज दाम क्या हैं और उस हिसाब से मजदूरी बांधें। आप को 1947 में जो कीमतें थीं उन के साथ तुलना करने की जरूरत नहीं है। 1963 में जहाँ फूड आर्टिकल्स का प्राइस इंडेक्स 126 था वहाँ आज वह 253 तक पहुँच गया है। जब बजट पेश किया गया तब सरकार की तरफ से क्या कहा गया कि पाँच परसेंट की इस बजट की वजह से कीमतों में वृद्धि होगी। लेकिन आज तक बीस प्वाइंटस के ऊपर वृद्धि हो चुकी है, बीस प्वाइंट ऊपर जा चुके हैं और 195 से इंडेक्स बढ़ कर 211 या 212 या 213 हो गया है। जब कीमतें इतनी तेजी से बढ़ रही हैं तो ऐसे समय में वेज फ्रीज का प्रश्न नहीं उठता है। गजन्ध्र गढ़कर कमीशन की जो सिफारिशें हैं वे भी इस लिहाज से हमें भ्रमान्य हैं कि पाँच सौ रुपये से कम वेतन पाने वाले जो लोग हैं उन की तनकाहों के बारे में यह कहा जाय कि उन के महंगाई-भत्ते में केवल साठ परसेंट न्यूट्रलाइजेशन की जाय। कीमतें जो आप ने बढ़ा दी हैं उस की वजह से उन का गुजारा नहीं हो रहा है। वे किस के पास भीख मांगने के लिये जायें? दिल्ली में मिडिल क्लास के लोग सत्तर परसेंट से अधिक

कर्जदार हैं। वे अपना गुजारा नहीं कर सकते हैं। जिस तरह से वे जिन्दगी बसर कर रहे हैं उस का आप अनुमान नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि बजाय ऐसे सुझाव पर विचार करने के लिए वेज फ्रीज हो आप को तमाम मजदूरी के प्रश्न पर नए सिरे से विचार करना चाहिये। आज आप के रुपये की कीमत ही कितनी रह गई है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अनाजों, खाद्यान्नों और दूसरी आवश्यक वस्तुओं की 1938 की कीमतों को आधार मान कर अब कितनी वृद्धि हुई है, कि इसे दृष्टि में रखते हुए आप नए सिरे से मजदूरी बांधें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस सुझाव का कि मजदूरी में वृद्धि पर प्रतिबन्ध लगे, विरोध करता हूँ।

Shri S. Kundu (Balasore): This is an important matter. I also want to speak on this.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I do not think Government has made up its mind on this. If this discussion is continued on the next day, by that time the Cabinet meeting would have been held and Government would have taken a decision also. So, this should be continued on the next day also.

Mr. Speaker: I find that many members on both sides want to speak. At 5-30 we will take up the half-hour discussion. Let this be continued next time.

Shri S. Kandappan (Mittur): Sir, in support of the resolution that we are now discussing, I would like to make some observations based on certain obvious facts, without entering into statistics and figures. I am not an economist nor an expert in fiscal matters, but there are certain obvious things that we cannot escape recognizing while considering wage or price freeze. We are told that a certain amount of inflation is bound

[Shri S. Kandappan]

17.32 hrs.

*SANGEET NATAK AKADEMI AND
SAHITYA AKADEMI

Mr. Speaker: Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia may raise the half-an-hour discussion.

to occur in a developing economy. But this kind of let-loose inflation, after the five year plans have come to stay in our country, is something unheard of in the history of developing nations in the world, barring one or two countries.

The crux of the matter is, our economy is in a fix and the real malady that damages the economic health of the country—the villain of the piece—is the price rise. We all know that the price index is spiralling high and there is no check on it. Actually, after independence, all these 20 years, Government at no time were able to check prices. They were pleading helplessness, being pathetic spectators to the currents and cross-currents of our economy and they were not able to do practically anything about it. On the top of this chaotic situation, this loose and irresponsible talk of freeze in wages is rather amazing.

Mr. Speaker: It is now 5.30. We have to take up the half-hour discussion. I hope the hon. Minister would have no objection if this discussion is postponed to next Friday, because many hon. Members want to participate in this.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance (Shri K. C. Pant): Sir, I am entirely in your hands.

Mr. Speaker: Therefore, we will continue this discussion next time and Shri Kandappan will also continue his speech next time.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Alipore): Sir, the time allotted was two hours. I suggest that it may be extended by an hour.

Mr. Speaker: We will extend it by one hour more. I hope the Minister will have no objection.

Shri K. C. Pant: I have no objection.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, पायंट आफ आर्डर । मैं निवदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज सुबह गृह मंत्री जी ने यह वादा किया था कि वह मध्य प्रदेश के बारे में स्टेटमेंट देंगे। आप उन से स्टेटमेंट देने के लिए कहें। मध्य प्रदेश असेम्बली के बारे में लेटेस्ट खबर यह है कि उस को आज तीन बज बगैर किसी कारण के एडजर्न कर दिया गया। ग्रान्ड्स पर बहस हो कर वहाँ पर जो शक्ति परीक्षण होने वाला था, वह नहीं हुआ।

Mr. Speaker: I have called Dr. Lohia to raise the discussion.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : आप ने भी सुना होगा कि मध्य प्रदेश असेम्बली को बिना किसी कारण एजर्न कर दिया गया है।

Mr. Speaker: I am not aware of it.

Shri Kuwar Lal Gupta: You can ask the Home Minister to make a statement.

Mr. Speaker: No please.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जहाँ तक मध्य प्रदेश असेम्बली का सम्बन्ध है, टाइम फेक्टर का बहुत महत्व है। वहाँ की सरकार और टाइम लेना चाहती है।

Mr. Speaker: I cannot help it. I cannot ask any Minister, any minute, to make a statement.