

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I would request Shri Banerjee to co-operate with me. We must run this House according to certain rules. If it is on the same question, I would not allow it.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : बिना सुने आप ने पहले ही टोक दिया ।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I want the House to run efficiently. Sir, I would request you to give him a chance. He should also run this House.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : अकेले अकेले हाउस रन नहीं होगा । मैं एक दूसरा सवाल रेल के ही सिलसिले में उठा रहा हूँ । मेरे पास रतलाम से आज सबेरे तार आया है । वहाँ के रेलवे ऐम्प्लॉईज़ कानफ़ेडरेशन के प्रेसीडेंट ने सूचित किया है वहाँ स्थिति बड़ी खराब है । अफ़सर लोग रेल मजदूरों को बहुत तंग कर रहे हैं, रिप्रेशन कर रहे हैं ऐम्प्लॉईज़ का और वहाँ हड़ताल हो जायगी । अगर ऐसा हुआ तो रेलवे का काम रुक जायगा । इसलिए सरकार को फ़ौरन इस तरफ़ ध्यान दे कर इन की बात सुननी चाहिए ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This also is not fair—so many members from the same party wanting to rise. I think there should be some limit to this.

13.48 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE.
DISAPPROVAL OF THE COAL
MINES (TAKING OVER OF MANA-
GEMENT) ORDINANCE AND THE
COAL MINES (TAKING OVER OF
MANAGEMENT) BILL

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will take up the Statutory Resolution and

the Bill on Coal Mines (Taking Over of Management).

श्री ज्ञानेश्वर प्रसाद यादव (कटिहार):
मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि :

“यह सभा राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 30 जनवरी, 1973 को प्रख्यापित कोयला खान (प्रबन्ध-ग्रहण) अध्यादेश, 1973 (1973 का अध्यादेश संख्या 1) का निरनुमोदन करती है ।”

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो अध्यादेश जारी किया गया है उसका मैं निरनुमोदन करता हूँ, और वह इसलिए कि इस अध्यादेश जारी करने के ठीक पूर्व राष्ट्रपति महोदय लोक सभा का बजट अधिवेशन बुलाने के लिए सदस्यों को परिपत्र भेज चुके थे । जब बजट सेशन प्रारम्भ होने वाला था उस के दो सप्ताह पहले नान-कोकिंग कोल माइन्स का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर के सरकार ने अप्रजातांत्रिक ढाँचे का परिचय दिया है ।

जहाँ तक मजदूरों के हितों का सवाल है, चाहे सरकारीकरण में हो, या व्यक्तिगत उद्योग के अन्दर हो, दोनों में मजदूरों का शोषण होता है । चन्द पूंजीपति मजदूरों का शोषण करते हैं । और सरकारीकरण के बाद भी मजदूरों की स्थिति नहीं सुधरती और सरकार की नौकरशाही मजदूरों का शोषण और दुहन किया करती है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब कोकिंग कोल का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया गया था तो हमें बताया गया था कि स्टील उद्योग के लिए आवश्यक है कि कोकिंग कोल का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय । लेकिन

इस राष्ट्रीयकरण के लिए जो कारण बताए गए हैं, तर्क दिए गए हैं। वे यह हैं कि उद्योगपति या कोयला खानों के मालिक पूजा नहीं लगाते थे, नीचे खान में जा कर जितना उत्पादन होना चाहिए नहीं करते थे, उनकी तरफ रायल्टी का बहुत ज्यादा बकाया था, मजदूरों के प्राविडेंट फंड का भी बकाया था, प्राइवेट अोनर मजदूरों को वेज बोर्ड की सिफारिशों के आधार पर वेजिज नहीं देते थे और बहुत सी खा बन्द हो गई थीं। लेकिन आप देखें कि

“According to a Reserve Bank study, the rate of growth in gross fixed investment in the coal industry in the last four years was 6.3 per cent compared to 5.9 per cent in cotton textiles, 4.3 per cent in non-ferrous metals, 5.9 per cent in machinery manufacture, 6 per cent in cement, 5.1 per cent in paper, 3.3 per cent in oil and 5.8 per cent in steel industries. The gross block of the mines increased from Rs. 40.94 crores in 1965 to Rs. 53.56 crores in 1971. The value of other assets, stores, stocks, book debts., etc as in 1971 amounted to Rs. 21.69 crores and owned funds (capital plus reserves) Rs. 28.40 crores.”

इसके अलावा 17 करोड़ रुपया लग करके विदेशी मशीनरी जो कि कोल माइज के लिए आवश्यक थीं, उनका आयात किया गया और उसको आधुनिक बनाने की कोशिश की गई। दूसरे प्लान में कोयले के उत्पादन का 60 मिलियन टन लक्ष्य रखा गया था जिस में से 43.50 मिलियन टन प्राइवेट सैक्टर में उत्पादन का और 16.50 मिलियन टन पब्लिक सैक्टर में रखा गया था। जहां तक प्राइवेट सैक्टर की बात है उन्होंने 45.5 मिलियन टन उत्पादन किया जब कि पब्लिक सैक्टर ने 10.67 मिलियन टन कोयले का ही उत्पादन किया।

11 अप्रैल, 1963 को अपनी मिनिस्ट्री की डिमांडज फार ग्रांट्स पर हुई बहस का जवाब देते हुए श्री के० डी० मालवीया ने कहा था :

“On April 11, 1963, Shri K. D. Malaviya, the then Minister, while replying to the debate on demands for grants in respect of his Ministry, stated:

“With regard to the National Coal Development Corporation, which has been another subject-matter for criticism, it is said that the private sector in the Coal Industry has gone ahead and its work is much more satisfactory than that of the public sector. Yes, it is a fact that the private sector coal industry has gone ahead and they have over-stepped their targeted production.”

जहां तक बकाया का प्रश्न है, बकाया प्राविडेंट फंड का प्रश्न है आप देखें कि भारत कोकिंग कोल लिमिटेड की तरफ 2,88,85,572 रुपये था और इंडस्ट्रियल रिकंस्ट्रक्शन कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिय की तरफ 1,34,69,898 रुपये बकाया थे। ड्यूज या प्राविडेंट फंड की बकाया राशियों को लेने के लिए दूसरे तरीकों का भी अवलम्बन किया जा सकता था और उनको अदा करवाया जा सकता था और लेवर की दिलवाया जा सकता था।

जहां तक वेज बोर्ड की रिकोमेंडेशंज का प्रश्न है यह बात समझ में आती है कि प्राइवेट कालियरीज के मालिक श्रमिकों की वेज बोर्ड की रिकोमेंडेशंज के आधार पर वेजिज नहीं देते थे और वे उनको मिलनी चाहिए थीं। लेकिन फिर भी जो तथ्य सामने आए उनको आप देखें।

“At the tripartite meeting held on 12th January, 1973, at New Delhi under the Chairmanship of the

[श्री ज्ञानेश्वर प्रसाद यादव]

Union Minister for Labour and Rehabilitation, it was disclosed by the Ministry of Labour that 80 per cent of workers were enjoying the benefits of the Wage Board recommendations and that only 20 per cent of the collieries which were small and producing lower grade coal, who were unable to implement them owing to the extremely low price realisation of their coal”.

वेज बोर्ड की सिफारिशों के आधार पर वेजिज दिलाने के लिए सरकार और तरिके भी इस्तेमाल कर सकती थी और उनको वेजिज दिलाई जा सकती थीं। लेकिन आज सरकार चाहती है कि हर चीज को वह अपने हाथ में ले ले और वह समझती है कि इस तरह से समस्याओं का समाधान हो जाएगा। आपने गत वर्ष कोकिंग कोल माइंज का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया था। उसी समय एक ही झटके में इसको भी अगर आप कर लेते तो मुझे कोई आपत्ति न हाता। उस समय इसकी मैंने मांग भी की थी इस मांग का समर्थन भी किया था। मूलभूत जो उद्योग हैं वे सरकार अपने हाथ में ले सकती है। लेकिन छोटे छोटे कोयला खान मालिकों को भी इसकी लपेट में लिया गया है। बहाना यह किया गया है कि वेज बोर्ड की सिफारिशें वे लोग नहीं मानते थे और उनके अनुसार वेजिज नहीं देते थे। गतवर्ष कोकिंग कोल के नेशनलाइजेशन के बाद मैं धनवाद गया था। मैंने देखा है कि आज भी वहां भारत कोकिंग कोल कम्पनी और एन सी डी सी के अन्दर ये प्राइवेट ठेकेदार नियुक्त किये जाते हैं और ये प्राइवेट ठेकेदार बिचोलियों का काम करते हैं और वहां

पर भी मजदूरों का शोषण और दोहन होता है। केवल ठेकेदारों को समाप्त करने के लिए अगर आपने ऐसा किया है तो आप देखें एन सी डी सी 1958 से चल रही है फिर भी वहां पर प्राइवेट कान्ट्रैक्टर आज भी नियुक्त किये जाते हैं। आज भी भारत कोकिंग कोल के अन्दर प्राइवेट ठेकेदार बिचोलियों के तौर पर मजदूरों का शोषण और दोहन करते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं इस अध्यादेश का निरनुमोदन करता हूं।

ऐसा मालूम होता है कि सरकार अपनी विफलताओं को जनता की नजरों से बचाना चाहती है इस वास्ते वह आज सारे देश को धोखे में रख रही है। आज सरकारी क्षेत्र में चलने वाले जितने उद्योग धंधे हैं वे घाट में चल रहे हैं और निजी क्षेत्र में चलने वाले उद्योग धंधे मुनाफे में चल रहे हैं। आज दुनिया की दृष्टि निजी औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में जो सफलता मिल रही है उस ओर लगी हुई है। भारत सरकार की तथा कथित सरकारीकरण की नीति को आम लोक शंका की निगाह से देखने लग गये हैं। यह एक भ्रम था जो दूर हो गया है। लोग सरकारी मशीनरी के ऊपर आज भरोसा नहीं कर रहे हैं। शायद इंग्लिए हमारे खान और इस्पात मंत्री श्री मोहन कुमारमंगलम दुनिया को अपनी धौंस में लाने के लिए दुनिया को भ्रमित करने के लिए प्राइवेट सेक्टर में चलने वाले उद्योगों को अपने हाथ में ले लेना चाहते हैं। जहां तक मूलभूत उद्योगों का प्रश्न है उनको आप

चलाए इस में कोई दो मत नहीं हैं। यह मैंने पहले ही भी कहा है। लेकिन सरकारी-करण में जो मजदूरों का दोहन होता है और निजी उद्योगपतियों के द्वारा जो उद्योग चलाए जाते हैं वहां भी होता है तो ऐसी स्थिति में मेरा यह निश्चित मन है और मेरे दिल का यह निश्चित मन है कि वास्तव में श्रमिकीकरण किया जाए मजदूरों का कारणों से साझीदार बनाया जाए।

14.00 hrs.

1972 के आम चुनावों में मैंने कांग्रेस पार्टी के घोषणा-पत्र में यह वाक्य देखा था कि मजदूरों को उद्योग में साझीदार बनाया जाये क्या साझीदार बनाने का यह तरीका है कि मजदूरों को नौकरगारी के चंगुल में डाल दिया जाये और उनका शापण किया जाय? लोग न सोचें था बहुत से मजदूर नताशा ने यह आशा की थी कि सरकार के इस कदम में मजदूरों का हित होगा उनको वेज बोर्ड के मातहत रोजी-रोटी मिलेगी और प्राइवेट भी बढ़ेगा। लेकिन अभी 2 मार्च को करगली में क्या हुआ? वहां मजदूरों ने सिर्फ यह माग की थी कि उनको सात दिन की बकाया मजदूरों मिल जानी चाहिए। जब साठ सत्तर की तादाद में प्रदर्शनकारी आये तो पुलिस ने उन में से जानकी मिश्र और रोशन रजवार को पकड़ लिया। उन लोगों ने आग्रह किया कि इन दोनों व्यक्तियों को छोड़ दिया जाये।

उन लोगों का खयाल था कि सरकार ने कोयला खानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया है हमारे कस्टोडियन साहब आये हुए हैं हम उन के सामने अपनी माग रख रहे हैं हम जनता की भद्रालत में जाये हैं हम किसी ठकेदार, पूजोपति, उद्योगपति या शोषण करने वाले के पास नहीं जा रहे हैं। जब उन लोगों ने यह माग की कि जानकी मिश्र और रोशन रजवार को छोड़ दिया जाये, तो उन पर लाठियां चलाई गईं और बाद में मजदूरों को गोली में उड़ा दिया गया। हमारे देहात में कहावत है कि नमाज बक्शवाने गये थे लेकिन रोजे गले पड़ गये।

मजदूरों को यह आशा थी कि उन के साथ इन्साफ होगा, लेकिन वह नहीं हो रहा है। आज भी ठकेदार लोग उसी प्रकार उन का शोषण कर रहे हैं, जिस प्रकार पहले खान मालिकों के समय ठकेदार और लट्टेन लोग किया करते थे। (ध्यान) उन का शोषण पहले भी किया जाता था और अब भारत कोकिंग कोल कंपनी में भी किया जाता है। उनको राहत कहा मिली है? (ध्यान)।

कोयले की धुलाई के लिए वहां पर एक कारखाना चल रहा था, सेलरी का उपयोग किया जाता था जिस में लगभग सौ, डेढ़ सौ मजदूर लगे हुए थे। लेकिन एकाएक एन० सी० डी० सी० के अफसरों ने उस का बन्द कर दिया। वह कारखाना करगली के नजदीक है। (ध्यान)।

श्री बाबूबर पांडे (हजारीबाग) :
वहा पर तीनो कारखाने चल रहे है।
माननीय सदस्य बताये कि झीन सा नही
चल रहा है।

श्री शान्देवर प्रसाद भाबब : जो
कारखाना बन्द हो गया है उस को चलाया
आये।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह जानना
चाहता हू कि आज भी जो बिबीनिये
या ठेकेदार मजदूरों का शोषण कर रहे है,
क्या वह उन को हटाने जा रहे है।

कोयले का उद्योग मुख्यतया बिहार
और बंगाल मे है। झरिया, धनवाद,
राची और हजारीबाग आदि मे कोयले की
खाने है। लेकिन बिहारवासियों की घोर
उपेक्षा हो रही है, जिस के कारण उन मे
प्रसतोष की भावना व्याप्त हो रही है।
वहा कस्टोडियन के नाम पर नये नये
अधिकारी इम्पोज किये जा रहे है।
मैं मंत्री महोदय या किसी व्यक्ति विशेष
का उल्लेख कर के उन पर कोई दोषा-
रोपण नहीं कर रहा हू, लेकिन यह तथ्य
है कि मंत्री महोदय के भाई, श्री जे० जी०
कुमारमंगलम, कस्टोडियन-जेनेरल के रूप
मे काम कर रहे हैं। आज कस्टोडियन
के नाम पर बिहार-वासियों का शोषण हो
रहा है। बिहार मे इतनी अधिक कोयला-
खाने हैं। कस्टोडियन के नाम पर बिहार
की जनता के साथ अन्याय न किया जाए,

उन के साथ न्याय किया जाये। धरती
के लालों और धरती के पुत्रों के साथ
कुछ इन्साफ किया जाये। आवश्यकता
इस बात की है कि कस्टोडियन और अन्य
अफसरों के पदों पर धरती के लालों
को रखा जाये।

बिहार मे चर्चा है कि एन० सी० डी०
सी० का हैड आफिस वहा से हटाया जा
रहा है और स्टील कम्पनी के कार्यालय को
भी कलकत्ता या दिल्ली लाया जा रहा है।
इन बातों से बिहार के लोगों मे निराशा
की भावना व्याप्त हो रही है। मैं चाहता
हू कि मंत्री महोदय इस बारे मे स्पष्ट
आश्वासन दे, ताकि जनता का असंतोष
दूर हो। धरती के लालों को, सन्ध
आफ दि सायल को, तरजीह देने स
उत्पादन भी बढ़ेगा और व्यवस्था भी ठीक
होगी।

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND
MINES (SHRI S MOHAN KUMARA
MANGALAM) While opposing the
resolution moved by the hon Member
Shri G P Yadav, who spoke just now
I beg to move*

'That the Bill to provide for the
taking over, in the public interest
of the management of coal mines,
pending nationalisation of such
mines, with a view to ensuring
rational and co-ordinated develop-
ment of coal production and for
promoting optimum utilisation of
the coal resources consistent with
the growing requirements of the
country, and for matters connected
therewith or incidental thereto be
taken into consideration'

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

Before making some preliminary remarks on the Bill which I am introducing and requesting the House to take into consideration, I would just like to say a word or two about the speech made by the hon. Member just now. Of course, though it has been clothed with a number of words of sympathy for the workers, in my experience, short experience of the last two years in Parliament, I do not think I have heard a more unashamed defence of the private sector and the exploitation of the workers, in this period. Extra-ordinary to hear suddenly that the private sector has become angles in the coal-mining industry, of all the industries and that the public sector are committing all the crimes.

I hold no brief for the mistakes that we in the public sector have committed in the past and may possibly commit in future, but I can certainly claim that in the realm of looking after the welfare of the workers, there is an ocean of difference between the way the private sector has operated and the way the public sector operates. I have with me here pages and pages of reports of our Custodians on taking over which show the manner in which they have cheated the workers, mal-treated them, putting in false and fraudulent returns of coal, made black money right and left and committed all possible atrocities that could have been committed and which have not been committed in the public sector. Let us be very clear about it.

Anybody to-day who raises his voice in defence of the private sector in the coal-mines is guilty of being the spokesman of the most reactionary and the most, I would say, ruthlessly, shamelessly exploiting section of the capitalist classes of our country.

I am sorry that in this House, of all the Houses, we should have had to listen to a speech in defence of these

people. To say to-day that we should be ashamed of what is being done in the public sector and to plead the cause of the private sector is astonishing in the year 1973.

I do not want to go into the statistics of production because the fact is that between 1963 and 1973 the public sector production has gone up and the private sector has remained almost stagnant. So far as investment is concerned, less than Rs. 5 crores have been invested in the private sector. The most astonishing of all is that there are even to-day mines and mines that have been mined—we found it when we took them over—in violation of all possible canons and laws which are in existence in our country. If the hon. Member would like, I have got here the photographs of the mines and the hon. Member may see how ruthless was the exploitation of the workers that was taking place.

It shows the type of lives to which these workers were condemned to live. I think by passing this ordinance as the President did on 30th January, we have ended once for all of era of exploitation where the workers were more exploited than in any other industry in our country. Certain criticisms were made that we passed this ordinance just before the session, just 15 days before, or so. It is, I think, to be exact, 19 days. The hon. Member and the House will I am sure, no doubt, appreciate that in matters of this kind it is impossible to legislate except by way of ordinance. Because if one follows what is called the democratic process of introducing a Bill, all the friends of the hon. Member, on whose behalf he spoke, will do some worse things than what they have already done and so there was no other way but to pass this legislation. Therefore, those who throw up their hands in holy horror, claiming that they are the spokesmen of democracy are not really spokesmen of democracy but of some other forces which we all of us know.

(Shri S. Mohan Kumaramanglam).

I do not want to waste the time of the House more on this and I would put my positive case very briefly. I would say that there were two main considerations which prompted the Government to pass this ordinance. One is this, that we have recognised that coal is the principal source of energy in this country, that we should increase the production of coal from its present level of somewhere around 70 to 75 million tonnes. I put it roughly in the sense that we do not really know what the production of coal is because so many of the coalmine owners have really swindled us, they gave certain statistics which were not reliable and so on. So, I said 70 million to 75 million and it is somewhere in that region. We have to take it up from that level to somewhere around 140 million tonnes or so. This requires an enormous investment. This will be above Rs. 500 crores. There will be Rs. 100 crores in the former private sector, Rs. 38 crores in Singareni, Rs. 300 crores in NCDC and Rs. 125 crores in Bharat Coking Coal. It is impossible to expect the private sector to come up to the level of investment which is necessary to be able to increase production to that level.

You might be interested to know that on the 29th of January, a very appropriate day, a day before the ordinance was passed a certain advertisement was published in the Statesman and other Calcutta papers in which the private sector offered that they were ready to gear themselves up to the Fifth Five Year plan to invest somewhere in the region of Rs. 78 crores or so. We could not attach any weight to that claim because during the last 10 years our assessment has been that the maximum investment which private sector could put in is a modest figure of Rs. 5 crores and not more. Therefore, if we have to really build up production, there was no other way except to take over.

Our second main objective was to see that justice was done to the wor-

kers engaged in these coalmines. You are faced here with an extraordinary situation. The registers show a certain figure as having been paid to the workers but in actual practice the amount paid is much less than that. I have got materials from the custodians which give facts mine by mine and show the kind of malpractices that are going on. A number of private sector collieries were not observing safety precautions and in central Joyramdih mine, for example, for 130 workers, only 68 safety lamps were available.

Then you take, for instance, the strength of the workers in East Loha Patnam mine. The actual strength is 530 and 124 is the number of persons who are members of the Miners Provident Fund. That means to say there were any number of workers literally tens of thousands of workers who are permanent workers but deprived of the benefits of Provident Fund. You take the question of housing. In any number of collieries not even 10 per cent of the workers were given the houses and the type of houses which they were given were like the worst slums anywhere in the country. These are the conditions. We will not be able to put an end to it in a day but it will take time.

So far what have we done after taking-over? The wages of category I are being paid. Regularisation of workers is almost complete but so far as casual or badly workers are concerned it will take some time. The hon. Members will appreciate that to regularise the whole lot of 2 lakhs with an officer staff of 50 to 60 is not easy but we are trying to do it as early as possible. We have taken a decision to abolish the Coalfields Recruitment Organisation and yesterday there was a meeting attended by hon. Members as well as by trade-union leaders where we have all come to the conclusion that this CRO which, I think, can be described as a relic of the middle ages which has been perpetrated by private employers and

which is still operated in Bengal over all these years is an instrument of inhuman oppression and has to be put an end to. So far as employment opportunities in Gorakhpur are concerned we will discuss with the Uttar Pradesh government and with other colleagues as to how Gorakhpur Labour Organisation should be continued to provide sufficient opportunities of employment for the labour in Gorakhpur. This is the decision we have arrived at.

Finally, about prices. Even yesterday we had a long meeting with the representatives of all the State governments to discuss how best we can control the prices particularly so far as the domestic consumers and brick burning coal is concerned.

We hope that as a result of these decisions that have been taken yesterday, we will be able to move rake loads of coal for domestic consumers in the major cities and also in the districts.

But hon. members will appreciate that takeover of coalmines like these is not a small job. There were 464 in the first take-over; there are another 206 more and then finally another 68. In total, we have taken over now somewhere in the region of between 730—740. We have taken them over in a short time. By and large, there have been very few incidents except the one of which naturally my hon. friend, Shri Yadav, must make the maximum capital, namely, what happened in the colliery at Kargali. In regard to that, I had explained the position in great detail when the matter was taken up in this House the other day.

I do claim, and I think Government has every right to claim, that the takeover of such a large number of collieries spread over six different states in our country has been done, may I use the word, with reasonable efficiency—I think so—and with the minimum of harm—I think so, and

also I think with the maximum potential for reorganisation in the future.

I also think both the State Government; on the one hand and the trade unions of all colours on the other for the co-operation they have given to Government as well as to the Coal Mines Authority. We do not claim that no mistakes have been committed...

SHRI A. P. SHARMA (Buxar): Including Shri Bhattacharya.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMAR-MANGALAM: Yes, I think him. I thanked him outside the House and I thank him inside the House also. I am not afraid of giving credit where credit is due, though they are sometimes unfortunately (*Interruptions*) Shri Somnath Chatterjee is going to have opportunities in the court and here. I have left court and can speak only here.

I have no doubt that the co-operation which we have had continuously for the last two months from trade unions in effecting this takeover has been of great importance to us, and will be of great importance perhaps, even greater importance, in the future. That is the policy of Government and I would like to reiterate that we consider that this is of great importance.

Before I close, I would like just to pay a word of tribute to the officers, particularly these out in the field, and the 49 Custodians and four or five other senior officers like Additional Custodians who have put through this takeover. It is a fact that after the Ordinance was promulgated on 30 January, for the next 24 to 36 hours it was a very difficult position. Unlike in the case of non-coking coal mines takeover which was a most confined to one district apart from three mines in Bengal, these are spread over a very wide area, starting from Chanda in Maharashtra and ending with Assam, apart from the major zone of Bengal and Bihar. This

[Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam] take-over has been done so efficiently that I think we must pay a tribute to our officers, all of whom are drawn from the public sector.

In conclusion, may I say that it is unfortunate that my friend, Shri Yadav, should have fallen such a victim to all the propaganda of the private sector? May I request him to look a little away from the private sector and at the public sector? May I inform him that some of the most profit-making organisations in the country are in the public sector like Instrumentation, Kotah, Shipping Corporation, Indian Oil Corporation, Bharat Heavy Electricals Tiruchi, and so on? It is not that they are all bad. Some of the best records which I mentioned about Bokaro in answer to a question, have been made by our engineers and technicians. Let us not denigrate ourselves too much. Do not think that by talking about labour co-operation you are going suddenly to put on, as it were the mantle of pro-worker. Not at all. So long as you speak in such terms about the public sector, so long you will be considered only as a person who is against the worker. There is no escape from it. Leave the private sector. Come along and join us and then speak for the workers and the whole nation will be glad to have your company. But so long as you sit there

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAIPAYEE (Gwalior). Do not talk like this. You have not nationalised all the private sector. You are committed to maintain the private sector.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM: No, no, let us be clear. We were talking at the moment about the denigration of the public sector as a whole which unfortunately your friend was indulging in along with praise of the private sector as a whole.

According to Mr. Yadav—it is on record—the private sector only makes profit and the public sector only makes

losses. This is his statement. It is there on record. Unfortunately it is not so. Unfortunately, we have to take over so many private sector enterprises which were bankrupt, useless and which lost money heavily (Interruption) I have listened to the speech of the hon. Member with great care, and I am trying to do justice to it to the limited extent I am capable of. I would plead with him do not look always at the public sector with a jaundiced eye, and do not always look at the private sector with an eagle eye. It is not fair. Let us be fair. Those who have been doing badly in the public sector—condemn them. But why generalise in favour of the private sector and generalise against the public sector? That is what he was doing. Well, I will leave it at that.

Finally, I do believe, in the end in completing the process of taking over what may be called the oldest industry in India, I think the coalmining industry is the oldest in our country. Government has set its hand on the completion of a historic task and that is a rational and scientific utilisation of the most valuable natural resource of our country, namely, coal. The task is not a small one. It is a gigantic task. It demands the devoted and dedicated work of five lakh work in the coal industry, and thousands of engineers and managers, the sardars and evermen. I have no doubt that in the field of coalmining industry, we have got some of our most talented engineers and also very very good workers. It is a question now of provision of resources from the side of the Government and the House, of giving them full support and enabling them to really achieve what we want to achieve. We call it coal but probably we should call it black gold, one of the greatest assets of our country. Without coal there can be no steel, no thermal power stations, no railways. Virtually no industry can run, and therefore it is that we attach such a great significance to the development of coal and such a great significance

to the decision taken by THE Government.

There will be differences between us on this side and those on that side of the House on certain matters regarding how we are operating, etc. But let that not divide us on the main question that we do want this take-over to succeed, that we do want production to go up as far as we are aiming; that we do want the conditions of workers to improve radically, for the better, and I am sure that when this House adopts this Bill, it will really be laying the foundation-stone for effectively seeing that coal which we have in such vast quantities of coal in our country serves the interests of the nation.

श्री ज्ञानेश्वर प्रसाद यादव : कान्स्ट्रिक्ट सिस्टम के बारे में आप ने कुछ नहीं कहा। एन०सी०डी०सी० में है, सब जगह है, भारत कुकिंग कोलियरीज में भी है, सब जगह आपने एक्वाइंट किये हुए हैं.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order please.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARA-MANGALAM: That is not a correct statement. The hon. Member does not know the details of the working of the Bharat Coking Coal. We will go into it at the time of the debate in the Demands for Grants, when the House will have plenty of opportunity. But I do not want to get away from the main problems facing us in the coal industry.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Motions moved:

"This House disapproves of the Coal Mines (Taking Over of Management) Ordinance, 1973 (Ordinance No. 1 of 1973) promulgated by the President on the 30th January, 1973."

"That the Bill to provide for the taking over, in the public interest, of the management of coal mines pending nationalisation of such mines, with a view to ensuring

rational and co-ordinated development of coal production and for promoting optimum utilisation of the coal resources consistent with the growing requirements of the country, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, be taken into consideration."

— Shri Somnath Chatterjee. We are taking both the Resolution and the Bill.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Burdwan): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I wholeheartedly support this measure. As a matter of fact, when the coking coal industry was nationalised, we urged that non-coking coal should also be taken over, because to have an integrated coal policy in this country, to evolve proper programmes and plans, to have a greater manufacture and conservation of this important resources in this country, it is necessary that the entire available coal, both coking and non-coking, should come under the public control. I am happy that although somewhat belated in taking over non-coking coal, the Government has taken this step of taking over the management at least for the time being.

Sir, we agree with the finding of the Government and what the Minister referred to as to how colliery owners had been behaving in the past, and how the ruthless exploitation was being indulged in, in so far as the welfare of the labour is concerned, and how they are doing what is known as slaughter-mining in those mines, and how effective devices have not been taken up, and also, how, so far as the provident fund dues and other dues for the workers are concerned, they have remained unpaid.

Sir, we agree with the assessment made by the hon. Minister in his statement which was issued in connection with the promulgation of the ordinance.

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

According to this Report, as early as 1937 the Coal Mines Committee and in 1945 the Coalfields Enquiry Committee drew a dismal picture of the coal mine industry and strongly recommended Government's intervention. This intervention did not come until 1973, and Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya was quite entitled to ask what was being done all these years.

So far as the target in respect of coal during the Third Five Year Plan is concerned, the actual production was only 67.7 million tonnes, while the target was 91.5 million tonnes—i.e. there was a shortage of about 31 million tonnes. During this period a number of mines, closed down, a number of mines did not utilise their full capacity and if I may quote one more portion of the statement it says 'the working conditions in private collieries have been characterised by large scale exploitation of labour, non-implementation of Wage Board Award and unwillingness to act upon labour laws'. Apart from non-payment of wage board awards large accounts have been left outstanding on account of provident fund dues; there was royalty payable to the State Governments. Sir, the reason put forward is that in the light of the past performance and the organisational and capital structure of the industry it is evident that the private sector will not be able to raise the additional amount in the Fifth Plan period. This is also our experience and we agree with this conclusion but although it is a belated attempt we will certainly welcome it except one point to which I shall come later.

So far as non-coking coal mines are concerned, 70 per cent of the production in Bengal, Bihar area was accounted for by only 55 coal companies. That was very important. Therefore 55 big colliery companies were controlling 70 per cent of the coal production in non-coking coal areas and the remaining 30 per cent, out of that NCDE had certain produc-

tion, and the balance was distributed among 600 or 700 collieries and most of the small collieries were uneconomic collieries, not viable units and they were unable to gain for whatever be the reason—mismanagement or because of the uneconomic units, they were indulging in all sorts of unscientific activities. So far as mining was concerned, and Govt. dues were outstanding and so far as reliefs were concerned and Govt dues were concerned, they were also not being paid.

Remaining 55 colliery companies were controlling 70 per cent of the output and necessarily they were holding the whole country to ransom—whether there will be increased production or not, whether labour will be looked after or not these 55 companies were deciding that. Therefore, we strongly support the measure and we request the hon'ble Minister to come forward with the nationalisation proposal as soon as possible if he chooses to go on paying money to the pockets of these ruthless exploiters as he has proposed.

Sir, I have given amendments to several clauses of the Bill to which I shall come when we come to the second reading but I shall be failing in my duty if I do not stress at this stage one fundamental point i.e. provision contained in Clause 7 of the Bill i.e. payment of what we now call—not amount but really compensation 20 paise per ton will have to be paid under this Bill to the coal mine owners. If the production is 70 million tonnes per year, if my arithmetic is not wholly wrong it will come to Rs 1,40,00,000 a year. You are going to pay this to ruthless exploiters, to use his own language, persons who have indulged in the worst type of activities against the industry and labour, who have deprived labour all these years of their benefits and kept them in shanties and slums, misappropriated monies due on account of provident and monies payable under the wage board award. I know the

answer will be, it is a compulsion under the Constitution to make the payment. This has been done in the case of every nationalisation or take over Bill except in the case of IISCO. The take over Bill of IISCO was also piloted by the same minister. It is the second biggest steel plant in the private sector. It has been taken over temporarily for a period of two years, which does not require payment of any amount under the Constitution. The question is whether collieries here could not have been taken over for a limited period of two to three years, in which case, the Minister will agree, there is no question of payment of any compensation. In the case of IISO, it has been publicly proclaimed that the policy of the Government is not to return the management of the company back to the previous management.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM: We have not said that we will not give the concern back to the company. We have merely said, we will not give it back to the previous management. That certainly does not mean we will not give it back to the company.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: This is at the moment a jugglery of words. Does the Constitution compel this Parliament to agree to make provision for payment of compensation? It does not. Therefore, why are you paying Rs. 1.40 crores every year to these ruthless exploiters? We are fundamentally opposed to it. Government should not have agreed to have made such a provision. The Minister himself says he does not know what will be the total quantum of production. Compensation will have to be paid on the basis of the highest production during the last three years. Taking the minimum figure of 70 million tonnes, it comes to Rs. 1.40 crores.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM: 70 million tonnes include the production of NCDC, Sing-
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reni Collieries and Bharat Coking Coal. So, the actual production of the mines taken over under this provision will be somewhere between 37 and 38 million tonnes.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Even then it comes to Rs. 70 or 75 lakhs. I was calculating on the basis of the Government's statement that one-third of the non-coking coal is produced by NCDC. On that basis, it will amount to Rs. 95 lakhs.

Therefore, I request the Government to come forward with the nationalisation Bill as soon as possible. Let us utilise the powers we have taken under the new amendments. Even if the decision is made to pay compensation on the basis of legal advice—that is what they always say—I do not see any provision in the Bill that this amount will be paid to the small and medium shareholders, as was done in the case of general insurance. There is no provision that it will be paid first to the unpaid provident fund amount and wages of the labourers and other unpaid allowances to which the workers are entitled under the wage board recommendations. Why is such a provision not made in the Bill? When you are providing for payment, why don't you make such a provision when you have got that power? What is the good of taking that power administratively? You may say that you will see that these amounts are not paid to the owners but to the employees. But why not make a provision like that in the Bill itself? Why leave it to administrative discretion? On this issue, we are fundamentally opposed to it and we request the minister to consider the amendment I have given unless he has got some objections for any other reason.

We do support the take-over but mere take-over of management cannot be an end in itself. There will be no purpose in Government intervention unless the maladies and difficulties in the functioning of the coal in-

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

dustry are removed quickly. Unfortunately—I use the word designedly because we want the take-over to succeed—after the take-over there has been a steep rise in the price of coal, as has been admitted by him

SHRI S MOHAN KUMARA-MANGALAM If you join the chorus of all those who say that there has been a general rise in price of coal, you will be only playing into their hands. Let us be accurate.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE At least in the case of domestic coal there has been a steep rise. People of this country are more concerned with domestic coal. He should not ignore that also.

Coming to distribution, there is wagon shortage. There is a statement by one of the officers Mr B C Biswas, Technical Secretary of the CMA, which appeared in the press on 24th February 1973, that out of 2800 wagons required only 1700 wagons are available for despatch of coal. So, there is a back-log of 1100 wagons every day. These things should be avoided.

So far as production is concerned, I was happy to hear the minister say that Rs 500 crores will be invested by Government in these collieries. But we do not know during which period this investment will be made. So far as production is concerned, it is essential that not only long-term projects have to be thought of, but short-term projects are necessary to be introduced and faithfully followed for increasing production. Coming to distribution, distributing agencies had been set up by the owners in various benami names and they have been channelling out their profits, thereby avoiding payment of income-tax and other taxes. I request the minister to see that a proper distribution policy is evolved and followed. Let there not be a new channel of corruption here. There is very great scope for

corruption by means of appointment of distributors and unless there is a proper check on the distribution, this is bound to result in mis-management. We do not want that the pit-falls of the previous management should be introduced here also and should be continued.

Another important aspect is about price. So far as pricing is concerned, it is essential, in the long term interests of the country, that there should be evolved a proper fuel policy which will take into consideration not only the price of coal, availability of coal, but also the question of availability of oil and the pricing of oil. Therefore

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER It is a much bigger question.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE When we come to the second reading we will come to the details of amendments. Therefore, it is essential to have a proper fuel policy of this Government, in which, the pricing of coal will be one of the main items, because coal is the major fuel in the country.

The hon Minister himself referred to the targets to be achieved. By 1978-79, we are expecting to reach the target of 142 million tonnes and our present production is about 70-75 million tonnes. The question is, how is it to be achieved? Who is to manage? The main question is with regard to management. I take it that these are stop-gap arrangements—of appointing custodians for collieries. This cannot be a permanent basis of management of collieries.

So far as NCDC is concerned, unfortunately, it has not been able to reach the target. I would like to read from the last available report of NCDC, the 15th Annual Report for 1970-71.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER NCDC could be discussed separately. This is a subject by itself.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
So far as NCDC is concerned, there was a net deficit of Rs. 1.02 crores in 1970-71. There has been shortfall in planned production. I am not saying that because there is loss in a nationalised undertaking or in a public sector undertaking, it should be condemned. That is not my attitude. Defects were noticed in the working of NCDC. There have been complaints. They themselves are unable to manage. Then, why do you set up such similar corporations or bodies, to take upon themselves the management of these large number of collieries. Therefore, it is essential that a proper management policy should be evolved to take over and run these collieries in future. Let not the industry go under the same bureaucrats. Let us not have bureaucratic overlords as we have in the private sector.

Lastly, I would like to say something on labour relations. So far as labour relations is concerned, soon after the take-over, there was a public meeting in the Asansol coal belt, where the Chief Minister of West Bengal announced that 50,000 new jobs will be created in the collieries. Of course, we have stopped taking his words seriously any longer. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether he thinks that there will be scope for creation of 50,000 new jobs for educated unemployed in the country who could be given employment in the coal field area.

This is my last point. Let Raniganj not be repeated in the coal fields. What is happening here? Mr. Ka'yan Roy, who was a good friend of the hon. Minister and his ally, in his booklet—he has published a booklet—has given instances about trade union high-handedness being carried on under the protection of Police and CRP for the benefit of one particular political party—nobody need say which is the political party. The workers belonging to other trade unions are being harassed and are being evicted from the coal fields. This must stop. Otherwise, there cannot be peace in the area or better

production.

श्री राम नारायण शर्मा (घनवाद) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कोलमाइन्ज के टेक-ओवर के सम्बन्ध में जो अध्यादेश जारी किया गया और अब जो बिल सदन के सामने उपस्थित है, मैं उन दोनों का हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ—सिर्फ़ अपनी तरफ़ से ही नहीं, बल्कि इस मुल्क के चार लाख कोयला खदानों के मजदूरों की तरफ़ से भी, जिन्होंने इस मांग की पूर्ति के लिए 15 जनवरी, 1973 को सामूहिक हड़ताल की थी। उस के बाद 30 जनवरी, 1973 को अध्यादेश जारी किया गया और आज वह बिल के रूप में हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत है।

कोयला खदानों के राष्ट्रीयकरण की सिफ़ारिश 1937 और 1947 की कमेटियों ने भी की थी। उस के बाद 1956-57 में जो बलवंतराय मेहता कमेटी बनी, उस ने भी एक तरह से एमलम-मेशन की सिफ़ारिश की थी। देर से ही सही, लेकिन एक दुस्त दिशा में कदम उठा कर आज वह कार्य सम्पन्न हुआ है, इस लिए मैं सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

सरकार ने सब कोयला-खानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया है, जिन की संख्या लगभग 900 है। जिन 700 कोयला-खानों को अभी टेक ओवर किया गया है, उन की इतनी दुर्गति हो रही थी कि उन में उत्पादन सैकड़ा 70 या 80 टन न हो कर सैकड़ा 25, 30 टन हुआ करता था और मासिक कोयले को बेरहमी से निकाल कर, बिना इनवेस्टमेंट किए, उस को छोड़ देते

[श्री राम नारायण शर्मा]

वे। उस से देश की सम्पत्ति की क्षति होती थी। सरकार ने यह कदम उठा कर देश को उस क्षति से बचा लिया है।

मैं खदान मंत्री और उन के अधिकारियों को बर्खास्त करना चाहता हूँ, जिन्होंने अध्यादेश जारी होने के बाद बहुत सतर्कता बरती। 30 जनवरी को यह अध्यादेश जारी किया गया और 1 फरवरी को मंत्री महोदय ने मजदूरों के प्रतिनिधियों को बुला कर नहीं उठने वाली प्रावलम्ब की छानबीन की और उन का हल निकाल कर अपने अधिकारियों को हिदायत दी। उस के अनुसार 49 कस्टोडियन, 4 एडीशनल कस्टोडियन, जेनेरल, 12 डिप्टी कस्टोडियन जेनेरल और 1 कस्टोडियन जेनेरल नियुक्त किये गये। उन हिदायतों के अनुसार इस तरह काम किया गया कि उन को शाबाशी दिये बिना नहीं रह जा सकता। काम करने में कठिनाइयाँ आती हैं और काम करने वालों को उन में से गुजरना पड़ता है। जो कुछ नहीं करना चाहते, वे आसानी से टीका कर सकते हैं। काम करने में कुछ अड़बटने भी आती हैं और कभी कभी कुछ गलतियाँ भी हो जाती हैं। लेकिन यह देखा जाता है कि गलतियों की मात्रा कितनी है। अगर गलतियाँ नेग्लिजिबल हों, तो उन को इग्नोर करना पड़ता है।

कोकिंग कोल के नेशनलाइजेशन के सम्बन्ध में जो बिल उपस्थित किया गया था, उस में मजदूरों के हितों की सही सही रखा नहीं हो सकी। इस बिल में भी

इस तरह का कोई प्रावधान नहीं है जिस से उन के हितों की रक्षा हो। सरकार का दावा है—और वह दावा पुख्त है—कि उन खानों को लेने के बाद वेज बोर्ड के अनुसार पहली कटेगरी की कम से कम मजदूरी 7 रुपये 16 पैसे उन जगहों में देनी शुरू कर दी गई जहाँ वेज बोर्ड की सिफारिशें अभी तक लागू नहीं हुई थी। माननीय सदस्य श्री यादव ने भारत सरकार को क्वोट किया कि वह मजदूरी 80 प्रतिशत जगहों में लागू हो गई थी। लेकिन वह गलत उद्धरण था। ऐसा नहीं हुआ था और सारा काम आज पूरा हुआ है। 1967 की वेतन बोर्ड की सिफारिशें आज तक उन पर लागू नहीं की गई जिस के बारे में उन्होंने कोर्ट में दावा किया था। हम के अलावा उन की बोनस और प्राविडेंट फंड की रकम बकाया है। इन बातों के बारे में इस बिल में कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है।

आज तक प्राविडेंट फंड के ड्यूज का सम्बन्ध है चार लाख वर्कर्स का लगभग 22 करोड़ रुपया बकाया है। इस के लिए भारत सरकार का श्रम विभाग जिम्मेदार है। आज क्वेस्चन आवर में बताया गया कि 1966 तक का धून नहीं हुआ है। उसी तरह खदानों में 1960 से बसूल नहीं हुआ है और इस बारे में कोई ठोस कार्यवाही नहीं की गई है। मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार इस पूरी जिम्मेदारी को ले। बल्कि वह प्राविडेंट फंड को भी अपने हाथ में ले ले। उसके

लिए अलग ट्रस्ट बोर्ड या व्यवस्थापक मंडल रखने या अलग कानून की जरूरत नहीं है। वह सब कुछ एम्प्लाइज प्राविडेंट फंड एक्ट से गवर्न हो और कोल एथारिटी भारत कोरिंग कोल कम्पनी और एन० सी० डी० सी० आदि पब्लिक सेंक्टर की कम्पनिया एग्जैम्प्टिड एम्प्लायर के रूप में आपरेट करे।

दूसरा सुझाव मैं यह देना चाहता हू कि कोल माइन्स वेलफेयर आर्गनाइजेशन जो कोल माइनर्स के इन्टरेस्ट में चलते हैं जिस के लिए कन्ज्यूमर की 75 वैसे प्राज सेस देने पड़ते है उस के पास करोडो रुपया जमा है और मकान की जो हालत है वह अभी मंत्री महोदय अपने बयान में बता रहे थे कि मकान नहीं है वहा तो अब सरकार ने जिम्मेदारी ले ली है मकानो को पूरा करने की और वह अब भारत सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है। अब मंत्री महोदय इस जिम्मेदारी को ले और उस को निभाए। और भी 7 करोड रुपया जमा है वेलफेयर फंड में। मंत्री महोदय सारे वेलफेयर के काम जो हैं उन को ले कर के वर्कर्स के सहयोग से पूरा करे क्योंकि वह ट्रिपाट्टाईट कमेटी है। अब सरकार भी यहीं हैं और एम्प्लायर भी यहीं हैं। इसलिए वर्कर्स का सहयोग ले कर उन के वेलफेयर की स्कीम चलाए। इस के असावा एक कोल बोर्ड अलग बना हुआ है जो इम इन्वि सैन्जर का काम करता है वह बकाय कोई सहायक होने के और उस में बाधक बना हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उस कोल बोर्ड को भी

खत्म किया जाय। स्टोइंग बोर्ड को भी रखने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। रोप वे को भी रखने की जरूरत नहीं है। ये सारी हस्तिया अलग अलग आपरेट करती हैं और ये सब बाधक के रूप में प्राज तक काम करती रही है। इन सारी बाधाओ को दूर कर के सारा रुपया इन का अपना संप्रह हो और व्यवस्थित रूप से वह इस को चलाए। इस और मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान जाना चाहिए। इन सारी मद्दो में जो बेकार के खर्च होते हैं उस को भी वह इस तरह से बचा सकेंगे।

15-00 hrs.

मैं इयूज के सम्बन्ध में कह रहा था कि जो कोरिंग कोल का बिल आया उस में फर्स्ट चार्ज सेक्योर्ड क्रेडिटर को दिया। प्राज मालिको ने उस अनुभव से फायदा उठाया है और प्राज जो कोयले की 700 खदानें ली हैं उन में सेक्योर्ड क्रेडिटर का फर्स्ट चार्ज होगा तो वह अपने भाई भतीजो को सेक्योर्ड क्रेडिटर बना कर रखे हुए हैं, बेसी हालत में यह जो गवर्नमेन्ट इयूज हैं रायल्टीज के, रेंट के, वेलफेयर सेस के, माइन्स बोर्ड के, वाटर के और वर्कर्स के जो इयूज हैं वह सारे के सारे ज्यो के रथो रह जायेंगे। वर्कर्स के इयूज हैं, प्राविडेंट फंड के इयूज हैं बोनस का है रेलवे फियर का है और वर्कर्स इयूज ग्रंडर पेमेंट आफ बेचक एक्ट जो है वह सारी रकम ज्यों की रथों रह जायेगी और वह सारी कम्पेन्सेशन की रकम जो देंगे वह सारी रकम में हजम कर जायेंगे।

[श्री राम नारायण शर्मा]

एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण बात है कि जैसे कोयले का उत्पादन साठे सात करोड़ है उस को 15 करोड़ करने का मसूबा भारत सरकार का पाचवी पंच वर्षीय योजना में है। इस को दुगुना करने जा रहे हैं। हम ने देखा है कोयला खदान में 4 लाख आदमी, 1947 में भी ये और आज भी चार लाख आदमी है। उस समय 2 करोड़ 80 लाख उत्पादन होता था। आज साठे सात करोड़ उत्पादन होता है और वही चार लाख आदमी करते हैं। थोड़े से सुधार से आप यह उत्पादन बढ़ा सकते हैं और अपनी जरूरियात को पूरा कर सकते हैं। लेकिन हमारे दिमाग, में वह विदेशी फोबिया बैठा हुआ है कि बिना पोलैंड की सहायता लिए हुए हम काम नहीं कर सकते, बिना रूस की सहायता लिए हुए, बिना और विदेशी मुल्को की सहायता या उनकी मशीनरी लिए हुए हम काम नहीं कर सकते। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को अपने को इससे अलग करना चाहिए और थोड़े से सुधार करके खदानों का उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहिए। मैनपावर को आप बढ़ाए। जब हमारे मुल्क में इतनी बेकारी है तो मैनपावर को बढ़ा करके अपनी पाचवी योजना के लक्ष्य को हासिल कर सकते हैं।

कोयले की कीमत में वृद्धि सब से अधिक चर्चा का विषय रहा है। यह कहा गया है कि सरकार द्वारा खदानों को अपने हाथ में लेने के बाद कोयले की कीमतें बढ़ी हैं। मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि सरकार ने कोयले की कीमत नहीं बढ़ाई

है। वह पैसा सरकारी खजाने में नहीं जाता। जो कज्यूमर और खास कर वह कज्यूमर जो आम लोगों के सम्पर्क में रहता है, जिस की ईंट पकाने की जरूरत होती है, रसोई पकाने की जरूरत होती है उसके काम में आने वाले कोयले की कीमत में वृद्धि हुई है, यह सब मदस्य कहते हैं और गलत नहीं कहते हैं लेकिन मंत्री जी दावा करते हैं कि उन्होंने कीमत नहीं बढ़ाई है क्योंकि उनका रिकार्ड तो ठीक है। वह कहते हैं कि 97 प्रतिशत तो उद्योग में चला जाता है और 3.7 प्रतिशत डोमैस्टिक कंजम्प्शन में जाता है। लेकिन मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह 3.7 प्रतिशत नहीं है। वास्तव में कोयले का उत्पादन ये प्राइवेट सेक्टर के मालिक नाजायज ढंग से, बिना कायदे कानून के, बिना किसी के नोटिस में लिए हुए करते रहे हैं जिस में किसी तरह की रायल्टी वगैरहा उनको न देनी पड़े, मजदूरी को मजदूरी न देनी पड़े, मजदूरी की संख्या भी वे नहीं बताते रहे हैं और उत्पादन करके सीधा ट्रको में वह कोयला पहुंचाते हैं। ये जो आकड़े हैं ये सही स्थिति नहीं बताते। जब सरकार ने अपने हाथ में लिया तो फरवरी महीने में ही सरकार को मालूम हो गया कि उत्पादन की जो रिपोर्टें हुआ करती थी वह सही नहीं थी और सही रिपोर्टें यह है जो कि वास्तव में जनता के यहाँ पहुंचता रहा है और बाजार को नीचे गिराए हुए था। वही पत्ती बन्द हो गया। जिस समय टेक-ओवर हुआ तो चार पांच दिनों तक ट्रको

माना जाना बन्द हो गया और उसी के कारण कोयले के दामों में वृद्धि हुई। अगर कोयले को पहुँचाने की व्यवस्था हो तो कोयले का अभाव तो देश में नहीं है, कोयले के डिपोख में नहीं है। वह आसानी से उपलब्ध हो सकता है। लेकिन अगर वह कोयला दिल्ली तक ट्रकों से आएगा तो जहाँ रेलवे बैगज से आने में पचास रुपये लगते हैं वहाँ 250 रुपये ट्रक से लगेंगे। पाच गुने का अन्तर इस तरह से पड़ता है। सरकार को चाहिए कि अधिक से अधिक ट्रांसपोर्ट की व्यवस्था करके लोगों को कोयला मुहैया करे।

DR RANEN SEN (Barasat) Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I welcome both this Ordinance and the Bill that is before us. It is a step in the right direction. There are some loopholes but I will come to them later. I think the hon. Minister deserves congratulation for bringing both the Ordinance and the Bill. I must also say that this Bill is better than the Bill that we passed here on Bharat Coking Coal mines. Probably, the Minister has learnt something from the past experience. But I must say that the policy of the government has been that unless the situation is forced on them, unless something is on our neck which is going to break our neck the government do not wake up. The country as a whole and the working class employed in the coal mines had been demanding such take-over not today but for years back. Still, Sir, though belated I should say this is a step in the correct direction.

It was known to the government that one or two months back workers of Raniganj and Asansol mines had gone on a one-day strike on a single demand asking the government for nationalisation.

Having said this, I would deal with some of the dangerous loopholes in the Bill. The Minister had said not only today, but even earlier, that the coal mine owners had defrauded the Government, cheated the State Governments the consumers and the workers. In spite of that, I find in the Bill that Government has so much soft corner for the owners that they are going to pay them some amount for the take-over. I am referring to cl 7. Even the owners of mines which have become defunct mines which have been closed for years together because of the vagaries of the owners, are being paid some amount. I do not understand why this softness for the mine owners more so for those people who kept their mines closed for months and years together.

Then it is said that the mines run by the steel plants are exempt. Is the Minister satisfied that these mines are running very properly? Is he aware that very recently the Tata colliery worker, went on a strike or threatened to strike because of certain things that happened there?

SHRI DAMODAR PANDEY (Hazariabagh) There was no strike.

DR RANEN SEN When they have grievances you do not listen. But when they strike, you start crying. This is the attitude not only of the Minister but of some members opposite.

Therefore, why exempt those captive mines run by TISCO and other companies? Here also Minister has a soft corner for the employers. I do not know why. The Minister wants just to placate, humour those employers and fear that or else they will do something which will be bad for the coal mines. This is probably Government's fear.

There are some clauses about employment of labour. I am not going to repeat what Shri Chatterjee and

[Shri Ranen Sen]

Shri R. N. Sharma said. Clause 16 says:

"If the Custodian is of opinion that any contract of employment entered into by any owner or agent of a coal mine at any time before the appointed day is unduly onerous or if he considers"....

he is omitting 'for reasons to be recorded in writing' in one of the amendments he is proposing....

"that it is necessary so to do in the interests of the proper management of a coal mine, he may by giving one month's notice.."

Which means that the people who are engaged in the mines are subject to the goodwill of the Custodian and their service depends upon him. Otherwise, there is no justification for bringing in such a clause which hangs like a sword of Democles over their heads. It is very dangerous. I know that the Minister will say that there are many spurious entries and the Government have to check them up. I know that. There may have been some spurious entries, but, if the Government or the Custodians or the officers concerned go through the rolls for two or three years, then they will be able to find out who are the proper employees and whether there have been spurious entries for one month or two months. This clause is a very dangerous one for employment of the workers and for the employees who are already in service.

AN HON. MEMBER: They should all be retained.

DR. RANEN SEN: Yes; all of them should be retained. Then, about contract labour. Nothing specifically has been said here about contract labour in the Bill. It may be a matter of laughter for some gentlemen like Mr. Bisht but for the people who work there, it is a question of bread and butter. This is a suggestion which should be taken up very seriously. (Interruptions).

Now, a few days back the hon. Minister said here that the system of contract labour will have to go. I want to know by which time this contract labour will go. That is the first point. Secondly, in the Bill, it is specifically stated that the mining contractor system is not going to be abolished. Why? Probably in the interests of production, you are keeping that system, as far as we can understand. Anyway, you will have to explain it. There are two systems: one is the contractor system for loading and unloading; the second is the mining contractor system is for raising of coal and other things. As far as I have understood, the mining contractor system is going to be retained, and according to the statement given by the Minister a few days earlier, it seems that contract labour is going to be abolished. By which date? I want to know that. He said I do not know. The Gorakhpur labour contract system is going to be abolished. I think it is a good thing to be done. The whole contract system in the collieries has to go in the interests of production, in the interests of the workers and in the interests of the country as a whole.

Then there is another point that has been mentioned by several Members, and I have got to mention it also. That is about the coal prices. The prices have risen, and there is no doubt about that fact. Mr. Kumaramangalam has said that only the price of domestic coal has increased. I am coming from Calcutta, and I learnt in Calcutta that the price of domestic coal now is ruling at Rs. 6 which is much higher than the price that was prevailing even a few months back. In Patna, on the train, I learnt that the prices have gone even higher than Rs. 6. In Delhi, the price is anything; and coal is not available. It does not lie in the mouth of the Minister simply to say that the price of domestic coal alone has gone up. I say that the small producers, the people who are engaged in running the small scale industry with the help of coal

are feeling it very difficult to get coal at a reasonable price. There have been long articles in the Calcutta papers like the *Hindustan Standard* and *Amrita Bazar Patiraka* dealing with the whole thing as to why prices are rising and who are responsible for that, and so on. I am not going into the details. I would simply say that this is a matter which the Minister must go into. Domestic coal prices have risen as well as the price of coal which the small factory-owners use. They are suffering due to two things: firstly, the prices have gone higher, and secondly they do not get adequate amount of coal whenever they require. Their complaint is that there is a chain of profiteers running who control the wagon distribution, who control the road transport distribution and thereby they are cheating those people.

I want to deal with the point of workers participation elaborately.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You do not have the time.

DR. RANEN SEN: Some gentlemen have spoken for 20 minutes I have spoken for 10 minutes. I will take a few minutes more.

There has been a lack of workers voice in the running of the coal mines. It is no gain saying that some workers or workers representatives will be put at the top and thereby workers participation will be realised. I want to say that at every stage, at every level—from production onward—this workers participation should be ensured. Demand of workers participation in the management will not be too much of a demand; I say workers participation as workers, as producers and, therefore, this is a point that the Minister should look into.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Allpore):
Co-management.

DR. RANEN SEN: I say only taking one chap just at the top will not do.

I say, Sir, the point is some Members have referred to NCDC. In this House, a few years ago, there was a long discussion on NCDC. From the experience the Minister and the Government should be alert to see that all those failures and mistakes that were committed by the NCDC earlier are not repeated.

In the end I must say that Government has taken a proper step towards the fulfilment. Immediately, without delay this nationalisation bill, should come, simply taking over does not satisfy the country, does not satisfy the workers and I hope it does not satisfy the House. Therefore, the nationalisation bill must come immediately and as soon as possible.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH (Khurja): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I congratulate the Minister for the bold step he has taken in taking over non-coking coal mines. It has brought salvation not only to the problems of the labourers and workers but also to a great extent to the politics of this country. When I say this has brought great relief to the politics of the country, I mean to say that in my home State of Bihar, politics has been dominated to a large extent by the coal belt of Bihar, Dhanbad and other places and there used to be an exodus of the ministers and politicians to the mining belt for collecting funds which had a corrupting influence on the public life of the State. This was one of the reasons why there was a large sum of royalty due to the coal owners in Bihar. I do not know about Bengal, but I understand that a similar situation existed there also.

15.25 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

Nationalisation has brought about in its wake many new problems which the industry has to face, where co-operation of the workers and the trade union leaders is required. I am glad

[Shri Hari Kishore Singh]

that there is a broad consensus in this House in support of the Ordinance and the Bill. When I was listening to the speech of the hon. Member from the Jan Sangh, Shri G. P. Yadav, who is unfortunately not here at the moment, I knew that he was doing it only because he happens to be a Member of the Jan Sangh. Otherwise, knowing his background, I can say that he would not have opposed this measure because I know his ideas about socio-economic questions. But as a spokesman of the Jan Sangh he has come in support of the coal-mine owners.

डा० लक्ष्मीनारायण पांडेय :

(मंदसौर) : राष्ट्रीयकरण के नाम पर जो सरकारीकरण हो रहा है वह ठीक नहीं है, उसका विरोध किया है हमने। राष्ट्रीयकरण के नाम पर मजदूरों का शोषण होता रहे, यह ठीक नहीं है।

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH: Still, he has not given any alternative suggestion to nationalisation.

Another problem which arises, and which arose in the case of Bharat Coking Coal, is the question of pilferage from the coalmines. Last year a team of members of this House visited some of the collieries and met workers and management. We were told not only by the citizens of Dhanbad but by the workers themselves of the problem caused by the underweighting of trucks going out of the collieries. This is one of the sources of pilferage, and I am sure the Minister will look into it.

Another question is the purchase of an office building by Bharat Coking Coal at a time when it was totally unnecessary. We were told that it was done in order to benefit somebody in Dhanbad. I do not know under what circumstances the authorities approved the purchase of this building because even at the time of the purchase of this building there was sufficient office accommodation for the

headquarters of Bharat Coking Coal. We had written to the Minister about this matter. I do hope that a similar thing will not be repeated this time.

While whole-heartedly supporting the Ordinance and the Bill, I am wondering why the house of Tatas has been left out from the purview of the Ordinance and the Bill. A similar thing was done during the take-over the coking coal industry. Somehow or other, the public relations men of Tatas seem to have created an impression in this House and the country that they are sacrosanct and that they are ideal employers. That is not a fact. While I am glad that the Bihar politics has been liberated to a great extent by the take-over of the coal mines, both coking and non-coking, it should also be liberated from the house of Tatas, which is one of the greatest corrupters of public life in Bihar. We must be very clear about this. I was just wondering why the Government are hesitant in taking over the coal mines of Tatas. In fact, they should go a step further and take over all the industries of Tata, including steel, as they have taken over ISCO. I say that the Tatas have created an impression in this country that they are the most progressive industrial house, which should not be touched. This wrong impression should be removed. In this connection, I wish to mention a recent incident.

When in the 50's the Bihar Government brought forward a land reform measure for the abolition of zamindari, they did not touch the Tata zamindari. In recent times also, there was some vacillation on this issue but finally they decided to take a bold step to abolish the Tata Zamindari. That progressive measure moved between Patna and Delhi many times. When the final step was taken by the Bihar Government, it was stayed by the Supreme Court on a petition by the Tatas.

This conclusively proves how progressive Tata House really is and

clearly puts the Tatas in the same category of reactionaries whom we have dealt with very severely like the princos and the coal-mine owners. Therefore, I strongly plead with the Government that the collieries owned by the Tatas must be taken over, if the Government really mean business and want to prove that they have the interests of the workers at heart.

It is said that price of coal has risen all over the country. But we should not forget the fact that the wage bill in the collieries has also risen. Previously, the workers were poorly paid and not treated properly. Now the workers are paid more and so the wage bill has gone up. Naturally the price of coal is bound to rise. Those hon. Members who object to the price rise of coal must consider to what extent the workers were benefited by this. When a sizable section of the society is benefited, the other sections of the society have to make sacrifices

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: We only said that the price rise should be tackled. The measure was not opposed on that ground.

SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH: If it is due to shortage of production, government will take steps to increase production. If it is due to transport difficulties and the Railways continue to face wagon crisis, we hope the Transport Ministry will take it over and run it properly. But if the rise in price of coal is due to the increased wage bill and consequent benefit to the workers, it should be appreciated and viewed in that light.

***SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER (Ml-giris):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to welcome on behalf of my party the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam the coal Mines (Taking over of Management) Bill, 1973, providing for the taking over in the public interest of the management of coal mines with a

view to ensuring rational and co-ordinate development of coal production in the country.

While I have no hesitation in commending the proposals contained in this Bill, I will be failing in my duty if I do not point out certain deficiencies and lacunae in this legislation. During the last session of this House, the coking coal-mine_s in the country were nationalised. I would like to have a categorical answer from the hon. Minister of Steel whether all the coking coal mines in the country were nationalised or whether some mines in the private sector had been left out if some coking coal mines had not been nationalised, what was the reason in doing that and what were the mines that were not nationalised and to whom these mines belonged.

It is mentioned in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that the colliery owners' sole object was to earn quick profits without any regard to the conservation and Safety of mines or to meet their obligations to the workers. Since coal is the most important indigenous source of commercial energy in the country, the Government in these circumstances have come forward with the proposal of taking over the management of the coal mines in the country. In his introductory speech, the hon. Minister, Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam stated that these mine-owners had been ruthlessly exploiting the workers as also the national wealth for their personal aggrandisement. If that statement has come from the heart of the Minister, why should there be a provision in this Bill for paying 20 paise per tonne to the very same exploiters by emptying the public exchequer? Is it proper and just? Though 20 paise per tonne may look a paltry amount, according to my calculations, Rs. 12 lakhs a month are to be paid to these mine-owners whom the Minister called as ruthless exploiters. This

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri J. Matha Gowder]

amount will be paid till the mines are nationalised ultimately. But, no time limit has been laid down for nationalising these mines. It might even take three years. Till then these mine-owners will be paid Rs. 12 lakhs a month as compensation. I am constrained to feel that you have not got the courage to nationalise these mines instead of adopting this kind of via media of taking over the management. Even taking for granted that outright nationalisation may not be feasible, why should the exploiters be paid compensation of such a huge sum every month for just taking over the management? The Government seem to have decided to exploit and empty the public exchequer to pay for the exploited.

I may recall that some two years before in this very House the hon. Minister, Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam stated that he as a lawyer used to exploit the disputes among the rich people for making money and he was pleading the cases of poor people free of cost. Till he got elected to this House with the support of D.M.K. he was on the side of the poor and that was why the D.M.K. also supported his candidature. But, after he became a Minister of the ruling party, he has started espousing the cause of the capitalists and this Bill itself is enough to prove my contention. Sir, the provision to pay compensation to the mine-owners for just taking over the management of the mines will naturally lead one to come to this conclusion.

It is also mentioned in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that the development of metallurgical coal has been brought under the control of the Government except in case of captive coal mines of the private steel plants. You are indirectly mentioning that the coal mines of Tatas have not been taken over. The Government are afraid of stating this specifically here because Tatas do not fail to help the ruling party during elections. Natur-

ally the Government cannot have the guts to mention so categorically in the Bill. The Government may also put forth the lame excuse that since their Steel Plant requires coal, they should have the coal mines with them. Sir, if the Government have the courage to do this, they could as well nationalise these coal mines also and the Tata Steel Plant could get the required coal from the Government. I do not know what could be the handicap in this arrangement. If the Tatas want to keep the coal mines, then the Government have got full justification to nationalise the steel plant as there is shortage of steel in the country. When the Government have not nationalised the coal mines, I do not think that this Ruling Party will ever be bold to nationalise Tata Steel Plant. So long as the Government are in the hands of the ruling party, such bold steps will never be taken.

As per the existing rules and regulations, the Coal Board can give emergent financial assistance in the interest of coal production, if the coal mines have been affected by some natural causes. During the past 10 years, a sum of Rs. 18.12 crores has been given to the mine-owners by the Coal Board, an organ of this Government. The mine-owners have no doubt misappropriated all this money. The Government have never been hesitant to extend all kinds of financial concessions to these exploiters. For providing drinking water facilities to the workers, for constructing houses to the workers, lakhs and lakhs of rupees have been given in the form of subsidy to these mine-owners. It is common knowledge that the mine-workers in almost all the coal fields have not been provided with any of these basic amenities. The owners have had no compunction in misappropriating the subsidy given for that purpose.

SHRI DAMODAR PANDEY: The hon. Minister is talking without any knowledge about the coal mines.

SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER: I know better than you about mines and about mine workers.

By quoting the inevitable constitutional obligations, the Government in all probability will come forward with legal provision for making compensation at the time of nationalisation of these mines. So far as my party is concerned, so far as I am personally concerned, no compensation of any sort is to be paid to these exploiters. We are clear about it. But, in case the Government are keen to give compensation to the mine-owners, the assistance given by the Coal Board, the subsidies given for labour welfare schemes and such other financial assistance, which the owners have misappropriated, should be deducted from such compensation amounts.

With these words, I conclude

श्री श्रीकृष्ण भोडी (सीकर) : सभापति महोदय, आज इस बात की ब्याख्या करने की जरूरत पड़ गई है कि पूजीपति कौन है और पूजीपति किस को कहते हैं। अगर आज पान की दुकान करने वाला और छोटा धंधा करने वाला भी पूजीपति कहलाये, तो क्या यह उनके साथ अन्याय नहीं है? राजस्थान में ऐसे माइन-ओनर्स भी हैं, जिन के यहाँ पांच रुपये रोज की मजदूरी पड़ती है। क्या वे माइन-ओनर, पूजीपति या मजदूरों का शोषण करने वाले कहलायेंगे?

सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि इंजीनियरों को छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज़, स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज़, लगानी चाहिए। सरकार उन को रियायतें और रीवेट देती है, तीन लाख रुपये का कर्ज देती है। अब उन को पूजीपति कहा जाये, यह कहा का न्याय है? ₹ 5 माइन्स ऐसी है, जो बड़े बड़े माइन-ओनर्स के पास हैं। 502 छोटी छोटी खानें हैं और वे स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज़ के सहित आती हैं।

जिन माइनिंग इंजीनियरों या माइन्स मैनेजर्स ने हिम्मत कर के छोटी छोटी माइन्स को चलाया, जिन की इनवेस्टमेंट साठे सात लाख रुपये से कम है, जिन्होंने कर्ज ले कर अपनी माइन्स को चलाया, उन का क्या भविष्य है? चूंकि हमारी नीति यह है कि हम स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज़ की मदद करते हैं, उन को बढावा देते हैं, इस लिए इन छोटे छोटे माइन-ओनर्स की रक्षा होनी चाहिए।

मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि भविष्य में इस बात की छानबीन चाहिए कि पूजीपति कौन है। अगर सरकार पूजीपतियों की भांड में छोटा छोटा धंधा करने वाले मेहनती आदमियों को भी मारे, तो क्या यह अन्याय नहीं है?

जिम समय कोकिंग कोल माइन्स का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया गया, क्या उस समय उन खदानों के मालिक मजदूरों का शोषण नहीं करते थे? क्या वे वेज बोर्ड के मुताबिक तन्खाह देते थे? क्या पिछले साल वे चोर-बाजारी नहीं करते थे? आखिर इन की क्या जरूरत पड़ गई थी? मंत्री महोदय को उसी वक्त कहना चाहिए था कि हम सारी माइन्स को नेशनलाइज़ कर रहे हैं। उस वक्त उन्होंने कहा कि हम नान-कोकिंग कोलमाइन्स को नेशनलाइज़ नहीं कर रहे हैं और नहीं करेंगे, हम प्राइवेट सेक्टर को कहते हैं कि वह अपनी खानों का काम सुधारे और उस को मुबारक रूप से चलाये और वेज बोर्ड के अनुसार तन्खाह दे।

क्या सात भांड सौ खान-मालिकों के पांच आदमी भी ऐसे नहीं हैं, जो चोर-बाजारी नहीं करते हैं, जो ईमानदारी से काम कर रहे हैं, जो वेज बोर्ड के मुताबिक तन्खाह देते हैं? क्या उन में ऐसे

[श्री श्रीकिशन मोदी]

उत्साही और ईमानदार माइनर इंजीनियर नहीं हैं, जो सुचारु रूप से काम कर रहे हैं? मैं मानता, यदि मंत्री महोदय कहते कि भ्रमक पाच धादमी ईमानदारी से काम कर रहे हैं, मजदूरों को ठीक तन्कवाह देते हैं, इस लिए हम उन की माइन्ड को नेशनलाइज नहीं करते हैं। लेकिन आज कठिनाई यह है कि वेईमान और ईमानदार में कोई डिफरेंस नहीं किया जाता है। सरकार ईमानदारी से छोटा घधा करने वालों को भी बड़े बड़े पूजीपतियों और काला बाजार करने वालों के साथ जोड़ रही है।

पिछली बार जब मंत्री महोदय माइन्ड विल लाये थे, तो मैंने यह निवेदन किया था कि वह स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को मदद करे और उन को बचाये। उन्होंने कहा था कि हमारी यह नीयत नहीं है कि हम किसी भी स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्री, लघु उद्योग, को किसी तरह का नुकसान पहुंचाये।

जब पिछले पच्चीस बरस से यह मालूम है कि पूजीपति मजदूरों का शोषण कर रहे हैं, जब हिन्दुस्तान का एक एक धादमी जानता है कि वे काला बाजार करते हैं और अन्याय करते हैं, तो फिर सरकार ने यह स्पष्ट नीति क्यों नहीं बनाई कि फला फला चीजों का नेशनलाइजेशन किया जायेगा और फला फला स्माल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज का हम बचाव करेंगे, ताकि छोटा घधा करने वाले, लघु उद्योग वाले न मरे।

15.56 hrs.

[SHRI S A KADER in the Chair]

धरबल तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि जिन माइनर इंजीनियरों और माइन्ड मैनेजर्स ने, जो टेकनिकल धादमी हैं, यह धन्धा हमारी नीति के आधार पर शुरू किया है, उनका बचाव किया जाये और उन की माइन्ड उन को वापिस की जायें। अगर

सरकार ऐसा नहीं कर सकती है, तो मैं जरूर यह निवेदन करूंगा कि उन लोगों को कम्प्लेनशन देते समय सरकार बड़े बड़े पूजीपति माइन-मोनर्स का मुकाबला उन गरीबों के साथ न करे, जिन की पूजी साडे सात लाख रुपये से कम है और उन को इमोटा मुआवजा दिया जाना चाहिए। उनकी बुक वैल्यू के अनुसार उसमें ज्यादा मुआवजा उनको दिया जाना चाहिए, ऐसा न हो कि उन गरीब माइन मोनर्स को भी आप बड़े माइन मोनर्स की तरह ही ट्रीट करे।

जो बड़े बड़े कोलमाइन मोनर्स के साथ सलिंग एजेंट्स थे जो और स्टाफ था जो काम करने वाले मजदूर या प्राइवेट नीकर थे उन सब को काम पर लिया जाना चाहिये। ऐसे धादमियों की सख्या कम से कम दस हजार है। उन बेचारों का कोई दोष नहीं है। मोटर इंड्रवर का क्या कसूर है कि वह पूजीपति के यहा नीकर था? क्या हम उसके हितों की रक्षा नहीं करेंगे। उन 10 हजार धादमियों का जो जगह जगह डिपोज में काम कर रहे 4 या माइन मोनर्स के यहा काम करने वाले थे उनका ध्यान रखा जाए और बराबरी पर उनको नीकरी दी जाए। उनके हित का भी ध्यान रखा जाए।

जो आपने नेशनलाइज किया बडा सुन्दर काम किया। मैं तो इसका अनुमोदन करूंगा और कर रहा हू सिवाय इसके कि स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री वाले जो छोटे माइन मोनर्स हैं उन को जरूर बचाए जाहे जिस ढंग से बचाए।

इस के बाद मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि इस की व्यवस्था कहीं ऐसी न हो जाये जैसे कि कल सबन मे फ्रॉटलाइजर के बारे में कर्ना चली कि 1 करोड़ का गबन उस में

हो गया, 70 लाख का गबन हो गया, फटि-लाइजर के बोरे लोगो को महंगे मिल रहे हैं, कहीं ऐसा न हो कि यह गबन हमारे यहां इस में भी होने लग जाय और एक कैपिटलिस्ट के बजाय बीसो कैपिटलिस्ट बन जाय। इस का ध्यान रखा जाय। मैं मानना हूँ मोहनकुमार भगलम जी अनुभवही हैं, जानी हैं, दूरदेश है, लेकिन यह जरूरी नहीं है कि इस डेमोक्रेसी में यह मुहकमा उन्हीं के पास रहे। इसलिए ऐसे रूल्स, ऐसे कानून, ऐसे नियम इस तरह की व्यवस्था इस में बह बना दे ताकि चोरबाजारी और इस तरह की चीज यहाँ न हो सके। सप्लाई इस की और बढ़ेगी और सब लोगो को कोयला सप्लाई हो मके इस की मही व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। आज सप्लाई की यह हालत है, स्टील के मामले में भी ऐसा ही हो रहा है, हमारे यहाँ एक चैरिटेबल ट्रस्ट है जिस का एक स्कूल बन रहा है, उस के लिए 6 महीने हो गए, ऊँचे से ऊँचे अधिकारियों से ले कर सब से मैं कोशिश कर रहा हूँ कि उस को ब्लैक में न लेना पड़े, कंट्रोल रेट पर मिल जाय, लेकिन वह स्कूल नहीं बन पा रहा है। यह छोटी छोटी बातें हैं जिन को मैं नहीं कहना चाहता। मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जब हम राष्ट्रीयकरण का यह काम कर रहे हैं तो उस की ऐसी सुन्दर व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए कि लोग यह न कह सकें कि कोयले के दाम बढ़ गए या उस में चोरबाजारी होने लग गई। यह जरूरी है कि उस की एक सुन्दर व्यवस्था आप करें। जब हम इतना बड़ा काम अपने हाथ में ले रहे हैं तो बहुत जरूरी है कि इन सारे कामों की जिम्मेदारी हम अपने ऊपर लें और मंत्री महोदय ही एकमात्र इस के लिए पूरी तरह से जिम्मेदार हैं। वह इस की एक सुन्दर व्यवस्था करें।

SHRI M. SUDARSANAM (Narasaraopet): While supporting this Bill which has been brought forward by

hon. Minister, Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, I would like to make a few observations.

Firstly, there should be very great coordination between the Railway Minister and the Mines Ministry because coal is to be transported to various industrial units all over the country and also to the generating stations producing power. It is also required by the tobacco industry in Andhra Pradesh which is a hundred-percent export earning industry. So this Ministry should bring out a plan so that wagons move very rapidly and also wagons are provided in time whenever they are needed. This is a most important aspect which should be considered by his Ministry.

My next point is this The compensation of 20 paise on the highest output of coal in any month during the 4 years is a very meagre amount particularly because the head office staff have not been taken over by the Government. The wage bill of the head office is many times more than the amount of compensation they will get. They maintain big staff to run the administration. There are various coal mines associations whose number come to 40. They have to employ very capable men. It is quite essential that all these staff should be absorbed by the Corporation so that they are not thrown out of jobs. This is most important.

There is no meaning in going halfway between nationalisation and private enterprise. It is being said that nationalisation is likely to come very soon but earlier the better and there also the compensation must be paid suitably. It is my passion to say that the share-holdings of these mining companies are spread over several thousands of people coming from poor, middle and official sections. Of course, there are some coming from capitalist section but a bulk of them come from poor section. Unless they are compensated satisfactorily it will be a serious blow to the community.

[Shri M. Sudarsanam]

With the taking-over of management the ownership also must be taken-over by the government without loss of time. The latest act of Government has undermined not only the investment climate but also it has become difficult even for other industries to get credit from the market. It is high time that such uncertain atmosphere is done away with.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, coal has got a very important place in the nation economy. If you trace the history of the working of the coal mines it gives a very shabby picture. We have seen the labourers working in very unhygienic conditions. Most of the coal miners suffer from tuberculosis and all sorts of offence are committed inside the coal mines. If the government would have come forward for the nationalisation of coal mines, I would have supported it but the way they have come I cannot support it because in this dramatic way of taking over of the 464 non-coking coal mines by an executive fiat when the Parliament is not in Session by an Ordinance is highly objectionable. It is adding insult to the injury of the Parliament.

Sir, when the British government took up the subject of nationalisation of coal mines they had the guts to say so in the Parliament and it appeared in the King's speech when he opened the Parliament. They came with a clarity of vision and clarity of purpose but in this way you have come in a most clandestine way because a few days prior to this dramatic taking-over in the Consultative Committee the Minister stated that government has absolutely no intention of taking over the non-coking coal mines. Where is the credibility of the Minister? Who are going to believe the chaps sitting on the benches opposite.

Now, coming to the question of the taking-over of the non-coking coal mines I beg to suggest that it should

not have the same fate as the Fertiliser Corporation of India where nothing is fertilised except corruption or the Food Corporation of India where we have got Iqbal Singhs or like taking-over the wholesale trade of foodgrains which has been opposed by no less than a person like Jai Prakash Narain, because we do not have the machinery to deliver the goods; it will only add to corruption and more corruption, nothing else.

So I would like this assurance from Government that the condition of work of labourers would be looked into, that they are assured of their collective bargaining and trade union rights and their right to bonus. Shri Ganesh should not escape by putting a ban on bonus. No such circular banning bonus should be issued.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH): I am happy to hear him talking about bonus to workers.

SHRI P. K. DEO: I speak for trade union rights for workers, for their collective bargain rights, for bonus to them, for the welfare of labour. All these things have to be looked into.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In short, you are a socialist.

SHRI P. K. DEO: These have been neglected so far; these have been unknown factors in the public sector.

Lastly, I would say that the name consumer is a forgotten factor in India's economy. Due to the soaring prices, soaring day in and day out, you will find that the intrinsic value of the rupee has decreased and is going down. Soon after the takeover of the coal mines, coal prices shot up. If you call a spade a spade, it may pinch somebody. But it is a fact that realities have to be faced and this is due to bungling of the management which has taken over the mines. It is no use pointing the finger at the

railways or the transport system, because after all the railways are also a part of Government (Interruption).

MR. CHAIRMAN: When the Chair is standing, members should sit down. This is the procedure. If the Deputy Minister wants to interrupt, he may do so on condition that the member who is on his legs yields. If he does not—as he does not in this case—the Deputy Minister could reply when the time comes.

SHRI P. K. DEO: Coming to the question of management, the NCDC incurred a loss of Rs. 6.2 crores this time bringing its accumulated loss to Rs. 12 crores. This is our performance. If we take the coking coal mines, in 214 mines, the annual production has dropped from 14 million tonnes to only 8 million tonnes (Interruptions).

Taking all these factors into consideration, I would suggest that Government should come forward with a comprehensive Bill for the nationalisation of the coal mines because taking over the management is no good. If they come with a proposal for the nationalisation of the coal mines, then the entire responsibility will be taken over by Government. The fact of all the personnel engaged there is now hanging at the sweet will of Government.

It should be assured that these emoluments and these benefits which they used to get should continue.

Secondly, after taking over all these non-coking mines, the management staff is not being paid. They should be paid all their dues by the Government.

Lastly, I would say that whatever it may be, this latest act of the Government has created a climate of uncertainty in the investment field of this country and in spite of the assurance that all impetus will be given to new entrepreneurs in the

backward districts nobody would come forward. It would remain only as a pious wish.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI SUBODH HANSDA): Sir, he has not mentioned any other difficulties. He only stated about the transport difficulties. Regarding the rise in the coal price, there are the middlemen who are meddling in this affair. He has not stated it.

श्री दाशेदर पाण्डे (हजारीबाग)
सभापति जी मैं इस बिल का हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ और सरकार को बधाई देता हूँ कि देर से सही लेविन दुश्स्त कदम उठाया है। इस हाउस में जितने सदस्य इस बिल पर बोले हैं उन में से अधिकांश लोगों ने इस का समर्थन किया है, सिर्फ देव साहब ने इस का विरोध किया है, जिस का कारण समझने में कोई दिक्कत नहीं होती है।

अभी कुछ इस प्रकार की गलतफहमी पैदा की जाती है कि जब सब कोलियरीज को ले लिया गया तो उन में उन छोटे-छोटे कोलियरी प्रोनर्स को भी ले लिया गया जो इस में जीत और खाने थे। यह भी कहा गया कि इस से इन्वेस्टमेंट क्लाइमेट थोड़ी खराब हो रही है। इन सारी बातों को मिला-जुला कर मैं एक छोटा सा उदाहरण आप के सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ—शायद उस से सारी गलतफहमी दूर हो जायगी। भारत सरकार के कागजात में आज तक जब भी कोई जवाब हमें मिलता था तो उस में 810 से 850 तक कोलियरीज का जिक्र होता था लेकिन आज जब कोलियरीज ले ली गई हैं तो कुल मिला कर इन की संख्या 1000 आती है। इस से यह साबित होता है कि वे जो बाकी की 200 कोलियरीज थी, इन का भारत सरकार के रिकार्ड में कोई जिक्र नहीं था जो मनमाने ढंग से कोयला

[श्री दामोदर पाण्डे]

बेचते थे। उन की क्या स्थिति थी उस के सम्बन्ध में भी एक किम्वदंती में धाप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मेरे अपने क्षेत्र में कोयला उत्पादन के बारे में पिछली दफा मैंने मंत्री जी से एक प्रश्न पूछा था। मैंने पूछा था कि क्या कोयले का उत्पादन कुछ बढ़ा है। इन्होंने जवाब दिया कि रिकार्ड में बढ़ा है। अब रिकार्ड में क्या बढ़ा है उस का जिक्र धाप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पिछली फरवरी में उन कोलियरीज में 3 लाख 96 हजार 563 टन का उत्पादन हुआ जब कि फरवरी 1972 में 2 लाख 61 हजार टन का उत्पादन हुआ था। जैसा मंत्री जी ने कहा कि सिर्फ रिकार्ड का फर्क है, यह बात सही है। इस का मतलब यह है कि 1 लाख 35 हजार 574 टन ऐसा कोयला था जिस पर न कोई रायल्टी दी जाती थी और न सेस दिया जाता था। जिस का कोई पैसा सरकार के खाते में नहीं आता था।

इसी तरह से छोटी छोटी कोलियरीज के मालिक जो धाप दुहाई देते हैं कि उन को प्रोटेक्शन मिलना चाहिये, कम्पेंसेशन मिलना चाहिये, इस तरह से देश को लूट रहे थे। इस का एक और ज्वलन्त उदाहरण धाप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ—धनएकाउन्टेड-फार जो कोलियरीज थी, जो धनएकाउन्टेड-फार प्रोटेक्शन था—उस से यह साबित होता है कि कोयला खदान के मालिक किस बेरहमी से इस देश को लूट रहे थे। और जो अभी महोदय ने अभी कहा कि एक कोलियरी में वहाँ 300 धादमी काम करते

हैं वहाँ 108 धादमी ही प्रोवीडेंट फंड के मेम्बर हैं। यह शायद उन को गलत फिगर मिली है क्योंकि मुझे मालूम है कि जहाँ एक हजार धादमी काम करते थे वहाँ 5 धादमी भी प्रोवीडेंट फंड के मेम्बर नहीं हैं। और इसी तरह से एक नहीं बल्कि मजोरिटी में जो कोलियरीज ली गयी है उन में मजोरिटी में ऐसी ही है कि जहाँ हजार धादमी काम करते थे वहाँ केवल 5 धादमी प्रोवीडेंट फंड के मेम्बर थे। मुझे से पूर्व वक्ताओं ने कहा कि प्रोवीडेंट फंड का करीब 22 करोड़ 80 बकाया है मालिकों पर और पिछली बार जब कोकिंग कोयले को लिया गया था तो मंत्री महोदय ने सरिया में जा कर यह आश्वासन दिया था कि एक नया जा बिल आयेगा उस बिल में हम यह प्रोवीजन करेंगे कि जो भी मजदूरों का बकाया है वह फर्स्ट चार्ज में जायेगा। लेकिन बदकिस्मती से उन का वह वायदा पूरा नहीं हुआ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस बिल को पास करने से पहले मंत्री जी यह आश्वासन दे कि जो भी मजदूरों का बकाया है वह पहला चार्ज माना जायेगा और उस के बाद जो पैसा बचेगा वह कम्पेंसेशन के रूप में मालिकों को दिया जायेगा। धाप इस बिल में इस तरह का प्राविधान रखें।

मैं अनता हूँ कि यह बिल इनऐक्टिवेट है, यह गारन्टी नहीं करता है कि जो मंत्री जी की मंशा है, सरकार की मंशा है उसे पूरा करेगा। इस का सीधा सादा उदाहरण हमारे बिहार में केलना और मारबंड की कोलियरीज है। बदकिस्मती यह है कि कामून

इस रास्ते में बाधा बन कर आज भी ऐसा फलसला करता है कि उन कोलियरीज को अभी तक नहीं लिया गया है । आज तक वहाँ के काम करने वाले 8,000 मजदूर बेकार पड़े हैं, उन का जीवन परेशानी से गुजर रहा है । क्या वजह है कि उन कोलियरीज को अभी तक नहीं लिया गया है ? अगर आप का कानून इस लायक नहीं है कि उन कोलियरीज के मजदूरों को जल्दी से जल्दी राहत दे सके तो मेरी यह माग है कि इस कानून को तुरन्त बदलिये, और कोई दूसरा कानून लाइये ताकि उन को जल्दी से जल्दी ले लिया जाय । और अगर कानून की बाधा उपस्थित होती है तो उस को इस सदन के सामने रखना चाहिये और बिना बाधा के आप फैसला करे कि उन कोलियरीज को भी आप लेगे । मंत्री महोदय जब यहाँ से बहा गये थे केतला के बंगाल में आम सभा हुई तो वहाँ के मजदूर आये थे और उन्होंने पूछा था कि जब जुडिशियरी करप्ट हो जाय तो उस का क्या जबाब हो सकता है ? मंत्री महोदय ने वहाँ कुछ नहीं कहा । मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह इस बात को कहें कि क्या वजह है कि आज तक केतला और झारखंड कोलियरीज को नहीं लेने दिया गया । किसी साधारण आदमी के नाम पर रिट पेटिशन फाइल करा कर पैर भी जाती है । इसलिये अगर कानून में कोई खामी हो तो उस खामी को आप दूर करें और जल्दी से जल्दी उन कोलियरीज को भी ले लें ।

जो कोलियरीज ली गयी है उन में बड़ी और छोटी, दोनों प्रकार की हैं और इन

को नये सिरे से चलाने के लिये नया इंतजाम करना पड़ेगा । लेकिन इंतजाम करने के लिलसिले में जब हम बात करते हैं तो भ्रक्सर हमारा दिमाग बहुत आगे चला जाता है और बड़ी बड़ी मशीनरी के बारे में सोचते हैं । जो लेबर सेविंग डिवाइसेज वेस्टर्न कन्ट्रीज ने ऐडाप्ट किये है उन का हम विरोध करते हैं । जब भी कोलियरीज का रीकास्ट्रक्शन आप करे तो लेबर सेविंग डिवाइस की बात छोड़ कर के उन के रीकास्ट्रक्शन की बात की जाये । क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ श्रम की कमी नहीं है, उन को काम मिलना चाहिये । हा, अगर जरूरत महसूस की जाये कि मजदूरों से काम नहीं चल सकता है तो ऐसी मशीनों को लाया जाय । जितना भी रीकास्ट्रक्शन का काम हो, मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस में ज्यादा से ज्यादा मजदूरों की काम मिले, और जो मजदूर काम कर रहे हैं उन को काम अवश्य दिया जाये, इस की मैं गारन्टी चाहता हूँ । लेकिन एक बात की गारन्टी नहीं चाहता, जैसा डा० रानेन सेन ने कहा कि जितने भी लोग काम करते हैं सभी को गारन्टी दी जाये । इस में ऐसे भी लोग हैं जो मजदूरों को लूटते थे, ऐसे भी लोग हैं जो सरकार को लूटते थे, और समाज को लूटते थे । क्या वह चाहते हैं कि उन को भी रख लिया जाये ? कानून में जरूर ऐसी व्यवस्था रहनी चाहिये कि जो भी ऐसे लोग थे जिनके नाम कलंक के रूप में लिये जा सकते हैं उन को नहीं लेना चाहिये । मजदूरों के सम्बन्ध में जरूर ध्यान रखा जाये कि जो भी मजदूर काम करते हैं उन सब को आप रखेंगे, और उनका जितना भी पिछला बकाया है हम चाहते हैं कि जितना

[श्री दामोदर पाण्डे]

भी कमपैसेशन का पैसा है उस पर सब से पहला चार्ज बकाये की राशि का होना चाहिये, जैसा कि प्राप ने झरिया में और जगहों पर जा जा कर वायदा किया था कि मजदूरों का बकाया फस्ट चार्ज होगा। इस की कानून में व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये कि मजदूरों का पिछला बकाया फस्ट चार्ज होगा और उस को मीट करने के बाद अगर कुछ पैसा बचेगा तभी उन को कमपैसेशन दिया जायगा।

सब जगह प्राइसेज बढ़ी है यह मैं मानता हूँ। लेकिन कहा प्राइम बढ़ी है, उस का मैं एक उदाहरण देना हूँ। कुल कोल का प्रोडक्शन 70 मिलियन टन है, उस में कोकिंग कोल जो स्टील प्लान्ट्स और दूसरी जगह जाता है वह करीब 16 मिलियन टन जाता है, रेलवे को 15 मिलियन टन जाता है, थर्मल पावर स्टेशन्स को 13 मिलियन टन जाता है। इसी तरह से सीमेंट, टेक्सटाइल, पेपर बोर्ड में कोयला जाता है। सब मिला कर ब्रिक बरनिंग और सीपट कोक में 70 मिलियन टन में से सिर्फ 4 मिलियन टन कोयला जाता है। और 4 मिलियन के बाद जो इल्लीगल मार्किंग होती थी वह डोमेस्टिक कोल में जाता है। तो 4 मिलियन प्लस और 4 मिलियन डोमेस्टिक कोल, यह 8 मिलियन टन कोयला पूरे कोयले का 7 परसेंट बैठता है जिस के दाम बढ़ गये हैं। क्या कारण है दाम बढ़ने के इस की छानबीन होनी चाहिये। एक सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि दिल्ली में अर्धा कोस की लैडिड कोस्ट 100 रु० टन से ज्यादा नहीं होनी चाहिये, यहाँ 250 रु०

टन बिकता है। कोलियरी से तो उसी दाम पर लेते हैं जिस दाम पर पहले मिलता था। प्राप क्या बजह है कि यहाँ घा कर कोयला का दाम बढ़ गया। इसी तरह से भारत के सभी बड़े शहरों में जितने भी बिचौलिये हैं उन्होंने इतनी बड़ी ज्यादाती की है कन्यूमर के साथ जो एक परपज से हुई है, जानबूझ कर की गई है इसलिए कि जा ब्रिक बरनिंग कोयला है और जो डोमेस्टिक कायला है वही कोयला जनता से मीधा सम्पर्क रखता है और जनता को इस बिल के सम्बन्ध में गलतफहमी हा, सरकार के प्रति नफरत हो। इस नफरत को पैदा करने के लिये 70 मिलियन टन कायले की बरनिस्वत 7 या 8 मिलियन टन कोयले में गडबड की है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम की पक्की व्यवस्था हो ताकि कन्यूमर को राहत मिल सके। हम मजदूरों की तरफ से प्राप से सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहते हैं कि कोयले का उत्पादन हम कम नहीं होने देंगे। सिर्फ इतना ही नहीं हमने जैसा पहले कहा था कोयले का प्रोडक्शन ज्यादा होगा और प्राप जितना चाहें उतना हम प्रोडक्शन करने को तैयार हैं। लेकिन बीच बिचौलिया करने वाले जो मिडलमैन हैं वे समाज को लूटने न पाए इसकी पूरी व्यवस्था प्राप करें ताकि जो गलतफहमी पैदा हुई है कि कोयले के दाम बढ़ गए हैं वह न रहें, वह निर्मूलक सिद्ध हो। यह कहा जाता है कि दाम इसलिए बढ़ गए हैं कि मजदूरों को उचित तनकाह देनी पड़ती है, इसलिए कोयले के दाम बढ़ाए गए हैं। यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है। मजदूरों

को अच्छी तनख्वाह दे कर भी, उनका सारा पैसा चुकता करके भी आप सस्ता कोयला बिकवा सकते है और मैं चाहता हू कि मंत्री जी इसकी गारंटी करें कि हम मस्ता कोयला पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में बेचेगे और जो डॉमैस्टिक कज्युमर है, जो बिक बनिंग में कोयला लेते हैं, उनको उचित मूल्य पर कोयला हर जगह मिलेगा। इसकी गारंटी मैं मंत्री महोदय से चाहता हूँ।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contn): Sir, everybody believing in socialism will naturally welcome the taking over of the management of non-coking coal mines. But it has been a practice of bad administrative morality that you gave a certain kind of assurance to the non-coking coal miners that the Government had no intention of taking over their mines, when the coking coal mines were taken over. It would have been far better if both the coking and non-coking coal mines could have been taken over simultaneously. Also, instead of first taking over the management and then proceeding to nationalisation, creating some suspense both in the minds of workers and giving some latitude to the coal miners who will try to sabotage it in some way, it would have been better if this intermediate stage of taking over the management had been done away with and nationalisation was done straightway.

The test of nationalisation is in production and distribution to the consumers. Everybody wants nationalisation, but the whole institution of nationalisation is going to be discredited in our country due to bad output of production and distribution. We know how the public sector undertakings are running at a loss. Mr. Kumaramangalam has had his schooling in socialist thought in his earlier days and this is a challenge to him. Unless production is ensured

and unless the obligations to the workers and to the consumers are met, you will be discrediting the main instrument of socialism, namely, nationalisation. In almost all public sector undertakings there is loss of production and mismanagement. Unless these problems are met thoroughly, I am afraid—I repeat—the whole principle of nationalisation and the whole principle of socialism will be dislocated and a time will come when there will be a demand in the country that all these nationalised undertakings should be given back to the private sector.

I would like to mention another point. Prior to the take-over of the management of the coal mines, there was leakage of information about the same. Why it was so? I would request Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam to go into this matter. The result of the leakage was that account books and many things were shifted and large amount of coal were sold at abnormally low rates overnight. How this information that the Government is going to take-over the management of the non-coking coal mines has leaked out?

There is another point. The nationalisation of coal mines has created an apprehension in the minds of the domestic consumers. Coal has become scarce. I will read out a news item from today's *Amrit Bazar Patrika*. There was a lot of discussion in the West Bengal Assembly the day before yesterday. What is the position in Calcutta? I quote from *Amrit Bazar Patrika*.

"There is practically no coal stock in the retailers' shops, particularly in South Calcutta and the meagre quantity still available is selling at a fantastic price far beyond the reach of common people. It is learnt that in many areas of the city coal is selling at about Rs. 7 per 40 Kg. and the situation is described by some of the city's consumers as

[Shri Samar Gupta]

alarming. The sudden spurt in the prices of domestic coal following nationalisation of the non-coking coal mines by the Government has puzzled the people."

The hon. Minister Mr. Hansda—he is not here—has put the blame on the retailers. That is not a fact in Calcutta. I will give an example. The monthly supply in Calcutta was 40,000 tonnes. Now, after the take-over, only 6,000 tonnes is made available. Why it is so? Government say that they have geared up the transportation system of the Railways; they have also geared up other transport systems. Why supply is being denied to Calcutta?

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMAN-GALAM: 6000 tonnes of what sort of coal?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Non-coking coal.

The West Bengal Chief Minister is here. He has also expressed his alarm. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the lengthy report that has appeared in today's *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, which I have quoted.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMAN-GALAM: Never believe that.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: If you do not believe newspaper reports, you should at least believe the domestic consumers and the housewives. They are in a difficult position.

Soon after the take-over, I went to Asansol area where our organisation controls a large number of trade unions. I addressed several meetings. In all these meetings, I told the workers it is a challenge to you. You wanted nationalisation; you wanted take-over. So, you should increase the production also.'

16.28 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

At the same time, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to one thing. What are the reasons for the take-over? Besides other reasons, the hon. Minister has said that the private sector failed to meet the obligations to the workers. There was a threat of strike in Asansol and Jharia areas. A strike notice was also given. What is the reason? Wages were not given to the workers. Promise of increased wages was not fulfilled. They were also denied of the benefit of provident fund.

These are the real obligations to the workers. Now, it is your obligation; it is the Government's obligation. It is now not the obligation of the private sector. It is the Government's obligation and the Government should be really an ideal employer. Let us see how Government behaves as an ideal employer, in the matter of fulfilling their obligations to the workers.

I would like to mention another point. You are employing Custodian Generals, Deputy Custodian Generals and Additional Custodian Generals etc. Please do not try to impose all officials from NCDC only. They are mostly bookish officials without having any practical experience. Try to utilise the services of those honest officers who are experienced and who used to run these coal-mines. Do not try to impose inexperienced officers from NCDC. That will create bottleneck in production.

You have said about nationalisation. You should talk about workers' participation. Let the workers feel that nationalisation does not mean change of employer only, from private sector to public sector. Nationalisation should be quickened, and at the same time you must assure the workers that they have a part to play, it is they who own the mines along with the Government, and for that

reason you should ensure workers' participation everywhere, in management and other fields.

I had a peculiar experience in the Asansol area. There are a number of unions controlled by our organisation. What happened? As soon as the taking-over of the management was announced, the Congress workers running with lathis, dandas and bombs were telling, 'Now the Government is taking over the management; there is no necessity for any union run by the opposition parties; only the Congress will have its union'. They were forcibly trying to seize the union offices. If you really want to assure production, assure peace and discipline, you should not allow that kind of seizure of union offices by your Congressmen. If you fulfil your obligations to the workers, the workers will also fulfil their obligations to the nation in increasing production and helping management.

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA (Giridih): A chapter in the coal-mining history is over. Much of the history of coal-mining industry has been black history and, therefore, it is better that it is forgotten. There has been slaughter; the larger the company, the larger had been the slaughter. There has been non-payment of legal wages to mine workers. Royalties due to the State Governments were not paid. There was scramble and competitive bidding for railway wagons and railway sidings. It has only proved that coal is not only a dirty material—although it is called black diamond—but the black dirt can tarnish everybody. There was, long with these, not only an underground of misery but a superstructure of corruption—an overhead of corruption of the Inspectorate, including unions. Let us face facts. Some of the unions are corrupt unions (*Interruptions*). It is good that, at one stroke, the coal mines have been taken over, and the process of nationalisation has been started.

My time is extremely limited. But the subject is so vast; it has been

debated in various committees—the Coal-mines Committee of 1936, Rajendra Prasad Labour Inquiry Committee of 1937, Indian Coal-fields Committee of 1945, the Metallurgical Coal Conservation Committee of 1952, and Amalgamation of Collieries Inquiry Committee about which I have the inside knowledge because I was representing the Government of Bihar. The colliery owners had an opportunity to rationalise and to bring their house to order, but they did nothing of that kind. In fact, it was said that when the Government would not like to do anything, they would appoint a committee. That phase is now over.

Now, we have before us a perspective of growth. That perspective has been spelt out—from 70-75 million tonnes to 150 million tonnes over the next few years. It will require a major effort.

I will just make my points. First, let us prepare a Master Plan. Let us have a forward-looking approach to the industry and make this take-over and nationalisation a success, a re-assessment of working coal reserves, colliery by colliery because due to geological disturbances these maps do not correctly reflect, so that the beginning of a planning in perspective may be correctly done.

In matters of mechanisation, we should be cautious. We should have a phased mechanisation and we should lay emphasis on Board-to-pillar method which as it exists should continue for the present till the power position improves.

There should be an accurate projection for the entire plan period year by year. It requires a close liaison between the Ministry of Steel and Mines and Power and the Ministry of Railways.

I make one more point lest I forget and miss it, that it is urgently necessary that in all those gaseous mines you have taken over—there are a

[Shri Chapalendu Bhattacharyya] large number of them in Raniganj fields particularly—to prevent disasters, you must have not only a methanometer but fit automatic recorders and monitors for these gaseous mines and if necessary they should be imported.... (interruptions).

A standard costing and engineering economics is very necessary because, otherwise, we will be spending crores of rupees down the drain without adequate check. The present cost accounting method is inadequate. They do not have even a grounding in mining engineering. So some of these mining engineers should be trained in cost accounting and we make a start from the very beginning.

Then for inter-communication, there should be a micro-wave link. The present communication is utterly deficient and it cannot meet the challenges of the present day.

There was a fire in the Kargali colliery which falls within my constituency. What is the story behind it? There were only 600 workers. Now, the number of workers has swelled to 3400. How? This was done by the contractors and the registers were interpolated. The total output of coal of the 3400 workers was only 191 tonnes. They take Rs. 200 for entering the name in the register. They collected sackfuls of money in currency notes and they say, 'Your name has been entered. We have passed it on the Custodian. Go and get your wages'. The result was this unhappy thing. But there was no follow-up strike, no other disturbance. They would say that it was an extremely marginal fire. But such tactics have to be met.

Sir, we have to keep our fingers crossed because break-even points always recede. Costing is very important so that we may be able to fulfil not only the obligations to labour—which we must—but also

fulfil our obligations to the consumers and give them this important item of coal at reasonable price, at controlled rate.

श्री भूलचन्द्र शर्मा : सभापति महोदय, जो यह व्यवस्था खत्म हो रही है उस के लिए हमें खुशी मनानी चाहिए। लेकिन आज तक जो यह चला उस के लिए जिम्मेदार कौन होगा? 1950 में जब कास्टी-ट्यूशन बना, उस के बाद धरती कोयला देती रही और कुछ आदमी मालदार होते रहे, मजदूर मेहनत कर रहे थे और मालदार दूसरे हो रहे थे, इस का जिम्मेदार कौन है, और मैं कहना हूँ कि मोहन कुमारमगनम भी इस के दोषी है कि इस प्रकार की विषमता क्यों रहने दी? 1950 में कास्टी-ट्यूशन बनने के बाद भी गरीब मजदूर पिसते रहे, ये कुछ आदमी उन के प्राणों का शोषण करने रहे और मालदार बनते रहे। इस का दोषी कौन है? आगे आगे आने वाली पीढ़िया हमें इस के लिए गालिया देंगी कि ये इतने आदमी मालदार बन गए और गरीब का शोषण चलता रहा। इसलिए आज मैं इस बात की खुशी मनाता हूँ क्योंकि इन 2 लाख गरीब मजदूरों ने उस दिन खुशी के दीपक जलाए होंगे जिस दिन यह काम हुआ। मगर उन शोषण करने वाले लोगों ने जो शोषण इतने दिनों तक किया, जिन्होंने उन का खून बूसा, जिन्होंने उन की जिन्दगी दूधर कर दी और जो अपनी बुलन्द इमारत उस शोषण पर खड़ी किए हुए हैं उन के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार होगा? जब यह काम होता है माइंस को लेने का तो चाहे इधर या उधर बैठने वाले हों, सब

एक स्वर से इसकी प्रशंसा करते हैं। कहा जाता है कि श्री कुमारमंगलम ने इस प्रकार भाषण दिया था, मैं उनको उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ:

The Government did not intend to nationalise these mines as long as the mine-owners invested adequately out of the profits they made so as to be able to build up for production in the future, implemented the Wage Board recommendations, so far as the labour was concerned and paid the royalty dues to the Government as well as the Provident Fund dues to the workers.

उन्होंने यह किया नहीं, 30 करोड़ रुपये के घाटे में डाल दिया, वे मजदूरों की भविष्य निधि खा गए, सरकार की रायलटी खा गए। जब बैस्ट बगाल ने बहुत आवाज लगाई, विधान सभाओं ने और सब ने एक स्वर से कहा कि इनको ले ले, तब यह काम हुआ। जनसंघ के नेता ने कहा कि जब पार्लियामेंट चलने वाली थी उससे दस दिन पहले क्यों किया? मैंने कहा कि जिस दिन भी आगे वही दिन अच्छा है। 30 जनवरी का दिन बड़ा अच्छा दिन था।

चटर्जी साहब ने इस पर भाषण दिया था। जब कोई प्रगतिशील बिल आता है तब सब तेज आवाज में बोलते हैं और जितने प्रगतिशील सुझाव हैं वे देने लगते हैं। चटर्जी साहब से मैं एक बात कहता हूँ। आप वकील हैं। आपने बोल माइंड की बकालत कभी की है, कोर्ट में तो जब यह ब्यार्डिनेस निकला तो आपने कितने माइंड रोक लिए..... (व्यवधान) वह कई केसिस में अभीयर हुए..... (व्यवधान) मि० चटर्जी यू हैड अभीयरई इन सीज केसिस। *

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
Not for colliery owners.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is not the real point, Mr. Daga. Who is the Advocate or in which case he appeared etc. are all personal affairs and professional affairs. You need not go into them. You must conclude.

श्री मूलचन्द्र डागा : चाहे यह परसनल अफेयर हो या कुछ हो लेकिन यहां माने के बाद जब हम यह कहते हैं कि आप मुन्नाबजा क्यों देते है या एमाउट का सवाल आता है तो आप सारे के सारे लोग बड़ी बड़ी बातें करने लगते है..... (व्यवधान)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
I did not appear for any coal mine case.

श्री मूलचन्द्र डागा . सवाल यह है कि जब कभी गवर्नमेंट ऐसा कोई कदम उठाती है तो आप कहते है कि मुन्नाबजा नहीं मिलना चाहिये..... (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhatta-charya, is this the way to run Parliament? Why are you interfering him? Take your seat. Mr. Bhattacharya, do not quarrel.. (Interruptions)....

SHRI M. C. DAGA: Mr. Chatterjee, you have said in the court that it is high handedness on the part of government.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
Let Mr. Kumarmangalam give the particulars.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Are we talking about the merits or demerits of the Bill or indulging in personal attacks?

श्री मूलचन्द्र डागा: सवाल यह था कि जब कभी कोई कानून बनाया जाता है तब

[श्री सुप्रबन्ध झाग]

तो सब चीज एक दम तेज धावाज में कोलने लगते हैं कि इसका भी करना इसका भी करना चाहिये। मैं कहता हूँ कि सी०पी० एम० की गवर्नमेंट रही। उस में आपने क्यों नहीं किया... (अध्यक्षान) मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि जब सरकार ने एक कदम उठाया सब लोगों ने बड़ी तेज धावाज में बाते करनी शुरू कर दी। आप कहते हैं कि सुझावजा क्यों देते हैं। इतना एमाउट क्यों देते हैं। (अध्यक्षान) मेरा यह प्वाइंट नहीं था। मैं तो रिसपेक्ट करना हूँ आपकी। लेकिन जो कुछ आप कहे वह आप करे। आप अपनी कोई धावर्ष रखना चाहते हैं इस पार्लियामेंट में तो जो बात आप इस सदन में करे, वही बात दूसरी जगह भी करें। यह नहीं कि एक जगह एक बात कहें और दूसरी जगह दूसरी बात।

जो सरकार ने कदम उठाया है उसके लिए हमें खुशी है। हमारे अपने एक मित्र ने कहा कि छोटी छोटी कोलरीज को क्यों लेना शुरू कर दिया? मैं कहता हूँ कि मैं अपनी आंखों से इन खानों को देख कर आया हूँ। इनकी हालत बहुत ही बुरी है। उनके पास कोई भी वैज्ञानिक साधन नहीं है और न और किसी प्रकार के साधन है। किसी तरह भी वैज्ञानिक तरीके से उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा सकते, न उन खानों में कोई तरकीब कर सकते हैं और हमको इतना कोयला चाहिये। हैमरगोल्ड ने कहा था कि जब धावर्षी मौत की सीमा पर होला है तो उसको सारी बाड़े याद आती है। अभी उन्होंने बोड़े बिन पहले आकर कहा कि हम सब

पैसा लगा वेगे, 25 साल तक खानों को बरबाद किया, अब कोलते हैं कि घण्टा संचालन करेये। मैंने कहा कि धावर्षी को अकल तक आती है, जब गवर्नमेंट ने कहा कि तुम ने यह सब काम नहीं किया, हम तुम्हारी खानों को ले लेंगे। कल तक उन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया, केवल शोषण किया और यह किया कि 30 करोड़ का ढाटा डाल दिया। इसलिये आप ने जो कदम उठाया है, वही सही कदम है, उपयुक्त कदम है, कारगर कदम है, लेकिन उन के प्राक्सिज ईमानदार होने चाहियें, कर्मिष्ट होने चाहिये, सेवाभावी होने चाहिये।

श्री राजबेब सिंह (जौनपुर) सभापति जी, मैं इस धाडिनेन्स और इस बिल का ममर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। हमारे सामने जो बिल है—कोयला खदानों के सम्बन्ध में है और यह धाडिनेन्स को रिप्लेस करेगा। हमारे कुछ मित्रों ने इस बात पर चिन्ता प्रकट की कि जब पार्लियामेंट का अधिवेशन होने वाला था, उस के 19 या 20 दिन पहले धाडिनेन्स लाने की क्या जरूरत थी। इस के बारे में उन्होंने इंग्लैंड की कोयला खदानों के टेक-ओवर और वहा की पार्लियामेंट का जिक्र किया। उन्होंने बताया कि वहा की कोल-माइन्स का टेक-ओवर वहीं की पार्लियामेंट के जरिये हुआ, धाडिनेन्स के जरिये नहीं हुआ। लेकिन वे लोग यह भूल जाते हैं कि वहा के कैपिटलिस्ट ईमानदार हैं और वहा के कैपिटलिस्ट ईमानदार नहीं हैं। उन्हें 24 घण्टे का मौका मिलता, जैसा बहुत से सदस्यों ने बताया, बहुत से रजिस्ट्रार गायब हो जाते, जहाँ 200 मजदूर

हैं, वृहा एक हूआ मजदूर दिलवा दिने जाते, कोयला उत्पादन जितना हुआ है, उस को ज्यादा दिया जाता। इस तरह की चीजें बहा अभी भी हुई हैं।

हमारे डी०एम०के० के विरोधी सवस्व ने हमारे मंत्री महोदय पर कुछ आरोप किये कि दो साल पहले जब चुनाव में गये थे तो गरीबों की बहुत पैरवी की थी, लेकिन कोयला खदानों को लेने के बाद उन्हें मुभावना दे रहे हैं, आज पृजापतियों की बाते कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने टाटा कोल-माइन्स की बात उठाई। मैं तो इस तरह से देखता हूँ— कि डी० एम० के० एक रीजनल पार्टी है, तामिलनाडू के बाहर उस का कोई अस्तित्व नहीं है, तामिलनाडू के भीतर ही उन की असली शक्त है। हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे हिस्सों के लिये बड़ा एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट बनने का प्रयत्न करते हैं। अगर टाटा तामिलनाडू में होता तो शायद आज उन के मुह से टाटा का नाम भी नहीं निकलता। इस तरह की बाते करने का इस बिल के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है।

जो टेक-ओवर आज हुआ है, जैसा कि मेरे पहले बोलने वाले साथी डागा साहब ने कहा—20 साल पहले हो जाना चाहिये था। कोयला एक ऐसी वस्तु है जो हमारे व्यापार और उद्योगों को सत्व प्रदान करता है और देश के उद्योग-धन्धों के लिये ज्यादा सहायक होता है। उसको इतने दिल्से तक प्राइवेट हाथों में पड़े रखने देना हमारी गल्ती थी। आज हमने उसको नेशनलाइज किया है, इसके लिये मैं मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद देता हूँ और

उससे यह आशा करता हूँ कि कोयला माइन्स में जो मजदूर हैं उनकी हालत देश की तमाम एन्टरप्राइज, तमाम प्राइवेट्स, फॅक्टरी और मिलों के मजदूरों की हालत से भी बहुत ज्यादा खराब है। हमारे मजदूरों की वहा एक आर्गेनिजेशन है, जो इन मजदूरों के बीच में लाइवा का काम करती है, जिसे सी० आर० ओ० कहते हैं। वह एक ऐसी आर्गेनिजेशन थी जो मजदूरों को कन्सेन्ट्रेशन कैम्प की तरह से रखती थी, कोई बाहर का आदमी उनसे बात नहीं कर सकता था और जिनकी मजदूरी उनको मिलती थी, वे उसमें भी साझेदारी करते थे। इनने जोखिम का काम करने के बाद माइन्स को जो पैसा मिलता था, वह पूरा उनके घर नहीं पहुँचता था, उस सस्था के जो इन्टरमीडियरीज थे, जो अच्छी तरह से जिन्दगी बिताते थे, कदियों की तरह से उन मजदूरों को रख कर पैसा कमाते थे। यह हालत जितनी जल्दी खत्म हो सके उतना अच्छा है।

वहा पर बेज-वोर्ड को लागू नहीं किया गया था, प्राइवेट फंड में उनका जो हिस्सा था, वह बाकी रहता था—ये सारी बाते मदन के सामने आ चुकी है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से अनु-रोध करूंगा कि वह यह देखें कि सी० आर० ओ० जैसी आर्गेनिजेशन तुरन्त खत्म कर दी जाए और सरकार उनकी आर्गेनिजेशन का जो फंक्शन था, उसके लिये अपने आदमी तैनात करे। वह जो होस्टल थे, जिनमें वे कन्सेन्ट्रेशन कैम्प की तरह से रहते थे, वे होस्टल की शकल में उपयोग हो, जो पैसा उनको मिलता है, वह ठीक ठीक उनके घर पहुँचे।

यह सही बात है कि कोल माइन्स में जब एक मजदूर काम करता है तो उसकी तन्दरुस्ती

[श्री राजदेव सिंह]

साल भर काम करने के बाद बहुत खराब हो जाती हैं। आप इस प्रकार का प्रावीजन रखें कि प्रत्येक मजदूर की साल भर में एक बार थोरो-मैडिकल चीकिंग हो, उसको मैडिकल सेंटर में भरनी किया जाए और जब तक रिस्कूम न हो, उममें जो डेफिसियन्सी आ गई है, वह उसको प्राप्त न हो जाए, उसको फिर से मजदूरी में न लिया जाए। पहले साल भर तक मजदूर को भरती करने की प्रथा थी, उसके बाद उसको छुट्टी दे दी जाती थी, काम पर नहीं लिया जाता था, उसकी जगह नये मजदूर को ले लिया जाता था। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस समय जो मजदूर काम कर रहे है या जो छुट्टी पर हैं उनको परमानेंट करने की कृपा करें।

अभी कई माननीय सदस्यों ने बताया कि बहुत सी छोटी छोटी कोल-माइन्ज थी, वहाँ से कोयला कुछ निकलता था फिर कुछ लिखी जाती थी और एक तरह से जिम्मेदारों को तरह से बिहेव करते थे। टेक-ओवर की खबर पहले से न होने पर भी वहाँ बहुत सी गडबडिया हुई हैं। बहुत से लोग जो मैट्रिक पास भी नहीं हैं, टेक-ओवर होते ही अपनी तनाख्वाह पाच सौ रुपये दिखला कर गवर्नमेंट से पाच सौ ₹० माहवार ले रहे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस के बारे में देखे कि किस आदमी की कितनी स्टैण्डिंग है, उसकी काबलियत के अनुसार उसको पैसा दे, उससे ज्यादा पैसा न दिया जाय।

यहाँ यह सबाल भी उठाया गया है कि ईंटों के भट्टों के लिये जो कोयला आता था, उसके दाम बहुत बढ़ रहे हैं। डोमैस्टिक कोल के दाम भी बढ़ रहे हैं। इसके लिये ट्रांसपोर्ट

को इस तरह से रैशनलाइज किया जाय, इस तरह से धक्का बनाया जाय कि लोगों को सही दामों पर कोयला मिल सके। आज बहुत से छोटे छोटे शहरो में ईंटों के भट्टे हैं, बहुत से ऐसे जिले हैं जो बहुत गरीब हैं, प्राथिक दृष्टि से बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं, वहाँ पर ये ब्रिक बिलन एक जबरदस्त काटेज इण्डस्ट्री के रूप में काम करते हैं, जिन से हजारों आदमियों की गुजर-बसर होनी है। अगर उनको कोयला महंगा पड़ेगा तो उनको ईंटें महंगी पड़ेगी, लोगों की ईंटें खरीदने की ताकत नहीं रहेगी जिनसे वे धन्धे बन्द हो जायेंगे और गरीबों का बहुत नुकसान होगा। इसलिए मेरा अनुरोध है कि उन्हें यह कोयला उन की खपत के मुताबिक वाजिव दामों पर मिले। अब जबकि यह काम सरकार के हाथ में आया है, तो आप का देखना चाहिये कि इसकी एफिशियन्स बढ़े, मालगाडी के डिब्बे जो बेकार पड़े रहते हैं, उन में ठीक तरह से लदाई हो और रेलवे को दूसरे ठेग से नुकसान होता है, वह नुकसान न हो।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ।

17.00 hrs

श्री शिवनाथ सिंह (शुशुनू) - सभापति जी, कोलमाइन्ज के मनेजमेन्ट को आडिनेम द्वारा लिया गया और इस बिल द्वारा उस को पुख्ता किया जा रहा है और हम यह जान कर चल रहे हैं कि इस के नेशनलाइजेशन का पहला स्टेप है। सदन के सभी माननीय सदस्यों ने इस का स्वागत किया है और यह एक स्वागत करने योग्य चीज है और क्योंकि इनके मनेजमेन्ट को लिया जा

रहा है—हमारे मंत्री जी ने काफी डिटेल्स में उसके प्राउण्ड्स दिये हैं। वेलिड प्राउण्ड्स हैं। हम मानते हैं कि कोयला नेचुरल रिस्कोस है और उस पर किसी इंडिविजुअल का कब्जा रहे यह प्राज को सोसायटी में वर्शंस नहीं किया जा सकता है। यह भी एक कारण था कि मिसमैनेजमेंट था, लोगो ने धन नहीं लगाया, वर्कर्स का शोषण होता था। लेकिन मूलभूत बात यह है कि प्राकृतिक रिस्कोसिज किसी एक व्यक्ति का कब्जा न रहे, और सरकार के द्वारा जो समाज चलता है उसका उस पर कब्जा रहे ताकि पूरे समाज से ठीक तरह से उसका वितरण हो सके। इसी भावना से यह बिल लाया गया है, मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ। और ज्यादा डिटेल्स में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है, मैं सिर्फ दो, तीन क्लोजेज को तरफ मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

सब से पहले क्लोज 6(10) को देखे इस में लिखा है

“The Central Government shall receive, to the exclusion of all other persons, any monies due to the coal mine realised after the appointed day notwithstanding that such receipt pertains to a transaction made at any time before the appointed day”

इस में भाष्य ने इस बात की सावधानी बरती है कि कोल माइन प्रोनर्स अपने किसी फिक्शंस नाम से कोयला सप्लाय करते हैं और जिन लोगो को कोल सप्लाय किया गया है उन का दया फिक्शंस नाम की मार्फत कोल माइन प्रोनर को न आ जाय इस की सावधानी बरती है। लेकिन कुछ ऐसे केसेज हो सकते हैं, बीच में सप्लायर्स या कास्ट्रक्टर्स हो सकते हैं जिन्होंने कोल माइन्स

को रुपय का पेमेंट कर दिया लेकिन जिन कम्पर्स को उन्होंने कोल सप्लाय किया है उन का रुपया कास्ट्रक्टर्स को नहीं मिला होगा। उन का पेमेंट भी रोक दिया गया है। इस प्रकार से कास्ट्रक्टर्स को हार्डशिप हो सकती है। हम नहीं चाहते कि कोल माइन प्रोनर्स को बचाया जाय। यदि कोल माइन प्रोनर्स का या उनकी सबसिडियरी कम्पनी का रुपया हो तो उस की रोकने में हमें कोई एतराज नहीं है। लेकिन जो थर्ड पर्सन हैं, जिन्होंने सप्लाय किया है तो उस को रुपया मिलना चाहिए। हो सकता है कि उस की जाच पडनाल करने की आवश्यकता हो। लेकिन वह होनी चाहिए और जो बाजिव आदमी है, थर्ड पर्सन को उस को पेमेंट मिले।

आर्डिनेस निकलने के बाद हमारे कस्टोडियन जनरल ने एक सर्कुलर निकाला जिस की दो, तीन लाइन्स पडना चाहता हूँ जिस की बजह में पेमेंट रुके हुए है

“The Custodian General requests the coo eration of all customers in payment of monies to the new organisation directly even if they had middlemen involved in the transactions”

इस के लिये भी हम में सावधानी बरतनी चाहिए, और कई लोग तो हाई कोर्ट में जा सकते हैं, बल्कि कुछ लोग कलकत्ता हाईकोर्ट में गये भी हैं और वहा से स्टेटमेंट जारी हुए है। तो कहीं हमारी मशा बेकार न हो जाये इस की सावधानी बरतनी चाहिये और जो शुद्ध रूप से कास्ट्रक्टर्स हैं, और कोल माइन प्रोनर्स से लेन देन नहीं है, उन का कोई नुकसान नहीं होना चाहिये।

[श्री शिवनाथ सिंह]

माननीय चैटर्जी सहाब ने कहा कि 20 पैसा पर टन और 4 पैसा पर टन हिसाब से पैसा उन को दिया जायेगा। लेकिन इस बिल को पढ़ने से हमें कोई बेसिस की जानकारी नहीं होती। इसलिए जब तक बेसिस नहीं है तब तक हम कह सकते हैं कि यह अमाउन्ट बहुत बड़ा है और इस को देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। जब मैनेजमेंट हम कर रहे है। इन्वेस्टमेंट हम कर रहे है तो बिना किसी कारण उन को 20 पैसे पर टन के हिसाब से पेमेंट करते रहे यह नहीं होना चाहिये। यह बहुत बड़ा अमाउन्ट है। और किस सेवा के लिये यह पैसा दिया जा रहा है इस का स्पष्टीकरण होना चाहिये।

बलाज 8 इस प्रकार है

"If any person fails to comply with he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine which may extend to ten thousand rupees or with both"

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि अगर कोई माइन अधीन अपने असेट्स बगैरह कस्टोडियन को ट्रांसफर नहीं करता है उस हालत में आप ने बिल में इमप्रिजनमेंट या फाइन रखा है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि जो आदमी लोगों के असेट्स दबाता है तो उस के लिए 10, 20 हजार जुर्माना दे कर सकता है उस को जुर्माना न हो कर जेल की सजा मिलनी चाहिये। जो भी आदमी बिल के प्रोवीजन्स को फ्लॉउट करता है तो उस को डेटरेट पनिशमेंट मिलनी चाहिये। जो कोलियरीयों आप को लिस्ट

में नहीं आयी है और ऐम्बेस्ड करती है तो अधीन की इयूटी होनी चाहिये कि एक निश्चित समय में आप को जानकारी दे। और अगर ऐसा नहीं करता है तो उस के लिये आप ने जेल की सजा का प्रोवीजन रखा है। लेकिन जो असेट्स को दबाता है प्रकाउन्ट्स बुक को दबाता है और प्रोपर्टी का फायदा उठाता है उस आदमी के लिये सख्ती से काम लेना चाहिये और उस को डेटरेट पनिशमेंट मिलना चाहिये। यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि उस को जुर्माना कर के छोड़ दिया जाय।

आप ने यह रखा है कि जो आदमी आज तक कोलियरी की सेवा में थे उन को रखा जायगा। उन में कई फिक्टिशस आदमी भी हो सकते हैं तो उन को हटाना चाहिये। क्योंकि जब कोलियरी वालों ने देखा कि सरकार लेन जा गयी है तो उन्होंने अपने रेकार्ड्स में गडबड की है और अपने नचदीकी सम्बन्धियों को बड़े बड़े पदों पर दिखाया है। ऐसे लोगों को नहीं रखना चाहिये। लेकिन जो बर्कस है उन का कोई नुकसान नहीं हो इस बाल का आप ध्यान रखेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हू और जो दो तीन शकामें मैंने रखी हैं उन का मंत्री जी स्पष्टीकरण करने की कृपा करेंगे।

श्री राजशिव साई बर्मा (ईंदौर)

सेवापति 10, 15 मिनट से कम समय न दीजियेगा।

सभापति महोदय : जी नहीं इतना समय नहीं दिया जायगा ।

श्री रामसिंह भाई बर्मा : तो मैं बोलने से पहले ही खरम करता हूँ । वर्षों से मैं ट्रेड यूनियन में काम कर रहा हूँ, सीनियर मेम्बर हूँ और मेरे सशोधन हैं और प्रायः मुझे तीन मिनट ही दे रहे हैं ।

सभापति महोदय : मैंने प्राय को कहा कि 5 मिनट दे रहा हूँ 15 मिनट नहीं दे सकता ।

श्री रामसिंह भाई बर्मा : 5 मिनट क्या, मैं तो 15 मिनट से कम नहीं बोल सकता हूँ । अगर इतना समय नहीं मिलना तो मैं नहीं बोलूंगा ।

सभापति महोदय : तो प्राय न बोलिए । श्री बसन्त साठे प्राय बोलिये ।

श्री रामसिंह भाई बर्मा : सभापति महोदय मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ क्योंकि जो टेक ओवर का काम हमारे मंत्री जी ने किया है यह एक बड़ा पुण्य काम किया है । हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत सी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं और सब से बड़ी इंडस्ट्री टैक्सटाइल है जिस में अन्य से अधिक मजदूर काम करते हैं । दूसरा नम्बर कोल माइन्स का आता है । लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि भारत में अंग्रेजों का राज्य समाप्त हुआ राजा महाराजा खरम हुए जमीनदादी जागीरदारी खत्म हुए लेकिन कोल माइन्स के जो मालिक हैं इतना शोषण के श्रमिकों का कर रहे थे कि उन की

हालत जानबरो से भी बदतर है इतना शोषण किसी ने किसी का नहीं किया । श्रमिकों को कम पैसा देना और वे शीट में ज्यादा बताना ज्यादा श्रमिकों को काम पर रख हाजरी पत्रक में कम बताना इस प्रकार श्रमिकों के साथ साथ सरकार का भी शोषण करते थे मजदूरों का भी और जनता का भी शोषण करते थे । प्रीवी-डेंट फ्रन्ड की रकम जो 10 करोड़ से अधिक है वह आज बकाया है । गवर्नमेंट की रीयल्टी की रकम बकाया है और बेज बोर्ड की । वे किसी कानून का पालन करना जानते ही नहीं । बल्कि मजदूरों की सीक्योरिटी के जो कानून बने हुए हैं उन का भी पालन नहीं करते थे । ऐक्सीडेंट्स की लिस्ट देखिए बराबर बढ़ती गयी है । ऐक्सीडेंट्स में श्रमिकों की मृत्यु 1970 में 212 हुई थी कोयले की खानों में और 1971 के अन्दर वह बढ़ कर 231 हो गई ।

बड़े मजदूरों की बात यह है कि आज कोयले की मांग ज्यादा है और कोयले का उत्पादन भी पहले से ज्यादा हो रहा है । लोगों के काम में कोयला जो जाता है, वह बड़ी छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज, रेलवे के काम में जो कोयला जाता है उसकी खपत बढ़ी है लेकिन खदान मालिकों ने बढ़ा नहीं बताया है और ऐसा उन्होंने इसलिए किया है कि उनको सरकार को रायल्टी देनी पड़ती है, अधिक ज्यादा बताये तो प्राविडेंट फ्रन्ड की रकम ज्यादा देनी होगी, सरकार को टैक्स प्राविडेंट देना होगा तथा और कई बातें बतानी होगी । उन्होंने रजिस्ट्री

[श्री रामसिंह भाई वर्मा]
के अन्दर इसलिए मजदूरो की संख्या भी बहुत कम बताई है। इतना ही नहीं रजिस्टर में वे जो श्रमिको को दिया गया बतान बताते हैं इतना उन्हें देते नहीं। देते बहुत कम है।

सभापति महोदय, मेरे पास कुछ फिगरर्स हैं। उत्पादन हमारा 1960-61 में 5 करोड़ 50 लाख 72 हजार टन हुआ बताया गया है और 1971-72 में 7 करोड़ 10 लाख 56 हजार टन हुआ बताया है। किन्तु ट्रको और रेल बैंगनो से ढोये जाने वाले तथा वितरित किये गये कोयले का अग्र टोटल लगाया जाए तो उत्पादन इससे कहीं ज्यादा हुआ आपको मिलेगा, जो ब्लैक में बँच गया है। इससे ज्यादा घोखाघड़ी और क्या हो सकती है। इतना ही नहीं, हमारे प्लान में और बजट में हर बार कहा जाता है कि हमारे यहाँ एम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ रहा है, हम बेकार लोगों को काम दें। अब देखें कि देश में पहले नम्बर पर तो टेक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री में काम करने वाले वर्कर्स आते हैं और दूसरे नम्बर पर खदानों में काम करने वाले वर्कर्स आते हैं। लेकिन खदानों में काम करने वाले वर्कर्सों की संख्या बढ़ने में बजाय घट रही है। 1961 के अन्दर 4 लाख 11 हजार श्रमिक इन में काम करते थे, कोल खदानों में काम करते थे, 1966 के अन्दर उनकी संख्या 4 लाख 25 हजार बताई गई है लेकिन 1970 के अन्दर वह घट कर 3 लाख 92 हजार बताई गई है। हम फिर

जा रहे हैं। जहाँ 4 लाख 25 हजार श्रमिक काम करते थे वहाँ इनकी संख्या घट कर मात्र 3 लाख 50 हजार रह गई। प्रोडक्शन का रेट आप देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि जो कोल जनता के पास या कारखानों में जाता है, उस में कोई कमी नहीं हुई है बल्कि वह खपत बढ़ गई है। लेकिन श्रमिकों की संख्या घटकर 3 लाख 50 हजार ही रह गई। मेरे मित्रों ने श्रमिकों की संख्या चार लाख बताई है। लेकिन मैं गवर्नमेंट को जो आकांक्षे हैं उनके आधार पर आपको बता रहा हूँ कि वह 3 लाख 50 हजार ही रह गई है। एक लाख श्रमिकों की संख्या में कमी आई है। प्राविडेंट फंड का पैसा न देना, रायल्टी का पैसा न देना, मजदूरो की छुट्टी करना, हड़ताल करवाना, हड़ताल तुड़वाना और गोली कांड करवाना यही उनका काम था क्योंकि उनकी मान्यता यह थी कि ज्यादा घाघली का मौका ऐसा करके मिलेगा और गवर्नमेंट तथा जनता का ध्यान उधर जाएगा तो हमें काला धन अच्छी तरह से बनाने का मौका मिलेगा।

इस बिल में इस सब के बावजूद मुआवजे की व्यवस्था की गई है। तबियान के अनुसार आप मुआवजा दें। लेकिन मुआवजा आप बीस पैसे टन के बजाय एक पैसा टन भी दे सकते हैं। बीस पैसे देने का बेसिस क्या है? आपने इसके अलावा यह भी व्यवस्था की है कि 1969, 70, 71 और 72 इन चार सालों में जिस महीने में उत्पादन ज्यादा होगा, उसके

हिसाब से मुआवजा दिया जाएगा। ऐसा हिमाव मैंने कही नहीं देखा। मैं ज्यादा पढा नहीं हू। लेकिन अर्थ शास्त्र का भी यह उसूल है कि आप इन चार सालों का भीमत निकालें और जो भीमत आता है उसके हिसाब से मुआवजा दे। इसके बारे में मेरा एक एमेंडमेंट भी है।

मेरा यह भी निवेदन है कि मुआवजे की जितनी टोटल रकम होती है उसमें मे 'प्राविडेंट फण्ड की रकम आप बसूल करे, रायल्टी की रकम बसूल करे, जितनी भी रकम मजदूरों और गवर्नमेंट की निकलती है उसे आप मुआवजे में से निकालने के बाद जो बचता है वह उनको दे और अगर बचता नहीं है और कुछ बाकी निकले तो उसे लैण्ड रेवेन्यू एक्ट के अनुसार आप उन में उस राशि को बसूल करे। इसके बारे में मेरा 17 नम्बर का सशोधन है। आप इस पर भी विचार करे और मेरा सशोधन स्वीकार करे।

श्री बलरत्न साई (अकाला) :
सभापति महोदय मुझे इतना ही कहना है कि वरिष्ठ आयुध दुरुस्त आयुध। मेहरबानी करके इतना आप बताए कि वह जो आप रकम दे रहे हैं यह क्या सोच कर दे रहे हैं। कितनी लागत शुरू में इन्होंने की थी और कितना गुना पैसा इन्होंने आज तक कमा लिया है? इसके ऊपर भी क्या अन्न आप दक्षिणा देते जा रहे हैं उनकी? मेरा इतना ही

कहना है कि मेहरबानी करके आप यह मुआवजा न दें और देना हो तो प्राविडेंट फण्ड इत्यादि की रकम जैसा कहा गया है निकाल ले और फिर देंगे।

आप इस क्षेत्र में तो कम से कम मजदूरों को पूरी साझेदारी दें। मजदूरों को यूनियनबाजी पर नहीं डायरेक्ट चुनाव करके उनके नुमाइंदों को डायरेक्टली बोर्ड पर आप ले और ले करके उनके काम के साथ पैसा जोड़ दें और रिजल्ट में जज करे। आपके अफसर रिजल्ट बनाए। आपने जो टारगेट फिक्स किए हुए हैं उन्हें आप उठा कर निकाल दें फेंक दें। इतना यदि आप करेंगे और रिजल्ट औरियटिव आप इसको बनाएंगे तो राष्ट्रीयकरण का काम बहुत मकसूसफुल हो जाएगा और देश मजबूत होगा और सारी जनता आपको दुआएं देगी।

SHRI S MOHAN KUMARAMAN-GALAM I am thankful to all the hon Members who have spoken supporting the decision of the Government taking over the non-coking coal mines I do not think there was a single dissentient voice In fact, even my good friend, Mr. (Interruptions) That was only about the ordinance They have all agreed, even Mr P K Deo from the Swatantra Party said that his criticism was that we did it by way of ordinance and that if we did it by way of a proper Act, he would have no objection So, let us not discuss the question of ordinance. It is good that he has crossed over to our camp at least on the matter of nationalisation which is the substance of the matter Then there is only the question of form.

[Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam]

Why should we debate on the question of form? We always differ there. We believe that we have to use ordinance in circumstances like this and we would be foolish if we did not do it. We would be playing into the hands of the owners if we did not do it. I think that is sufficient so far as that is concerned.

But I would like to comment on the apprehensions of my friend, Mr. P. K. Deo, regarding the question of climate of investment. I would say, the spokesman of the mine-owners, whenever they want to attack the decision of the Government, become very much concerned about the climate of investment, the general climate, that people will not be prepared to invest more. But if they read the newspapers carefully, they will find that after the take-over of the coal-mines, there has been no difficulty so far as the climate of investment goes.

Everybody know that so far as the coal-mine industry is concerned, it is on a different level, it has a different character. So the take over here is qualitatively a different action. One can say that the Government proceeds against these mines. It is an industry which inter-nationally has been taken over into the public sector except in that fortress of capitalism, the United States. Britain took it over years ago. No great revolutionaries, no votaries of Marxism and Leninism, they took it over years ago and they did not hand it back to the private sector while they wanted to hand back the steel industry. So, there is no purpose in beating the drum and flogging the dead horse, to mix my metaphors. In fact, it is these gentlemen who talk about the climate of investment did try to make the climate a little more uncongenial. The truth is that the climate of investment has not been affected at all.

I would must like to take the point which how exercised a number of

hon. Members regarding this question of payment of compensation. I appreciate what they have been saying. But I know my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, will say that I am merely repeating what I said on a previous occasion. But then, he is also repeating what he said on a previous occasion.... (Interruptions).

It is a fact that the legal advice of the Government which has consistently been given ever since the takeover of the LIC has been that management compensation is not covered by Article 31A of the Constitution I have gone through the amendment suggested by you. If the real intention ultimately is not to hand it back to the owner but to keep it in the possession of the Government by nationalisation then management compensation has to be paid. Since we have really no intention of handing it back, there is no point in attempting to mislead anybody and our motives are quite open and clear. It is a matter of difference of opinion on a legal interpretation. I do not deny that there may be some substance in his view.

But, the present position is this. The Government has been very clearly advised that we cannot under Article 31A of the Constitution seek protection in respect of take over of management for a period which will end with nationalisation. It may end with a specific limited period, one year or two year or five years, that is a different matter. But, if it is to end with nationalisation then compensation in terms of the Constitution has to be paid.

Mr. Maddi Sudarsanam, the hon. Member from this side, said that compensation is too low. The other hon. Member, Mr. P. K. Deo is not here now. He was a little disturbed on this score. Shri Shri Krishan Mody, the other hon. Member also felt disturbed that we were not looking

after the interest of the small mine-owners. I always get a little suspicious when the cause of the small mine-owner is brought into the picture,—in defence of whom?—really it is the big mine-owners. Sir, I remember a story. In 1937 when Rajaji brought the Debt Moratorium Bill into the Madras Legislature of those days, immediately the cry went up on the side of the opposition to the Congress that the widows will die, because, the widows will not get all the money that they have advanced. Now if you take the number of widows who advanced money and the number of money lenders who advanced money,—if you take the comparative figure,—one does not know where one is. Moreover we should also appreciate that the small mine-owners have been the most ruthless, the most rapacious and the most unreliable. I would like to quote a few examples and this is from the Report of the Additional Custodian-General after the take-over of the mines.

Here is a mine called Selective Godhur. Only 80 workers are there. It is a small mine. Only 6 workers have been members of the provident fund, out of this eighty. Rs. 73,000 is due as royalty. Another one is Khasgodhur. Rs. 1,50,000 is due as provident fund dues. 80 workers only are involved, out of whom 9 persons are members of the provident fund. For years and years they have gone without paying provident fund dues. There are number of other examples but I do not want to overburden what I am saying with a large number of figures.

But, I think, hon. Members will join with me when I say that we cannot make a distinction in a coal mining industry. Smallness does not mean that he was more honest, that he was kinder to the workmen, that he was more fair and just, in his treatment either of the Government in relation to royalty or of the workmen in relation to other dues. On the contrary very often they were

more rapacious and more ruthless because they did not bother about the law and they resorted to all sorts of methods, which are well-known to all hon. Members, in order to avoid doing justice to the workmen. So, I think we should be clear that there can be no distinction drawn between big and small mine workers.

Some hon. Members, particularly my friend Mr. Somnath Chatterjee and Mr. Samar Guha, said that we should not have the same bureaucratic management and so on. This is a fairly favourite cry now-a-days. Let me leave coal aside and let me take the question of steel. In steel I claim this and anybody who examines the factual position certainly will support my claim that in the last one year we have made certain definite progress both in Bhilai and on Rourkela. Who are the people who have done it? The same persons who were working there before. Some of them have been promoted. No new persons. Who has done what they have done in Bokaro? The same persons who were working in Bokaro; not somebody brought in from the private sector. So, why is it then that should we denounce easily the so-called bureaucratic management in the public sector. With great respect I would say the bureaucratic management in the public sector has, I think, been very fine but what is wrong has been our own wrong attitude towards young manager who are coming up in the public sector, not giving them adequate support, power, training and also not establishing between them and workmen the type of relationship which is being established in the steel industry. In the steel industry this month and last month we have been engaged in discussing production figures for the following year with the Unions. It is not that I am discussing. The managers are discussing with the Unions. Therefore, let us not be derogatory or condemnatory of the management in the public sector. I do not say that they do not make mistakes. We all

[Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam]

make mistakes. But I do say from my experience of them over the last two years that if you carry on a dialogue with them; if you work with them and I say so in relation to coal mining industry that every trade-unionist who had anything to do with the public sector management in the coal mining industry in the last two months particularly after the take-over, I think, I can claim for the persons managing the coal mining industry that their doors have been open any day to trade union leaders; that they have gone as far as they could possibly do in taking the co-operation of the trade union leaders and they have done things which no private employer would ever have done in the last month and a half. I say it is a fact. And I say it not in relation to this particular trade union or that trade union but also—if I may waggle my finger like you do at me—in the same trade union with which you Shri Samar Guha are associated, Shri Mahesh Desai and other Hind Mazdoor Sabha people all have been intimately associated with the working of the Coal Mine Authority for the last 45 days and this goes for every single colour of the trade union including the Centre of the Indian Trade Unions. So, let us pay our managers some regard. They are also ordinary people. They also feel upset if they are condemned without real cause. But if you bring to my notice examples of their mistakes, certainly we will correct them. But kindly do not generalise. Kindly don't say: Do not bring the NCDC people here; do not bring the public sector bureaucrats here. I challenge you in a friendly way, not in an aggressive way, give me the examples where they have mis-behaved; where you say the private engineers are better than the public sector engineers. On the contrary it is my experience and I say so with every sense of responsibility that in the public sector, taken by and large, we have got some of the finest men.

I remember just a small story. I went to Naurozabad colliery. I met the custodian there. The custodian is almost the same age of joining the mining industry as the private colliery manager. The private manager is getting a thousand rupees more. The custodian tells me: You know, Sir, I belonged to the batch of the 10 top students in the Dhanbad School of Mines in 1959 and the 10 top students in 1959 all joined the public sector and we came to the public sector to do a job and now because persons who were below me at Dhanbad and this gentleman, the private manager who was below me, draws a higher salary you are going to favour him and put him over my head because he had joined the private sector. "Is that your love for the public sector?" He asked me. I ask you: How do you treat them? Therefore, I say do justice also to those who are working in the public sector. Give them encouragement. Be harsh with them if they make mistakes. But do not blacken their faces as they are persons who have no place inside the public sector at all. They have done a good job and they will do a better job if we help them properly to do that job. The hon. member, Shri R. N. Sharma mentioned about this question of reorganisation of the coal industry. It is very important. I entirely agree with him. In fact, we are working on the reorganisation of the coal industry, including the Coal Board, the Coal Controller's organisation, the Coal Mines Provident Fund and the Coal Mines Welfare Organisation. All these organisations are really scattered organisations which have been working in a rather disconnected and not properly organised manner. Many of my trade union friends belonging to different schools of thought have come and complained to me about them. We do not know how exactly to work it out. But in accordance with the same principle which Government has been following for the last two months, ever

since we brought the Ordinance on to the statute book, I would request hon. Members, particularly our trade union friends, to give me concretely their suggestions for reorganization, how they think it should be done. Do not wait for me to do something and then find out what are the loopholes and mistakes. That does not help me. I would prefer if you give me concretely what are your suggestions, how you think reorganisation should be made.

But I would like to make clear one point. Whatever reorganisation we do, we shall certainly see to it that the interests of the employees working in those organisations are safeguarded. Whenever I talk of reorganisation of anything, immediately there is a flutter in the dovescotes of the employees who may feel that I am going to affect their interests. Not at all. Their permanency and security of service will be safeguarded. I have no doubt we have got to take certain steps in order to improve the working of these organisations. And that must be by bringing them closer together. As to how exactly it should be done, I would like to have your suggestions also. That is not incorporated in this Bill. But as you know, it will come up at the time of the Nationalisation Bill.

Dr. Ranen Sen was very devastating in his analysis of cl. 16, describing it as a Democles' sword hanging over the heads of the workers and so on and so forth. I would like him to understand that this power has never been used—though it has been there in almost all the bills for nationalisation or takeover of management—to my knowledge, this has never been used to terminate the services of a worker. It is there because we are taking over a large number of mines in which there are a large number of officers who are intimately involved in all the corruption and venality of the employer.

DR. RANEN SEN: Make the position clear.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMAN-GALAM: Unless we have this blanket power, we will find it extremely difficult. If we have to justify each termination, then what am I going to do? Because you will come and say 'Look, Mohan. This fellow is an absolute scoundrel. Why are you keeping him in service?' When I say 'Where is the evidence? Give it to me in black and white', you say 'Can you ever give any evidence in black and white about scoundrels, because scoundrels are always clever enough not to leave any evidence?' Everybody knows that he is a scoundrel; he has taken money; he was responsible for non-payment of provident fund, cheating the workers, this and that. What action should we take?

Therefore, if we are convinced that any particular individual is not fit to be continued in the service of the Coal Mines Authority, then certainly we should have the power which we have taken to ourselves under cl. 16. I would beg of Dr. Sen to appreciate that it is not meant against the workers and will not be used against them. It is meant only for the purpose of giving into the hands of the Coal Mines Authority adequate power to deal with the services of persons who, as you yourselves have told me repeatedly—those on that side as well as on this side of the House—should not be kept in employ, who helped the previous owner to commit all the crimes that he was committing. This is the simple purpose of cl. 16. I do not think you should have any grievances on that score. I think this assurance should be more than adequate to make you appreciate why we are so anxious to have cl. 16.

Then the question of Tata's collieries was raised, shall I say with

[Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam] oratorical skill, particularly by my friend from Tamil Nadu who naturally must find some method of linking me up with the capitalists—I do not know why. Even when I took over 720 coal mines, some how with his dark glasses he is unable to look except in a particular direction. Let us leave it at that.

Why is it that TISCO's colliery has not been taken over? It is well known, that TISCO's is a well-organised colliery, from the point of the workers. The hon. member has not visited it; I would request him to do so. Then it will satisfy him that the workers there are paid the Wage Board wages and all the necessary conditions which are available to the workers inside the public sector are available in this private sector colliery of TISCO. We did not want—I do not want to say about the future—to interfere. We have got enough on our hands.

Supply of coal from Tata's colliery goes only to Tata's steel plant. It does not go into the general market. We have assured ourselves—it is there in the Coking Coal Act, if you go back and read it that if any surplus coal is available which has to be sold outside, it will have to be sold in accordance with our directions and not in accordance with what Tatas want. Therefore, there is a certain logic in what we have done.

We did it also for the Indian Iron. Even if there was a captive colliery for Hindustan Steel—the washeries are captive washeries—they still remain with Hindustan Steel.

So we did make a difference between the steel plants on the one hand and the rest of the industries on the other. We did not want this major operation to be conducted to disturb the working of the steel plants. I think we have a justification. This year, for instance, we expect TISCO to produce 1.75 million tonnes of steel

which means a utilisation of 87.5 per cent. Quite good. We do not want when we are doing so many other operations, to get disrupted in some minor operation. You do not generalise; you may attack me. But do not generalise and say I have suddenly started taking money from capitalists or not. I have got through life without having to go for that.

Let us also deal with the small strike in TISCO which was mentioned by Dr. Ranen Sen. This strike is of the overmen, sardars and the supervisory category. I do not know what is in issue in the strike. But just as one swallow does not make a summer, one strike does not make or call for nationalisation. So, by itself one cannot rely on that. It may be that the TISCO has not pursued a correct policy there. I do not sit in judgment on it. I do not know the details. But I do say that merely because a strike has taken place, one cannot say there should be nationalisation or that it must be taken over immediately and so on.

I have taken enough time. Hon. Members have been so friendly in supporting this Bill that I think I should not take more time. But I would like to say one or two words—

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Why not nominal compensation? You did not say it.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM: So far as compensation is concerned, the hon. Member should appreciate that under the Constitution we have two clauses; article 31(2) on the one hand and article 31C on the other. The philosophy of the Constitution itself does say that you should pay an amount. We did not say, an amount which is nominal. Why? Because we are in a country where we have accepted that there will be, on the one hand, part private sector and there will be part public sector on the other. The public sector may go on expanding as it is.

The public sector today commands a capital of Rs. 5,000 crores, as compared to the capital of some Rs. 90 crores in 1952. But there is a very substantial private sector even today, and we have accepted, to use the expression, a mixed economy. Naturally, when you accept that, then, automatically in relation to anything that you take over, you have to give something that corresponds to the value of the assets of that. Because it is a question affecting what may be called the total picture of investment in the country taken as a whole. And that is why we did not say when we took up the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill that you will not pay anything all. We said that whatever we pay will not be the subject-matter of review by courts, because then we will be getting into a legal tangle and there will then be a judgment whether it is exactly the market value or it is not exactly the market value. Taking it from that point of view, we believe and we continue to believe that we must pay some reasonable compensation. We did, in the matter of copper, in the matter of coking coal, fix that the compensation should be somewhere around 75 per cent of the real value of the asset. But we also laid down, as you will remember in respect of coking coal, the priorities, that nothing will be paid to the employer until certain prior charges had been met, which included provident fund to the workers and things of that character.

SHRI DAMODAR PANDEY: That must be the first charge.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMAN-GALAM: That is not at present at stake. We will discuss it when the nationalisation Bill comes.

SHRI DAMODAR PANDEY: Discuss it now. Even today, in this Bill itself, make provision for the provident fund dues.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Otherwise, you will have paid the money and then come in for nationalisation. (Interruption). Will you not pay the money till the nationalisation Bill?

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMAN-GALAM: Even in the case of coking coal mines, in fact the amount of management compensation to be paid out was completely minimal. Management compensation itself is attached for payment like the payment of royalties, provident fund and so on. So far as this is concerned, I will certainly look into it and see whether there is any provision that we can possibly make by which we can further safeguard the interests of the workers. (Interruptions).

I know almost all the hon. members who have spoken have expressed their concern over the importance of increasing production and maintaining the price-line. I do not under-estimate the importance of the domestic consumer or the brick-burner. It is very important that we should look to their interests. Only yesterday we had a long conference in which all the States except Jammu and Kashmir, Arunachal, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura were represented to discuss how we can reorganise distribution. You must give us a small chance at least because we are engaged in a major reorganisation. We do appreciate the seriousness of this matter and we are trying to work out ways and means by which we can solve it by use of rakes instead of wagons, by building up coal dumps in different places, by fixing up distribution agencies either through the State Governments or cooperatives by using NCDC, Bharat Coking Coal, CMA etc. I do not want to go into the details, but I do want to assure the House that we are trying to do our best in the matter. No doubt there will be certain disorganisation and hardship caused to

[Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam] the people. When any major reorganisation of an industry of this character goes through, it is difficult to avoid some disruption here and there and certain repercussions which may harm temporarily a large number of people. I only plead with hon. members that when they have supported the main decision of the Government, they should also make allowances for this type of disruption, which is inevitable—I say it with all the emphasis at my command—because of the scale of the reorganisation that we have undertaken. Mr. Vajpayee is shaking his head. He would have never tried such a thing if he were sitting here. So it is better he does not shake his head. We are very serious about this matter and we will try to reduce to the minimum all these difficulties. Our present plans for increasing coal production are on a very vast scale—to go up to 140 million tonnes in 1978-79. I believe it can be done but I also believe that if it is to be done certainly we need the support of persons not merely in this House but outside, particularly, the trade union movement and the workers. Mr. Samar Guha may rest assured that regarding the workers' involvement—I prefer that were rather than participation—in the decision-making process, we are every day taking steps which are moving us more swiftly in that direction, so that it will not be workers against management but workers and management working together for the greater glory of the coal industry. That is our aim and I think we will achieve it.

With these words, I commend the Bill to the House for its acceptance.

SHRI DAMODAR PANDEY: What about the taking over of Kedia-Jharkhand mines?

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM: About that, Mr. Pandey knows more than I and he should be giving information to me rather than I to him. He knows very well that

the reason why we have not been able to take over Kedia-Jharkhand is that the Subordinate Judge has passed an order and I think only by 17th that we will be able to take it over. (Interruptions).

SHRI SHIVNATH SINGH: What about stoppage of payment to contractors who have paid the money fully to the collieries but have not received from the consumers to whom they have supplied coal? (Interruptions).

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM: I am not able to follow your question. I am sorry. (Interruptions).

17.45 hrs.

ANDHRA PRADESH BUDGET, 1973-74

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will now take up the Andhra Pradesh Budget. Shri K. R. Ganesh.

SHRI S. B. GIRI (Warangal): Sir, I rise on a point of order. The Andhra Pradesh legislature has not been dissolved. It is still there. Regarding the imposition of President's Rule, I want to refer to the Report of the Governor. It says:

"The Chief Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao has today tendered the resignation of himself and his colleagues in the Council of Ministers. I have accepted the resignation and requested him and his Council of Ministers to continue in office till an alternative arrangement is made.

As you are already aware, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao is the leader of the Congress Legislature Party which enjoys absolute majority (217) in the State Legislative Assembly which has a total strength of 285. The Party-wise position in