

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the President, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 84, 85 and 139 relating to the Ministry of Rehabilitation."

*The motion was adopted.*

*[The motions of Demands for Grants which were adopted by the Lok Sabha are reproduced below—Ed.]*

**DEMAND No. 84—MINISTRY OF REHABILITATION**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,20,000/- be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Ministry of Rehabilitation'."

**DEMAND No. 85—EXPENDITURE ON DISPLACED PERSONS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,30,86,000/- be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Expenditure on Displaced persons'."

**DEMAND No. 139—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF REHABILITATION**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,19,20,000/- be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Rehabilitation'."

15.44 hrs.

**MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker** The House will now take up discussion and voting on Demands Nos. 75 to 78 and 137 relating to the Ministry of Labour and Employment for which 6 hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members desirous of moving their cut motions may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes, indicating which of the cut motions they would like to move.

**DEMAND No. 75—MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,97,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Ministry of Labour and Employment'."

**DEMAND No. 76—CHIEF INSPECTOR OF MINES**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,09,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Chief Inspector of Mines'."

**DEMAND No. 77—LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,24,35,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of pay-

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

ment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Labour and Employment'."

**DEMAND No. 78—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,27,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Labour and Employment'."

**DEMAND No. 137—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,85,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1966, in respect of 'Capital outlay of the Ministry of Labour and Employment'."

Shri Mohammad Elias.

**Shri Buta Singh** rose—

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He should have stood up earlier. I am sorry, I have already called Shri Mohammad Elias.

**Shri Mohammad Elias** (Howrah): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this is the last year of the Third Five Year Plan and on the eve of the Fourth Plan the Planning Commission has recently recommended that the condition of labour must be improved because the labour has got to play a big role in fulfilling the Fourth Plan. But from

our experience we find that the Government has done nothing for the workers, either for improving their conditions of work or for improving their living standards. I will give a few instances which will show clearly that during the last seventeen years, in spite of all the big promises to the workers, the Government has not done anything for them; rather, it has acted as the agent of the employers and the enemy of the working class.

**Shri A. P. Sharma** (Buxar): Question.

**Shri Mohammad Elias:** I will give instances which will prove that our Government is acting in favour of the employers.

As you know, after independence, one of the major reasons for labour discontent in our country was the question of bonus. Because of that every year there were hundreds of strikes, lock-outs and stoppage of work. So, Government appointed the Bonus Commission and assured the workers that when the Bonus Commission comes to an agreement, it will be implemented. The Bonus Commission worked for more than three years to come to an agreed decision and ultimately it came to an agreed decision. It is a matter of great regret that due to the objection of one member to this agreed formula, the Government is going back on its promise. Government want to satisfy the employers by accepting the proposal of the employers. So, it is going to modify the Bonus Commission formula.

Millions of workers, who were looking forward for the report of the Bonus Commission, who hoped and dreamt that bonus will be available to them without any hardship, difficulty or strike, they are disappointed because Government is taking a decision to modify the Bonus Commission formula in favour of the employers. So, at the very beginning of my speech, I want to warn the Government that if it goes back from the recommenda-

tions of the Bonus Commission which is a majority decision of the members of the Bonus Commission, if the Government defies that recommendations of the majority members of the Bonus Commission, the workers throughout the country will never tolerate it and they will resist it with all their strength by resorting to strikes, demonstrations and so on.

So, it is better for the Government not to modify the Bonus Commission's formula and to accept the majority decision which, although it is not going to fulfil hundred per cent the interests of the workers, will to some extent satisfy the workers on the question of bonus. Shri A. P. Sharma is laughing when I am talking about the Bonus Commission.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** I am not laughing. I said, the Government has already taken a decision about the Bonus Commission's report.

**Shri Mohammad Elias:** But in what direction?

Coming to the question of wages in the beginning of the Five Year Plan Government assured that need-based wages will be given to workers. But what has happened? After 15 years of our planning, have the workers got need-based wages up till now? If we calculate, we see that wages are still below the 1950 level and the wages of 1950 were far below the pre-war level. Actually, wages are going down and Government has not been able to do anything in relation to wages. The wage boards are not the policy-making bodies, the wage boards have to give a decision on wage on the basis of the need-based minimum wage?

When the Second Pay Commission was set up they were asked to give a formula for the need-based wage. At that time the Government did not allow the Pay Commission to calculate it on the basis of calorie value recommended by Dr. A. K. Roy and accepted in tripartite; but, ultimately, on our shouting, they had to

come down and appointed a committee during the Third Five Year Plan to go into the details on the basis of calorie value. Recently, in the month of August 1964, on the 23rd, the National Nutrition Advisory Committee has concluded that the average calorie requirement for a young Indian industrial male worker is 2,800 per day. This is 200 calories more than what the Pay Commission has conceded.

What has happened to the recommendation of the Nutrition Advisory Committee? Why has the Government suppressed the valuable findings of the Nutrition Advisory Committee? These must be placed before the House and must be accepted. If we calculate on the basis of the Nutrition Advisory Committee's recommendations—that means, 2,800 calorie value; even our INTUC friends have calculated on the basis of those recommendations. . . . .

15.53 hrs.

[SHRIMATI RENU CHAKRAVARTY in the Chair.]

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** We have calculated the same.

**Shri Mohammad Elias:** Yes; you have also calculated the same. The INTUC has recommended that the wages of an industrial worker must be Rs. 208 per month at the 1961 price level. So, this should be the actual need-based wage of the industrial worker. But our Labour Minister has recommended to the State Governments to raise minimum wages only to Re. 1 per day. He has not said that wages must be based on need. The 22nd Standing Labour Committee has also recommended that D.A. should be linked with the index; but the Government are going back from their decision. Even in 1960 the tripartite committee had accepted that whatever recommendation is given by the Nutrition Advisory Committee, the Government and the tripartite body will accept it. So, what is the Gov-

[Shri Mohammad Elias]

ernment doing in the direction of accepting the unanimous decision? Are they going to implement it? They are not.

Now I come to the cost of living index. The 22nd Standing Labour Committee recommended that dearness allowance must be linked with price indices in all cases to protect real wages. But has Government taken a single step to implement this directive? When strikes are banned under the DIR without a moment's notice, when trade unionists are arrested and detained under the DIR, these mighty Rules are quite incapable of forcing the employers to link dearness allowance with the cost of living indices.

Then how are these cost of living indices calculated? They are also calculated in a wrong way. When the trade unions brought this to the notice of Government, in the beginning the Government did not agree and said that there cannot be any wrong calculation of the cost of living indices; but when there was a threat of strike in Gujarat and Maharashtra and there was agitation throughout the country, the Government was forced to appoint an expert committee. What decision has the expert committee given in Gujarat and Maharashtra? They have found that there are serious errors in the calculation of the cost of living indices and they have given some recommendation due to which the workers of Maharashtra and Gujarat have got a little improvement in their dearness allowance. By not calculating the cost of living indices properly the Government has helped the employers to save crores of rupees. So, I would urge upon the Government not to calculate the cost of living indices wrongly.

They say that the cost of living indices have not increased; but I shall give one or two examples to show that they have. In the market actually every day the workers are experiencing that prices are going

higher and higher, but the Labour Department will calculate the cost of living indices in a different manner. In West Bengal a few months ago there was a cut in dearness allowance by 60 paise per week and in the jute industry nearly three lakh workers suffered; at the same time, nearly two lakh engineering workers got an increment of Rs. 10 in their dearness allowance. How are these calculated? Howrah and Calcutta are just on opposite sides of the Ganges. If prices go up in Calcutta, in Howrah also prices will go up. But here we find that in Calcutta the new series of the index came down from 132 in October last year to 127 in December 1964; while in Howrah the index remained constant at 134. Howrah's cost of living index remained the same, but Calcutta's cost of living index, they calculated, had gone down. How can this happen? It means, it is wrong. Not only it is wrong, we must say that it is a fraud. Just to deprive the workers of their dearness allowance the Government purposely calculate in this way. It is just to deprive the workers and help the employers to accumulate crores and crores of rupees. If some other person would have cheated some person, Government would have punished that man as a cheat under section 420 of the Indian Penal Code. We cannot say that the Government should be punished under section 420 of the Indian Penal Code; but this is the way the whole machinery of the Government is acting as agents of employers.

16 hrs.

Coming to wage boards, the major industry in our country which has suffered is the engineering industry. They did not get any increment in their wages or emoluments. In the engineering industry nearly 1½ million workers are employed and the engineering industry is one of the vital industries. No country can make any progress without the development of the engineering industry; but these

were deprived of the wage board. After a lot of agitation the wage board has been constituted. But what about other industries; for instance, the road transport workers, the workers of the Railways, the workers of other industries? Why are they not getting the wage board? Why is the Government so much afraid of constituting the wage board for them? Let an impartial committee judge whether wages are actually right or not. During the Railway Budget discussion, the Railway Minister said that there should be no wage board for the railwaymen. But at the same time, many State Labour Ministers, including the Labour Minister of Maharashtra, supported the idea of having a wage board. Why is it that the Government is not constituting the wage board for the railway workers? At the same time, I suggest that the wage board for the road transport workers where nearly a million workers are employed should be constituted. We know that the State Governments are objecting to the constitution of a wage board for road transport workers. They are the worst sufferers. Some workers in West Bengal get only Rs. 60; some workers in Bihar get only Rs. 40 and in Rajasthan they get Rs. 30. There is total anarchy in the road transport system and even in the public sector, where the transport workers are employed, their wages vary from State to State. So, there should be a uniform wage structure for the road transport workers also. I strongly plead for the constitution of a wage board for the railwaymen.

Now, I shall deal with the problem of adjudication and the functioning of the conciliation bodies. Serious things are happening. The conciliation machinery has also completely failed in dealing with the workers' problem. If I go on giving examples, I shall be exhausting all the time at my disposal. Therefore, I shall not go into details. But it takes one or two years for the workers to have adjudication of any dispute. After a great agitation, they

can succeed in that. Then, the adjudication will go on for years together and if the workers get some relief from there, then the employers will go to the High Court and then from the High Court to the Supreme Court. When that is done, by the time the cases are disposed of, sometimes the worker dies and nobody is able to get the benefit of the judgment of the Supreme Court or any other tribunal. The hon. Minister must see that the Industrial Disputes Act should be so amended that it should be easier for the workers to get the benefit of adjudication and conciliation.

Then, there is the discrimination between the INTUC and non-INTUC unions. There are innumerable examples where the INTUC unions and non-INTUC unions are discriminated by the Government. I shall give only one example. In the Vizag port, there was a reference to adjudication and one union was declared as the majority union. But after a few months, when the question of representation came to the Trustee Board, at that time the verification officer declared that this was not the majority union. Within a few months how can a majority union become a minority union and how can a minority union become a majority union?

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** It can be done overnight as it was in Kerala.

**Shri Mohammad Elias:** It is not that. At that time, there was no such problem.

Then, there is the question of public sector. Whatever decision is taken, it is not implemented in the public sector. Even in the public sector, for the workers to have an adjudication becomes very difficult. I know of many such examples. Recently, in the Garden Reach Workshop, the staff raised some dispute about four years ago before the Conciliation Officer in West Bengal and

[Shri Mohammad Elias]

the Labour Department in West Bengal was convinced that the case should go to the adjudication body for conciliation. But the Labour Department of West Bengal sent the matter to the Central Government and the Labour Ministry sent the matter to the Defence Department to see whether that should go to the tribunal or not. How will the Defence Department judge this thing? Their complaint is against the Defence Department. Now, the Defence Department has to judge whether that dispute should go to the tribunal or not. Even when the Labour Minister assured that the minimum 4 per cent bonus will be given to all the public sector workers, this is not implemented. When this question was raised in the N.C.D.C., they behaved in such a way as if they did not know anything about this. They have completely turned down the proposal to implement the minimum 4 per cent bonus to the N.C.D.C. workers. The workers are now preparing to go on strike in order to have this decision implemented.

Similarly, in many such public sector departments, they do not implement the directives of the Labour Department. They should be properly implemented and this should be looked into. There is the question of interim relief which is not being implemented by the employers.

Now, recently, in the Borbil area, thousands of women workers had to demonstrate before the management. They offered *satyagrah* before the truck-load of iron ore. Of course, the Minister did try to implement the decision in the Borbil area. But the employers turned down the proposal of the Labour Minister and now the poor women workers are forcing the employer to implement the decision of the wage board on the question of interim relief.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member should conclude now.

**Shri Mohammad Elias:** Two points more and I shall finish.

Then, there is the question of contract labour system. There have been so many non-official resolutions in this House on the abolition of contract labour system. There was one during the last session or the session before and at that time the Minister said that this would be abolished. There was a draft Bill which was discussed in the Standing Labour Committee and we find that instead of abolishing the contract labour system, they are going to regulate the contract labour system. It is a shame on the part of the Government to "regulate" this and not abolish it. This super exploitation of the labour must go. We want only two things. Instead of abolishing the contract system, you amend the Industrial Disputes Act by saying that the principal employers will be responsible on the question of wages and other amenities of the contract labour. This Act should be amended and then only the contract labour will be satisfied.

**Mr. Chairman:** He should conclude now.

**Shri Mohammad Elias:** Just a word about the I.C.F.T.U. It is very well known by the hon. Minister. Recently, there has been a lot of talking in the papers as well. The Americans are going to corrupt all the sincere and honest trade unionists in our country by opening colleges and spending lakhs of rupees. They have spent nearly 1 crore dollars in the name of educating the trade unionists. They are giving Rs. 5000 salary to a trade unionist. In the A.R.O. of I.C.F.T.U. the General Secretary gets more than Rs. 5000 apart from housing and other facilities. In this way, the sincere and honest trade unions are being corrupted by the Americans. They should not be allowed to function in this country. Are we going to allow the Soviet Union or any other socialist country to open such colleges here? If any Member is invited to a

socialist country, immediately, they start saying that they are going to have their brain-washing and all that. Here, the Americans are even corrupting the A.I.C.C. Recently, in the A.I.C.C. bulletin, an editorial is written supporting the American views on the question of Vietnam. Similarly, in this way, our trade unions are being corrupted. Our trade unions are trying to do a little good for the working class. They are also going to be corrupted by the Americans. So, these sort of American activities must be stopped in our country.

श्री बृश सिंह (मोगा) : मैं श्रम तथा रोज-गार मंत्रालय द्वारा इस सदन के सामने यह जो रिपोर्ट पेश की गई है, उसके ऊपर अपने विचार रखना चाहता हूँ। इस देश में ज्यों ज्यों दस्तावेजियाँ बढ़ी हैं त्यों त्यों मजदूरों की समस्यायें भी उसमें भी ज़ादा तेज़ रफ़्तार से बढ़ती गई हैं। बड़े बड़े कारखानों के सामने स्लमज़ और झोंपड़ियाँ और झुग्गियाँ देख कर हिन्दुस्तान के मजदूरों की जो हालत सामने आ जाती है, उसके आधार पर हमें यह कहना पड़ता है कि यह सरकार इस महान कार्य को अपने हाथ में लेकर इसको सिरे नहीं चढ़ा पाई है। पिछले सतरह बरस से इस सरकार ने समाजवादी समाज कायम करने का जिम्मा अपने सिर पर लिया हुआ है। मुझे याद है कि जब श्री गुलजारीलाल नन्दा जी इस सदन में लेबर मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से अपनी आखिरी तकरीर फरमा रहे थे तो उन्होंने कहा था कि मेरा समाजवाद जो है वह सर्वोदय के साथ मिलता है। वह समाजवाद मार्क्सिज्म से बिल्कुल अलग है। उन्होंने अपनी तकरीर में कहा था कि मेरे समाजवाद में बुनियादी चार पांच चीज़ें हैं। उसके ये बुनियादी तत्व हैं और ये जिन्दगी के तत्व हैं और इनके ऊपर मैं बहुत सा जोर देता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा था कि मजदूरों को रहने के लिए मकान दिये जायें, मजदूरों को खाने के लिए रॉटी दी जाए, मजदूरों को पहनने के लिए कपड़ा दिया जाए और उनके बच्चों की तालीम का इन्तज़ाम किया जाए। ये उसूल उन्होंने अपने समाजवाद के बतलाये

थे। इन सब को ध्यान में रखते हुए जब हम इस मन्त्रालय की रिपोर्ट की ओर देखते हैं तो बर्न दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे मन्त्री महोदय श्री संजीवैया जी, जिनकी ईमानदारी और जिन की देशभक्ति के ऊपर कोई उंगली नहीं उठा सकता है, इस कार्य को पूर्ण करने में बहुत बुरी तरह से असफल रहे हैं।

हमारे देश की कुछ सामाजिक स्थिति ऐसी है कि बहुत भारी तादाद में मजदूर ऐसे वर्गों से आते हैं जो बहुत सी सदियों से पिछड़े हुए वर्ग हैं, दलित वर्ग हैं, इक्तसादी तौर से जिन की हालत बहुत कमजोर है। वे जब सरकारी कारखानों में और प्राइवेट कारखानों में काम करना शुरू करते हैं तो यह बात इस मन्त्रालय के ऊपर एक ड्यूटी की तरह से, एक जिम्मेवारी की तरह से लग जाती है कि उनकी बेहतरी का इन्तज़ाम किया जाए, उनकी भलाई के काम किये जायें।

जब मैं इस रिपोर्ट को देखता हूँ तो मुझे दुख होता है कि जो जो वादे किये गये हैं एक एक करके सभी को तोड़ा गया है, किसी एक में भी आपको सफलता नहीं मिली है। हर एक को पूरा करने में आप असफल रहे हैं। मन्त्री महोदय ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है कि इनकी वजात के ये जो दो हिस्सों के एप्लायज स्टेट इनश्योरेंस स्कीम और एम्प्लायीज़ प्राविडेंट फण्ड स्कीम वे दोनों अब मिनिस्ट्री फार सोशल सिक्योरिटी के साथ लगा दिये गये हैं। ये दोनों मजदूरों की जिन्दगी के बहुत ज़रूरी पक्ष थे। मैं नहीं कहता हूँ कि इनको सोशल सिक्योरिटी मिनिस्ट्री के साथ अटैच कर देने से इनका महत्व कम हो गया है। बल्कि मैं लेबर मिनिस्टर साहब से दरखास्त करूंगा कि बेशक ये जो दो इम्पाटेंट मजदूरों की जिन्दगी के पहलू थे इनको सोशल सिक्योरिटी मिनिस्ट्री के साथ बांध दिया गया है जो कि एक सर्वाइनेट मिनिस्ट्री है, बेशक ला मिनिस्ट्री के साथ इनको बांध दिया गया है, लेकिन फिर भी इन दोनों की स्कीम को पूरा करने में वह पूरा पूरा ध्यान

[श्री बूटा सिंह]

दें और यह देखें कि उस मिनिस्ट्री में होते हुए भी ये दोनों स्कीम्स जो हैं, ये कामयाबी के साथ चल रही हैं या नहीं।

अभी अभी मेरे मित्र ने मजदूरों और मालिकों के परस्पर सम्बन्धों के बारे में कुछ कहा है। मैं इस सिलसिले में कुछ बातें आपके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ। रिपोर्ट में लिखा हुआ है कि सन् 1964 में देश में जो मैनड्रेज लास्ट हुए वे 73 लाख थे और इसके मुकाबले में 1963 में 33 लाख थे। मुझे याद है कि 1963 में जब हिन्दुस्तान पर चीन ने हमला किया था तो मजदूरों और मिल मालिकों की ओर से सरकार को पूरा पूरा ताबुन देने का वादा किया गया था और उस वादे का नाम इण्डस्ट्रियल ड्रम रेजोल्यूशन रखा गया था। उस वादे के मुताबिक मजदूरों ने और मालिकों ने भी यह हलफ लिया था कि हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को बँ बरकरार रखेंगे, सरहदों की रक्षा करेंगे और प्रोडक्टिविटी को वे बढ़ायेंगे और इन सब कामों में सरकार का पूरा पूरा साथ देंगे। लेकिन हुआ क्या? एक तरफ सरकार ने इतना बड़ा वादा तो उनसे ले लिया लेकिन अपनी जिम्मेवारी को यह बिल्कुल भूल गई। मजदूरों को उनकी जिन्दगी की जरूरियात मुहैया करने में सरकार बिल्कुल असफल रही। जहाँ तक मजदूरों का सवाल है उन्होंने ओवर टाइम काम किया, अपनी थोड़ी सी तनख्वाहों में से नेशनल डिफेंस फण्ड में पैसे दिये और सब कुछ किया लेकिन इस सरकार ने एमरजेंसी का ऐलान करते ही एमरजेंसी को एक ख्वाब बना दिया, एक स्वप्न बना दिया और वह भूल गई कि देश में एमरजेंसी भी है। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि अपनी मांगों को मनवाने के लिए मजदूरों को ऐसे हथियार, ऐसे जरिये इस्तेमाल करने पड़े जिसे न सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान की पैदावार को नुकसान हुआ बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के अमन को, हिन्दुस्तान की शान्ति को भी खतरा पैदा हो गया। आज फिर वही स्थिति है जो कि 1963 के पहले थी।

इसके लिए भी मैं सरकार को ही जिम्मेवार ठहराता हूँ।

इतना ही नहीं। अभी यहाँ पर हमारे सामने बोनस कमीशन का सवाल उठा था। बोनस कमीशन का जो फ़ैसला है उसको सरकार को लागू करना है। शायद माननीय सदस्यों को यह पता है कि हिन्दुस्तान में अकेला और सबसे बड़ा एम्प्लायर सेंट्रल और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स हैं। सिंगल यूनिट होते हुए भी सबसे ज्यादा मुलाजिम इस युनिट में काम करते हैं। जब सरदार अपने ही कारखानों में, अपने ही इरारों में, अपनी ही बनाई हुई स्कीमों को, अपने ही बनाये हुए कानूनों को लागू नहीं कर सकती है तो यह सरकार प्राइवेट सैक्टर में ऐसे कानूनों को लागू करने का क्या अख्तियार रखती है। इसको प्राइवेट सैक्टर में इनको लागू करने का क्या हक है? इसको क्या अधिकार है कि यह प्राइवेट सैक्टर को यह कहे कि इन कानूनों को वह लागू करे? मैं चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से हर एक ट्रेड के लिए अलहदा अलहदा वेज बोर्ड बने हैं, ऐसे ही वेज बोर्ड रेल मजदूरों के लिए भी और पी० एंड टी० के मजदूरों के लिए भी बनने चाहिए। मैं इसका भी समर्थन करता हूँ कि इन वेज बोर्ड की रिपोर्टों को जो कि बहुत सी हालतों में युनेनिमस होती है या फिर मजोरिटी रिपोर्ट्स होती हैं उनको खुद स्वीकार करे और स्वीकार करने के बाद दूसरों को इन्हे स्वीकार करने के लिए कहे। तभी दूसरों को यह कह सकती है वरना नहीं। सरकार एक बहुत बड़ा इंडस्ट्रियल यूनिट है और इसको दूसरों के लिए एक एग्जम्पल कायम करनी चाहिये, एक ऐसा नमूना पेश करना चाहिये जिसको देख कर दूसरे जो प्राइवेट सैक्टर के कारखानेदार हैं, मिल मालिक हैं वे उनकी नकल कर सकें, उनको फालो कर सकें।

इस सदन के पिछले अधिवेशन के बाद जब हम दौरे पर गये थे तो हमने राउरकेला



देखा था, भिलाई देखा था, विशाखापत्तनम् देखा था जहां पर सरकार के हाथ में कारखाने हैं या ऐसे उद्योग हैं जिन में मजदूर काम करते हैं और उनको देखने के बाद और उनका प्राइवेट सैक्टर के साथ मुकाबला करने के बाद मैं बड़े दुख के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो बात जमशेदपुर में नहीं देखी गई वह बात भिलाई में देखी गई, वह बात राउरकेला में देखी गई, वह बात विशाखापत्तनम् में देखी गई। यह नमूना है मजदूरों की हालत का आपके अपने कारखानों में।

मिनिमम वेजिज़ का भी सवाल आता है। मैं इसके पक्ष में हूँ। लेकिन मिनिमम वेजिज़ को जब कायम किया जाता है तो उस वक्त सारी स्थिति को ध्यान में रखा जाना चाहिये। मिनिमम वेजिज़ को पास करते वक्त सरकार को किसी पोलिटिकल प्रेशर के नीचे नहीं आना चाहिये। कई ऐसी राजनीतिक पार्टियां हैं इस देश में जो कि अपना राजनीतिक प्रोग्राम पूरा करने के लिए मजदूरों को एक्सप्लायट करती हैं। मैं इसके खिलाफ हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मजदूरों का अपना संगठन हो, मजदूरों का अपना संघ हो लेकिन वह संघ बिल्कुल खूदमुखतार होना चाहिये, आज़ाद होना चाहिये, मजदूरों के भले के लिए होना चाहिये न कि किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी के भले के लिए होना चाहिए।

देखा गया है कि ये पोलिटिकल पार्टियां जब सीधे तौर से अपनी बात नहीं मनवा सकती हैं तो वे लाखों मजदूरों की हड़ताल करवा कर देश को भी नुकसान पहुंचाती हैं और मजदूरों के हितों को भी नुकसान पहुंचाती हैं। यह बुरी बात है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मजदूरों के संघ बिल्कुल आज़ाद हों और वह अपने मजदूरों के काम के लिये हों, किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी के काम के लिये नहीं। चाहे कांग्रेस हो या दूसरी पार्टी हो, जो मजदूरों का हस्तेमाल अपने काम के लिये करती है, मैं उसको कंडी निन्दा करता हूँ।

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : कांग्रेस का ही नाम क्यों लेते हैं, दूसरी पार्टी का नाम क्यों नहीं लेते।

श्री बूटा सिंह : मैं कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के लिये भी कहता हूँ। उन्हें मजदूरों को अपने काम के लिये एक्सप्लायट नहीं करना चाहिये बल्कि मजदूरों के हितों के लिये उनकी सेवा करनी चाहिये।

आजकल मिनिमम वेजिज़ की जो बात चल रही है वह सवाल आजकल पंजाब में बहुत ज्यादा उपस्थित है। आज ही मैंने अखबारों में ऐसी सूचना पढ़ी है कि टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री में बहुत झगड़ा चल रहा है। टैक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री में कुछ ऐसा प्रचार आज हो रहा है कि मालिकों का ख्याल है कि पीस रेट चार्ज से वह ज्यादा अच्छी पैदावार कर सकते हैं। मैं इसके हक में हूँ कि मजदूरों को अपनी जिन्दगी बरकरार रखने के लिये अच्छी तनख्वाह दी जाये लेकिन वह उस हद तक नहीं होना चाहिये कि प्रोडक्शन को अफेक्ट करे। पैदावार को कम करे। मिनिमम वेजेज़ जिन्दगी की जरूरियात को सामने रख कर कायम करना चाहिये। लेकिन उस के तय हो जाने के बाद अगर कोई इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट यह समझे कि पीस रेट वेजेज़ पैदावार को बढ़ाने में काम आ सकती है तो उसको इसकी इजाजत होनी चाहिये कि वह उसे दे सके। हां, पीस रेट वेजेज़ जो हों वह मिनिमम वेजेज़ से कतई कम नहीं होनी चाहियें, और उसको अपने कारखाने की पैदावार को बढ़ाने का और ट्रेड को कंट्रोल करने का पूरा हक होना चाहिये।

यहां एक सवाल चला मजदूरों को इन्साफ दिलाने का और उनके झगड़ों को निपटाने की मशीनरी का। मैं बड़े दुःख के साथ आपकी इजाजत से एक केस सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ, जो कि पिछले चार वर्षों से पंजाब में चल रहा है। वह एक स्पिंग मिल्स का है जो कि अमृतसर के पास

[श्री बूटा सिंह]

छेहरता में है। वहां पर 225 मजदूरों को निकाल दिया गया था पंजाब सरकार के हुकम से। यह बात उन दिनों की है जब कि पंजाब में एक आदमी का राज्य था। उसने एक ऐसा सेट अप कायम किया हुआ था कि जब चाहता था और जो जी चाहता था कानून बनाता था और बगैर किसी से पूछे ताछे उसे खत्म कर देता था। उन्हीं दिनों में इस छेहरता मिल का झगड़ा पेश हुआ था। गवर्नमेंट ने एक बोर्ड कायम किया और उस बोर्ड के टर्म्स आफ रिफरेंस यह थे :

“Whether the action of the management in discharging not allowing the workmen mentioned in the enclosed list to resume work is justified and in order? If not, to what relief they are entitled?”

विद्य अल अर्नेस्टनेस, गवर्नमेंट का आदेश था जिस पर बोर्ड को फँसला देना था। लेकिन जब उसके ऊपर राजनीतिक प्रेशर डाला गया तो उसी सरकार ने अपनी ही कलम से दूसरी बार यह आदेश दे दिया, वर्कर्स के हक में जो आदेश दिया था उसके खिलाफ जा कर कह दिया, कि दूसरा बोर्ड कायम किया जाये। इस दूसरे बोर्ड के टर्म्स आफ रिफरेंस यह थे :—

“Whether the workmen (list given below) have not abandoned their jobs by refusing to give the undertaking as required by the management.”

यह एक ऐसी बात है जिसको मैं आप की इजाजत से सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। कुछ मालिक ऐसे थे जिन्होंने सरकार के साथ मिल कर सरकार के अदालती फँसले को बदलवाया है, यह बहुत बुरी बात है। इन्साफ वह है जो जल्दी से जल्दी हो जाये, इन्साफ वह है जो देखने में भी आये कि इन्साफ हुआ है। इस स्थिति को सामने रख कर मैं यह बात कहने के लिये मजबूर हूँ कि यह सरकार हमेशा ऐसे झगड़ों को निपटाने

के लिये आघे दिल से कम करती है। इस सरकार की कोई नीति ऐसी साफ नहीं है जिस से हम यह कह सकें कि मजदूरों के लिये, मजदूरों को इन्साफ दिलाने के लिये, मजदूरों के हकों की रक्षा करने के लिये और जल्दी से जल्दी इन्साफ दिलाने के लिये मशीनरी बन रही है। यह बहुत दुःख की बात है। बहुत से ऐसे केसेज हमारे सामने आते हैं जिन में से एक-एक का भी मैं जिक्र करूँ तो बहुत समय हमें चाहिये।

इस सरकार ने सन् 1959 में एक रिटायर्ड जज श्री जगन्नाथ दास की अध्यक्षता में एक पे कमिशन बनाया था। उस कमिशन ने यह रिपोर्ट की कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं उनके खिलाफ जब भी कोई डिसिप्लिनरी एन्क्वायरी हो तो उसकी पड़ताल करने के लिये जो उनके इमिजिएट आफिसर हों उनको न रखा जाये। ऐसे दर्जनों नहीं, सेकड़ों केस हमारे सामने आये हैं, और ऐसे केस अदालतों में भी जा चुके हैं, कि सरकारी मुलाजिमों के खिलाफ उनकी शिकायतों की पड़ताल करने वाले उन्हीं के आला अफसर थे जिनके खिलाफ शिकायत हुआ करती थी। ऐसे बहुत से केसेज कोर्ट में गये और अदालतों ने सरकार के खिलाफ फँसले दिये। लेकिन इसके बावजूद यह सरकार ऐसी बहरी सरकार है कि कोर्ट्स में स्ट्रिक्चर्स दिये जाते हैं फिर भी अपने फँसलों को बदलने के लिये टस से मस नहीं होती।

एक और बात भी हमारे सामने आई है कि जब किसी सरकारी मुलाजिम को नौकरी से बरतरफ करना होता है तो उसके लिये पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन की इजाजत ली जाये। ऐसे डिसमिसल आर्डर पास करने के लिये अन्डर सर्विस रूल्स यह जरूरी है कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन की इजाजत ली जाये। लेकिन ऐसा करने के लिये इस सरकार ने अपने मुलाजिमों को कभी बतलाया तक नहीं है। हमारे ध्यान में यह बात बहुत लेट आई,

और वह भी तब जब हिन्दुस्तान के ऐडवोकेट जनरल ने इसे सामने रखा कि सिर्फ 2 फी सदी ऐसे केसेज पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन को दिये गये जिन में सरकार के ऊपर हम आरोप लगा सकते हैं कि उन्होंने बगैर पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन से सलाह लिये हुए अपने मुलाजिमों को नौकरी से बर्खास्त कर दिया ।

इन तमाम बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए मैं एक बात आपकी इजाजत से सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ कि मजदूरों के रहने के लिये मकानात का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं हुआ । हम दूसरों के लिये क्या कह सकते हैं जब कि सरकार के अपने ही कारखानों में, अपनी ही अंडरटॉकिंग में बेचारे सरकारी मजदूरों के बारे में ऐसा किया जाता है । उन्होंने लम्बे अर्से के लिये कोई नीति अख्यार नहीं की, कोई लांग टर्म पालिसी नहीं अख्यार की इसके बारे में । मैं चाहता हूँ कि मल्टि स्टोरीड वििल्डिग्स बना कर सन्सिडाइज्ड रेट पर मजदूरों को दिया जाये ।

सबसे बुरी बात जो हमारे सामने आई है वह यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान में दस्तकारियों के, दूसरे कामों के लिये, जितने भी कारखाने लगाये गये हैं वे सब शहरों में ही लगाये गये हैं जहां पर अच्छी-अच्छी सड़कें हैं टाउन्स में या गांवों में, जो कि हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी का सबसे बड़ा हिस्सा हैं, जहां पर कि मजदूर लोग रहते हैं, वहां कोई कारखाने नहीं लगाये गये । मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह सिफारिश करूंगा कि आइन्दा जो बड़े बड़े कारखाने लगाये जायें उनकी ऐसी जगहों पर लगाया जाये जहां पर काम करने के लिये मजदूरों को अपने घर छोड़ कर न जाना पड़े । अगर वह गांव में लगाये जायें और लोगों को वहां से उजाड़ कर कहीं दूर भेजा जाय तो यह राय दी जाये कि उन लोगों के बच्चों की देख भाल का इन्तजाम किया जाये और उन गांवों के लोग उन कारखानों में आ कर काम हासिल कर सकें ।

यही बस नहीं है । जो लेबर का कंट्रैक्ट सिस्टम है उसके बारे में भी मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ । यह ठीक है कि कई जगहों पर कंट्रैक्ट सिस्टम होता है, लेकिन उसकी बुराईयां कम की जायें । इसके लिये कोई मिनिमम स्टेन्डर्ड फिक्स कर दिये जायें । हर एक शख्स के लिये कम से कम तनख्वाहें, कम से कम सहुलियतें जिन्दगी की, कम से कम रेट हर जरूरतों के लिये फिक्स कर दिये जायें । जो मजदूर काम पर लगाये जाते हैं उनके खाने के लिये जरूरियात की चीजें मुहैया करने के लिये सरकार को कोआपरेटिव बेसिस पर फेअर प्राइस शाप्स खोलनी चाहियें । अगर किसी कारखाने के बाहर किसी चीज की कमी पड़ जाये तो सरकार को अपने मजदूरों की बेहतरी को ध्यान में रखते हुए और हिन्दुस्तान की पैदावार को ध्यान में रखते हुए, उस पटिकुलर एरिया में जहां पर कि फेअर प्राइस शाप्स हों, उनको सन्सिडी देनी चाहिये ताकि मजदूर को पता हो कि अगर उस की तनख्वाह 100 रुपये है और 30 रु० खुराक पर खर्च करने हैं तो बाहर चाई जितनी भी कमी हो, उस की खुराक का इन्तजाम 30 रु० में ही हो जायेगा । अगर सरकार उस कीमत को नहीं रोक सकती तो उसे कम से कम मजदूरों को कुछ सन्सिडी देनी चाहिये, कुछ न कुछ उनको पैसा देना चाहिए, अगर उनकी तनख्वाह को परमानेंटली नहीं बढ़ाया जा सकता । मैं आशा करता हूँ कि मैंने जो दरख्वास्तें की हैं उनकी ओर मंत्री महोदय ध्यान देंगे ।

एक बहुत जरूरी बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ, वह है मजदूरों को कारखाने के प्रबन्ध में हिस्सा देना—पारटिसिपेशन इन दी मेनेजमेंट आफ दी इंडस्ट्री । यह एक ऐसी चीज है, जिससे न सिर्फ मजदूरों का हौसला बढ़ता है, न सिर्फ पैदावार बढ़ती है, बल्कि इससे हिन्दुस्तान में एक नया समाज पैदा हो सकता है, एक नया ढांचा पैदा हो सकता है जिससे वरकर और कारखानेदार के बीच में जो गैप है वह मिट सकता है । मैं

[श्री बूटा सिंह]

इसके पक्ष में हूँ, और मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार जहाँ प्राइवेट सेक्टर में यह चाहती है कि मजदूरों को उद्योग के प्रबन्ध में पूरा पूरा हिस्सा दिया जाए, वहाँ सरकार को अपने कारखानों में भी मजदूरों को पूरा पूरा हिस्सा देना चाहिए, और मजदूरों को पूरी पूरी सुविधाएं देनी चाहिए ताकि वे मीनेजमेंट में हिस्सा ले सकें ।

ऐसे ही हमारे सामने मजदूरों के ताल्लुकात बढ़ाने का सवाल है । कारखानेदार की हमेशा यह कोशिश रहती है कि उसकी पैदावार बढ़े ; मेरा सजेशन है कि सरकार को मजदूरों को ऐसी सहूलियतें देनी चाहिए कि जिससे न सिर्फ पैदावार बढ़े, बल्कि मजदूरों और कारखानेदारों के बीच में जो फर्क है वह भी खत्म किया जा सके ।

एक बात का जिक्र करना मंत्री महोदय इस रिपोर्ट में बिल्कुल भूल गये हैं । जहाँ तीन सौ वरकर काम करते हैं उस प्रकार के कारखानों को आप ने बहुत सी सुविधाएं दी हैं, मगर जिन कारखानों में दस, बीस या सौ मजदूर काम करते हैं ऐसे यूनिटों के लिए उन्होंने अभी तक अपना फैसला नहीं दिया है । मैं सजेस्ट करता हूँ कि यहाँ पर भी इंग्लैंड जैसे बेज बोर्ड बनाये जायें, वरकर बोर्ड बनाये जायें । हमारे देश में बड़े बड़े कारखाने ज्यादा तादाद में नहीं हैं । गांवों में और छोटे कस्बों में जो छोटे छोटे यूनिट हैं उनकी ओर सरकार नहीं देखती । इन कारखानों के मजदूरों की सहूलियतों के बारे में सरकार को पूरा पूरा ध्यान देना चाहिए । जहाँ दस या दस से कम भी मजदूर काम करते हैं वहाँ के लिए भी सरकार को ऐसी मशीनरी कायम करनी चाहिए जिससे मजदूरों को कारखानेदारों से सहूलियतें दिलायी जा सकें । इससे स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को बहुत फायदा होगा । मेरा सुझाव है कि स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को भी सरकारी कानून की ज़ब से बाहर न रखा

जाये । इन इंडस्ट्रीज के मालिक मजदूरों पर ठीक ध्यान नहीं देते । सरकार को ऐसा यत्न करना चाहिए कि इन छोटे कारखानों में मजदूरों को उचित सुविधाएं मिल सकें ।

अब बेकारी का एक बड़ा मसला है इस मसले के दो भाग हैं, एक एम्प्लायमेंट और एक लेबर है । इस रिपोर्ट में सरकार ने खुद माना है कि तीसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना के बाद भी उन के पास 14 मिलियन बेकार आदमी बाकी रह जायेंगे । यह बड़े दुःख की बात है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जहाँ पिछले 17 साल के इतने बड़े बड़े एचीवमेंट हमारे सामने रखे जाते हैं, वहाँ बेकारी फिर भी बढ़ी है । बेकारी का एक कारण है बढ़ती हुई आबादी । हमारे कालिजों से जो इंजीनियर और डाक्टर आदि निकलते हैं, इनको पूरी पूरी नौकरी देने के लिए सरकार ने पूरा यत्न नहीं किया है । क्या कारण है कि आज भी ग्रेजुएट रिक्शा चलाते हैं ? क्या कारण है कि आज भी ग्रेजुएटों को नौकरी नहीं मिलती । क्या इसमें सरकार का कोई कुसूर है या शिक्षा प्रणाली ऐसी है कि ये ग्रेजुएट बी० ए० पास करने के बाद भी अपने आप को एक ब्लर्क की पोस्ट तक नहीं पहुँचा सकते हैं ।

सबसे बड़ी बात मैं यह देखता हूँ कि लोग अपने को एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज में रजिस्टर तो करवाते हैं, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में कोई ऐसा कारखाना नहीं है, कोई ऐसी दुकान नहीं है जिसमें नौकरी लगने के लिए किसी बड़े आदमी की सिफारिश की ज़रूरत न हो । मैं दूर नहीं जाता । भारत सरकार के अपने बड़े बड़े कारपोरेशन हैं, ग्रंडटेकिंग हैं, रेलवे है, पी० एंड टी० है जहाँ लाखों लोग काम करते हैं, मगर वहाँ भी सिफारिश के बगैर नौकरी नहीं मिलती । मैं चाहता हूँ कि कोई ऐसी मशीनरी सैट अप की जाये, कोई ऐसी ट्रेनिंग दी जाये, ऐसे इंस्टीट्यूशन खोले जायें जहाँ कालिजों से निकले हुए, ग्रेजुएटों को

नौकरी पाने के लिए शिक्षा दी जाये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कालिज में पढ़ने वाले हर लड़के को यह मालूम होना चाहिए कि उसे कालिज से निकलने के बाद कहाँ जाना है।

जब हिन्दुस्तान में इमरजेंसी का बिगुल बजाया गया तो उसके साथ इमरजेंसी कमीशन का ऐलान किया गया। इमरजेंसी के ऐलान के साथ बहुत से फ्रेश ग्रेजुएट जिन्होंने एन० सी० सी० की ट्रेनिंग ली हुई थी, या वे ग्रेजुएट जो कालिजों में या स्कूलों में पढ़ाते थे, उन्होंने हजारों की तादाद में इमरजेंसी कमीशन में अपने आप को दाखिल कर दिया। इमरजेंसी अभी भी है, बाहर है, लेकिन सरकार के दफ्तरों में नहीं है, मंत्रियों के दिल में नहीं है। अभी भी हिन्दुस्तान की सरहदों पर तोपों के गोले और मशीन गनों चलती रहती हैं।

16.37 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

लेकिन मैं एक बात की ओर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जो अफसर इमरजेंसी कमीशन के तहत भरती किये गये थे उनमें से बहुत से अफसरों को उनके घर बिठा दिया गया है। मैं यह नहीं समझ सका कि यह इमरजेंसी का मुकाबला करने का कौन सा तरीका है। जो लोग इस तरह सरकारी मुहकमे से इमरजेंसी कमीशन पाने के बाद निकाले गये हैं उनको उनके डिपार्टमेंट वापस नहीं ले रहे हैं और अब वे किसी काम को नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि उन्होंने दो दो और तीन तीन साल फौज की ट्रेनिंग पा ली है। अब उन से हल नहीं जोता जाता और न कारखानों में काम किया जाता है। उनको घर बिठा दिया गया है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्या इमरजेंसी खत्म हो गयी, क्या अब देश की सरहदों पर कोई खतरा नहीं है कि उन्होंने इन इमरजेंसी कमीशन्ड अफिसरों को उनके घर बिठा दिया है ?

मैं ने जो दरखास्तें की हैं आशा है कि

उन पर मंत्री महोदय ध्यान देंगे। उन्होंने अपनी एक तक्रार में कहा था कि वे "इनकारि-जिबिल ग्राप्टिमिस्ट हैं" जिसका मैं हिन्दी में अनुवाद करूँगा कि वे असाध्य आशावादी हैं। ऐसे असाध्य आशावादी मंत्री महोदय से मेरी दरखास्त है कि हिन्दुस्तान के मजदूरों की बुरी हालत को देखते हुए वे अपने आशावाद के नजरिये को बदलें और मैं ने जो विनती की है उनका जवाब दें।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon Members may now move the cut motions to Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Labour and Employment, subject to their being otherwise admissible.

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak (Sambalpur):** I beg to move:

(i) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to refer the dispute between the Lino-operators of the Government of India Presses and the management to adjudication(28)].

(ii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Irregularities involved in implementing the award for providing shoes to coal miners (29)].

**Shri Warlor (Trichur):** I beg to move:

(i) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to bring to book all employees who break the code of conduct and Industrial Truce Resolution (33)].

(ii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and

[Shri Warior]

Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to bring forward legislation on Bonus urgently (34)].

(ii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to expand the scope of participation of workers in management (35)].

(iv) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to raise the quality of education of workers in the Workers' Education Centres (36)].

(v) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to impart higher technical training to industrial labour (37)].

(vi) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for more periodical inspections of factories, plantations and other industrial undertakings (38)].

(vii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for legislation for the protection of building construction workers(39)].

(viii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to form industrial relations Committees in all industries including Newspapers establishments (40)].

(ix) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to establish fair price shops in all areas where there are more than 500 workers engaged.(41)].

(x) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to establish cheap grain shops for workers(42)].

(xi) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to form wage boards for all industries(43)].

(xii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to take more effective steps to solve unemployment among educated people (44)].

(xiii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to take more effective steps to solve unemployment among educated women (45)].

(xiv) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to strictly enforce labour laws and bring defaulting managements to book (46)].

(xv) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enforce safety measures stringently (47)].

(xvi) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enforce laws pertaining to conditions of work in factories, mines and plantations (48)].

(xvii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enforce laws regarding housing of industrial workers (49)].

(xviii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to investigate the existing method of calculating cost of living index for workers and revise it according to more up-to-date scientific methods(50)].

(xix) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enforce the minimum wages wherever already fixed(51)].

(xx) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give representation to organisations of labour in the proposed National Safety Council. (52)].

(xxi) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to end contract labour system (53)].

(xxii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to strengthen adjudication and arbitration machineries to avoid

delays in deciding industrial disputes (54)].

(xxiii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to constitute works committees wherever they do not exist at present (55)]

(xxiv) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to take steps against closed shop methods adopted and practised in certain categories of stevedore labour (56)]

(xxv) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to plug loopholes in legislation taken advantage of by employers to defeat workers from provident fund, gratuity, maternity and other benefits (57)]

(xxvi) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give more powers to Labour Officers to summon representatives of labour and managements for conciliation proceedings (58)]

**Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West):** I beg to move:

(i) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Immediate need to reconstitute the Calcutta Dock Labour Boards (65)]

(ii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Irregularities and mal-administration in the Calcutta Dock Labour Board (66)]

(iii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to institute an immediate inquiry into financial irregularities of Calcutta Dock Labour Board, as revealed in the Audit Report (67)]

(iv) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to grant permanent status to 'B' and 'C' categories of shore labour under Calcutta Port Commissioners (68)]

(v) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give bonus to Dock workers (69)]

(vi) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Acute shortage of housing for Dock labour in Calcutta (70)]

(vii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reconstitute and regularise functioning of the Dock Labour Advisory Committee (71)]

(viii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to constitute a Wage Board for Railwaymen (72)]

(ix) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and

Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to revise upwards wage rates fixed under the Minimum Wages Act for workers in the Central sphere (73)]

(x) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Non-implementation of interim relief recommendation of Wage Board by the Mine owners of Orissa (74)]

(xi) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to grant interim relief to 20,000 iron and manganese miners of Barbil, Orissa who are on strike (75)]

(xii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Non-implementation of Wage Board's recommendation for interim relief by iron ore mineowners of Goa (76)]

(xiii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Continued non-implementation of Wage Board's recommendation for minimum fall-back wages by Jute mill owners (77)]

(xiv) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Demotion from permanent to casual status of 800 winchmen and 1500 gang workers of Marmagoa port (78)]

(xv) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and



Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to expedite setting up of Dock Labour Board for Goa (79)]

(xvi) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to ensure service priority for registration of workers in the Pool established by Marmagao Stevedores' Association (80)]

(xvii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Unfair labour practice of Railway administration in discharging and re-employing casual labour so as to deny them C. P. C. benefits (81)]

(xviii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Delay in introducing Bonus Bill (82)]

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** These cut motions are now before the House.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** Sir, when our present Labour Minister, Mr. Sanjivayya, took charge of the Labour Ministry last year a great hope was roused in the minds of the working class of this country. The simple reason was that he did not take over as Labour Minister in this government for the first time, but prior to this, he had the privilege of being the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and after that he had the privilege to be the President of the Indian National Congress.

During the year under review, the minister has no doubt many things to his credit. The most creditable thing was the fulfilment of his promise to set up a separate social secu-

rity wing in the ministry. But it is unfortunate that instead of creating a separate wing in this ministry, a separate department of social security has been created, and though mostly connected with the Labour Ministry it has been transferred to some other ministry.

So far as this Ministry is concerned I have nothing much to complain. I would rather like to deal with problems mostly arising in the public sector undertakings and the performance of this Ministry in this respect.

The biggest public sector undertaking in this country is the Railways and then comes the Defence establishments. If one examines the position there, one will be to tally disillusioned so far as the functioning of the labour relationship machinery is concerned. In this connection I would like to confine my observations mostly to the Railways. The hon. Labour Minister has expressed satisfaction about the labour relationship or the peace maintained in the Railways and also in the Defence establishments. I do not know whether he and his Ministry have tried to analyse as to who is responsible for maintaining this peace. Is it the railway Ministry or the defence Ministry, or is it the railway labour or the defence labour who are responsible for this peace?

Sir, I would like to re-state in this House that under the leadership of the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen the labour in this country have still faith in the leadership of this country. They have also faith in the leadership of the Labour Minister so far as labour relations are concerned. Had the labour lost hope in the leadership of the country and also the the Labour Minister, the position would have been entirely different in these two undertakings.

Sir, I was surprised to see only a line about the labour relationship of

[Shri A. P. Sharma]

Railways and Defence establishments in the report of the Ministry. This House knows that about 12 lakh workers are employed in the Railways and near about 4 lakh workers in the Defence establishments. For such big establishments of the Government like the Railways and Defence, we find only a line in the report of the Ministry. As a humble worker in the labour field and a supporter of this Government, I would like to warn the Government that if this situation continues, as it is at present, in the Railways and in the Defence establishments, serious labour trouble will follow in this country. Why I am saying this is, because the attitude of this Ministry is one of indifference and of a casual nature so far as labour problems are concerned.

As I said, I will confine my observations to the grievance settlement machinery on the Indian Railways. There is a permanent negotiating machinery in the Railway, functioning on three-tiers, namely, at the divisional, general manager and the Railway Board level. This machinery is set up as a result of an agreement between the labour and the Railway Administration. According to the provision of this machinery, when a problem or an issue is not settled by mutual negotiations it is required to be referred to a tribunal set up for this purpose. Recently we had a very strange experience in the Railway Ministry about the functioning of this machinery. There are about 4 lakh workers, employed by the Indian Railways, known as casual labour, and this House will be surprised to know that during these days of rising of prices these workers are paid at the rates of Rs. 1-4-0, 1-8-0, 1-12-0 and, in some places, Rs. 2. At the same time, for the permanent employees doing the same work the rate is Rs. 3-8-0. On the question of the fixation of the wages of the casual labour, we had difference of opinion; that is, between the Rail-

way Ministry and the railway labour union, namely, the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen. We insisted that this question should be referred to arbitration. The Railway Ministry have taken the plea that they being a Government department, they have the sole right to refuse or to refer the matter to arbitration. So far as we, representing the labour, are concerned, we have taken up the attitude that if at all anybody has the right to decide whether a matter should be referred to arbitration or not, it is the Labour Ministry and not the Railway Ministry. In this respect, the Labour Ministry is behaving like a silent spectator, I do not know why. Is it because the Labour Ministry is afraid of the employing Ministry, where it is Railways or Defence? Is it a fact that these Ministries are more powerful than the Labour Ministry? If that is the position, I would like to assure the hon. Labour Minister on the floor of this House that the entire working class will be behind the Labour Ministries if they take any action against the employing Ministry, particularly, the Defence and Railway Ministries. I think I can assure him on this point on behalf of both Shri Priya Gupta and Shri Alvares also.

In my opinion, if arbitration is refused to the workers, even for an organisation like the one for which I am speaking, there is no alternative for the workers than to take recourse to strikes. Because, in our Constitution we have mentioned it very clearly that we do not want to invite a strike and we do not want to go on strike, so long arbitration is available. But what is the way out if an employer does not refer the demand of the workers to arbitration for a peaceful settlement? Therefore, I would like to suggest at this stage to the Labour Ministry and to the hon. Labour Minister that the time has come when the Labour Ministry should set up a Committee or appoint a special officer on behalf

of the Labour Ministry to enquire into the working of the labour laws and the violation of the labour laws in these employing Ministries. Unless these Ministries are tackled in the same way as private employers for the violation of the laws, they are not going to listen to the Labour Ministry. That is my experience for the last twenty years.

What happens in the case of a private employer if he violates the labour laws in his industry? He is either fined or sentenced for some period or both. I wonder whether there is any understanding between two sister Ministries because if a Government officer is in charge of implementing the labour laws, it is generally found that he easily escapes in spite of the violation of the labour laws because they are not pursued by the Labour Ministry.

In the Report of the Ministry there is reference to man-days lost. The Ministry itself has accepted that in the year 1964 the man-days lost is more than in the years 1962 and 1963. In the year 1964 the man-days lost was 73 lakhs as against 33 lakhs in 1963 and 61 lakhs in 1962. The rise in man-days lost is attributed to the economic cause, leading to demand for higher wages and dearness allowance by the workers. In this connection, I would again like to ask the hon. Labour Minister, if the employing Ministry or the employer, particularly Government department, because they are Government departments and, therefore, they are very powerful—they are more powerful—they are more powerful than private employer—if they refuse to settle a demand of the workers by mutual agreement, if any demand is not settled by mutual negotiation between labour and management, and if the management refuse to refer such disputes to arbitration, what is the course left for labour?

Here again, I would request the Labour Minister to look into the causes of man-days lost and see whether it is

because of the workers' demand or whether it is because the unreasonable employers have refused to settle the demand by negotiation and also refused to refer them to arbitration? If that is the reason, it is the employers who should be blamed for man-days lost and not the workers of this country."

I have spoken about the violation of the labour laws. Now I would like to deal with workers' participation in management. I may tell the House that the scheme for workers' participation in management was promised to the working class of this country as far back as 15 years ago. This House will perhaps be surprised to know that a team was also sent by the Government of India, known as the Vishnu Sahay Committee, to study the workers' participation in management scheme to various countries. I do not know about other departments, but I know about the Railways. An officer on special duty was also appointed and certain schemes were worked out. I want to know as to what has happened about the workers' participation in management scheme.

Here in the Report there is a mention of certain public sector undertakings where the workers' participation in management scheme is working successfully. Their number, according to the Report, is 36. What are those establishments, how many workers are employed in those establishments and what is the size of those establishments? They have left out the biggest establishments in the public sector, like the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Defence, but they are talking of small factories employing 200 or 500 people and saying that in 36 factories or establishments in the public sector the workers' participation in management scheme is working successfully.

So far as we are concerned, we have forgotten the workers' participation in management scheme because we feel that under this regime workers' participation in management

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scheme will not be introduced so far as these bigger industries are concerned; but still, according to this Report, if the Ministry is very keen and anxious, I want to assure the Ministry on behalf of the labour that whatever steps the Ministry takes in this direction, we are always prepared to co-operate in making the scheme successful.

I want to say something about the slogan of one union in one industry. My hon. friend, Shri Elias—he is not here—talked about some discriminatory treatment between the INTUC and the AITUC. My charge is the other way. I want to accuse this Government of giving representation to the AITUC on so many Government committees in this country which they are not entitled to because, according to the statement of my hon. friend, Shri Elias, himself, it is the most representative union, the largest and the biggest organisation in the country, which is entitled to representation and not anybody and everybody. Even according to ILO rules, only the national trade union, representing the largest number of workers, is entitled to be represented on these committees.

May I take this opportunity to request the Labour Minister and the Government of India's Labour Ministry not to consider the representation of bodies like the AITUC, particularly in the present context of the country when one section of the AITUC's Communist Party is behaving against the interests of the country and so many of them have been imprisoned on charges of preparation for sabotage activities in the country. In this connection, the most impartial way that the Government could follow is to give representation to the national organisation which had the largest membership. And that can be done through the verification of the membership.

I would like to say something about the slogan of one union in one industry. It appears that, apart from the

trade unionists, the Government is also affected by this slogan. What is the idea of one union in one industry or what is the idea of trade union unity in this country? So far as the trade unions continue to draw their allegiance from the various political parties—I am talking particularly of a trade union which has no root in this country so far as the ideology is concerned and which already receives guidance from foreign countries—with such unions, under no circumstances, there can be a trade union unity. I want to say that the slogan of one union in one industry is not a correct slogan. The slogan should be that only a quality-based union which has got the national character and which is always prepared to sacrifice the interests of the workers for the larger interest of the country should only be recognised and no other union.

I want to say a word more in this connection as to how the industrial peace should be maintained in the country. So far as the industrial peace is concerned, the prerequisite for maintaining industrial peace is a contented worker. The workers cannot be contented unless and until certain conditions are fulfilled. What are those conditions? The conditions are that the worker must be assured a living wage, the good working conditions, the proper housing facilities and the most important thing is the wholesome industrial relations. After all, after getting the housing facilities and all, if the people treat them in any way they like, if the old slogan of hire-and-fire continues on the part of the employers, what is the good of having good working conditions and all those things? Therefore wholesome industrial relations, the effective machinery for quick settlement of disputes and the recognition of quality-based unions are the only things that can bring content to the labour in this country.

With these words, I want to thank you and I also want to assure the Ministry that so far as we are concerned, we are always prepared to subordinate our sectional interests whenever the question of the larger interest of the country comes before us. But so far as the labour legislation in the public sector is concerned, we are totally dissatisfied and I want the Labour Minister and this Government to do something in the near future so that any untoward incident may not take place in this country.

**Shrimati Renuka Barkataki** (Bardhaman): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the demands for grants of the Ministry of Labour and Employment. At the very outset, I must congratulate the hon. Minister on the able way in which he has been dealing with this very difficult task. I say this is a very difficult task because of the success of the Ministry depends to a considerable extent on the success of the plans for industrialisation and the pattern of ownership, efficiency and achievements in industry and agriculture, all of which or most of which, are factors over which the Ministry has no direct control.

Sir, one of the major tasks of the Ministry is to formulate and carry out a policy that will ensure full and gainful employment to the many millions in our country.

17 hrs.

This has been one of the major objectives of our five year plans. Yet, it must be confessed that our efforts have hardly succeeded in reducing the massive dimension of unemployment and under-employment in this country. Statistics that the Ministry have presented have only reinforced the impression that the backlog of unemployment is a burden that our society will have to carry for a long time. We realise that there can be no improvement in the standard of living of our masses unless they earn an adequate

income through employment and, at the same time contribute to an increase in production through work and increased productivity.

Sir, it is true that our plans have provided increased opportunities of employment, but it is difficult to claim that our plans have succeeded even in accounting for the additional influx into the labour market which is an inevitable consequence of the natural growth of our population.

At a time when we are formulating the Fourth Five Year Plan, it is, therefore, necessary to review the serious and undeniable inadequacy of our employment position and formulate a policy aimed at liquidating unemployment and under-employment, and grappling with the problem of seasonal unemployment, in the shortest possible time.

Such a policy to be realistic has to take into consideration the size of our population, the rate of growth of our population, the geographical distribution, the rural-urban ratio of our population, the need for modernising our technique of production and increasing productivity in agriculture as well as in industry.

Fitful employment of unskilled labour in temporary work which does not need skills or considerable investment in finance or machinery may have its immediate utility. But a long-term policy has to take into consideration the inevitable consequences of our efforts at modernising our techniques of production. More employment opportunities have to be created in industry. But industry cannot be economically efficient or competitive, if it does not accept the logic of industrialisation and use the most modern machinery including those that take us nearer to the age of automation. Once we embark on this process and decide to speed towards the modern age, there is no escape from moving away from labour intensive methods of production. Increased

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industrialisation, no doubt, will lead to increased employment, in spite of labour-saving machinery. But if labour is to benefit from industrialisation, the element of wage must increase while the element of labour decreases. If labour is to obtain and retain employment in a rapidly industrialising society, two things are necessary: the kind of skills necessary in highly mechanised methods of production, and the training necessary to ensure adaptability and mobility to facilitate migration to and absorption in new industries.

These essential conditions of employment in a rapidly industrialising society cannot be ensured without a gigantic, well-planned and coordinated programme of workers' education. Our industrial and employment policy must be aimed at creating opportunities for increased employment, creating the skill necessary for availing of these opportunities, and synchronising the availability of opportunities and the ability to avail of them. It cannot be said that we have succeeded in formulating or implementing such a policy. I hope that the policies and programmes that we adopt in the Fourth Plan will remove these deficiencies of the past.

I am not suggesting that the Ministry is unaware of the importance of workers education. The report of the Ministry deals with the training institutes, schemes and programmes that have been functioning. But it will readily be admitted that the number of institutes has been inadequate. The kind of training imparted has been inadequate and the curriculum of the course, capable of enormous improvement from the point of view of the integrated prospectives and the specific skills required in the current phase of industrial expansion. A programme of workers' education has to provide training in professional skills, retraining for keeping pace with improvements in techniques of production, supplementary scholastic

education and education to make creative use of the leisure that reduced hours of work will provide.

Sir, I have already referred to the need to increase productivity in the agricultural and industrial fields. I welcome the attention that is being given to this question. I have no doubt in my mind that it is only through education, better management and the introduction of the incentives provided by norms, as well as participation in management that we can increase the low productivity of our workers. I must, however, say that the pace of our progress in this direction has been slow. I do hope that the principle of workers' participation in management, which has now been accepted, will be applied more effectively and on a much wider scale.

Before I pass on to other questions, I must say a few words about the problem of educated unemployment. The Report itself says that the number of educated applicants seeking employment has increased. Of the eight lakhs who have registered in the employment exchanges, only 185,000 could be placed in employment. The plight of those who are below the matriculation level, even when they have received some vocational training, is worse. The mid-term appraisal of the Plan has itself pointed out that the situation "is particularly disquieting in respect of educated classes". The disquiet is bound to be even greater when one sees from the appraisal itself that, "side by side with the situation, manpower shortages are being experienced for professional and technical personnel such as engineers, draftsmen, doctors etc., and certain categories of craftsmen including fitters, turners, tool-makers, electricians and the like." On the one hand, employment cannot be found for those who have been trained; on the other hand, trained personnel cannot be found for employment. This, no doubt, exposes a very serious deficiency in our planning for manpower utilisation.

I would now like to say a few words about the problems of our organised industrial labour. The Report has pointed out that there has been considerable increase in the loss of man hours resulting from strikes. This is a matter which should cause us grave concern. The report has rightly pointed out that the causes of most of the strikes that took place during the year were economic, that the strikes resulted from sudden and spiralling increase in the cost of living and the reduction of the real wages of the workers. The decision to fix minimum wages, to link the dearness allowance with the consumer price index, to pay part of the wages in kind and to open fair price shops and increase amenities and services like housing, medical care etc., must, therefore, be welcomed as a step in the right direction to rehabilitate the real wage. But, many months have passed since the decision was taken, and the progress in introducing the supporting legislation and expanding amenities has been rather slow.

Sir, I welcome the appointment of the commission to enquire into the working and living conditions of plantation workers. It is no exaggeration to say that the conditions of employment, housing, medical facilities, provision against accidents occupational hazards and sickness are far from satisfactory in the plantations. I would like our Ministry to pay special attention to the requirements of plantation labour. I would also like the Ministry to explore the possibility of extending the principle of co-operative ownership to plantations. When plantations are changing hands and Indian big business men are buying them from the foreign owners, why should not our Government, which believes in socialism, encourage and aid the plantation workers to form co-operatives and buy these plantations from foreign owners? Sir, this is not an untried idea. I have only to point out to the extremely successful experiment that has taken place in Malaysia, where, under the dynamic leadership of the Minister

Dato Sambandan, Indian plantation workers formed co-operatives which bought, and own and operate today, an impressive number of rubber plantations in Malaysia. I wonder why our Ministry cannot encourage the use of contributions from the provident fund and extend financial assistance for such ventures in India.

Sir, in conclusion I must refer to one or two special problems of my State. Sir, my State is industrially very backward, the number of industrial establishments is very few. There are a few public sector undertakings including the refinery. Yet, it must be pointed out that even in these undertakings the number of Assamese who can find employment is pitifully small. We are told that we do not have people with requisite training and skills; yet nothing is done to provide this training in Assam for the Assamese. Leaving aside the question of skilled and trained personnel, even in appointing persons in III and IV grade classes, there are thousands of instances where private industrial establishments and non-Assamese heads of departments of public undertakings give preference to the people from outside Assam. We seem to be the victims of a vicious circle. The committee of the Assam Assembly which toured the public sector undertakings and private industrial establishments in Assam has submitted a report which should open many eyes.

Even if you look at the number of persons registered in the employment exchanges and the number of placements effected, you will find that in Assam only one out of every twelve registered has been found employment as against the all India average of one out of every seven.

I would like to refer to the problems of emigrant and agricultural labour. But for lack of time, I shall conclude by saying that, even the survey conducted by the Government has shown that the average annual income of agricultural labour has gone down. I hope, Sir, that the Government will

[Shrimati Renuka Barkataki]

give attention to the problems of this vast sector of unorganised labour in the country.

With these words, I support the demands of the Ministry.

**Shri M. Malaichami (Periyakulam):** Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak in support of the demands of the Ministry of Labour and Employment. Government labour policy and its impact on the working class could be reviewed only in the context of the general economic and social conditions in the country. The Ministry deserves to be congratulated for the various ameliorative measures taken to improve the social and economic conditions of labour. Labour is a great force for democracy and it is a productive force. Without enabling labour to play its full constructive role, it may not be possible to improve the standard of living of the people and ensure social and economic justice enshrined in our Constitution.

An important aspect of the work of the Labour Ministry relates to welfare, safety and working conditions of labour, both organised and unorganised. These have an important bearing on the improvement in production and productivity. During the Chinese aggression, labour proved its faith in the democratic structure of this country and the oneness with which it met the challenge was a remarkable achievement—so far as the confidence of the labour in the present-day Government of our country. A scheme for the grant of national awards applicable to factories, mines, plantations and docks was instituted for rewarding useful suggestions from workers to improve productivity. Even though annual trends show increase in industrial productivity, it does not meet the entire demands in the country for the goods. To improve the productivity such measures would really be helpful and we can be confident that labour will not fail in the discharge of its duties

since labour has got confidence in the Government, and they are alive to the various ameliorative measures undertaken by the Ministry regarding medical, housing, educational and other facilities. Wage Boards are constituted in organised industries and they have also helped the workers to get adequate wages in conformity with the cost of living index.

I take this opportunity to suggest to the Ministry that there is imperative necessity to set up a Wage Board for cardamom plantation workers. More than two lakh workers are engaged in cardamom plantation. Similar to coffee plantation, cardamom is also planted in the higher elevations of the western ghats. Estates with more than 50 acres employ workers permanently and continuously throughout the year. An enquiry into the industry will clearly reveal that there is sweated labour and that the wages paid are very low. Further, the workers are paid low, and the food-grains supplied to them are charged at exorbitant rates. The constitution of a Wage Board will go a long way to ameliorate the workers. So, I request the Ministry to take suitable measures for constituting a Wage Board in respect of the plantation workers of cardamom. They suffer not only from low wages but also due to want of proper medical, housing and educational facilities. Steps should be taken to provide for the grant of subsidy to an extent of 25 per cent of the cost, on the lines of the subsidised industrial housing scheme recommended by the working group on plantation labour housing.

An indicator of the standard of living of the working classes in the level of wages. In this respect, the condition of the landless agricultural labour reveals a sad plight. They are poor, ignorant and unorganised. The wages of the unorganised sector continued to be fixed under the Minimum Wages Act of 1948. The State Governments have been requested to fix at least Re. 1 a day in respect of any scheduled employ-



ment. In these days of high cost and scarcity, the low wages of the unorganised labour are being constantly eroded. In addition to the half-starving condition of agricultural labour, who live mainly in the rural areas, the hardship and the imbalance of standards are being aggravated by the method of Government spending on ameliorative measures like water, sanitation, education, etc., in urban areas. A man in the town costs the government Rs. 100, while a man in the village costs only Rs. 10. From this we can understand the standard of living of the unorganised landless labour who are not only ill-paid or low-paid but also suffer under various handicaps because they are unorganised. This imbalance affects not only the social structure but also the economic structure.

Our economy is based on agriculture, and more than 50 per cent of the national income is accounted for by agriculture. More than 80 per cent of the people live in villages and 70 per cent depend on agriculture. If the agricultural labour which is unorganised, impoverished and half-starved, is not looked after by the Government, we cannot confidently say that we are socialistic and we abide by the democratic system of Government. So, it is high time that our Labour Ministry under the able leadership of Shri Sanjivayya took the necessary ameliorate measures for enabling the unorganised labour to get wages according to the cost of living index.

Speedy steps should be taken to improve the living and working conditions of unorganised agricultural labour. Fair-price and consumer co-operative stores should be started in rural areas. Free house-sites to landless agricultural labour should be allotted. The distribution of government wastelands to landless labour for cultivation should be speeded up. With these measures, the Government should, wherever possible, also encourage the tenants to get ownership of land. It will help not only to

increase agricultural production, but also enable the landless tillers of the soil to become owners of the soil and help them to have a definite hold for some living occupation.

With these words, I support the demands.

**Shri K. N. Pande (Hata):** Sir, first of all, I would like to make a few observations on the speech made by Mr Elias. He said that the labour Ministry is following an anti-labour policy. I do not at all agreeable with this remark. Due to the efforts of this ministry more than 25 lakhs of workers have been benefited by way of enhanced wages due to the formation of wage boards in different industries. Had the ministry been against the interests of the workers, they would have never appointed such wage boards. They are now appointing frequently more and more Wage Boards for different industries so that the workers are benefited and are in a position to meet the rising costs of the day.

I also want to make a few remarks about the speech made by Shrimati Barkataki. It is true that the economic condition of the country cannot be improved without industrialisation. But we have to realise that this country has a huge population and there is the serious problem of unemployment. So, at this stage to talk about automation in this country is fatal for the workers' interests. For her information, I may say that in America, because of automation in the automobile industry, 50 lakhs of workers were unemployed, even though there is shortage of manpower there. We cannot afford any such automation in this country. This is all theoretical talk on which we should not give more stress here. I am in favour of improving the efficiency of the industries; that should be done, but not at the cost of the workers employed. Although I have full confidence and belief in the working of

[Shri K. N. Pandey]

17.23 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair].

the ministry and I have no doubt that the ministry is making sincere efforts to mitigate the hardships caused to the workers by rising prices, still the situation is, such that unless some proper action is taken in time, it may take a serious turn. In 1963, the number of man-days lost was only 33 lakhs, but in 1964 it rose to 76 lakhs. Why? It was due to the prices being so high. When the prices go high, it is the workers who lose because with the money they get as wages they are unable to meet their expenses at a stage when the prices go very high and remain so to an indefinite extent. This condition has arisen here. The Ministry has, therefore, to consider over this serious problem and decide what to do so that these things do not take some other shape in the coming future.

I know the Ministry tried its best and held many conferences in order to impress upon the employers the need to open more fair price shops and co-operative stores in the factories where there are more than 300 workers. About 2000 co-operative stores have been opened. But taking into consideration the seriousness of the problem, these 2000 co-operative stores are not at all sufficient. They are not serving the purpose for which they were established. Even if more fair price shops and co-operative stores are opened, there is the question of supply of foodgrains to these co-operative stores and fair price shops. The supplies cannot be made by the factories themselves. The supplies will have to be made only by the Government. If the Government fails to make adequate supply of foodgrains to these co-operative stores and also fair price shops, there is no meaning in the employers opening these shops. Even if they open one lakh co-operative stores and fair price shops things will not improve. Therefore, what the Ministry has to do is to ensure that there is proper and ade-

quate supply of foodgrains and other required materials to these fair price shops and co-operative stores.

They are proposing to bring an amendment to the Factories Act. Although I am pleading the cause of the workers, being a realistic man I cannot forget the difficult situation which is at the moment facing us. Unless you make proper arrangement to see that there is adequate supply of the required materials, even if you bring an amendment to the Factories Act it will only be a theoretical satisfaction so far as the workers are concerned. We may say from the housetops that we have amended the Factories Act in order to force the employers to open more fair price shops and co-operative stores. How will that serve the purpose? First of all, we are ignoring one fact that industrial workers are engaged in giving more production. They are not at all concerned from where these foodgrains come. If you want more production in the industrial field you have to see that the workers are given the materials that they require. If you do not see to that, there is already a shortage of foodgrains in the country and there will be shortage in industrial production also. That will be fatal for the nation.

The Labour Minister once invited the Food Minister. Simply inviting to a conference will not do. Unless you do something concrete in this country, things cannot be solved. You cannot blame the workers. Shri Sharma said that the employers should be condemned for that because the size of the man-days lost is large. I think nobody is to be condemned for that. Unless you make the proper arrangements there is no assurance from any side that the size of man-days lost will be reduced. It will only be increased in future if the workers have to make their own arrangements for foodgrains and other things. I think it will be a very suicidal thing and nobody can be sure that things will be normal.

**Shri A. P. Sharma:** I said that the employers refuse to refer the disputes to arbitration.

**Shri K. N. Pande:** Action should be taken against whoever is responsible for that, because it is a serious problem.

We have to look at the condition of the agricultural workers. Even if we invest Rs. 100 crores or 200 crores in the agricultural sector it will not give us the desired results because ours is not a country where we can produce more by mechanisation or by having more of tube-wells and tractors. Production can be increased only by those who work in the fields. Unless they are provided with proper facilities, unless they are given increased wages and other amenities how can we expect them to produce more? The importance of this problem was realised by the Congress Working Committee and so in the Durgapur session they decided that some positive steps should be taken to improve the condition of the agricultural workers. But what has been done? Only the other day, the question of minimum wages was raised in this House and the hon. Labour Minister was pleased to state that we at the Centre are concerned only with the passing of the legislation and its implementation rests with the State Governments and so it is for the State Governments to see that the agricultural workers are given proper wages.

As is known to every Member, in some of the States an agricultural worker gets 62 paise per day. Suppose he has got three or four children, how can he make both ends meet with this meagre wage, especially at a time when the prices are going up at a fast rate? So, in my opinion, instead of shifting the responsibility to the States the time has come when the Central Labour Ministry has to take upon itself the responsibility of seeing that the Minimum Wages Act is properly implemented in all the States. The Central Labour Ministry should see to it that every agricultural worker gets not less than Rs. 2 per day. In Punjab they are already getting more than Rs. 2 per day: so also, in West Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra in the sugar-

cane farms. So, in other States why should the people get a free licence to exploit these poor workers? If you want the agricultural production to increase, you have to give help to these agricultural workers and the only way in which the Central Labour Ministry can give help is by exercising its influence or power to see that the Minimum Wages Act is implemented on a uniform basis throughout the whole country.

**Mr. Speaker:** He should conclude now.

**Shri K. N. Pande:** I will take a little more time.

**Mr. Speaker:** Then he will resume his seat just now. We will have to take up some other item now. He can continue his speech later. Now, the Home Minister.

17-34 hrs.

STATEMENT RE: SITUATION ON  
 KUTCH-SIND BORDER

**श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) :**  
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बयान के पहले मैं एक अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ। एक तरफ तो सदन में मन्त्री लोग बयान देते हैं और दूसरी तरफ अखबार वालों को मन्त्रालय के प्रवक्ता लोग भी कहते हैं, और बाद में ऐसा होता है कि अखबार में छपी खबरों को फिर मन्त्री लोग सदन में दुहराते हैं। अभी कच्छ के बारे में 3 मार्च, 7 अप्रैल और 9 अप्रैल, इन तीन दिनों में बयान हुए हैं मन्त्री लोगों के, सदन में, लेकिन कल अखबार में फिर विदेश मन्त्रालय के एक प्रवक्ता ने जो कहा था वह छपा है। यह छपा है कि कंजरकोट पर 3 मार्च को पाकिस्तान का कब्जा हो गया था, फिर डिंग पर 15 तारीख को कब्जा हो गया, और फिर यह भी कहा है कि शनिवार को जब हिन्दुरतान पुलिस वहां पेट्रोल करने गयी है...

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** आप कहना क्या चाहते हैं।