

PETITIONS RE FINANCE (No 2)
BILL, 1957

Secretary: Sir, under Rule 167 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct

of Business in Lok Sabha, I have to report that two petitions as per statement laid on the Table have been received in respect of the Finance (No 2) Bill, 1957

STATEMENT

Petition No	Brief subject	Number of signatories	District or town	State
8	In respect of the Finance (No 2) Bill, 1957	1	Calcutta	West Bengal
9	Do	1	Do	Do

INDIAN TARIFF (AMENDMENT)
BILL*

Mr. Speaker: Bills to be introduced Shri Manubhai Shah

Shri Mohammed Imam (Chitaldrug). Sir, I seek information from the Chair A copy of a Bill purporting to be the Swaraj Bill, 1957 has been circulated to us A copy of it was found in my room It reads, "Swaraj Bill, 1957, to be introduced in the Lok Sabha" Raja Mahendra Pratap has signed it I would like to know whether it is an authorised Bill Of course, the Bill is a beautiful one

Mr. Speaker: The House has not circulated it Hon Members know what Bills are received from time to time There will be notice of any Bill that is circulated Am I to answer? The hon Member must have asked that hon Member Raja Mahendra Pratap is not one thousand miles away He could have asked him

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura). Am I to answer, Sir?

The Minister of Industry (Shri Manubhai Shah): Sir, I beg to move

for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the India Tariff Act, 1934

Mr. Speaker: The question is—

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934"

The motion was adopted

Shri Manubhai Shah: I introduce** the Bill

†DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—Contd.

Ministry of Labour and Employment
—Contd

Mr. Speaker. The House will now take up the Demands in respect of the Ministry of Labour and Employment The hon Minister will continue his reply

The Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning (Shri Nanda): Mr Speaker, when the House rose last evening, I had just commenced my reply and I was referring to hon Shri S A Dange's great anxiety about our labour policy He was anxious to give us the benefit of his advice of

*Published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary Part II-Section 2, dated 23-8-57, pp 439-442

**Introduced with the recommendation of the President

†Moved with the recommendation of the President

[Shri Nanda]

what is wrong with our labour policy. There were other hon. Members also who gave their views regarding the elements of a good labour policy. It is very appropriate that we should have a clear idea of what this labour policy should be because, if we have a proper appreciation of that, many questions which arose in the course of the discussion would then be seen in their true perspective.

I have one thing to inform my hon. friend Shri S. A. Dange that this policy about which he had so much to say is not exclusively the policy of the Government of India. That policy belongs to him as well as it belongs to me. The hon. Member should remember that in the making of that policy he and the representatives of various organisations of labour participated and made their contribution. The employers did so and so also various experts. So, what emerged was a policy which I may call is the national policy, which reflected the consensus of opinion of all elements in our community who have a stake in this policy. This policy was incorporated in the Plan. The recommendations of the Labour Panel were accepted *in toto*.

Later on, since it is a dynamic situation, since fresh problems arose, what we have settled at one time has also to be pursued further. We have to deal with the further stages of development of this labour policy. I may, with some sense of satisfaction, bring up before this House the fact that we had recently a session of the Indian Labour Conference and the spirit which animated the discussions in the Labour Panel before, also pervaded the deliberations of the Indian Labour Conference. Some very gratifying results are the outcome of this Conference. Highly contentious and complex problems were debated there, considered there and what is of immense satisfaction to me, and I am sure it will be so to all Members of the House, is that all those questions where there were several conflicting

interest involved, workers' interest, employers' interests and interests of the community, were all resolved and unanimity was reached regarding all those questions placed before the Indian Labour Conference. I congratulate all those who participated in this good work. I hope that in the future, this tradition will grow, will be strengthened and will yield a very rich fruit.

I have said something about the fact that there is a policy and that is a policy for which we are all responsible. But, in the course of this discussion certain things were said which might create a misapprehension in the minds of others who may not have all the information on the subject. We were told that while the Labour Minister, being a trade unionist, wanted to do whatever was fair by the working classes, there were others pulling in a contrary direction, possibly, by implication, anti-labour direction, and the result was not a clear integrated policy and the result was a confused picture. I must try to disabuse the minds of friends who entertain this kind of conception. This misses the whole essence of the nature of a democratic set up and also of the proper scope and bearing of the labour policy itself. We are living and functioning in a free country. Ministers too have their free minds. They are also bound by the policy laid down by Parliament and the Government. But, while that policy is being formed, they make their free contribution.

So far as the labour policy is concerned, let it be kept clearly in mind that the labour policy is not something apart from the economic and social policy of the country. It is, in fact, a part of that policy. It is not to be considered in isolation from that.

There are two aspects to the labour policy. There is the trade union aspect, if you call it so, an aspect which concerns itself with the working class—what is due to them, what are their rights and privileges etc.

There is another aspect and that is the community aspect—what is the role of the worker, what are his obligations to the community etc. And there is a process of reconciliation of these two aspects for some kind of co-ordination has to be brought about. It is this process of bringing about that co-ordination which is being misinterpreted as a conflict. It is not so.

Whatever the hon. Member might have said about the demerits or merits of the labour policy, one thing I did not like. I was perturbed by the fact that personalities were imported into this discussion. I am grateful to the hon. Members for their lenience and generosity to me; but it loses all its benevolence and grace when it is offered at the expense of others. Some kind of a suggestion, an insinuation was made as if some malignant forces were at work. There was the mention of the Labour Ministry. The Labour Ministry is not a trade union. The Labour Ministry has to carry out its policy in its two-fold aspects. But taking the Ministry, as it is, I feel proud that I am in that Ministry. After a few months' experience of its working, I am convinced that some of the best officers in our services are there in our Ministry. They are working hard with devotion and loyalty. They have to carry out difficult assignments and sometimes those assignments may make them not quite popular. I have seen this and I am glad to say that it is not as if those who work in this Ministry do the work in the mechanical way. Those who are responsible for carrying it out understand its social and economic and other wider implications and they keep them in view. There was another aspect, the personality aspect of it. It was regarding my colleague, the Deputy Minister. I feel rather embarrassed. It might be embarrassing to him also if I talk about this matter. But I can't help it. He is a fearless man; he is a devoted and loyal worker. He has strong political views. He does not hide them. But our concern here is with the administration of labour policies

and I can assure our friends of the Opposition and the House that in dealing with the question of the working classes the Labour Ministry has conducted itself with absolute impartiality and no rightful claim of any organisation, whatever its colour or affiliation, is prejudiced. Why is this talk? There must be something behind it. There is a sense of grievance, there is a feeling that some kind of unfair discrimination is being practised and very much is being made of that. It would be wrong, if it were so; it would be dishonourable, if it were so. We are not going to do anything that is dishonourable. There is little scope for it in our Ministry. After all its policy, more or less, the essential features of it, are being administered by courts and tribunals. We have a machinery which is free for all to come and utilise and they are actually making use of it for conciliation and other purposes.

There are two things, however, where an amount of discretion may be exercised by those in charge of the Ministry and they are adjudication and formation of committees. I will take this question of the formation of the committees. I have tried to look into that question i.e., how we have dealt with the matter of members of committees that we have formed in the course of a year and I found that the yardstick that was employed for determining what should be the composition was the strength of the membership of the organisations concerned. There might have been one or two, or possibly three, instances of departures from that, as far as I can notice it. There is an explanation for it. I shall come to that a little later.

The hon. Member, Mr. Dange, said that they are called to some conferences but not to their committees or sub-committees. I believe we are always welcoming them, and not only welcoming them but making the fullest use of whatever they have to contribute, for which I am thankful. They have been associated with all

[Shri Nanda]

the sub-committees where I was present here in the Labour Ministry and there in the Planning Commission's labour panel. There is no case regarding which I cannot give them satisfaction. If impartiality is to mean that I cannot be considered impartial unless I become partial to some interests, then, I am afraid, it is beyond my capacity and competence.

There is some ill feeling about the Indian Labour Conference. I have gone into that. We have no discretion in this matter. We are supposed to choose for this purpose the most representative organisation unless the organisations come to some kind of an agreement. Unless an agreement is arrived at, I don't think anything can be done. We have a yardstick like this, something to determine the course of our policy. But it may happen that sometimes we have to use our pure discretion. Then I can assure hon Members that in the exercise of that discretion there will be no political considerations, whether it is an organisation backed by the Communist Party or the Praja Socialist Party or some other party. But there will be another consideration which is relevant and that is, this Government, this Parliament and this country has a plan for an economic policy and we have to see to it that whatever we do is in furtherance of that policy and not antagonistic to that policy. And I believe, considering the way we have started in the Indian Labour Conference, that even in the exercise of that pure discretion, we will be able to show that it was done in an equal manner because there was no occasion for any inequality and I very much welcome that.

Something was said about adjudication. Whether the workers belong to the AITUC or the INTUC, we have to look after the interests of the workers and if on merits an adjudication is the proper thing to arrange for, it will be extremely wrong on our part in any particular case not to do so. But as a matter of fact I find that in

this very essential matter of reference of cases to the adjudication machinery there is hardly any ground for any sense of grievance. I have the figures. These figures have been given from year to year. They have to be given again. I will not take up the time of the House by going through all the figures, but shall give them for two years:

Name of organisation	Percentage of cases referred to adjudication	
	1954-55	1955-56
INTUC	47.4	36.2
AITUC	49.4	41.4
HMS	55.0	36.0
UTUC	41.0	40.0

Where is the grievance?

Then there was another question about trade union recognition. What have we to do with trade union recognition? The hon. Member himself made it very plain that he did not want the help and the sanction of law for the purpose of recognition. It is a matter which entirely falls within the purview and the discretion of the employers wherever the employer is not an employer in the public sector. If the suggestion is that anybody has used some kind of influence in an underhand way, let me know the facts. Helping a small union here or there is a small consideration as against the bigger consideration to have the help of you all for promoting this big policy of implementation of the Plan, realisation of the targets of the Plan, the progress of the economy. If we can get help in that, should we at all even think remotely of any such small advantage? It will be entirely foolish to do that.

Regarding trade unions, I have very strong feelings, and as a trade unionist I have a right to say something about trade unions. I feel pained at the situation that we are facing today. It is true that trade unions have increased, that is the strength of trade unions has increased, but what is their financial position, what is their real strength,

what are the functions being performed. I wish, and I want very keenly and earnestly, that the trade unions should grow and become powerful because I see what great potentialities the movement has in relation to social change, in relation to making an industrial social democracy real, in relation to the building up of a socialist pattern. And if we were wasting those opportunities, who will be more pained and who will feel it more keenly and regret it than myself? I would ask this question: can we say that political parties will be out of the picture? Well and good if it can be. If it cannot be, let us at any rate come to an agreement that trade unions will be run on trade union basis and not on a political basis. Let that be assured. That is, other considerations will not be brought in. Then I believe there will be no occasion for any kind of expression of discontent.

I have said something about this complaint about discrimination. I have to go further and again pay my tribute to our friends, hon Shri Dange and those who came on behalf of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, into that session where we and the others hammered out something which is remarkable. It was in connection with discipline. This has been a feature of our industrial life for some time, which has been troubling the minds of people in the country. So many reports of disturbances, of violence, intimidation, coercion, officers being surrounded and in some places people losing their lives, murder and shooting and all that. It is a disgrace. I do not say that it is so widespread as it may be made out to be, but even this is something which we should try to avoid. And what have we decided regarding discipline now at this meeting?

I will not have much time to go into all the things, and there are many things to be explained, but still I will take the risk of losing a minute or two on this question of discipline.

These things were agreed to: there should be no strike or lockout without notice, no unilateral action should be taken in connection with any industrial matter; there should be no recourse to go-slow tactics (which is very important); no deliberate damage should be caused to plant or property; acts of violence, intimidation, coercion or instigation should not be resorted to, the existing machinery for settlement of disputes should be used; awards and agreements should be speedily implemented; any action which disturbs cordial industrial relations should be avoided. And we did not stop there. We proceeded to go further into this matter, to probe into it, and to explore all further related possibilities. Unfair practices and a number of other things have to be examined. This work also is in progress.

So, what was settled then is not the end of the matter. It is the beginning. This will be developed, but more important than that, it will be implemented. All the parties agreed to it that this resolution, this settlement will be proclaimed, the information will be disseminated throughout the country, this will be made known to every worker and resolutions will be passed by trade unions, apparently and necessarily with the object that they will be carried out. If this is done, as I believe it will be done, in the larger interests of the country, I am prepared to forget the past altogether, because this will mean a great advance towards the solution of many of the problems and difficulties which are plaguing us today.

Now I have to deal with the criticism of labour policy, but there is one special aspect of it which I want to consider at once. This is about Government employees. The Government is responsible for the welfare and well-being of all the working classes in the country, but it has a special responsibility towards its own employees. In connection with Government employees, let us make a

[Shri Nanda]

differentiation So far as Government employees are concerned, there is this one distinction that they are working directly for the community, not for any profiteer, any capitalist, but for the community And that distinction has some implications, but it has not got this implication that those who are working for the community should be deprived of what is due to them

I am talking in the first instance of those who are engaged in our industrial and commercial services In this matter there is no distinction They may have some special privileges, but so far as their other rights are concerned, they are all to be assured to them, and the obligations of the Government have all to be performed

And I just saw something, which was settled not now, but in the First Five Year Plan There, the position was made clear in these words

“Collective bargaining between workers and management should be encouraged ”

This is about the public sector

“Such collective bargaining should embrace both economic and non-economic demands The management on the spot should be given full discretion and power to enter into commitments within certain prescribed financial limits Government conciliation and arbitration machinery should be made available to the workers of these undertakings The existing right of Government to accept, reject or modify an award should be restricted to periods of emergency ”

This is nothing new It is being done This was the policy adopted by Government and Parliament, and it is being followed

Now, I come to the other class of Government employees Regarding these, there was some information given to us about the railway workers

and about the defence employees I have examined the position There is a negotiating machinery at work, at three levels Large numbers of cases come to it It was said that there had been delays I have not been able to find out exactly the duration for which they actually lasted But there have been settlements And there is a provision in the agreement between the two sides that where the parties cannot come to an agreement, the matter should go to a tribunal So, it is not a question that we meet, sit and talk, and then nothing happens, because most of the things were settled A few things do remain There also, it was felt they could give a bit to the employees of the defence installations There is the same kind of agreement And numbers of questions are settled So, there is not much substance in this grievance It may be that some of the things were not done, or could not have been done

Regarding the other section of the Government employees, namely, the civil servants, I have to say that their position goes a little further The civil servants have got a special position Therefore, they have both special privileges and special responsibilities They are partners in the process of the administration of this country, and that special character of their work is reflected in the rules which apply to them Although freedom of association is not denied even in their case, yet, any question of direct action, of any strike, is inconceivable, so far as I can think of this matter That does not mean that if there is any rankling sense of injustice in their minds, there should be no way for them There is a way

I am very sorry that recently, we faced acute tension in the relations between our employees and Government That is over happily I found that Government employees were slightly drifting away Well, we have found a remedy for them, and I hope, and I am sure, that this will not be

allowed to happen again. If there were any deficiencies on our side, we shall remove them. Now, the pay commission has been appointed. What does that mean? It means that so far as the civil servants are concerned, their major interests are safeguarded through a body at that high level, namely the commission, interests such as the conditions of service, remuneration, structure of emoluments and all those things. I think it is right and proper that there should be no higgling-haggling about a commission of this kind. The interests of the Government servants have to be safeguarded, and if we tell them not to adopt any kind of attitude of direct action or this or that, then something equivalent has to be given to them, and a periodic review of their conditions of service and of their emoluments is something which is very legitimate and proper. This has been done.

For other things, smaller matters, there is even now some kind of machinery, staff committees or councils. It is working with various degrees of success and satisfaction. But something has to be done about it. Something more has to be done, and we are engaged at this moment in a proper consideration of this problem, as to what more should be done, how the relations between our Government servants or civil servants and the administration can be made closer, more amicable, and there should be mutual understanding, because with that understanding, much better work of the community will be done. If that means that we have to give some thought to it and set up a better machinery, then we should do it, and we are going to do it. Their welfare, and the welfare of the smallest and humblest employee anywhere in Government should be the concern of the man at the top, the Secretary and the Minister. He cannot go about seeing everybody, but it is his responsibility to make these arrangements for the welfare of the people. Small or big things may be coming up. We are

going to do that also. So, I have said something about this important question.

I think there was no warrant for Shri S. A. Dange to give expression to a suspicion whether we were going to manipulate the cost of living indices in order to rob the employees of what is due to them, because now there is a situation when something may have to be done—or may not have to be done, I do not know. But whoever could dream of such a thing, that the cost of living indices which are based on family budgets and on whole assemblage of data from all parts of the country would be tampered with? Then, it was said that we should not try to obstruct this. Even a thought of that kind with a commission at that high level should be something which could not be conceived of.

Now, I come back to the question of policy. Very powerful epithets were used to characterise this policy, such as capitalistic policy, feudal policy, unco-ordinated policy, and no policy. I wish that they might have gone somewhat a little further than that. I was expecting that having expressed themselves so strongly regarding this, they will throw some more light. I was looking forward to some kind of an elucidation of what was wrong with this policy, what should be done about it, and whether there was any example anywhere else which we could follow. There were vague and sweeping statements, which furnish no help at all, such as starvation of the workers, security of the grave, no integration of price, profits and production. But as to what should be done there was not a ray of light.

So far as this policy is concerned, I am not given to boasting. But I make a statement of a fact. Take the volume of the First Five Year Plan; and take also the volume of the Second Five Year Plan, as extended by the conclusions of the Indian Labour Conference. Is there not a full enumeration, a statement of all

[Shri Nanda]

the elements and principles of labour policy? You may disagree with some element here or there, though we do not agree, we are all agreed about it. And let me have the example of any other country which has got something very near that even, where an integrated and clear enunciation of policy is presented, not unilaterally, but on an agreed basis.

This is generally about our policy. But the real point was, what was hurting was, a feeling that this policy, whatever it was, was not being implemented properly. But that is a very different question. I have an answer to that and I may even say something about it immediately—on the question of implementation of that policy. Who will be more keen and more anxious than ourselves and myself that we should have full proper, effective implementation? If anybody comes and tell us what is wrong—the weak points anywhere—we shall be happy and we shall welcome that. Some of the things which have been said are correct. I do not deny them. But it should be kept in view that there is an earnest effort to improve the administration—various schemes. We are strengthening the staff in various directions.

In the matter of conciliation and adjudication, we are trying to rationalise and simplify the procedure so that there may not be time lost, although the time that is wasted is not entirely the responsibility of the conciliator or of the adjudicator. It is lost because both parties very often want more time. But we are going to take care of that in the rules and in the fresh procedures we are now going to adopt.

Shri S A Dange and some others gave information about irregularities. The report was there. I have seen it. I have studied the question of irregularities. There are cases, when I look at the facts and figures. There are explanations also. We can improve. But I cannot think of a day

five years hence or ten years hence when a report will be placed where he won't be able to find some irregularities, because the whole purpose is to find out the irregularities and reduce them. We should reduce the irregularities, we should have effective supervision, and we are trying to do that.

Regarding the question of health safety, the incidence of T B and some other diseases, our people have gone out to discover all that because we knew there were dangers lurking there. This is a state of affairs so far as factories are concerned, but still we do not entirely disown responsibility in the legal and constitutional sense. We are trying to make inquiries into the conditions of service, hygiene and environment, and other conditions in which the work goes on, and those reports are being made available. We insist on them that they should implement those recommendations.

In this connection, Shri S A Dange referred to Jamshedpur and the Tatas and about one shed. I sent a message trying to find out what the position was. It is a fact that out of the 3 sheds, one was being used for certain other purpose because they are engaged in a process of expansion or something of that kind. May be that those pit-head baths are not being used properly. The responsibility, I am told, is of the workers, who have to use them.

Shri B S Murthy (Kakinada—Reserved—Sch Castes). What Shri S A Dange said was that the shed was not given to the workers, whereas the verandas were to be used. Is it a fact?

Shri Nanda: It is a fact. About one of these sheds, the explanation is—I have got it in writing—that they are using it for some kind of expansion.

These things may be occurring even with the best of employers.

But there is one thing which is of greater importance relatively and that is about delays and breaches. About delays, I have already explained the conciliation procedure. In connection with delays, yesterday one hon Member said something about the Supreme Court. I was rather taken aback by his statement. The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body in the country to safeguard the fundamental rights and liberties of all citizens, and nothing should be said which will be derogatory to that body. We may have our complaints. We have our feeling of discontent that large numbers of people—employers—rush to the Supreme Court. Well, there should be other ways of dealing with it. I was asked to make a statement that whatever the Supreme Court did, we were not going to take any notice of, and that we would do something contrary to that. It cannot be done. We have to observe and fully abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court. But there is one thing that I have to make clear. If the Supreme Court finds that the intentions of Parliament have not been fulfilled properly through the language of the laws that we make, then we are free—the Supreme Court does not stop us from doing it—to come back to Parliament and set it right and have a new Act, so that whatever we intended to do we are able to carry out.

Regarding the question of both violation of awards and references to courts, I think the state of affairs is unsatisfactory. I believe numbers of awards are not being observed and implemented speedily. I have no statistical information with me. I am thinking of having a statistical sample survey. If the employers want our co-operation, the co-operation of labour, in production and then also in regard to discipline, it is their responsibility, through the same tripartite machinery and otherwise, to see to it that those awards are implemented and there are no unnecessary delays and unnecessary references to Supreme Court and other courts. The

Supreme Court does not invite people to refer cases to it.

Therefore, just as we are asking the workers not to go on strike except as a last resort, I will also ask the employers not to go to courts except in the last resort when nothing else is available. I am not sure that they are doing so now.

On the question of health conditions, we are increasing our staff. But how much can we increase the number of inspectors? How much shall we go on increasing? There must be other ways of securing observance of these Acts. That must be at the level of the unit. Shri S. A. Dange made a suggestion. That was there in the Plan. It has not been carried out fully or at all. I believe the works committee which started at the top for observance of discipline, increase of productivity etc. must go down to the unit level and there should be some kind of joint body which should be responsible for the administration of these things in a proper way. This we will try to secure through the same machinery which has given us this agreement regarding discipline. That same machinery will yield the other results for the working class.

I personally am thinking of setting up a machinery in my Ministry for this purpose. There are officers dealing with cases of conciliation and all that. But there should be a separate machinery for assessing and evaluating the implementation of legislation, evaluating the work in different fields. The officers—who will be of a fairly high level—will not interest themselves in the day to day things but will see how the lie of the land is and how things are being carried out. This new machinery should enable us to keep in touch with the whole tempo of implementation. The special officer, or whatever may be the setup, will be responsible particularly for the implementation of that resolution regarding discipline. He will see who is responsible if there is any

[Shri Nanda]

violation I expect that if the INTUC men are held responsible, very strong action will be taken by the INTUC, and if the AITUC men are found erring, it will take strong action against its people. Then we shall be able to see what is happening. So this machinery will be put into the field as soon as is possible.

I have dealt with the broad questions. I have to say something now about the positive side of labour policy. What is our approach? That has been very clearly indicated. We want to go as far as possible. Our intention is that the maximum should be done in the matter of wages, in the matter of social security to satisfy the claims of the workers. But there is some limitation to that. That limitation does not arise on account of want of goodwill on our part, that is inherent in the economic situation in the country. When we are told, 'Compare the social security measures in the United Kingdom and in other places with ours' I ask how long before did the process of development start there and when did we start that here. I will ask, what is the average national income there and what it is here. How do we compare? Considering the situation here, considering what we are in this country, considering the stress of the Plan which is intended to help us later on and also now, I think, what we are doing is nothing of which we need be ashamed.

In dealing with the claims of workers, we have to consider that it is not something for the sake of appearance, that it is not for having hold on any union that one wants to make a claim of 25 per cent increase in wages. The INTUC might have done it or somebody else might have done it. I do not care for that. We must take care of the repercussions or the consequences of all that, whether the price level is going to increase. I do not say that in any particular case it is the effect. I am talking generally. Then, I say, what do we do? We are

not conferring on them any real positive benefit. We have to think not only of today but also of tomorrow of the workers, larger employment for them etc. I understand the workers claim job security and a proper share in the economic progress of the country and those other things which are well-known to us. But these things have to be done with due regard to all that I have explained here.

Coming to wages, I have got the figures for a period of years, figures relating to real wages in the country and the progress of real wages. I find that during the last 5 or 6 years, we have not done very badly at all. We have got an increase in real wages. It may be pointed out that during these 5 years we have made some progress, but what about the earlier years. Wages have increased by 32 per cent with 1947 as the base and 12 per cent with 1951 as the base. But the question will be with 1939 as the base it will be only 102 or 103. It is true but my answer is this.

In the earlier years we were making no progress, we were going back. Production was not rising. I am talking of the period during which we started making developments, we made larger investments. These were reflected also in the figures of the real earnings of the workers. So, I think, the community has done fairly well by the working class during this period. And as the implementation of the Plan proceeds and there is the expected increase in production and in the *per capita* income, it will be shared by the workers. They cannot be deprived of their share.

About the principles of wage policy, we have no dearth of principles enunciated here. There is the Fair Wage Committee's report and it is not as if we have dropped legislation. No. In the Central Textile Wage Board what we have done is, the terms of reference are framed in a manner so that the recommendations of the Fair Wage Board Committee can be com-

bined in the report So, we have not thrown away whatever gains we had made earlier in the matter of the formulation of principles which may be agreed principles again The Government does not fix wages directly There are legislation for Minimum Wages, Payment of Wages etc The Government have set up a machinery, the tribunals and courts etc We give them all the material We are trying to have a wage census now Whatever material is available is for them I am conscious of the fact that something more has to be done We are giving broad references to decide the level of wages We are trying to give guidance to the courts in two directions We are moving to set up norms standards by agreement and to provide all the information which may have a bearing on that question We are going to have a wage census in 50 industries, the productivity indices etc Action is being taken in regard to these matters Ultimately, when the Tribunal decides it will have all these principles and all this information

But you cannot have any rigid formula about these There are too complex questions and numerous variables If the view is that we should have some kind of mathematical formula by which anybody can produce a wage figure without any need for a tribunal or anything, I think, that is not possible Nowhere has it been done Nowhere has there been better guidance regarding wages than here except that our statistical information is not yet complete We are trying to see that we improve the position in that respect

Regarding social security also we have figures But considering that there is not enough time, I am not going into details of what has been done in the matter of social security, in the matter of the working conditions and industrial relations particularly You can judge the success of that policy by the index of industrial peace or industrial unrest, whatever you may call it During the first Five Year Plan, the situation has been

remarkably good Industrial unrest has gone down This is something for which credit has to be taken by the working classes very much Nobody should try to withhold that credit from them They have played their part The system of adjudication, conciliation etc has yielded rich harvests It has, on the one side, helped the working classes to improve their condition, increase their wages considerably, and, on the other side, it has given to the community industrial peace and conditions in which work of the Plan can proceed satisfactorily

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur) If you try to convince us how real income has gone up, we shall be grateful We have tried to establish yesterday that this is not the case and that real wages have fallen I should be particularly grateful to him if he can convince us

Shri Nanda We cannot enter into all the calculations behind the figures I have The figures are that real wages have gone up In addition to the rise in wages there is the cost on account of the social service measures These measures may in addition come to 20 per cent or so of the real wages, which are also real wages I am not bringing them into the picture independently There are these and other things There have been recent advances in the matter of workers' participation, workers' education and these things These things are the beginning of very important developments in the country I am not thinking of the worker as a mere wage-earner He has to be an equal partner The day may not be very very near But we have to proceed in that direction and I think, Sir, with the help of the organisations of workers and employers some kind of a reality will be introduced into this new scheme of workers participation, because it should be something real and not something which is a make-believe.

13 hrs.

All in all, the results of this policy has been good and gratifying in use

[Shri Nanda]

direction of both the workers rights in the matter of wages and standard of living, security, etc, and their obligations towards the community. Production has increased, productivity has increased and when people say something about the workers and they belittle the workers' place and their contribution, I have to tell them that the working classes do not consist simply of 50 lakhs of organised workers, 3 per cent or so of the working force. It is nearly a third of the total working force of the country. The working class embraces all those wage-earners for whom organisations are starting and will develop. It is about 4 crores and 80 lakhs out of 15 crores of working force. Nobody can make light of this big force. We have to make use of this big force. They have increased production, their productivity has gone up. Industrial peace has been secured.

Well, there are cases of indiscipline here and there. They will now be eliminated and having done that the working classes can certainly ask for all that is due to it for sympathetic consideration. Public opinion does matter in the realisation of the aspirations of the working classes and therefore it is important for the trade unions not to alienate the sympathy of the public but to show to them how much the workers themselves have done for the community. Of course, very much more has to be done. There should be social security from cradle to the grave, wages should be very much more than what they are. When I compare the wages and the needs of the working classes I feel it is very very low. But how are we to achieve that? In spite of the fact that we have provided Rs 50 crores in the Second Plan, and the amount that was spent in the First Plan, even the fringe of the problem of housing of the working classes has not been touched.

How are these things to be achieved, particularly when the Plan, as

everybody knows is encountering difficulties. We will no doubt succeed, but there are difficulties in the way. It is through productivity alone, through the efforts of the workers, that we will be able to overcome these difficulties and problems. Our resources are limited, but the possibilities of productivity are not limited. You can raise productivity by one hundred per cent, by two hundred per cent and if in the whole country we increase productivity by 30 per cent or 40 per cent, it will make up for the lack of resources which we are otherwise facing. And what an important task we have before us for joining in this big adventure of making a success of our Plan and our programmes of economic development.

I have already taken an hour. I only want to say a word about the future. We have begun well in our mutual relations, that is, in the common task of proper appraisal of the situation in the country, regarding the workers and the problems that we are facing, to meet together, sit together and have deliberations in a peaceful amicable atmosphere with goodwill to find what lies behind those problems, to find remedial measures, to explore ways to explore solutions and to apply them in the field. This is the spirit in which the Indian Labour Conference started.

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura)
Can there not be any Bill or Ordinance that labour is a partner in management and labour is given half the profit of all the income?

Mr. Speaker Why only half?

Shri B. S. Murthy: This is universal language, Sir.

Shri Nanda: I was about to complete.

Many side questions will arise. As you yourself asked Why only half? May be the profits may be very much more. It depends upon how much the profits are in excess of normal and they have to be taken in the form of bonuses. They have to

be made further use of for the community; ploughed back in the form of fresh investments

So far as partnership is concerned, as I said, we have already come to a decision that 50 establishments this year will enter into this arrangement of workers' participation in management and I hope we will succeed and this arrangement will speedily progress and will be extended to all the establishments of any considerable size in the country. There is great prospect before us which we can together, by united endeavour, reach. Compared to that all these little feuds and dissensions and all that will pale into insignificance. Let us, therefore, think of that common ground which covers 99 per cent of the field where we can all combine together in the interests of the working classes of the country.

Shri B S Murthy In the course of his whole speech the Minister was not pleased to say even a word about the agricultural labour, which forms nearly one-sixth of the population of our country. I want to know the policy and programme of the Ministry as far as agricultural labour is concerned.

Shri Nath Pai There is no policy!

Shri Nanda Regarding agricultural labour, I may say that their condition is not very satisfactory. I know that in many parts of the country it is so. How does the Labour Ministry go about its business? It has passed the Minimum Wages legislation which is being applied progressively to agricultural workers. We want to take rigorous measures to see that it is quickly applied and extended. That is one part of it. But it is a very small part. What we have to do is to increase the pool from which the agricultural worker has to draw his share. The work that we are doing in the national extension service and community development projects and all the money that is being channelled into rural areas and measures like land reforms have in some cases gone ahead with a certain amount of satis-

faction, in other cases not. There are a number of things to be done for the agricultural worker: give them land, settle them, give them houses; give them plots of land. I do not wish to go into details. No doubt something has been done, but I am not quite satisfied. We shall try to do much more.

Shri Sadhan Gupta (Calcutta-East). The hon. Minister said that real wages have risen. What I want to know is the proportion of the rise in the share of the worker, to the share of the rise in profits of the capitalist. Has he got any such figures?

Shri Nanda: I have got the index of profits, that is available to him also. It is there in the current literature on the subject. There is also the index of profits. When we compare it we have to go through very intricate calculations and deductions for reserves, etc. But all these factors—profits, productivity, production etc.—are to be taken together. The main question is whether the real wages have increased or not. They have. Similarly, if the question is whether profits have increased or not the answer is yes. The hon. Member knows that certain percentage has gone into the dividends. I do not remember whether it is 30 or 40 per cent then something has gone into the reserves.

Shri Sadhan Gupta What is the relative share of the increase between profits and wages?

Shri Nanda I have given that. We have circulated a paper to the persons who attended the Indian Labour Conference. There all these things are given. The whole series had been given, that can be referred to.

Shri Mohiuddin (Secunderabad) Will the hon. Minister place that paper on the Table of the House?

Shri Nanda: Yes, Sir. I shall place it

श्री बाबूजी (बुलन्दशहर-रहित- अनु-सूचित जातियाँ) : मैंने म्यूनिसिपल वर्कर्स के बारे में कहा था कि जितने भी लेबर लेजिस्लेशन हैं, उन का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं होता है। खास तौर से जब भी कोई झगडा या फसाद होता है, तो कानसिलि-येशन मशीनरी उस में कोई इन्ट्रस्ट नहीं लेती है।

श्री नन्दा : यह काम हम यहां से नहीं करते हैं। यह तो म्यूनिसिपलिटिज का मामला है। लेकिन उन को भी इस बात को देखना चाहिये। आप की बात जरूर कुछ हद तक सही है। इस बारे में देर हो जाती है और उन लोगों को दिक्कत होती है। जो कुछ भी हम से हो सकेगा, वह हम करेंगे।

श्री बाबूजी : जब काफी दिन पहले कोई नोटिस दिया जाता है, तो लेबर कमि-श्नर और दूसरे अधिकारी रोब गाठने की कोशिश करते हैं और मामले को सुलझाने की कोशिश नहीं करते हैं।

श्री नन्दा : आप इस बारे में कुछ बतायेंगे—कोई स्पेसिफिक मामला मेरे पास लायेंगे, तो उस को देखने की कोशिश की जायेगी।

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): One more question, Sir

Mr. Speaker: There is no end to these questions. The hon Member is not satisfied with all these six hours but he wants to be satisfied in one minute. If any hon Member wants me to put any cut motion to the vote of the House, I shall do so. Otherwise, I shall put all the cut motions to the vote of the House.

All the cut motions were put and negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in

the fourth column of the Order Paper including the sums already voted on account for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1958 in respect of Demands Nos 70, 72, and 124.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"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, 1958, in respect of the following head of demands entered in the second column thereof—

Demand No 71

The motion was adopted.

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

Demand No 70—MINISTRY OF LABOUR & EMPLOYMENT

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 16,94,000 including the sums already voted on account for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1958, in respect of 'Ministry of Labour & Employment' "

DEMAND NO 71—CHIEF INSPECTOR OF MINES

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 13,91,000 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, 1958, in respect of 'Chief Inspector of Mines' "

DEMAND NO 72—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS AND OTHER EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 8,66,57,000 including the sums already voted on account for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1958, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments and Other Expenditure under the Ministry of Labour and Employment' "

DEMAND NO 124—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 34,22,000 including the sums already voted on account for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1958, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Labour and Employment' "

Ministry of Finance

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up discussion of the Demands for Grants Nos 27 to 41 and 109 to 115 relating to the Ministry of Finance. As the House is aware, 6 hours have been allotted for the Demands of this Ministry.

There are a number of cut motions to these various Demands. Hon Members may hand over at the Table within 15 minutes, the numbers of the selected cut motions which they propose to move. I shall treat them as moved, if the members in whose

names those cut motions stand are present in the House and the motions are otherwise in order.

The time-limit for speeches will, as usual, be 15 minutes for the members including movers of cut motions, and 20 to 30 minutes if necessary, for Leaders of Groups.

DEMAND NO 27—MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 90,38,000 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, 1958, in respect of 'Ministry of Finance' "

DEMAND NO 28—CUSTOMS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 2,35,16,000 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, 1958, in respect of 'Customs' "

DEMAND NO 29—UNION EXCISE DUTIES

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 4,33,91,000 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, 1958, in respect of 'Union Excise Duties' "

DEMAND NO 30—TAXES ON INCOME INCLUDING CORPORATION TAX AND ESTATE DUTY

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 2,73,46,000 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