

about them. I am told that from the beginning of this year, more than 9 lakh cases have been reported in the various hospitals and dispensaries of the Municipal Corporation and the Delhi Administration. They are mostly cases of malaria and not only the ordinary malaria but malaria 1 P.M. of malignant type. And yet it is said that the preventive measures taken by the Delhi Administration and the Municipal Corporation fall short of the needs and requirements of the people of this ancient city. Sir, as I said earlier, the conditions that are prevailing in the resettlement colonies and the jhuggi-jhompri colonies are really sub-human. No people, no decent people would like to live there and in the case of those people who are living there, I think, the authorities are playing with the lives of those people. Unless something is done and done on a war-footing and unless a sense of urgency is there, it is very likely that a number of epidemics like cholera, malaria and typhoid may break out in this city on a very large scale and may result in thousands of casualties. That will be a very unfortunate day for the people of Delhi, and actually the Delhi Administration will be directly responsible for this state of affairs. Sir, the local Press, as I said earlier, have always come out with screaming headlines day in and day out but apparently it seems that nobody cares to tread it nor anybody cares even to give out information. Sir, recently a Press conference was held by the officials of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi and they refused to give out information about the type of cases that have come to their notice, the preventive measures that they are taking and whether adequate facilities are available in the hospitals and whether necessary medicines are available in the hospitals. This is the situation. And, Sir, I would repeat that unless something is done, the Delhi people unfortunately will have to face this problem and this may result in the death of thousands of people, including poor children and

womenfolk living in these resettlement colonies and where the conditions of living are sub-human. And I hope that something will be done urgently and the Delhi Administration will have the sense of urgency to do this minimum thing for the health of the people of this ancient city.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

##### The Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1978

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1978, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 25th July, 1978.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

श्री उपसभापति : अब सदन की कार्यवाही 2:00 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned for lunch at three minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at five minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

##### THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1978—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee was speaking yesterday and she has to continue,

but she is not here. Yes, Mr. Krishnan.

SHRI U. R. KRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Bill. The original Act was enacted in 1938 and during the past 40 years, the Act has undergone so many changes. The experience of the past forty years shows that the purpose for which this Act was enacted has not been achieved, it requires a reconsideration. Sir, eighty per cent of the children live in villages and the children below 15 years form a large part of our population. They are the future citizens of our country.

First of all, before passing the Bill, I request the House to find out the root cause for bringing about such a legislation. Everybody admits that child labour is a social evil. The Act prohibits employment of a child below the age of 15 years. In a poor country like ours, it is very difficult to feed the children properly. Most of the children below the age of 15 years are employed in industries like chemicals, food products, textiles, non-metallic mineral and tobacco. The child labour is also prevalent in Bidi industry, handloom weaving, leather tanning, glass bangle making, carpet weaving, pottery and to some extent in the match factories.

Of course, to a certain extent, the employment of a child in the organised sector has declined; but in the unorganised sector, it is growing day by day. In the agriculture and plantation fields; the number of children employed is higher. In India, most of the agricultural labourers regard children as earning members of the family. They are denied education with the result that they continue to work as agricultural labourers throughout their life. This is social injustice and it should be set right. This children employment system

stands in the way of children in improving their mental and even physical faculties.

The most shocking aspect is the employment of children in unhygienic conditions and at very low wages. Their employment as domestic workers and in hotels and restaurants is equally objectionable. The domestic servants are asked to work from early morning till late night. The Government should look into this matter.

In India, child labour constitutes one-seventh of the total labour force. To eradicate this social evil, primary education upto the age of 15 years must be made compulsory. It is due to poverty that the parents compel their children to work as labourers in order to get a meal for the day. It is estimated that at least 11 million children work as labourers. In rural areas, to educate a child is considered to be more expensive. The people consider it to be a double loss in their earning if their small children do not work, and spending on education, however, is very small in the rural areas.

Child welfare should be integrated with the national development as the problem would continue as long as economic difficulties for a large number of people exist. A child who is deprived of his childhood loses a thing which cannot be restored to him. The Government should immediately conduct a survey on the child labour in India and should come forward to support the parents of such children who have no other source of income, till their children attain the age of 15 years. Millions of families are living below the poverty line and are forced to send their children to work as domestic servants. Child labour is prevalent extensively in the lower socio-economic groups. It is not only because of economic reconsiderations and compulsions but also because of lack of appreciation on the part of parents towards the role

of education in improving the life and living conditions of the people. Parents of such children should be made education-conscious. Mid-day meals and evening snacks should be introduced in all the schools predominantly attended by poor children. School uniforms and text-books should be given free to such children. It is also necessary to train the children under the age of 15 years in suitable trades. It is desirable that certain existing non-hazardous occupation areas are intensified and children are encouraged to take up such not desirable in the foreseeable future jobs only. The total eradication of child labour is neither feasible nor desirable in the foreseeable future in view of the state of economic development of our country. The other consideration for child employment is their poor wages. The unscrupulous employer pays very little to the child labourers. Government should take stringent action against them. If the employer is a shop or an industry or a contractor, their licence should be cancelled immediately. It should be made obligatory on the Labour Inspectors and the Factory Inspectors to inspect the establishments surprisingly to find out whether children below 15 years have been employed by them and then make a report to the Government. Even if the children are employed in certain specified fields, they should be paid wages equal to the wages of an adult member so that the number of children may be reduced automatically. We find a number of children who are ready to work as porters at railway stations. Government should also watch carefully the transport companies where children are employed. In markets, we find any number of children below the age of ten years ready to work as porters for a meagre income. The main reason why children prefer large industrial establishments is a steady income and a safeguard in regard to their future. They think, in due course, they will be paid more and that their future is safe. Government should take all these aspects into consideration and try to do the needful to the children

who are in need. Usually, orphaned and unwanted members of large families, whose parents are too poor, too weak and too harassed to feed them adequately and educate them, are compelled to go for work. There are about five million destitute, orphaned and unwanted children whom the parents have driven out of their homes. Some are taken care of by their relations and others have to look after themselves and so they drift into some kind of employment. Children's homes have to be established for those who have nowhere to go.

A comprehensive welfare policy for children would include free school education, nutrition and preventive health measures. The society has to recognise that the child has the right to a safe, stable home, freedom from abuse and neglect and legal protection against exploitation. Child labour can be eliminated only by effective steps to strengthen the position of the family by full employment and by having an effective social security system. In every district, child welfare centres should be opened immediately. It should be made obligatory on every employer to provide food, clothing and medical aid where children are employed. In every village child welfare measures should be organised to make the people realise the value of children. I am sure the International Year for Children would bring a bright future to the Indian children.

**श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त (बिहार).**

उपसभापति महोदय, जिस संशोधन पर हम विचार कर रहे हैं यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है। भारतके लिए यह बहुत ही दुख की बात है कि 30 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद और छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना चालू होने के बावजूद भी आज तक हम इस समस्या के ऊपर काबू नहीं पा सके हैं। माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि यहां पर काफी बच्चे बेकार हैं, 11 मिलियन की संख्या है। ऐसे काम करने वाले बच्चे तरह-तरह की फैक्टरियों में हैं यह बात सही है कि आजादी के बाद आर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर में इनकी संख्या कम हुई है परन्तु अभी

[श्री राम लखन प्रसाद गुप्त]

भी जो अनऑर्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर है वहां इनकी संख्या कम नहीं हुई है। घर में काम करने वालों, होटलों में काम करने वालों और अन्य भी कई छोटी छोटी फैक्टरियों में काम करने वालों की संख्या में कमी नहीं हुई है और यह संख्या दिनों दिन बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। हमारे यहां बेकारी बहुत ज्यादा है, गरीबी बहुत ज्यादा है हम यह कह सकते हैं कि बच्चों को और काम नहीं करने देना चाहिए या इसके ऊपर सम्पूर्ण प्रतिबंध लगा देना चाहिए परन्तु यह संभव नहीं और न उचित भी है। हिन्दुस्तान में गरीबी बहुत अधिक है हम यह भी व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाये हैं कि बच्चों को रखने के लिए या उनकी पढ़ाई के लिए कुछ सुविधायें दें या उस के परिवार को आर्थिक सहायता दें। जब तक वैसे बच्चे को स्टैंडर्ड की सुविधायें नहीं दे सकते तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा। हम उसी रास्ते पर बढ़ रहे हैं जिस रास्ते में वाकिंग कंडीशन को ठीक रख सकते हैं। जब 1979 में युनाइटेड नेशंस के द्वारा इण्टर-नेशनल चाइल्ड वेलफेयर का वर्ष मनाया जायेगा और उसी समय चाइल्ड के राइट के लिये बीसवीं एनिवर्सरी भी होगी उसके पहले हम यह बिल ला रहे हैं। अच्छा होता कि चाइल्ड एडप्शन अमेंडमेंट बिल जो सदन में रखा गया था उसे भी पास किया गया होता। परन्तु सदन में बहुत सारे सदस्यों की राय न होने से उसे वापिस किया गया है। वह एक ऐसा कानून था जिसके जरिए हम बच्चे की भलाई कर सकते थे। ऐसी अवस्था में आज जो भी कानून संशोधन लाया गया है, हम चाहते हैं कि यह पास हो। हम इसका समर्थन करते हैं और यह भी चाहते हैं कि आज जितने भी देश के अन्दर बच्चे हैं, उनके सुधार के लिये, उनकी स्थिति में परिवर्तन लाने के लिये हम और भी कानून बनावें और कानूनों के साथ ही साथ उसे लागू करें। वैसे कार्य को करना चाहिये।

आज इसके लिये आवश्यक है कि एक समूचे समाज के अन्दर चेतना चाहिये। सम्पूर्ण समाज जब तक इसके लिये जागरूक नहीं होता है और सम्पूर्ण समाज का जब तक इस तरफ दृष्टिकोण नहीं आता है कि हमें चाइल्ड के साथ क्या व्यवहार करना चाहिये तब तक उसकी भलाई नहीं हो सकती है। कई चीज को हम दूसरे क्षण के लिये टाल सकते हैं, परन्तु बच्चे जो बढ़ रहे हैं, उनका खून, उनकी हड्डियां तथा उनके बनते विचार कल के लिये ठहर नहीं सकते हैं। हम किसी और बात में देर कर सकते हैं, लेकिन बच्चों के सुधार सम्बन्धी कानून या उनके लिये जो भी उपाय हैं, उसमें देर नहीं कर सकते हैं। उसे तो हमें आज ही करना चाहिये।

इन्ही शब्दों के साथ मैं इस संशोधन बिल का समर्थन करता हूं और उम्मीद करता हूं कि यह इस सदन में सर्व-सम्मति से स्वीकृत हो।

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I welcome this Bill brought forward by the Labour Minister. It extends the scope of protection to be given to child labour in our country. The protection has now been extended to other occupations in the railway premises as mentioned in the amending Bill. When the Act was passed in 1938 and when subsequent amendments were made, the concept was that the society takes proper precaution, proper care for the child. Sir, the programme of children, it is said, is the best investment for human resources. It is further said in the Declaration of Rights of the Child: Mankind owes to the child anything less than the best it can give it.

In this context, I will invite the attention of the House to two important provisions in the Constitution—article 24 and article 39(e) and (f). Article 24 prohibits the employment of workers in any factory or mine below the age of 14 years. Still we have got another Statute. Plantation Labour Act, where the age

provided is 12 years. Sir, I will invite the attention of the Labour Minister to the Directive Principle enunciated under article 39(e) and (f) which is very important. It says:

"39(e) That the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength.

(f) That childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."

Sir, some of my colleagues said yesterday and even today that this sort of employment of child arises out of economic necessity and also due to the prevalence, to a large extent, of the slave labour system. Mainly the slave labour is belonging to this group. Therefore, merely a prohibition of this type will not be sufficient. It must be supported by the implementation machinery. If that is not done, this Act and this amending Bill will have no use. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what implementation machinery will be there for the enforcement of these provisions and especially when we are celebrating the International Child's Year in 1979, we shall like to have a White Paper on the conditions of employment of children here.

Sir, this matter has been discussed by the ILO. A number of Conventions have been adopted about the minimum age of employment, working hours, health, employment days and so on right from 1919. The famous Conventions are—the 1919 Convention, the 1921 Convention, the Genoa Convention of 1920 where mainly the question of industrial employment was considered. But now here has the subject of non-industrial employment been considered—of the workers working in domestic sphere, in agriculture and other types of employment—where the conditions of work

are very bad. For that purpose, I would like the Minister to consider and bring forward a legislation covering the employees working in the non-industrial fields. In the railways etc., it is easy to find out. But what about these employments where the conditions are really most pitiable? If we really want *Antyodaya*, we have to take care of this. The real problem of child labour is in the field of agriculture, in the field of domestic services, in the field of small and cottage industries where employment relations are a little different from those in the organised sector.

An Unstarred Question No. 804 was asked in this House on 24th November 1972 about the problems of 14 million children working in India. The Question arose because of the ILO Report IV(i) about the minimum age for admission to employment which was discussed in June, 1972, at the 57th Session of the International Labour Conference. There some interesting decisions were taken and recommendations made. It was said: "The sector in which bulk of the working children in every region are employed is, of course, agriculture. In India, for example, out of some 14.5 million children under the age of 15 who were considered economically active in 1961, about 10.5 million were engaged in agriculture." Therefore, all the children who are considered economically active are not employed as labourers covered by these Conventions. A large section of the children will be out of the purview of the Act. It is, therefore, essential that we should consider what we can do for the children who are not covered at all.

In this connection, Sir, what is the real difficulty in the implementation of the Conventions. It has been reported in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Volume 5, on page 503, about child labour: "Much of the ILO's work was devoted to setting standards. The report it published in 1960 on law and practice among more than

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

70 member-nations showed serious gaps in protection afforded to young workers in non-industrial employments, including agriculture and handicrafts." Therefore, Sir, the real problem, I would like to say again, on this aspect of the legislation which has got a human aspect, is that it is essential that a machinery is there for the enforcement of the legislation and redressal of their grievances. In this connection, I would suggest that in England a National Committee for Child Labour is in existence. As far as I know there is no labour cell for children. In the book publishing labour statistics no statistics were published about child labour. Statistics relate to men and women labour but child labour is not included. I suggest the constitution in the Ministry of a National Committee for Child Labour. Steps should also be taken to give information on labour statistics about child labour in India

In this connection I beg to submit that of those employed at that age many are illiterate. A survey shows that over 39 per cent. of such labour is illiterate. They are not given any vocational training. One of the recommendations of the International Committee on Child Welfare is that the children should be given vocational training. I will suggest to the Minister to amend the Apprentice Act to include some kind of vocational training and apprenticeship in some industry for children below the age of 14 so that they can improve their future and also make good citizens and employees.

The main reason why child labour exists is because of economic conditions and a lacuna in the education policy. Education should be made free and compulsory up to the matriculation stage in this country and it will solve the problem of child labour. It is very difficult to find out

the degree of employment specially in the domestic area in the State sphere. But a solution has to be found out. I will suggest to the Minister who is very much interested in labour welfare taking steps for their training.

Sir, all occupations are not covered by the Act today. Therefore, there must be some licensing. There is no system to find out where employment takes place. You can find out the number of employees under the Factories Act and in the Shops (Establishment) Act. But there is no machinery to find out the number of children employed in other sectors, there is no machinery. Therefore, it is essential, in my opinion, to start a licensing system so that we can know where employment can take place and what is the nature of employment.

In this connection, the real problem is lack of uniform legislation in regard child labour. There should be uniformity in age, namely 15 years in all labour legislations so that everywhere the law is the same.

Secondly, there should be training facilities, which is very essential, for the children. Children; because of grinding poverty are not able to take education and, therefore, they suffer. They have to work at that time under very bad conditions. To improve their social status, to improve their employment opportunities vocational training will go a long way. And while we are celebrating International Children's Year next year a big beginning should be made as was done in the International Women's Year. A comprehensive report on child labour in India should be brought out on that occasion so that steps to be taken in that direction can be accelerated in the next two years.

Sir, there are certain infirmities in the old Act of 1938. While we are thinking of amending the Act care should be taken to include slavery and other connected matters. The provision of penalty under section 4 is very meager. This provision of Rs. 500 and

one month's imprisonment is very meagre. The law should prescribe more stringent punishment for employment of children. Why not amend the law in such a way that every time it is not necessary to come before this House for the passage of such a legislation?

A similar provision is made under section 3A—Power to amend Schedule—and the schedule is given. If a schedule is added to section 3, then it will not be necessary each time to bring piecemeal legislation to extend this Act to various categories of employment. Then the Government will also have power to amend the schedule whenever necessary, by notification and by inviting objection.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to take this opportunity to say that the hon. Labour Minister who is piloting the Bill is bringing a number of piecemeal legislations. That is the practice. Even Constitution amendments are coming piece by piece and no comprehensive legislation has been brought. We have heard it many times that he would be bringing a comprehensive Industrial Relations Bill. Because of the word "comprehensive" which he has been using, it is not coming before the House and difficulties are arising. There are certain problems in industrial relations—which are controversial—like one union in one industry, collective bargaining, registration of trade unions, State laws. There are many other things also which I would like the hon. Minister to consider seriously. For example, the definition of "industry" as declared by the Supreme Court in the Bangalore Sewage Water Works case. Similarly, in other Acts also where the definition of "workman" occurs, the range of pay has been enhanced from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 per month to cover workers under that definition like the Payment of Wages Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act. Further, the National Labour Commission stated that dismissed workers should have the

right to go directly to Labour Courts. But today even a dismissed worker has to go through the conciliation machinery and a cumbersome procedure when a long time is taken even for reference itself. State laws in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat provide that a worker, who is dismissed, retrenched or suspended, can go directly to Labour Courts.

Lastly, there are unanimous recommendations about strengthening the conciliation machinery. Now they do not have power even to summon the employer. They cannot give orders. Even for suspension, a reference has to be made; even for a fine of Rs. 5/-. I would like to take the opportunity of this discussion to suggest to the hon. Minister that he can bring piecemeal legislation to amend the definitions of "workers", "industry" and other provisions of conciliation in the Industrial Disputes Act. He need not wait for controversial provisions which can wait for some time. A large number of workers are suffering because of infirmities in this Act.

Lastly, I would like to say that the survey of child labour in our country is imperfect. This point has also been criticised by the National Labour Commission on page 386, paragraph 27.35, of its Report:—

"Data regarding the extent of employment of child labour are inadequate. According to the Census of India 1961, there were 8 per cent workers below 15 years of age. Most of them were reported to be employed in agriculture and allied activities;"

Further, they have given all details about the different percentages, but I do not want to quote them and take up the time of the House. I would suggest that some machinery must be found to have perfect data about the extent of child labour in India. That aspect is very important.

Sir, I again congratulate the hon. Labour Minister for bringing this Bill

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

and I hope he will extend the protection of this Bill to similar occupations in other industries and other sectors also which are presently not covered by the Act.

Thank you, Sir.

**SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA** (Karnataka): Sir, I am going to be very brief. I take this opportunity to say a few words on this Bill which my hon. friend, Shri Ravindra Varma, has brought before the House.

Even though the coverage of this Bill is very limited, it is a matter to be congratulated because the thought it fit to extend the coverage in the International Year of the Child. But the limitation for the whole Act is covered only to the extent of organised industries where specific Acts are available. For example, the Factories Act, the Plantation Labour Act and a few other Acts under which in the establishments which come under such Acts implementation is possible. But in the un-organised sectors and also in sectors particularly in the rural areas where, according to the Minister himself, about 80 per cent of the child labour is employed, nothing could be done. I fully endorse many of the suggestions made by my friend Mr. Dhabe with regard to the extension of the provisions of this Bill to the other sectors. Now what has happened all along is that, with regard to the prohibition of employment, it is, as I said earlier, restricted to the organised industries. And there again, taking into consideration the practical realities of particular establishments, the definition of age of a child has been varying from one to another. For example, in plantations, I think, it is 12 years because they have another category there besides the children, i.e. the adolescents. So the adolescents are being employed because it is not possible in those areas and in the rural areas covered by plantations to so completely prevent the employment of children after the age of 12 years but under the age of 15 years. So an additional category has been

provided for. I would certainly recommend a uniform definition of a child, as suggested by Mr. Dhabe, taking into consideration the realities.

Even in the rural employment, why are the children brought into the ambit of the workers of the establishment? The parents themselves, in order to improve their family earnings, bring them in. There implementation becomes very difficult. Then the question of determination of age becomes further difficult. In the Plantation Labour Act it is specifically stated that you take a medical certificate for every child over a certain age and he should wear a badge. All these are very impracticable things and that is why implementation has not been proper. Yesterday, my friend Shri Lakshmana Mahapatro was saying: Let us know how many prosecutions have been launched. He as a trade unionist should know the angle from which his own workers think about this thing. Now the country is supposed to provide free education up to the age of 14 years. But where is it available? And with the existing wage levels, how is it possible for a family to provide for the children who neither go to school nor get mid-day meal or other facilities or amenities? So normally the workers themselves will encourage the children being employed by the establishment and say that a child is of 18 years of age or of 16 years of age. So there are a number of practical difficulties and it is not possible to say that the Labour Minister should bring a legislation by which you increase the punishment and everything will be all right. I am certain that a mere increase in penalty will not help in this particular matter in the rural areas. The main thing with regard to this is the economic problem, whether it is concerning the workers or the small farmers. With the land legislation now there are a large number of two-acre or three-acre farmers. What are they going to do with their children? Free education may not be available at every place. Unless they put them to some work,



to look after the cattle or to help them in ploughing and other things, it is not possible for them to supplement the income of their families. So the result is that, whatever be the pious wish of the Government or of other organisations, the children continue to be employed, in the organised industries as also in the unorganised industries and cottage industries. For example, in an industry like the beedi, you find a large number of children employed. How are you going to prevent it there? The whole thing is related to the economic programme by which you increase the standard of living of the rural families. Unless that is done, increasing the penalties will not help at all. So, this is the major problem which everybody should take into consideration. We cannot blame Mr. Ravindra Varma that he is not able to provide for all this because this has been there for the last so many years, ever since we gained independence and even from earlier times when the Prohibition of Child Labour legislation came in 1938. We cannot hold any particular Government or anybody alone responsible for it. We are all responsible for it, and I do not know if my friend, Shri Lakshmana Mahapatro wants to change the present system to the system of Government elsewhere. Even then, after completely prohibiting child labour, he will take 50 years to come to a stage when he will be able to tackle this problem. So, it is very necessary that we should have this legislation at least to see that justice is done in the organised sector where employment could be done.

The general economic policies should be changed to see that the economic standard, the living standard of the people is brought to such a stage when they will be in a position to support their children with their own earnings till their age is 15 years and provide them education. How many schools are available? What has happened to the Constitutional guarantee that children will be educated free up to the age of 15. What has happened till

today? The children in the rural areas go to the primary school until they are 10 years old. Then they work with their parents and relapse into illiteracy. Even the problem with regard to educating the children is aggravated.

So far as the limitations of this Bill is concerned, I am glad that the Hon. Minister of Labour has tried to extend it to the areas where it was not available, and I would suggest that he should gradually try to extend it to the other organised sectors and also to the unorganised sectors where it is possible to be implemented by different methods. Sir, I certainly commend what Mr. Dhabe said that unless some vocational training is available or at least some other training is available after the age of 12, the people who may not be able to send their children to schools will have the temptation to put them to work. So, this is a matter which should be taken into consideration.

Then, Sir, some references have been made with regard to the Industrial Relations Bill and other Acts. One thing with which I do not agree with my friend, Shri Dhabe, is that he said that the workers should have an opportunity to go to the labour courts straight away because the conciliation machinery has failed. I am for strengthening the conciliation machinery. Otherwise, if everything is allowed to be taken to the labour courts, with the mushrooming of the trade unions in the country—7 persons can have a union—most of the time of the labour and the employers will go on filing cases in the labour courts.

**SHRI S. W. DHABE:** In Bombay there is a provision under which the workers can go directly to the labour courts, giving an appropriate notice to the employer.

**SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA:** I know that the provision is there. I am saying that the conciliation mac-

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda]

hinery should be strengthened. I certainly agree with him that they should have the power to summon the employers and the trade unions for that so that whenever any conciliation comes, no party should be able to say that it does not want to take part.

It is better to clear and finish the small disputes and cases in the conciliation machinery rather than rushing the whole thing to the labour courts. If such a heavy work goes to the labour court, what will happen? We know how long it takes ever for an ordinary case to be settled in the labour courts. It takes one or two years. It neither helps the employers nor the workers. So, I am for strengthening the machinery and giving them more powers. The system of arbitration and conciliation would definitely be preferable to taking these cases to the courts which will become heavens for the lawyers.

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO (Orissa): What I am saying is that the conciliation machinery is helpless.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: I am with you. They should be given more powers. Do not say that the conciliation machinery should be bypassed. It is better to have that where you can settle the disputes amongst yourselves. Sir, with regard to the definition of children, I have already said that something must be done about it so that uniformity will be made available. And where it is possible to divide them into children, adolescents and adults, that should also be made available so that enforcement in general becomes easier.

Sir, with these words, I support the Bill.

श्री कलराज मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
श्रीमान्, उपासमापति महोदय, जनता सरकार द्वारा भी यह बिल यहाँ रखा गया है,

उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। आज देश में लगभग 11 करोड़ इस तरह के बालक हैं जो हर क्षेत्र में अपने श्रम के आधार पर अपने परिवार का भरण-पोषण करते हैं। उनके सामने मजबूरी है और इस मजबूरी के कारण जो शिक्षा उनको अर्जित करनी चाहिए, जिस प्रकार की उनकी व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, उस प्रकार की व्यवस्था उनके परिवार के लोग करने में असमर्थ हैं। उनके हित चिन्तन के बारे में जिस तरह से सोचना चाहिए उस तरह से सोचने में असमर्थ रहने हैं। सर्वाधिक जो बालक श्रम करते हैं, मजदूरी करते हैं वह गांव में ही हैं। लगभग 81 प्रतिशत बालक ऐसे हैं जो गांवों में, खेतों में जा कर मजदूरी करके किसी भी तरीके से अपने और अपने परिवार का भरण-पोषण करते हैं। दूसरी श्रेणी के अन्तर्गत वे शहर हैं जिन में छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधे हैं, उनमें काम करते हैं। बाल जीवन में ही उनका स्वास्थ्य इस प्रकार का हो जाता है जिसको देखने के बाद लगता है कि भविष्य उनका कैसे आगे चल सकेगा यह एक ऐसी भयंकर स्थिति आज हमारे सामने दिखाई देती है। तीसरे प्रकार के ऐसे हैं जो कि घरेलू कामों में लगे रहते हैं और दुकानों में कार्य करते हैं तथा उसी तरीके से अपने आगे का जीवन चलाते हैं। सबसे अफसोस की बात तो यह है कि देश में संगठित तौर पर एक ऐसा प्रयास चल रहा है जिसके कारण गरीबी के शिकार बच्चों को शिक्षा की तरफ उन्मुख किया जा रहा है। एक बहुत बड़ी संख्या ऐसे बालकों की है जो जगह जगह जा कर शिक्षा याचन करते हैं। शिक्षा याचन के आधार पर वे अपने स्वाभिमान को तो नष्ट करते ही हैं, साथ ही साथ भारत को ऊंचा उठाने में उनका जो महत्वपूर्ण योगदान हो सकता है, उसको भी हम अपने सामने कुंठित होते हुए देखने

हैं। एक ऐसा स्वरूप हिन्दुस्तान का आज हमारे सामने है। मैं गत सरकार की आलोचना नहीं करना चाहता और न यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस प्रकार की कोई योजना नहीं बनाई होगी। लेकिन यह दुर्भाग्य की बात जरूर है कि इस दुर्यवहार के कारण इतनी बड़ी संख्या, इतनी बड़ी फौज बालकों की तैयार हुई है, जिससे ऐसा लगता है कि अगर उनके साथ सद्व्यवहार तथा व्यवस्थित योजना बनाई गई होती तो शायद देश को आगे बढ़ाने में हम अभी तक काफ़ी सफल हुए होते। प्रसन्नता की बात है कि कल श्री वर्माजी ने जब हमारे सामने बिल रखा उसमें उन्होंने बालक श्रमिकों के संरक्षण की बात कही। सम्पूर्ण स्थिति को देखने के बाद यह जरूर लगता है कि इस प्रकार से 14 वर्ष के बालकों को काम करने की दृष्टि से हम रोक नहीं सकते हैं उनकी व्यवस्था किस तरह से की जाये तथा उनको संरक्षण कैसे दिया जा सके। यह एक प्रश्न है। इसके लिए नेशनल मेबर इंस्टीट्यूट की बात आपने कही, उसके माध्यम से उनके कल्याण को देखते हुए ही इस दिशा में कार्य करने की दृष्टि से उन्हें आगे बढ़ाया जा सकता है। साथ ही साथ मैं एक सुझाव भी देना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ हम उनके हित के बारे में सोचते हैं तो इससे हम उनके श्रम को तो नहीं रोक पायेंगे परन्तु उनको शिक्षित करने की दृष्टि से भी ऐसी कोई बाल संरक्षण संस्था के माध्यम से हम प्रयास करें। इन सारी बातों को देखने के बाद मैं इस विधेयक का पूर्णरूप से समर्थन करता हूँ।

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am indeed grateful to the honourable Members who have participated in the debate on this

Bill. It is indeed gratifying to note that almost every Member who took part in the debate welcomed the Bill even when there were many honourable Members who felt that the Bill was not comprehensive enough. Only one honourable Member somehow chose to describe this Bill as a fraud on the children of India. I do believe that that honourable Member too did not actually mean to describe this Bill as a fraud. All that he wanted to say through the exuberant phraseology that he used was that the Bill is not comprehensive enough, much more should be done for the children of India, the coverage of the Bill must be impeccable and the legislation that we have to protect the children of our country must be impeccable. Therefore, I do not propose to take umbrage under this description of the Bill as a fraud. I know that he did not mean to use that expression though the expression slipped out from him.

Some honourable Members who took part in the debate referred to many matters which are not strictly within the parameters of this Bill. It is very difficult to refer to anything that any honourable Member has said in any connection and say that it is irrelevant. No Minister should ever do that. I shall, therefore, not do so. But it did occur to me while listening to some honourable Members that some of the matters that they referred to were somewhat extraneous if I might use that understatement as far as the contents of this Bill were concerned. My honourable friend, Mr. Kalp Nath Rai, who is unfortunately not present in the House at this moment, started the debate on this Bill. I am one of those whose number perhaps is not large, who like to listen to Mr. Kalp Nath Rai. So I listened to him with great patience and I listened to him in the hope that I will learn from him something as far as the contents of the Bill were concerned.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): But he disappointed you.

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA:** I do not think that I will be in a microscopic minority if I say I was disappointed. The word itself is being suggested to me by the honourable friend opposite who perhaps shares that feeling....

**SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN:** I am just expressing your reaction to it....

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA:** It is a good thing that you can express my reaction. But I am afraid I cannot return the compliment and express your reaction.

He referred to many aspects of the Bill undoubtedly. And he said that the primary reason, the basic reason for the fact that many millions of children are employed in occupations which are hazardous, occupations which are harmful, is the fact that there is poverty in this country. It is the fact that the parents of children are poor, that their incomes are low, that is primarily responsible for the fact that we find employment of child labour on such a vast scale in this country. There can be no quarrel with him as far as this statement is concerned. But I wish to ask him whether poverty is something new that has invaded this country. This country has been steeped in poverty for long and no one on this side of the House at least believes that poverty can be washed away in one day. It is a fact that because of poverty many children have to seek employment. As many hon. Members have said in the House, we have to do a balancing act in this stage of our economy. It is not a question of who is holding the reins of the Government today or who was holding the reins of the Government yesterday. There are certain factors, certain economic conditions and certain social conditions which cannot be altered in a day by anyone. Just look at the magnitude of this problem of poverty and the size of this country. The fact that in six hundred thousand and more villages of this country there are children who, in some way or the

other, perform functions which could be described as parts of economic activity—whether they may come under the definition of 'employment' or not as my friend Shri Dhabe said or whether they are paid wages in cash or in kind—gives us some idea of the magnitude of the problem. A problem of this magnitude can be solved only with a degree of gradualness. No hon. Member in this House, therefore, will have the courage to get up and say that this problem can be solved in a day and the Government should have brought forward a Bill saying that child labour in every conceivable form is illegal in this country. I wish we could do that. There is no lack of desire. But as my hon. friend Shri Mahapatro pointed out yesterday—other hon. Members on this side too pointed out to this—there is no meaning in a legislation which cannot be implemented. Even granting that such a legislation will be desirable, I do not think it will be possible for any hon. Member to hold that we can devise an implementation machinery which can enforce a law which bans child labour throughout the country—in the farms, in the villages and the households of our country. So, to ask for that is to ask the Government to do something which is not capable of implementation.

My hon. friend Shri Kalp Nath Rai referred to children being employed in household work as domestic servants and what not. One can add to the list in the rural areas, for instance, agricultural occupations, tending cattle, and poultry tending, and what not. As an hon. friend who spoke from this side said it has become practically a matter of custom or usage that a child starts helping his parents in the rural areas in some form or other of economic activity right from young age....

**SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN:** May I say a word?

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA:** You can say many words.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN:

Actually it is not only usage or custom. It is really an economic problem and that is not only in the rural areas, but also in the urban areas. For instance, take Delhi. You go to old Delhi and you will find that the children up to the age of primary school go to the schools because they are unable to earn anything at that age. The moment they start going to the secondary school, their parents withdraw them and ask them to work so that their earning adds to the meagre income of the parents and all of them get two square meals a day. It is thus an economic question. It is not usage or custom.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I like to hear the hon. Member. But I am very sorry if he got the impression that I did not say that this was an economic problem ...

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: It is more an economic problem than anything else.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: How long would you like to carry on this conversation?

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: I won't disturb you any further. You carry on.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Hon. Members who were listening to me would recall that I did begin by saying that it is an economic problem, and it is a problem of poverty. Unfortunately, perhaps what I said was not ample enough or clear enough. I entirely agree that it is primarily a question of poverty, and poverty is an economic problem.

Let me come back to my good friend Shri Kalp Nath Rai. He said that the problems of our children can be solved only if there is a spectacular approach to the question. Perhaps he is right. In what one wants to do, one has to be spectacular. He even went further and made some suggestions to the Government. He said, Sir,

that the Prime Minister should have gone on the air and announced that there would be free and compulsory education, that there would be free food for children, that there would be free clothing for children and what not. Listening to him, I thought that perhaps if any Prime Minister could do so, it would be very good. It will be very good if not only he could not only say so, but he could also do so. That reminded me of the fact that sometimes many of us are victims of many kinds of complexes. Some of us sometimes suffer from a Messiah complex and some others suffer from a divinity complex. Perhaps, if on an odd day you read the Bible, you will come across the lines: "God said: 'Let there be light' and Lo, and behold, there was light." So, Sir, if the Prime Minister goes on the air and says that the children will have free education, will have free clothing, will have free housing, and so on, lo, and behold, starvation disappears, poverty disappears, nakedness disappears and illiteracy disappears! Sir, we have been treated to some of the manifestations of the divinity complex in this country for some years. We heard of the abolition of bonded labour; we heard of crash programmes, we heard of one million jobs within a year, we heard of homesteads being provided to every Harijan; we heard of surplus land being distributed to the landless and the backward people and so on. Sir, there are occasions when statistics should be shrouded and put away from sight. Perhaps this is one occasion when, if one wants to answer these questions and when these oracular statements have not resulted in the implementation of programmes, one would like to sweep statistics under the carpet.

Now, Sir, my honourable friend, Shri Kalp Nath Rai, as well as Mr. Mahapatro—Mr. Mahapatro, you can be a migrant Member and still listen to me—and I will have no objection—referred to the Constitution and the Fundamental Rights, the Directive

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Principles, enshrined in the Constitution, and I would say in answer to them, Sir, that we are still aware of the fact that article 24 makes it illegal. It is a Fundamental Right which that article enshines in itself when it says that children shall not be employed in factories, mines and in other hazardous occupations. Now, you know very well, Sir, that the Factories Act has made it illegal to employ children below the age of 14. Therefore, this aspect of the Fundamental Right is being respected today. Then comes the question of mines. In the case of mines too, Sir, the Mines Act which was adopted in 1952 makes it illegal to employ children under 16. Then the question of hazardous employment remains. Now, mining is a specific occupation. Employment in factories means something tangible and specific which you can verify. But, when it comes to the definition of hazardous employment, perhaps it is possible for one to say that a certain kind of employment is hazardous, and a certain other kind of employment is not hazardous. Sir, yesterday, one honourable Member pointed out that even employment in the rural areas has become hazardous these days. I think it was Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon, who is not present here at this moment, who said that with the coming of tractors and the mechanisation of agriculture, even employment in the agricultural sector has attracted more hazards than it had in the past, and there is undoubtedly some truth in this statement. Therefore, when it comes to the question of defining what a hazardous employment is and formulating legislation to deal with this hazardous employment in order to prevent the employment of children in these hazardous occupations, there is a degree of gradualness which is inevitable. Therefore, Sir, this Bill which I have moved only tries to increase by specification the area of protection afforded to children who are at present being used in some kinds of employ-

ment which can be described as hazardous. Then, Sir, a reference was made to the Directive Principles. I would like to point out that the fundamental right as it is today formulated in the Constitution does not make any specific reference to domestic service or agriculture or tending cattle and what not. I am not saying that this is the reason why children should be employed. I am trying to point out that as far as the fundamental rights are concerned, they are not being ignored today.

Then, Sir, on the question of Directive Principles it was pointed out that Directive Principles 39(e) and (f), particularly, say:

"...citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength.."

I shall not quote the whole of the text of the Directive Principle because it is not necessary to do so.

Now, the point is that there is distinction between a Directive Principle and a Fundamental Right. The very concept of the Directive Principle includes the intrinsic necessity for a degree of gradualness—a concession to the need for gradualness and admission that these cannot be made justiciable here and now—immediately. Therefore, the question is one of direction. The question is one of the steps in the direction that is indicated by the Directive Principles.

Then, Sir, a very important point which almost all the hon. Members who took part in the debate raised was about enforcement, the necessity to enforce the legislation that you have for the protection of children. My hon. friend, Shri Kalp Nath Rai, referred to political will and the forging of sanctions. With great respect, I say that sometimes I cannot fully understand the connotation of some of his phrases. Sometimes, I have the feeling that the degree of originality in his expression is so great that by conventional standards I cannot

understand the connotation of his phrases. But, Sir, if what he meant was that any law to be enforced must have the sanction of public opinion forged behind the legislation, then he is absolutely right. He referred to the case of dowry—the Sharda Act—and other social evils, and pointed out that unless there is the will you cannot implement them. He is quite right. There may be pieces of legislation especially like anti-untouchability legislation or other legislations where implementation has to take place in every village which is tucked away in the fastness or vastness of our country where the long arm of the law cannot reach. Unless there is the backing of public opinion, it is not possible for you to ensure enforcement merely through the administrative machinery.

Here some hon. Members referred to the fact that it is easier to enforce such legislation in the organised sector of industry because it is possible for you to bring the employment conditions in the organised sector of the industry under supervision more easily than you can do in the agricultural sector or the rural sector.

Then, Sir, I would like to say here that my friend, Shri Dhabe, who knows very much about the conditions of labour and who is a very well-known trade unionist referred to the difficulties in the implementation in the non-industrial sector. So also, my friend Shri Gowda, hon. Member Shri Gowda—perhaps from a slightly different point of view—pointed out the practical difficulties in the determination and the certification of age, among other things, that go with the enforcement of this legislation.

Then, Sir, some reference was made to the general conditions of children in this country. Nobody can complain about the fact that the general condition of children was referred to while discussing this Bill. I am in entire agreement with all those who said that in the International Year of the

Child, the Government must bring forward a comprehensive programme—in spite of my good friend's objection to the adjective 'comprehensive'—policy and programme for children, and...

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Programme for action.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Programme for action if that would enable me to get your support. But the House is aware that there is a National Children Board in the country and the Prime Minister himself is the Chairman of the Board. This Board has gone into the kind of action that has to be taken for the Children's Year and has drafted a national plan of action for the year which includes many items and many programmes. It is not for me to deal elaborately with the programmes that have been visualised or formulated for the Children's Year while answering the debate on this Bill.

Then, Sir, a reference was made to the ILO Conventions by my friends, Mr. Dhabe, Mr. Mahapatro and perhaps some others. Out of the ILO Conventions that relate to child labour, many which are practicable in this country have already been ratified by our Government. In some cases where the conventions have been revised or superseded by new conventions, perhaps you may say that those conventions have not been ratified by our Government. But in the conditions that exist in our country, whatever is possible has been ratified, and there is a constant re-examination to ensure that we ratify whatever convention can be implemented in our country.

My hon. friend, Mr. Krishnan, made a series of suggestions. So did my hon. friend, Mr. Dhabe. The suggestions covered the whole range of policy in this regard. They suggested some amendments in the Apprentice Act and setting up of a cell to deal with the problems of child labour in the Ministry. These are all very good suggestions which deserve the utmost

[Shri Ravindra Varma]

consideration. Whether they are strictly within the scope of the Bill or not, is another matter.

Then, Sir, some reference was made to piecemeal legislation. I could not be quite clear in my mind whether I was being chided for being piecemeal in one field and also chided for attempting to be comprehensive in another field. You ask me to bring a piecemeal legislation in one field and you also condemn me for what you describe as 'piecemeal legislation in this field'. But you have the privilege, my dear friend and I accept both the complements. In this regard, it has not been possible for us to bring a comprehensive piece of legislation because, Sir, as soon as it became known to us that it is possible to enforce the provisions of this Bill, we did not want any delay in extending protection to the children who are employed in these hazardous occupations. There are occasions when instead of waiting for the whole bread, one has to start eating whatever part of the bread is available. In this case also, we thought that our concern for children must compel us to bring forward measures so that we are able to give whatever protection we can extend to the children immediately. That is the reason why we came forward with whatever we thought was practicable. Then I do not want to enter into the question of the comprehensive legislation on industrial relations. That is not strictly within the purview of this Bill and I must refrain because you may rule my remarks as irrelevant. I shall not run that risk.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. W. DHABE: You should talk of the political will.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Since the Bill that I have moved does not relate to the Industrial Relations Bill, I shall not go into that except to say that all the points that my

hon. friends, Mr. Dhabe and Mr. Gowda, made are points which have engaged the attention of the Government and will engage the attention of the Government. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and you will see when the Bill is introduced in this House. I do not want to take more time of the House.

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO: Here the eating is very late.  
(Interruptions)

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I am surprised that the hon. Member talks of eating so soon after the lunch recess. I have listened to your point of view as well. Mr. Khan. Nobody's goose is being cooked in this Bill and, therefore, you need not be afraid of what is being cooked.

Sir, I can only say in conclusion that as long as children are employed in various occupations, it is necessary for us to extend the maximum protection to them in relation to wages, hours of work, conditions of work, medical and other facilities. Sir, my hon. friend referred to these. As I said in the very beginning, this Bill is a modest Bill and a non-controversial Bill. It only tries to extend protection to some categories of employment in which children are being employed today.

Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration and I command the Bill for the acceptance of the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Employment of Children Act, 1938, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill



Clauses 2 to 5 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA. Sir, I move;

"That the Bill be passed."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

### THE KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1978

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (KUMARI ABHA MAITI): Sir, I beg to move the following Motion:

"That this House concurs in the recommendation of the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha do join in the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill further to amend the Khadi and Village Industries Commission Act, 1956, and resolves that the following ten Members of the Rajya Sabha—

1. Shri Jaharlal Banerjee
2. Shrimati Kumudben Manishanker Joshi
3. Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni
4. Shri E. R. Krishnan
5. Shri N. P. Chengalraya Naidu
6. Shri L. R. Naik
7. Shri Manubhai Patel
8. Shri Anant Prasad Sharma
9. Shri Lakhan Singh
10. Shri R. K. Poddar

be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee."

The question was proposed.

श्री श्याम लाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश):

माननीय उप-सभापति जी, यह जो विधेयक मंत्री जी ने प्रस्तुत किया है, इसमें एक विशेष महत्वपूर्ण बात है। शायद इसीलिए सरकार ने यह निश्चय किया है कि इसे प्रवर ममिति को भेजा जाए।

श्रीमन्, अभी तक खादी की जो मान्यता है अपने देश में महात्मा गांधी के समय से आज तक रही है और खादी का जो सूत है वह ऊन या सूत (रई) से तैयार किया जाता है और हाथ से काता जाता है। वहीं खादी ग्रामोद्योग या खादी कमीशन से मान्यता प्राप्त है और सारे देश के हर नागरिक को उसके बारे में जानकारी है। इस विधेयक में यह विचार उपस्थित किया जा रहा है कि जो फाइबर, आर्टिफिशियल फाइबर या कृत्रिम धागे हैं उनको भी अगर हाथ से काता जाए और उसका कपड़ा बनाया जाए तो उसे भी खादी में शरीक माना जाए। चाहे कृत्रिम धागा हो उसे सूत के धागे में मिश्रित किया जाए तो भी उसको धागे के तौर पर मान्यता दी जाए। इस तरह का विधेयक मंत्री जी लाये हैं। इसलिए मौलिक प्रश्न यह उठता है कि जो कृत्रिम धागा होता है उससे जो रोजगार लोगों को मिल रहा है खादी से, उसमें कमी आयेगी। आज जिस तरह से रई या ऊन का धागा बनाया जाता है चरखे या हाथ से उसमें ज्यादा आदमियों को काम मिलता है। इसलिए इसमें कृत्रिम धागा मिलाने से मुझे शका है कि इसमें कम लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा। इसमें बड़े उद्योग भी शरीक हो सकते हैं और चोरी-छिपे फैक्टरियों में जो धागा बनायेंगे वह भी खादी में शरीक कर दिया जाएगा अथवा मिश्रित कर दिया जाएगा।

मान्यवर, यह सरकार इस बात की आमतौर से चर्चा करती है कि छोटे उद्योग