

office-bearers to enable us to take cognizance of the newly elected office bearers as per established norms and practice.

Please therefore adhere to the norms and get the resolution counter-signed by the outgoing President and the Secretary.

वह भारतीय क्रांति दल के आउट गोंग प्रेसिडेंट हैं... (Interruption) श्रीमन्, अगर वह हमारी पार्टी छोड़कर चला गया है और वह कांग्रेस में शामिल हो जाए तो हमारा रुधरा नहीं मिलेगा? आप स्पीकर से पूछ लीजिए आप चैयरमैन ह, आप जानते हैं कि भारतीय क्रांति दल का नेता कौन है, उत्तर प्रदेश का स्पीकर जानता है कि भारतीय क्रांति दल का नेता चौधरी चरणसिंह है। वह लीडर ऑफ अपोजिशन है और सारा बैंक एकाउंट उसके नाम है। वह अपने दल से अगर निकलकर कांग्रेस पार्टी में ज्वाइन कर ले तो उससे कोई मतलब नहीं रह गया।

(Interruption)

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : आपका पॉइंट हो गया।

You are a disciplined Member of the House. I am now calling the Minister.

श्री राजनारायण : आप इस रुपये को पिछड़े क्षेत्र को विकसित करने में लगाते, यही मेरा कहना है।

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Sir, I have tried to cover some of the points earlier also in my remarks. I would like to make the position clear.

Now, Sir, two main concessions are available under this Bill. One is initial depreciation allowance available for ships and aircraft, and for machinery and plant used for generation of electricity or for manufacture of articles mentioned in the Ninth Schedule. This initial depreciation allowance will also be

available to small-scale undertakings whose capital investment in plant and machinery is not more than Rs. 7½ lakhs, irrespective of the articles manufactured by them. The Ninth Schedule is, thus, not relevant for small-scale industries. The second tax concession is exemption of 20% profits of industries in the backward areas. These are two separate things which are available.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): The question is:

"That the Bill be returned."

The motion was adopted.

THE COAL MINES (CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT) BILL, 1974

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to provide for the conservation of coal and development of coal mines and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, as is already known, two of the salient features of the Bill are that the Coal Mines (Conservation, Safety and Development) Act of 1952 will be repealed by the proposed legislation which is before the House, and the Coal Board which was set up under section 4 of the above Act of 1952 will be dissolved and the assets and liabilities of the Coal Board will be taken over by the Government and we will have discretion and authority to transfer the same to a Government company. The third salient feature is that the Central Government will have authority to impose a duty of excise on all coal, not exceeding Rs. 10 per tonne, according to clause 6

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of this Bill. The Central Government will further make available the net receipts from the duty of excise every year to the different coal producers according to their financial requirements and schemes of conservation and development subject to such conditions as may be prescribed. Another important feature of the Bill is that the Central Government will have the same general powers including powers of inspection as regards conservation and safety measures in coal mines as are now available under the Coal Mines (Conservation, Safety and Development) Act of 1952. Several sections comprise this Bill before the House. It takes care of the details which come under these salient features, and the necessity of this Bill has been because the Coal Board is no longer necessary because coal has been nationalised, and all the acts of conservation, safety supervision and other ancillary activities which are related to development of the coal industry which have been taken over to the public sector will be taken care under this. Therefore, the Act which was responsible for the creation of the Coal Board is hereby repealed. That is the proposal before the House.

The question was proposed.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, at the fag end of the day we are taking up a very important Bill. This Bill perhaps in my opinion is much more important than the Bill we have just discussed. After all the entire progress and prosperity depend on energy and in our country so far we have only one kind of energy and that is coal which was so long neglected, neglected calculatedly. And the whole country is today discussing the deposits of coal, utilisation of coal, conservation of coal, the by-product of coal and justifiably so.

Well, Sir, here I will have to say some words which may not be very pleasant and which may appear to be rather harsh and I hope the Minister will forgive me for that. Not that I lack any respect but the issues have grown so big that the people have started discussing whether nationalisation is going to be a success but that point I will take up later. Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, when he took over the coal mines after a long struggle and bitter opposition by the mineowners said in this very House that one of the main reasons for the takeover of coal was the neglect, calculated neglect, by the mineowners. In other words there was no conservation at all. There was slaughter mining, reckless mining, unscientific mining and as a result in India we used to extract only 30 per cent of coal and 70 per cent was being lost and this was continuing for hundreds of years. The Britishers did it and the people who took over the mines from the British also did it equally. Not that the Ministry was unaware of it; there was a legislation, the Coal Mines (Conservation and Safety) Act under which the Coal Board used to function. And the Coal Board used to collect a cess and the amount of the cess came to about Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 crores per year but the job of the Coal Board actually degenerated into distributing this money to the various mineowners for putting sand inside the mines in order to stabilise the mines—that is called stowing—and the second reason was to help the mineowners to tide over the adverse factors: for instance, when there was more gas or more pressure of water or when the roofing was not proper, in such cases the mineowners used to get some amount in order to see that the mines were run properly, worked properly, that the raising went on without disturbing the upper strata or the

lower strata. In this very House, Minister after Minister has admitted in reply to my questions that 70 per cent of these Rs. 2 crores has gone to a few houses like the Birlas, the Goenkas, the Jains, the Tatas, the Bird & Co., Jardine Henderson and others and in this very House it has been admitted that the money which was paid to them in order to put sand inside the mines or to stabilise the mines was not utilised for that purpose but the money was misused, grossly misused. If you calculate, Sir, over the last ten years perhaps some Rs. 25 crores have been paid to the mineowners for the development of their mines, for conservation of coal which was not at all done. This sum of Rs. 25 crores has gone into the pockets of mineowners who have utilised it in the black money economy. So we demanded in this very House what the Government was going to do about this. You are paying Rs. 30 crores as compensation; are you going to investigate into the failures of the previous mineowners to conserve the coal, what happened to the mines, how the money was utilised? Now you say that the mines are in a very bad shape. There is no conservation, there is no stowing, there is no proper roofing and accidents are taking place. I was told in this House and also in letters that they were investigating into the abuses of that money by the mineowners. I would humbly ask our Minister: What has happened to the investigation? What is the result of the investigation? Which are the particular mineowners who have stolen money and have invested it perhaps in real estate or used it for buying paddy in order to hoard? We should be given an answer because the result of non-conservation is being felt today more acutely. Mr. Malaviya had been to Dhanbad and he would have seen it even before; intense fire is

raging throughout Jharia and Raniganj. If you are producing 79 million tonnes of both coking and non-coking coal per year, you are losing about 10 million tonnes of coal per month to fire. There is fire raging on both sides of the railway line. The whole of Jharia is encircled by a ring of fire. The whole of Barakal area has subsided. People are living at their own risk. What steps have been taken to combat the fire? How much money has been spent so far and what is the result? As far as I know and I come from that area, I have seen that the fire is increasing. It has threatened the railway line. It has threatened the Jharia town, Asansol, Ondal, Raniganj and Hazaribagh. The whole place is becoming nightmarish. I should like to know whether you have investigated the work done by the Coal Board. How much money has been spent to prevent the fire from engulfing new areas? These areas are producing coking coal and we have such a shortage of coking coal. All I can say is that the particular contract to tackle the fire was given to a tourist concern. As far as I remember they are the Kundu Special, and I have been told that they miserably failed to tackle any fire. Who are the people responsible for it and how will you solve this problem which is facing me today? You conserve in order to produce. If you fail to conserve, you cannot produce after ten years. This is the second point. The first point is, what happened to the money paid to the mine-owners which you admitted? What steps are you going to take against them? You are very brave in tackling the railway strike. You can arrest ten thousand people. You can drag women from their quarters. You are so brave that I am afraid to face you, but in the case of mine-owners you look so small. I find that you have neither the tongue

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nor the will to fight them. Am I right or am I wrong? Please tell us. My second point is about the fire and subsidence because the villagers around the collieries are terribly panicky. Large areas of Asansol, Jharia and Hazaribagh have subsided. People are forced to leave. Many quarters of miners have collapsed. I was in a colliery some time back where 200 workers have been suddenly rendered homeless because the entire area subsided. Reports of more and more subsidence are coming in. Where will the villagers go? What plans have you made? How are you going to compensate them? The West Bengal Government and the Bihar Government have drawn the attention of the Central Government to the problem of subsidence. This is another problem which you will have to tackle.

The third point is about the Coal Board, which is going to be abolished. The sooner it goes the better, but what about the employees? What security of service they have? What prospects they have? After all they were rendering service to particular organisations for the last twenty years. Will they be thrown out? If not, will they be absorbed? Now, you are creating a new set-up. That is a big question to which I hope our able Deputy Minister, Mr. Hansda, will be able to reply, if Mr. Malaviya does not touch the point.

This point is also important—what will be the status of the planning and designing division, which he is going to take over? This matter was raised in the Consultative Committee. We pointed out that if we put the people who are in charge of conservation under the people who are in charge of production, then conservation will not get that atten-

tion which it should get. If it is under the Bharat Coking Coal or under the Coal Mines Authority or under a particular concern, the Chairman's work and performance will be judged by the amount of coal he produces. In order to satisfy Parliament and people he will naturally try to raise as much as he can. People will judge his performance by the quantity of coal he raises. If he produces 80 million tonnes people will be happy. If he produces 100 million tonnes people will be more happy. Then, he will think: Well, all right. Forget conservation. I am going to be the Chairman for the next ten years. In ten years I will beat the record. Thus, conservation becomes a casualty. So, we demand from the Minister, please make it an independent body, answerable to you. This is an important, key body. You should not place it under a particular Chairman, either of the Coal Mines Authority or the Bharat Coking Coal. He assured us in the Consultative Committee that he was going to consider it. I want to know whether he has made any decision about it.

The fourth point is about the slander which is going on about nationalisation that after nationalisation the controlled coal price has gone up very high, that the people are suffering, that all these are there because of the nationalisation. I would like the House also to think about it—which is more costly—a terylene shirt or a tonne of coal? Coal is a capital-intensive industry. Hundreds of people are required to dig up coal, new machinery is required. The coal price has been artificially kept low in order to help the monopolists. The same thing happened with oil. Only when the Arab world stood up did they get the proper price for oil. So long the big monopolists kept their prices for

oil low for the artificial development of Western Europe and the USA. Our coal price is the cheapest in the whole world. It is unscientific, it is consumer-oriented. If you really want to develop the coal industry, if you really want to introduce new machinery into the industry, if you want to eliminate the poisonous atmosphere of the coal industry because of lack of quarters for the workers, for lack of sanitation, if you want to prevent the foul atmosphere which prevails, you have to get a higher price for coal. The coal price has to be proper, scientific and rational, which is not the case today. It is a shame. This is what the people are talking that Mr. Kumaramangalam nationalised the coal mines. He smashed the conspiracy of the coal mine-owners; he smashed the coal lobby. He was a pioneer. Mr. Pai came; he started a dialogue with the trade unions. He set up a joint negotiating machinery. Sir, you will be surprised to know that since 1967, half a million workers, miners, who go down every year, the rate of accident is the highest in the world—220 people get killed every year, and more than two thousand to three thousands are seriously injured. They lose their legs, their eyes, their hands. Nowhere else in the world can you find such a high rate of accident and yet, since 1967, this is the one industry which has not got a single paise increase in the workers' wages. The jute workers have got three times, the textile workers four or five times, the port and dock workers five or six times, the plantation workers have got four or five times. But you ask the coal miners to produce more, to face death, to face drowning to face crippling to face the highest rate of injury, but their wages have been frozen since 1967. Can we ever conceive of a shameful condition? Minister after Minister after

nationalisation has come before Parliament and declared that we have got the full cooperation of the workers. The officers were reluctant, the police was not very happy. It is the coal-miners who go on digging coal. Sir, not even 15 per cent of the half a million workers have got quarters. I was in the East Nimcha colliery last week. Seventy workers have been sent to the hospital suffering from cholera because there was no water. There is no ambulance. Even in the NCDC's Patharkhera Colliery, out of the 3000 workers, only 500 have been provided with quarters. It is a shameful condition which continues. There is shortage of coal; there is shortage of food, there is the problem of housing, and sanitation. They are not covered even by rationing. So, Mr. Pai set up a joint machinery. At least, if anybody deserves a better wage, it is the coal-miners. We discussed and discussed the minimum wage for them, the differentials. They get very little underground allowance, no rent allowance for the quarter. So far in the coal mines they do not get either pension or even a single paise as house-rent. For eight months we discussed it threadbare. The Chairman of the Coal Mines Authority, the Chairman of the Bharat Coking Coal, the Chairman of the HISCO and the Chairman of the TISCO said "All right, have an agreement for two years. Accept Rs. 325 as the minimum wage for category I. surface workers. Now we are giving 5 per cent underground allowance." It is the lowest in the world. "All right, have 10 per cent. You will get Rs. 15 per month as quarters allowance if you are not provided with quarters, and some differentials. Please accept it. Then we will go to the next item on the agenda." With great reluctance we accepted it. The workers were expecting that the

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money would be paid in April. It is an agreement signed by both the sides. We were told "it has gone to the Cabinet; it will come from there and then it will be implemented." The workers went on producing more and went on getting killed. Now we are told that it has been shelved. After that, do you expect co-operation from the miners? Half a million workers are denied any wage increase since 1967. Many Members of Parliament do not know about it. They talk about workers' wages, increase in facilities and so on. But they do not know that the miners are not getting a single naya paisa more than what they got in 1967. They have the same leave and other facilities. It is one industry where everything has been kept under control. You set up the bipartite committee. And you are now flouting it, ignoring it, violating it. What sort of morals are you setting up? What kind of ethical standard is this? What is the explanation you have to give to the workers? Here it is not a question like the Railway workers' demand for bonus and your saying "I won't pay bonus". Here is an agreement between the management and the workers of all trade unions and you are flouting it. What are the workers saying now? "Malaviyaji has come and paisa is gone". I am sorry, I am not happy about it. But this is the feeling of the workers. So we have started since yesterday a hunger-strike before the various coal mines.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Please wind up.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I am winding up. If the Government does not listen to it, then I am afraid a strike is imminent. I know you have enough CRP and enough Border Security Force.

You can arrest even all the half a million workers. But you won't get coal. I want other Members of Parliament to see if I am justified or unjustified, if I am right or wrong. If you think I am wrong, reject my demand. You have come to an agreement. You have said that you are going to implement it. And then you go back. What sort of "beimaani" is this? What is the answer to the workers? If I "gherao" the area General Manager, if I take out a demonstration, Malaviyaji will come and say "Law and order has broken down". Who is endangering the law and order situation? You do not give me quarters. You do not give hospital beds. You do not give me half a kilo of rice for all the arduous nature of work. You do not give me what you agree to pay. And if I demonstrate, if I agitate, if I shout, you will say "It is a law and order problem". The West Bengal Government is deputing seven battalions of police. They are going to be posted in the various coal mines. Is this the way to keep coal miners under control? Today from 9 o'clock till 11 o'clock we discussed these matters, and the money which is being paid by Bharat Coking Coal to the police. The figures are astounding—Rs. 78 lakhs or something like that. You are spending more money on the police than you are spending on housing, on safety, on sanitation. Is it not shameful? Is it a free country? Is it an independent country? Do the coal mines deserve this sort of treatment from a Government which has nationalised the coal mines? Are you going to treat the mine workers like this? This is the only question which the workers ask: मालवीय जी से पुछिए हम लोग इसी तरह रहा ?

Sir, the last point is the question of planning. There is such a shortage of coking coal. Here I should also refer

to the question of price. I have been raising this again and again in the House and in the Consultative Committee that your producers, the Coal Mines Authority and the Bharat Coking Coal get Rs. 56 or Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 per tonne, while the same coal is being sold in the market for Rs. 10 per maund. Who is reaping this fantastic profit? The middlemen. They are still permitted and coal prices shoot up in Asansol, Calcutta, Banaras, Lucknow, Patna, everywhere. We are demanding "At least, please take over distribution; please eliminate the middlemen who are making crores of rupees." As a matter of fact, the Chairman of the BCCL is weeping. He says "If we had been able to get that money, we would have improved the conditions in the coal mines"

The producers don't get it and the workers don't get it. Only the middleman flourishes. Is it so necessary? Perhaps the ruling party may be associated with it.

Sir, lastly, before I finish...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Please wind up now.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: You will be surprised to know how nearly 80 million tonnes is coming out of the pit. There is complete chaos regarding supply of baskets, tubs, sand, ropes, etc. because we have such cheap people in the country who are prepared to go down. But the safety measures are nil. What steps are you going to take? There are no timbers and yet the timber bill comes to about 2 to 3 crores of rupees per year. Can't you eliminate the middleman who sells timber? Then you have not frozen the price of spare parts, the price of pumps, price of wood and timber. Only the poor workers are being starved.

Sir, you have been talking about the shortage of coking coal. There is a mine in Madhya Pradesh known as Damuah Coal Mine. I was there last week. This coal mine has got the coking coal which can be immediately utilised for Bhilai. But I have been told that it is being utilised by the Railways. Why? It is because the Railways would not give wagons to this particular Damuah Coal Mine to move coal from Damuah to Bhilai. There is corruption in the Railways. What steps have you taken about that? There is a chronic shortage of wagons. Mr. Malaviya, you have taken over the Ministry this year. Have you been able to show some improvement? You will have to go deep into the whole thing. I understand you have started giving some money to some railway people. If this is true, this is shameful. You do not have any planning.

Lastly, you follow double standards regarding justice. When officers are guilty of serious malpractices, they are asked to resign or if they are dismissed, they are immediately reinstated. This is on record. The workers are dismissed for some slight mistake or for falling sick underground. They are dismissed. They are not taken back. However grave or serious charge the charge may be against an officer, he is immediately taken back. This has happened in eight cases. (*Time bell rings.*) This came out in the Consultative Committee meeting.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): I think you will have to finish now.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: They have been asked to resign. Side by side, there are names of ordinary miners and their wives numbering 150 who have

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been charged with minor mistakes. This is not fair. You have to have one standard. There should be no double standard. Mr. Malaviya, I am sorry to say that I am prepared to co-operate with you, but not at the cost of poor miners.

5 P.M.

SHRI MAQSOOD ALI KHAN (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after having heard the hon. Member, Mr. Kalyan Roy, and the ghastly picture that he has given of the working conditions in the coal mines and the conditions of the mine workers, one is convinced that if there is any time when such a legislation should have been thought of, it is really the present time. Sir, if I lay any stress on coal as the source of energy, I would be rather explaining the obvious. There is no need on my part to say that in this country this is the only source of energy on which we can depend entirely and the scientists all over the world, especially in those countries where the coal mines are located, have come to the conclusion that this is the most dependable source of energy. It has been estimated by the scientists in the world that the Middle East resources of oil will deplete within another 35 or 40 years, if production at this level continues. The same is the case of oil wells in Texas and Venezuela. We can thus visualise a world which in the first quarter of the next century will not have enough oil and will therefore have to depend on either coal as a source of energy or solar power as another source of nuclear energy as the third source.

The salient features of this Bill have been pointed out by the hon. Minister in his opening remarks. First comes development or the planning. Actually

there are three phases which take place whenever we want to think of development of a mine. First is exploration, second, planning and third, mining. Processing of the mineral, transportation and the rest of the things are subsidiary. First we make a complete survey of the mineral resources and we know what is the geological phenomenon of the ore body and the assessment of the ore body. Next comes planning. How are we going to take up planning? In planning we have to see how economical we can be in mining the mines. Then we come to the third phase which is mining itself. All these things have to be done very carefully. It is a matter of regret that in India where the mineral resources are so much and so vast and so expansive, our technology and our expertise in this behalf is not up to the mark. It was in the year 1964 or 1965, that, I had an occasion to meet a delegation of Rumanian Ministers who had come to see Bangalore. One of them was the Mines Minister of Rumania. As all of us know, Rumania is an expert country so far as mining machinery and coal mining are concerned. When I put to him a question about the mineral wealth, he told me: "Look, what you are producing from 700 coal mines, we produce that much from our nine mines". What a vast difference? Ten years back they were producing from their nine coal mines what we were producing from our 700 coal mines. This shows nothing but the vast difference between the methods and technology employed by them in their country and those employed here by us. Whatever mining we have to do, whether of iron-ore, of mica or of lime stone, it should all be done scientifically. It is unfortunate we follow unscientific system. The duty of the Mines Ministry should be to see that whatever mining

is done, our mine-owners gradually overstep to a stage where only scientific mining takes place and nothing else.

Sir, the second feature of this Bill is that an Excise duty is being levied which shall not exceed Rs. 10/- per tonne. As it is, we have now an Excise duty on different grades of coal at the rate of Re. 1.25 or Rs. 2/- or Rs. 3/- and so on per tonne. Anyhow, it does not go beyond Rs. 4/-. Now, we are likely to have about 90 million tonnes of coal during this year, that is, 9 crore tonnes. Now, granting that the least Excise levy that we may have this year is about Rs. 4/- or so, the whole amount comes to about Rs. 36 crores which we will be getting just from this source only. The question is how this amount of Rs. 36/- crores is going to be spent. In clause 9 of the Bill, Sir, different items have been shown on which this sum has to be spent. I was wondering as to why, when we speak of the development of mines and the technological research and all that, this Bill is silent over the conditions of the workers. Why is it that no sum from out of this Excise duty is being spent upon the workers? May be that we collect some other cess, that is, the welfare cess under the Labour or Mines Safety Fund Act. When we are collecting so much, how is it that these workers have been living in such bad conditions? By way of analogy, Sir, I would refer to the iron ore mines of Hospet and Bellary in my State of Karnataka. I would like to bring to the notice of the honourable Minister who is present here the fact that uptill now nearly a sum of Rs. 4 crores or even more has been collected in the name of Welfare Cess from the iron ore mine owners for the welfare of the workers. But how much of it has been spent on them? Their living conditions are dirty and shabby. They do not have any

hospitals. After so many years, one hospital has recently been opened and that too is without enough facilities. This apart, their children do not have the school facilities. We go on collecting the money in the name of the workers and it goes to the Consolidated Fund of India and it never comes out of it to the workers at all. Had this been done by a private man, it would have been construed as a fraudulent practice whereas here it is done by the Government and we cannot say anything about it. It is the duty of the honourable Minister, it is his bounden duty, I should say, to see that whatever funds have been collected and under whichever Acts they might have been collected, in the name of the workers, they should determine specifically and got out of the Consolidated Fund of India and are virtually spent upon the workers for their welfare about which an assurance was given earlier to this House.

Then, Sir, I come to the third point. It is about the abolition of the Board. You do not seem to feel the necessity of continuing this Board at all. Under the Act, all the powers, the rights, the control of the mines, etc. vest with the Government. When this Board is done away with, which is the authority which is going to manage these mines? Was it proper on the part of the Government not to name another agency through which these mines were to be managed? Sir, this is a point on which I would like to be clarified by the honourable Minister because I feel, that when the Board is abolished, which till now wielded certain powers in regard to the development of the mines and the utilisation of the mines, etc., there must be some other agency. If the Government says that the power vests with itself, then, it should name some other authority

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under the rules and regulations or constitute some other body or agency through which these mines have to be worked and which has to be made accountable to the Government.

Sir, I think, I have said what I thought fit to say on this Bill. I may recall the time when the coal-mines were being taken over by the Government. At that time the late Shri Kumaramangalam told this House that coal is a commodity which stains the hands of the person who deals in it and it was good for the country that there should not be left any person who should stain his hands with this commodity. Speaking on that occasion, I had said : "You are so much particular about the cleanliness of the hands of the people. You should not deal in such a way that the people begin yourself come to a stage where the people should say saying that the hands of the Government are not clean."

My hon. friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy, referred to the distribution that we are having today. Sir, coal is being sold at the coal-mines at Rs. 55 or Rs. 65/- a tonne. But when it comes to Bangalore city, we are getting it at a rate ranging from Rs. 210/- a tonne to Rs. 300/- a tonne. This is the position in the city of Bangalore. With such a defective system what is the use of production at all? When we are not able to meet the basic requirements of the people, when we are unable to take the commodity to manufacturers who need it badly. Can we think that our economic conditions would improve? So I would request the hon. Minister that not only he should see that the development of coal-mines takes place but he should be more vigilant so far

as the distribution system is concerned. And unless that is done, it is no use producing coal.

Thank you.

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA (Bihar) :
Sir, two very important features of this Bill before us are the abolition of Coal Board and the imposition of excise duty not exceeding Rs. 10/- per tonne. These two are the most important features of this Bill.

Now, regarding the abolition of the Coal Board, what is in the mind of the Government is not very clear. How it is going to substitute this authority is not clear. Does the Government intend to hand over the functions, duties, etc. of this Coal Board to the Coal Mines Authority or to any agency? This must be very clear, and the hon. Minister should state here what is in his mind. Suppose, as Mr. Kalyan Roy, an hon. Member, put it here, the functions of this Coal Board are handed over to this Coal Mines Authority, the primary function of the Coal Mines Authority is development and production. There are several coal-mines still in private hands. The Government owned coal-mines will be supervising the private coal-mines. Who will supervise the coalmines of this Coal Mines Authority, the NCDC and Bharat Coking Coal and others? This is a moot point and the Minister must clarify this. Instead of abolishing this Coal Board and instead of keeping mum and keeping silent on this Bill, for an alternative arrangement the Minister should consider a proposal which I put. He should form a Committee of coal-miners, including this Coal Mines Authority, the NCDC, Bharat Coking Coal and others, and also of private coal-miners, *plus* the consumers, the Calcutta Electric Supply Company, the DVC, the Railways, which

is the bulk consumer, then cement and iron and steel companies, thermal plants, etc. I think this composition of the committee with these interests will be more useful instead of handing over the power of the Board only to the N.C.D.C. or the Coal Mines Authority or to any new agency which may be there in the mind of the Minister.

Sir, secondly I would say, that this nationalisation of the coal mines is the single greatest catastrophe in the Indian economic system. Why? Because since the nationalisation of coal, the production of all the industries has fallen down. Why? There is scarcity of power. In India and particularly in the eastern parts of the country, we are mostly based on thermal plants viz. Barauni and Patrautu and other thermal plants. What happens? After the takeover of the coal mines by the Government, they started supplying low grade of coal to those thermal plants. Only last year, there were 3 explosions in the Patrautu thermal plant. There was a huge explosion and some casualties in Barauni thermal plant. Apart from the supply of low grade of coal, adequate quantity coal was not supplied to these thermal plants in the entire eastern States. Because of this, there was a cut in the generation of electric power and because of the cut in the generation of electric power, all the industries had to cut down their working hours. Take the example of Durgapur and Tata Iron and Steel Company. Take the example of Indian Iron and Steel Company or Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi. The same was the case in Bhilai. If you take out the reports of the last year, you will find that all these steel plants, whether in the private or public sector, were affected by this cut in power generation and there was shortage in production. Therefore, the single greatest fac-

tor is the lack of power generation which is due to the inappropriate coal supply.

Sir, who is No. 1 consumer of coal in India? It is the Railways. They consume 15 million tonnes. What do the Railways say? In the North Eastern Railways, 56 trains were cancelled at a time? Why? Because of shortage of coal. Everyday, in the North Eastern Railways, you will find some officer coming and making a statement that they are suspending this train or that train because of shortage of coal. Thermals plants are the second principal consumers of coal. They used 13 million tonnes in 1972. They could have consumed more coal but they were given low grade coal and were not given coal at the right time in adequate quantities. The third principal consumer is Iron and Steel Authority. They consumed about 11 million tonnes of coal in 1972. There was a great hue and cry in the Indian Iron and Steel Company and in the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Minister flew to Calcutta. He gave statements saying that the supply of coal to these steel mills and steel plants will be speeded up. Therefore, nationalisation of coal alone is responsible for the back gear in which our whole industrial production is going for the last two or three years. It has also increased the price of almost all the essential commodities. Coal was selling at a price of Rs. 2.50 per maund in our town in North Bihar. But now it is being sold at Rs. 10 or Rs. 11 per maund. That is about Rs. 300 per tonne. In North Bihar, in the north of the Ganges, coal is selling at Rs. 300 per tonne.

Sir, there is some collusion between the Railway authorities and the Coal Mines Authority or the Coal Board there. In the matter of distribution of

[Dr. Ramkripal Sinha]

wagons, 75 rakes of coal different merchants in different areas of Bihar were allotted but only a few rakes were sanctioned and approved by the Railway Minister. I would like to know as to what the difficulty is. Why there is a play of hide and seek between these coal people and the railway people? They have made our life hell in North Bihar. Our trains are cancelled; our ovens are cold. Everywhere, there is a shortage of coal. And that is the distribution side. Sir, the fact is that 65 lakh tonnes of coal is still lying at the pit-heads. About 10 per cent of the total production of coal is lying at the pit-heads. You are just patting your back that you have raised this production and that. But what about the production of coking coal? The production of coking coal has gone down. The production of coking coal is as follows: In 1971, it was 10.58 million tonnes; in 1972, it was 10.13 million tonnes; and in 1973, it was 9.78 million tonnes. They have taken over most of the coking coal mines and here is the fall in production.

Sir, I would like to suggest a few things. You have taken over these coal mines. You took over the wheat trade and you have certain experiences there. You failed there. It made the lives of the people hell in the whole of the country because you did not have the distribution channel and you did not have honest and efficient machinery. Similar is the case with the coal industry as well. You do not have honest and efficient cadre. You do not have the distribution channel. You do not have the technical knowhow of this business. You took over the industry and made a mess of the economy of the whole country because, as I have said earlier, it affected steel production.

railways, domestic activities and even the kitchen, and then cement production. And all the industrial production has been hard-hit because of lack of power. So, I would suggest that you try to streamline the production and distribution systems. At present, only 22 to 25 hundred wagons are given daily for coal in Bihar. And I was told that there was a time when 5,000 wagons were utilized for coal transport. And I was told that formerly Rs. 10 per wagon was given to some officer and from the lower grade officer to the coal board, everybody used to share an income of Rs. 50,000 per day. This was illegal.

श्री के० डी० मालवीय : कौन देता था ?

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA : You know better. And Rs. 50,000 per day was being distributed. And now, I am told, because this cannot be given, the Railway Board, the Railway Ministry is not prepared to supply enough number of wagons for coal distribution. I would request the hon. Minister to make an enquiry and find out whether this is the cause of the great dearth of coal, and particularly the great dearth of wagons for transport of coal from Bihar coalfields to other parts. And, if that is the cause, I would like to know what alternative arrangements they are going to make.

Sir, regarding the safety of mines, I may say that it is going to be badly neglected. Our friend and hon. Member Shri Kalyan Roy has already pointed out what is happening in the coal fields. But, the Government has not done anything, they are not doing anything and they are not worried. They do not have any worry about the miners, i.e., the labourers, although they talk of socialism. Although there is an overall increase in expenditure in the

mining activity but still the fate of 80 thousand labourers is hanging in a balance. Prior to the take over they were working there but the Government are not prepared to absorb them. The number of such labourers will be 80,000. Besides the labourers there were some persons who were in the supervisory grade. Their pay scale was better before. After the take over, their pay scales have been cut down. This has created a great resentment and there is no enthusiasm in the managerial section of the coal mines because they know their position is so bad in Bihar. As long as Mr. Ghafoor will remain the Chief Minister of Bihar and as long as this Assembly and this Chief Minister will be there, the life of no citizen is safe. What to talk of these managers alone, there is no enthusiasm left in the coal-miners.

They do not even have clean water for drinking. What about the housing and medical facilities. In the hills and jungles there is no water, what to talk of clean water. There is no drinking water supply to them. This is something very much surprising and with these state of affairs you have brought forward this Bill, increasing the excise duty by not more than Rs. 10 per tonne.

Today the Government is talking of bringing down the prices and arresting inflation but when the Government itself is going to put this excise duty on the production of coal, that is bound to increase the price of coal for the consumer and, in turn, it is bound to increase the prices of steel, cement, paper, cloth. In fact, the increase in the excise duty on coal will be reflected in the increased prices of products of all the industries using coal. So, I would request the hon. Minister that this retrograde step should be withdrawn.

The policy of the Government is not to arrest the rise in prices. In fact, their action will further contribute to the rise in prices. This will hit the consumers. So, I think, the Government should first clarify as to what authority is going to be substituted in place of this Board. I would also like to know whether he will take into consideration my suggestion of constituting a Board which will have representatives from different interests in coal trade and coal-mining on it. Secondly, I would like to know what steps he is going to take for arresting the prices of coal. Thirdly, what is he going to do for channelising the distribution of coal to the consumers at cheaper rate? And, fourthly, what, is he going to do for the coal-miners, i.e. the labourers? (*Time bell rings*)

(*Interruption*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : I think you are repeating.

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA : Finally, I would ask the Minister about the supply of low-grade coal to thermal plants at Patrapur and Barauni?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : You have already made that point.

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA : Sir, these are the points and I hope the hon Minister will clarify.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, पहले तो मैं मंत्री जी ने जो उद्देश्य और कारणों का कथन लिखा है उस के कुछ शब्दों पर अपनी आपत्ति पेश कर देता हूँ। कोयला खानों के राष्ट्रीयकरण को देखते हुए कोयला बोर्ड को अब आगे बना रहना आवश्यक नहीं है। यह उन का मुख्य संशोधन है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री केशव देव मालवीय जिन

[श्री० राजनारायण]

को मैं बहुत दिनों से जानता हूँ और जिनका हमारे दिल में अच्छा स्थान है, वह शब्दों के साथ बलात्कार क्यों करते हैं। ...

श्री के० डी० मालवीय : क्या हो गया ?

श्री राजनारायण : यह कोयला खानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं हो गया, इस को राष्ट्रीयकरण कहना राष्ट्रीयकरण शब्द के साथ बलात्कार है। तो माननीय मंत्री जी से मैं विनम्रता के साथ निवेदन करूंगा कि वह इस को संशोधित कर लें और जो उनका एक्ट बना है उस में भी नेशनलाइज शब्द नहीं लिखा गया है। उसमें शब्द अधिग्रहण है; उस के मैनेजमेंट को सरकार ने अपने हाथ में लिया है, कोयले की खदानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि श्री केशव देव मालवीय जी कार्ल मार्क्स को भी कुछ पढ़े हैं मगर उस को हृदयंगम शायद उन्होंने कुछ कम ही किया है और हमारे जो मित्र हम से पूर्व बोले उनसे भी मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि जान और अनजान मैं राष्ट्रीयकरण शब्द का प्रयोग उनको भी नहीं करना चाहिए। वह हमारे अच्छे मित्र हैं, वह जब जन सभाओं में बोलते हैं या कहीं बाहर बोलते हैं तो कह दिया करते हैं कि कोयले का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो गया। तो ऐसा होने से जनता के मन में राष्ट्रीयकरण शब्द के साथ एक घृणा पैदा हो जाती है कि क्या राष्ट्रीयकरण ऐसा ही होता है, इसी को राष्ट्रीयकरण कहते हैं और क्या राष्ट्रीयकरण कोई ऐसी चीज है कि जिससे जनता की मुसीबत बढ़े, जनता की तकलीफ बढ़े, जनता को सामग्री महंगी मिले। अगर ऐसा है तो इस राष्ट्रीयकरण से भगवान बचाये। ऐसी आम चर्चा आज लोगों में हो रही है। इस लिए मैं मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि जो सरकार कहती है कि उसकी जनतंत्र में आस्था है और बार बार उसे इस सदन

में और बाहर भी दोहराती है उस के लिए मैं भी इस बात को बार-बार दोहराता हूँ ताकि 'रसरी आवत जात ते सिल पर होत निशान'। रस्सी के आते जाते सख्त पत्थर पर भी लकीर बन जाती है, तो मैं बार-बार इस सदन में कहता हूँ जिससे सरकार के दिमाग रूपी पत्थर पर कुछ निशान बन जाय और हमारी सच्ची बात सही बात उस के दिमाग पर चढ़ जाय क्योंकि सरकार और राष्ट्र दोनों एक नहीं हैं। पार्टी और सरकार दोनों एक नहीं है। व्यक्ति और पार्टी दोनों एक नहीं हैं। जितने मनीषी इधर हुए हैं और जिन्होंने जनतंत्र की परिभाषा की है, जनतंत्रीय पद्धति के ढांचे का वर्णन किया है उसमें उन्होंने इस को स्पष्ट किया है कि व्यक्ति, पार्टी, सरकार और राष्ट्र यह जनतंत्र के चार अवयव हैं। इन में जहां दो को एक में मिला दिया गया वहीं तानाशाही आ जायगी, वहां अधिनायकशाही आ जायगी। वहां पर जनतंत्र का नाम लेना अपने को धोखे में रखना है और जनता को धोखे में रखना है। या तो सरकार को साफ-साफ कह देना चाहिए कि अब यह पार्टी और सरकार में फर्क करने नहीं जा रही है। वही सरकार है, वही पार्टी है। लोगों की समझ में बात आ जाय कि हां, इस सरकार के जनतंत्र का क्या स्वरूप है। मैं प्रथम, श्री केशव देव मालवीय जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि यह अपनी सरकार के राष्ट्रीयकरण शब्द की परिभाषा करें क्योंकि दिमाग में अगर यह चीज साफ नहीं रहेगी तो धराबर घपला होता रहेगा और यह सरकार समझेगी कि हमने तो बड़ा सुन्दर काम कर दिया, तोता स्टन्त राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया, देश की समस्या का समाधान हो गया और होगा कुछ नहीं। मुझे बड़ी खुशी हुई कि श्री कल्याण राय जी भी इस सदन में इस तरह के उद्गार प्रकट कर सके कि लोग कहते हैं कि बाबा क्या राष्ट्रीयकरण यही है? अपने मिनिस्टर से, श्री मालवीय जी से पूछो कि क्या राष्ट्रीय-

करण यही है। तो बाबा अब यह कहने लगे कि राष्ट्रीयकरण यही है क्या? यानी आम जनता, आम मजदूर अब इस बात को समझ गया है कि यह राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं है। अच्छा अब दूसरा प्रश्न आयेगा। अक्सर यहां पर लोग तो बोल कर चले जाते हैं कि अब हो क्या?

सरकार ने प्रबन्ध अपने हाथ में लिया तो क्या इस प्रबन्ध को फिर लौटा दे? श्रीमन्, एक बड़ी साजिश चल रही है। अब यह सरकार धीरे धीरे उन खदानों को जो पहले मालिक थे उनको ठेके पर देने की व्यवस्था करने जा रही है। यह चीज हमको कई जगह से प्रकट हुई—दिल्ली से भी प्रकट हुई, आसनसोल से भी प्रकट हुई—कि सरकार अपने चेहरे को छिपाने के लिए मालिकों के हाथ में प्रबन्ध को नहीं देगी जैसे पहले वह मालिकाना लोग चलते थे। मगर जो इधर अव्यवस्था हुई है, दुर्व्यवस्था हुई है उसको दूर करने के लिए सरकार चाहती है कि जो लोग इस कोयले के रोजगार में अभ्यस्त थे उनको एक प्रकार से ठेका दे दिया जाए और इस ठेके की व्यवस्था यह सरकार करने जा रही है। एक तरफ सरकार ठेकेदारी की प्रथा को खत्म करने की बात कहती है और दूसरी तरफ ठेकेदारी की प्रथा को येनकेन-प्रकारेण वहां पर रखने की व्यवस्था कर रही है। इसलिए मैंने पहले ही कह दिया कि समय पर सरकार चेते और इसकी कोई साधु व्यवस्था करे। साधु व्यवस्था के बारे में, श्रीमन्, हमने इस सदन में पहले भी कई बार कहा है और आज भी कह रहा हूँ कि क्यों नहीं सरकार जिसको हम समाजीकरण कहते हैं या जैसे हमने ट्रस्टीशिप की बात कही थी, ऐसा करती। 9 अप्रैल, 1948 को डा० लोहिया ने ट्रस्टीशिप की बात कही थी और उन्होंने कहा था कि इस तरह से जो दौलत पैदा करने के जरिये हैं उनको एक ट्रस्ट के अन्दर कर दिया जाए और वही ट्रस्ट सब चीजों को देखे। उसका प्रबन्ध भी

देखे, उसका उत्पादन भी देखे, उसके वितरण का प्रबन्ध भी देखे, उसके विनिमय का भी प्रबन्ध देखे। अगर श्री केशवदेव मालवीय उस गुरुत्व को समझ जायें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश का बड़ा भारी कल्याण हो जाएगा। वह केवल कोयला खदान पर ही लागू नहीं होगा, वह जितने भी उत्पादन के साधन हैं सभी उत्पादन के साधनों पर लागू हो जाएगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्री केशवदेव मालवीय कुछ विरोधी दल के लोगों को जिनको वह चाहें या देश में कुछ समझदार लोगों को—जिनको वह अब तक समझदार समझते रहे हैं उनको लेने से काम नहीं चलेगा—ऐसे लोगों को जिनका मस्तिष्क उर्वरक है, जिनके मस्तिष्क में ताकत है सोचने की, आज के जमाने को देखने की, ऐसे लोगों से सलाह लें और वह सलाह लेकर फिर वही तोता रटन्त कि सरकार के हाथ में जो चीज आ जाएगी तो सारी व्यवस्था ठीक हो जाएगी उसको छोड़ दें। आज भी मैं डंके की चोट पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि सारे उत्पादन के साधनों पर सरकार का स्वामित्व हो जाएगा तो वह सरकार राक्षस हो जाएगी। यह मैं गांधी जी के शब्दों का प्रयोग कर रहा हूँ। एक तरफ तो सरकार के हाथ में राजसत्ता है ही और दूसरे धन सत्ता भी सरकार के हाथ में चली जाएगी तो सरकार अनर्थ करेगी। जैसे अनर्थ रावण ने किया, कंस ने किया, हिरण्यक कश्यप ने किया उससे भी भयंकर अनर्थ सरकार करेगी। इसलिए मैं केशवदेव मालवीय जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनतंत्र के नाम पर गांधी जी के नाम पर, राष्ट्रीयता के नाम पर राष्ट्रीयकरण के नाम पर अब सरकार के हाथ में सारे उत्पादन के साधनों को लेने की बात छोड़ दें।

एक चीज हमने आपको पहले ही पढ़ दी थी जो इलाहाबाद बैंक के मैनेजर ने लिखा यानि सब जानते हैं कि

[श्री राज नारायण]

चौधरी चरण सिंह नेता विरोधी दल है भारतीय क्रान्ति दल का नेता है। 106 सदस्य उस पार्टी में चुने गये थे। वही लार्जस्ट सेकिड पार्टी है। मगर बैंक मनेजर कहता है कि हम आपको रुपया नहीं देंगे जब तक कि आउट-गोइंग लीडर आफ दि अपोजिशन नहीं लिखें। आउट-गोइंग लीडर आफ अपोजिशन चले गये। लेकिन ऐसा क्यों करते हैं क्योंकि ये बैंक राष्ट्रीयकृत हैं।

सरकार के हाथ में आ गए हैं इसलिए दिल्ली से एक तार खटकता है जिसमें यह नहीं लिखा होता कि किस कानून के तहत इस प्रैक्टिस के मुताबिक ऐसा किया जा रहा है परंतु जो तरीके अभी तक अपनाते रहे हैं उन तरीकों का इस्तेमाल करते हुए आप चरण सिंह को रुपया नहीं निकालने देते। इतनी बात मैं जोर देकर कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर अपने देश का उत्थान करना है, अगर अपने देश की उन्नति करनी है—, अगर अपनी देश की जनता से मोहब्बत है, अगर अपने देश को दयनीय स्थिति से निकाल कर आगे ले जाना है तो रूस और अमरीका की नकल करना मंत्री महोदय छोड़ दें। श्रीमन्, मैं सफाई के साथ डंके की चोट पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि कंसनट्रेशन आफ वैल्य, चाहे वह इंडि-वीजुयल के हाथ में हो, चाहे वह सरकार के हाथ में हो, चाहे वह कैपिटलिस्ट के हाथ में हो, हम मोनोपली तोड़ने के पक्ष में हैं, एकाधिकार नष्ट करने के पक्ष में हैं। हम किसी भी मोनोपली को पसन्द नहीं करेंगे चाहे वह सरकार की ही मोनोपली क्यों न हो। अगर किस के हाथ में कंसनट्रेशन आफ इकानामिक पावर होगी तो वह जनता को परेशान करेगी, जनता को तंग करेगी। इसलिए सफाई के साथ स्पष्ट कहा है 'कैपिटलिज्म एंड कम्युनिज्म बोथ आर इक्वल रिलेवैस फॉर अस'। हम लोगों ने समाजवाद और पूंजीवाद दोनों को समान रूप से अपना

माना है। हमने सफाई के साथ कहा है कि हम किसी भी तरीके से एक व्यक्ति के हाथ में या सरकार के हाथ में धन का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं होने देंगे।

श्रीमन्, यहां मंत्री महोदय ने जो राष्ट्रीयकरण शब्द लगा कर हम को बोलने का मौका दिया उस पर हम आए हैं। अब हम कोयले की स्थिति पर आ रहे हैं। क्योंकि उससे हमारा बहुत संबंध है। जब मैं आसनसोल गया था उस समय मंत्री महोदय भी जो इस समय सदन में विराजमान हैं, उधर चक्कर लगा रहे थे। हमें बताया जाए कि कोयला मजदूरों की मजदूरी के बारे में सरकार का क्या फैसला है, मजदूरों की मजदूरी बढ़ेगी या नहीं? क्या कोयला खानों के मजदूरों की वेजिज को रिवाइज करने के लिए कोई कमेटी बनाई गई या नहीं? यदि हां, तो क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास उसकी रपट आई या नहीं? मेरी निजी जानकारी है कि सरकार के पास उसकी रपट आ चुकी है। मगर सरकार ने एक घोषणा कर दी कि रेलवे हड़ताल के संबंध में कोयला मजदूरों के वेजिज रिवाइज होनेका कोई प्रश्न ही नहीं पैदा होता।

श्री के० डी० मालवीय : ऐसा नहीं कहा है।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर ऐसा नहीं कहा तो इतना तो सब लोग जानते हैं कि सरकार ने मुक्त कंठ से नहीं कहा है मगर अपने अफसरों को बता दिया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर कमेटी की रपट आ चुकी है तो उस रपट के मुताबिक मजदूरों के वेजिज क्यों नहीं बढ़ाए गये?

श्री के० डी० मालवीय : यह दूसरा सवाल है।

श्री राजनारायण : यह इसी से लगा सवाल है। मैं मंत्री जी को बता देना चाहता हूँ क्यों कि आपको हिन्दी का ज्ञान है और इलाहाबाद

में पले है। तुलसी ने कहा है “कि अहंकार मत करना, कपट मत करना क्योंकि यह नेहरूवा रोग के समान है। जैसे नेहरूवा रोग सारे पेड़ को काट जाता है, चाट जाता है उसी तरह से इस भारतवर्ष की आजादी के पीछे को यह नेहरू रोग चाट रहा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : अगर आप फिलोसफी की बातें करेंगे तो कैसे काम चलेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : 40 मिनट तो पूरा बोलने दीजिए। अंग्रेजी में बोलना आसान है, हिन्दी में बोलना मुश्किल है।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि कोयला खदानों के मजदूरों की तनख्वाह बढ़ाई जाय। उनकी तनख्वाह बहुत ही कम है और उनकी तनख्वाह को बढ़ाने का सर्वथा औचित्य आज साबित है।

श्रीमन्, अगर कोयला खदानों के मजदूरों की हालत को कभी आप खुद देखें तो आप भारत की जनता की स्थिति से अवगत हो जाएंगे। 27 साल भारतवर्ष को आजाद हुआ हो गया है, लेकिन भारत की सरकार का रवैया और नजरिया जैसा एक इंसान का दूसरे इंसान के साथ होता चाहिए, वैसा नहीं है। आज नित्य प्रति इंसान की जिन्दगी की कीमत सस्ती होती चली जा रही है और इसका चित्त आप कोयला खदानों की मजदूरों की हालत से पा सकते हैं। न उनके रहने के लिए कोई उचित क्वार्टर्स हैं, न उनके लिए पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था है, न नहाने के लिए पानी की व्यवस्था है और न ही उनके लिए कोई दवाई का प्रबन्ध है। वहाँ पर गन्दगी इतनी जबर्दस्त है कि आप बराबर दुर्गन्ध से अपनी नाक को जकड़ लेंगे। मैं अक्सर वहाँ जाता हूँ, कोयले के मजदूरों से मिलता हूँ, यूनिनन में बोलता हूँ, उनके साथ बैठकर चाय पानी पीता हूँ। उनके क्वार्टरों में बैठकर उनसे बातचीत करता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय मंत्री जी किसी दिन वहाँ खुद जायें

और देखें कि उनके क्वार्टर्स कैसे हैं, उनकी कितनी दयनीय स्थिति है। क्या वहाँ पर सचमुच में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था है, नहाने के पानी का प्रबन्ध है? क्या उनके बच्चों के लिए शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध है और क्या उनके लिए दवाई का कोई इंतजाम है? अगर कोई भयंकर रोग से परेशान हों जाता है तो आसनसोल के अस्पताल में ले जाने के लिए वहाँ किसी सवारी का प्रबन्ध नहीं होता है। ऐसी स्थिति हो तो वहाँ पर क्या काम होगा कैसे उन लोगों की काम के प्रति आस्था बढ़ेगी चाहे उसका नाम आप भगवानकरण दे दें ईश्वरकरण दे दें आप कोई भी नामकरण कर दीजिये, उससे स्थिति में परिवर्तन होने वाला नहीं है।

मैं एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ। जब शुरू में हम कांग्रेस में थे सन् 1948 से पूर्व, तब हमने प्रतिज्ञा कर रखी थी कि हम मध्यस्थों को खत्म करेंगे, ठेकेदारी प्रथा को खत्म करेंगे। क्या आज कोयला खदानों में ठेकेदारी की प्रथा मजदूरों के लिए रखी जा रही है? मैं श्री केशव देव मालवीय से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर उनका प्रगतिवाद और समाजवाद आज कहाँ है? वहाँ पर ठेकेदार ज्यादा ले लेते हैं, मजदूरों को कम देते हैं, ऐसी स्थिति वहाँ पर मजदूरों की है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इसको दूर करें। मैं दाम के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोयले की कीमत 3 रु० प्रति मन सरकारीकरण से पूर्व थी और आज मुल्क में कोयला बिक रहा है 10 रु० से लेकर 14 रु० मन तक और कहीं-कहीं 15-16 रु० तक बिक रहा है, खास तौर पर पंजाब और हरियाना में। जब यह काम प्राइवेट प्रबन्धकों के हाथ में था तब 3 रु० मन कोयला बिकता था, लेकिन जब वहाँ पर श्री केशवदेव मालवीय बैठ गये तो कोयले की कीमत चार गुनी और पांच गुनी बढ़ जाय तो इसका कारण क्या है? इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को श्री केशवदेव मालवीय द्वारा इसका कारण बताया जाना चाहिए।

[श्री राजनारायण]

इसके साथ-साथ, श्रीमन्, श्री केशवदेव मालवीय वहां पर जब गये थे और मैं भी उस समय वहां था तो हमने देखा कि वहां पर कोयले के ढेर लगे हुए थे लेकिन सरकार के पास यह रपट आ रही थी कि आग लग रही है, आग लग रही है। मैं, भ्रष्टाचार किस तरह से बढ़ रहा है, इसका नमूना दे रहा हूं। यानी आग नहीं लगी, लेकिन उससे ज्यादा का हिसाब दिखा दिया कि आग से इतने टन कोयला जल गया। उसमें कोयला निकला और वह चोर-बाजारी में बेच दिया गया। इस तरह से चोर-बाजारी, ब्लैकमार्किटिंग हो रही है और काला धन बन रहा है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं श्री केशवदेव मालवीय से कि आज सरकारीकरण और समाजवाद के नाम पर इतने बड़े पैमाने पर भ्रष्टाचार फैल रहा है और इस भ्रष्टाचार को फैलाने में वे साक्षीदार हो रहे हैं, और जिस तरह से इस पक्षधर बन रहे हैं, इसकी सफाई देश चाहता है, जनता चाहती है। मैं खदानों की सुरक्षा के संबंध में आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) :
आप खत्म कीजिए। You have already taken more than 20 minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं जल्दी कर रहा हूं। खदानों की सुरक्षा के संबंध में आपसे कहना चाहता हूं....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) :
आप खत्म नहीं करेंगे तो...

I am calling the next speaker.

श्री राजनारायण : वह तो हमारे लिए बराबर ऐसा ही करते हैं। दूसरों के लिए नहीं करते हैं। आप कृपा करके कल्याण

राय का समय निकाल कर देख लीजिए और हमारा भी देख लीजिए।

संसद कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री ओइम मेहता) : But Shri Kalyan Roy's party than yours.

श्री राजनारायण : सबका टाइम देख लेजिए। मेरा कहना है, जो मजदूर कोयला खन कर लाते हैं उन मजदूरों को जिन-जिन सामानों की आवश्यकता है वह आज तक उनको नहीं मिला है जब से सरकार के हाथ में यह कोयले की खदानें आ गईं जब तक वह नहीं देंगे काम नहीं बनेगा। मेरा यह कहना है : क्या विश्व के किसी भी देश की कोई जानकारी हमें करायी जा सकती है जहां सरकार ने अपने हाथ में लिया हो? मोहन कुमारमंगलम ने खदानों का मनेज-मेन्ट सरकार के हाथ में दिया तो हुआ क्या? उन्हीं के भाई—कंट्रोलर जनरल बन गए—उन्हीं के भाई खदानों के सर्वेसर्वा बन गए। यह कहां का सरकारीकरण है, यह कहां की जनसंख्या का प्रबंध सरकार के हाथ में लिया जाता है। एक मंत्री जो उस विभाग का है वह अपने भाई को कस्टोडियन जनरल बना देता है, इससे बढ़कर बेशरमी की बात और क्या हो सकती है?

हमारे पास वहां के यूनियनों की जो स्थिति है उस संबंध में आज ही मैं चल रहा था तो एकाएक श्री विनय कुमार जो दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय के प्रोफेसर होते हुए दो-दो विषयों में एम० ए० पास किए . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : अब आप कितना टाइम लेंगे?

श्री राजनारायण : आप कितना देंगे?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) :
आधा मिनट में खत्म कीजिए। You cannot

compare the strength of your party with the strength of Mr. Kalyan Roy's party. You must remember that. You know this, so you cannot compete with him. If he has taken more time it is because his party is bigger than yours.

श्री राजनारायण : क्या हमारी पार्टी बिगर नहीं है? चूंकि उनकी पार्टी पहले से बड़ी है? हमारा और उनका नम्बर बराबर है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : आप ऐसा कहेंगे तो तो कल हम सबसे बड़ी पार्टी वाले हो जाएंगे आप बीच में बोलते हैं तो मैं क्या करूं। अच्छा, हमको आधा मिनट, एक मिनट दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनलाल दास) : अच्छा आधा मिनट बोलिए।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं कह रहा था श्री विनय कुमार के बारे में। उन्होंने हमको खत लिखा है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है :

श्री राजनारायण, नई दिल्ली। मान्यवर.. आसनसोल की घटना के कुछ नये पहलु सामने आ रहे हैं। विवरण इकट्ठा कर रहा हूं। टैंक्सी के जिस ड्राइवर का दुर्घटना में हाथ है उसकी जमानत आसनसोल कांग्रेस के द्वारा कराया गया है। 30 जून को हमारी खास कजोग कोलियरी और तालुरबंद कोलियरी की यूनियनों पर कांग्रेस द्वारा कब्जा करने का प्रयत्न हुआ, केवल अल्प संख्या में मजदूरों को लेकर प्रशासन और पुलिस की सहायता से हमारे झण्डे उखाड़े गये। मनोरा में युवा कांग्रेस ने श्यामला सिंह जो हमारे ब्रांच सेक्रेटरी हैं उन्हें घेरा और उनकी धोती उतार दी। उन्हें नंगा करने का प्रयास किया। प्यारे वासरा में भी कांग्रेस के लोगों ने आतंक फैलाने और हमारे यूनियन

पर कब्जा करने का प्रयत्न किया। इस उद्देश्य से चारों तरफ यह जान बूझ कर प्रयास किया गया कि विनयकुमार मर गये हैं.....।”

श्रीमन्, आपने अखबारों में पढ़ा होगा— मैं उस समय इलाहाबाद में जो पार्लियामेन्टरी सीट के लिए उप-चुनाव हो रहा था उस सिलसिले में वहां था—हमारा एक 30 साल का नौजवान कार्यकर्ता, जावेद सिद्दीकी जिसको आपने देखा होगा, मौत के घाट हो गया। श्री विनय कुमार एक एंसे स्थान से आ रहे थे जहां की यूनियन पहले सी० पी० आई० के हाथ में थी। हम 30 जून को वहां गए थे। सी० पी० आई० के कार्यकर्ता टूट कर वहां आ गए। अब जब वहां से बदली कर लोग आ रहे हैं, रास्ते में रात को 12 बजे जीप खराब हुई तो इतने में बस एक गाड़ी आई, सब को दबाती हुई, धकेलते हुए चली गई और इस तरह 12 बजे रात को जावेद सिद्दीकी की मृत्यु हो गई। 30 साल का नौजवान था, 29 तारीख जून को उसके बहिन की शादी हमारे यहां बहराईच में होने वाली थी। खैर जैसे-तैसे ट्रक में उसकी लाश आई और फिर उसको दफनाया गया बहराईच में।

मैं कहना चाहता हूं, केशवदेव मालवीय को हमने कई पत्र लिखे। उनके विभाग में ये विनय कुमार कई बार गए, उनके आफिसरों से मिले। ये गोल्ड मेडलिस्ट हैं, मौजूदा हमारे राष्ट्रपति व्ही० व्ही० गिरी 2 बार उनको गोल्ड मेडल प्राइज में दे चुके हैं जब उन्होंने इलाहाबाद में फर्स्ट फर्स्ट स्टैंड किया था अंग्रेज और हिंदी दोनों साहित्य के विषयों में। ऐसा पढ़ा लिखा आदमी और उसको जान से मारने की साजिश आज वहां पर हो रही है।

मैं चाहूंगा कि यह सरकार हमारी बातों की तरफ ध्यान देगी और वह अपनी पार्टी का

[श्री राजनारायण]

शो नहीं बनायेगी। यह सरकार अपने अफसरों से कहेगी कि ईमानदारी के साथ सरकारी-करण को सफल बनायें और मैनेजमेंट के आने के पूर्व जिन मजदूरों की सूची जिस जिस यूनियन ने दी थी, उस कारखाने में, उस खदान में, उन्हीं यूनियन के मजदूरों को रखा जाय।

इन सब बातों के कहने के बाद मैं अपनी बात को समाप्त करता हूँ।

6 P.M.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : Sir, I think the Bill is a consequential one. Since the entire coal mines have been taken over by the Government, naturally the Board and others who used to look after the mines during the regime of the private sector, had to be changed. It is more or less technical. The only point is that there has been a little bit more of charges keeping in view the conditions, the price rise and other things. Otherwise, the Bill should be accepted by the House as it stands, repealing the previous one.

Sir, I support the efforts and endeavours made by the hon. Minister, a suitable person to look after the public sector institutions because of his convictions. And the gentleman who did it had the conviction. Kumaramangalam will be recorded in history as one of the great men who took courage to take over this industry where half a million workers are involved and where crooks were running the show. Sir, in a capitalist social order as we are in now—it may not be as unbridled as it is in the United States, but nevertheless we are in a capitalist order of society—with the joint sector, this sector and that sector, however much we have

been putting things in a nice way, the fact remains that the instruments that we are having, who bear the real brunt, they do not believe in the philosophy behind the public sector. That is the problem; that is the incongruity; that is the contradiction in our society—that is, the feudal remnants with national aspirations of a new bourgeois coming together from time to time and forcing the Government to the other side, to the side of the feudal remnants. That is the peculiar behaviour pattern of the social system that is evolving now. We find it in a very naked form in this sector. The Bill has gone for the best as it can for conservation. Why did we take over? We really took over to conserve the best, to utilise it in the best possible way and develop the mines—where possible explore the ways through research and so on—so that we can make use of it in the best interest of the nation. Even when we took over we were not faced with the conditions as we are faced with to-day in regard to the coal mines. Naturally after 1½ years of taking over, we should make a review, an assessment, and go forward accordingly. The Bill is well-timed. And the Bill has taken care of most of the things. But still I will point out certain things which, if the honourable Minister kindly pays attention to them, may improve the position. Producers are, in a sole way or in a monopoly way, in an advantageous position for distribution. As you know, we tried with venture, with courage, to take over wheat or rice. We failed because of many reasons. One of the main reasons is on the question of production we had little control. But here is a case where we are producers ourselves. We can take over the distribution of iron. If that is done even now, the problem of price rise for coal will be

checked. That is number one. Number two : Proper distribution according to the needs of the core sector and to the public as a whole will have a proper look, a better look, than what it is today and only then can we possibly prove before the people that nationalisation has good, that public sector administration will be beneficial to the country and it can also be viable. Therefore, I suggest that the Coal-Mines Authority should themselves set up a distributing agency of their own and they shall be the only, monopoly, distributors, and none else. The core sector or the primary sector, whatever you call it, should be provided with their requirements. For instance, take Durgapur steel plant, or Bhilai steel plant or Bokaro steel plant or any power-generating station. Entrust them with some responsibility and pin them down to that and say, you are responsible for supplying this quota of coal to such and such places. Thus, they shall be made responsible. Thirdly, apart from the captive mines, distribution agencies should be started by the CMA at various places, big places. Different State Governments can be brought into the picture in the distribution system and they can also be made responsible in the State sector. The CMA should arrange this system in consultation with the State Governments concerned. The State Governments will take charge of all or some collieries and move the material required to the respective places. The CMA itself can do it as proposed in the Bill. They can do it through the State machinery, if necessary, or by themselves. There are three things to be done—developing, conserving and distribution. I take all the three together. The Minister has not done anything on the question of distribution so far as the Bill is concerned. People are becoming anti-public sector.

I do not agree with Shri Rajnarain generally. But I agree with him in one sentence. If the Government price at pithead is 'x', then why should the consumer pay four times that price? The reason is that there is the middleman. Why was it then taken over? It was taken over to do away with the middlemen in the best interests of the country. But here, even after take-over, we find it has been a middleman's Raj, despite the wishes of the Minister. *The middlemen are taking the best cream* with the result the people in the country are getting fed up and frustrated. Whenever we talk of public sector and take-over, they are against it and resentment is coming from the very people who asked you to take over. It is these people who gave you courage to take over. That was their desire; that was their aspiration. Now they think it was an illusion and they are disillusioned, because they do not want to pay double or treble. Therefore, I again emphasize that the Bill is incomplete because it does not take care of distribution. By take-over you have only liberated the slaves. Now you have to look after those slaves. You have only liberated the coal-miners who are best paid in the world. Go to any country in the world and you will find they are highest paid because of the hazard involved in their work. But here they are worst paid. Now, of course, a little better than what it was. But if you take into account their real wage, it stands at 1960-61 price. I do not look at labour in the way as Shri Kalyan Roy or Monoranjan Babu looks at them. What is labour for? They work for the community as a whole. I do not look at labour as deity. Working class is the sector to serve the nation. Working class is the sector to lead the nation and to change the social order.

[Shri Kali Mukherjee.]

It is a great instrument: it is the biggest instrument for changing the social order. Working class is not deity. Nevertheless, our coal miners are worst paid . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY : You will at least agree with me that the coal miners had given solid support to this Government.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : Sir, when the people were clamouring for better terms, the working class came for it and it is true that they stopped work and they created an atmosphere in the country so that the Government could take over. I know the role played by the vested interests in 1971-72. During 1971-72, Sir, all efforts were made by all including the various State Chief Ministers barring my Chief Minister. I must say, that is, Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray. I know how he took a stand on this question and I must say that he stood by his side like a rock to take over these things and help Mr. Mohan in this matter and these things will be recorded in history and these men will be regarded as great men who did the take-over job with courage.

Now, Sir, I come to the question of distribution. This is incomplete in the sense that distribution has not been taken care of. If you can't take over the distribution side and if you do not bring forward another Bill, this will be an incomplete thing. It is not the small farmers or the middle farmers or the big peasants who are producing this. But it is you who are producing this and so, distribution also should be taken care of by you. Therefore, another Bill, along with this, should come and if it does not come now, it should come immediately after this.

Then, Sir, I come to another question which is a painful question and it is the question of corruption. I do not say anything about corruption just like Jaya Prakashji and I do not say that I see it everywhere. I do not say that there is no corruption in the private sector. In the private sector it was worse. They used to produce, say, a hundred tonnes or a thousand tonnes and used to write only 70 percent of it in their books and the 30 percent of it they used to sell through their 'bhayyas' and others and they used to make black money out of it. One of the reasons why it was taken over was conservation. The second reason was proper utilisation and the third reason was to save it from the hands of the corrupt groups. The fourth reason was that the working class should get relief. But what do we find now? Malaviyaji explained the circumstances in which it was done. It was done by his predecessor. We have done it as we did in the case of the banks. These people are there in the banks. Whether it is a bank of the Tatas or the Birlas, the General Manager or the Custodian is there and he is the authority whether it is the UCO Bank or any other bank. But the reason for the failure of the nationalised banks is that we have left all matters to these people cent per cent at the fag end of their lives when they cannot change. They are the Alsations of the big monopoly houses. Here also I find some Alsations are barking and some are becoming the Managing Directors, some are becoming the Directors and some are looking after the mines and the same people there on the panels, the same old people, the same old groups.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : The same people are kept everywhere.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : Yes, the same people are kept in the same place. Not only that. They are also promoted to higher positions. Here, Sir, I would like to tell one thing to Mr. Malaviyaji. I may not be with Mr. Kalyan Roy wholly or solely because I deal with this question a bit differently. I deal with this issue in a different way and I have experience of dealing with this problem. In my State alone there are more than about 200 mines with about 1,50,000 or 1,70,000 workers and I have connections with them and I have seen them. Once I pointed out during the Question Hour here that Mr. Malaviya must note that whenever they said that production had gone up, he should go into it properly and check up because previously for a production of level of a hundred tonnes, they used to show only 70% on their books and the balance of 30% they kept for themselves and they used to cheat the working people and the public like this. Now, the practice has not been changed. And whatever the increase you see, that is on paper. Still I am doubtful whether the real production has increased or not. Since I do not have the correct figures, I do not like to cast aspersions on anybody. I talked to the persons concerned and asked them whether they have been able to improve production to the extent as this is being demonstrated by the Authority. Corruption is rampant . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY : No arrangement.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE . . . No arrangement. No machinery for vigilance. I was told that there was a Vigilance Committee at Asansol. But I found that the chief of that Vigilance Committee had a number of cases against him. He has a number of cases

previously. He has been chosen to be a supreme person for vigilance. There is a saying in Bengali: The ghost is in the mustard seed, you cannot use mustard seed to break up the ghost.

There is nothing in the Bill. It cannot be brought in the Bill in that way. It is the administration. He must be really from either the CBI or the CIB or such other places. Please set up a machinery to look into the question so that they can minimize corruption or at least bring it to a sensible proportion. Now, as it is today, it is terrible . . .

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA : What will happen to Youth Congress ?

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : It may be any Congress, whether your party, my party or anybody's party. The word "corruption" is corruption. You are not coming from an Ashram, nor your party. I know what you are. Your stomach is small. Our stomach is big. We take more. It is a question of difference between the two. But there is no ethics. Corruption is corruption, whatever party takes it.

Coming to labour, they have come to the public sector. But there are no improvements. Prior to takeover, the minimum was Rs. 200. It is near about a year and a half now. It has come to Rs. 280. . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Rs. 261 . . .

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : Now, there has been the Wage Board decision. If you take the index, then you will find that the real wage is falling. I am of the opinion that there should be a reasonable minimum. Give them the calories as required. Having given them a good minimum, higher wages should be linked with productivity. In a

[Shri Kali Mukherjee.]

country like this, or in a developing country in the world, even in a developing country—I have seen myself—minimum is linked with higher productivity. Otherwise the nation cannot survive. Sir, I am in favour of giving more wages. I have gone myself into the mines. I have seen this myself. We are struggling for a higher wage. We like them to have proper living conditions. We like them to have better service conditions. Coal-miners should not be just coal-miners throughout six, seven, eight or fifteen years. As a student I had an occasion to go to a coalmine, and there I saw deformed legs. I asked them the reason. I was told that ten or eleven or twelve generations of this man were coal-miners. Naturally, they have to work like that in the lower seam. Having done that generation after generation, they have become deformed.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Why don't you talk about the agreement between ourselves and them which they are not implementing ?

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE : Last but not the least, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the agreement between the labour trade unions and the employers. They have come to a voluntary agreement. Some Ministry—I do not know whether it is his Ministry or some other Ministry—has stopped signing the agreement and they are not proceeding any further. This is not fair to the working classes. This is not fair to the authorities also. When they have come to an agreement and are about to sign it, to stop signing the agreement and not to implement it will be an onslaught and assault on the working classes. This is the most down-trodden working class which has to

pass through the hazards. The family does not know whether he will come back or not. In some foreign countries and particularly in London, they call it "weeping pit". The family weeps at the pit because he did not come back. This type of working class should be shown some special consideration by the Minister and by the Government. Here is a section of the working class which generates power and produces energy for the country. Since there is petroleum scarcity, this is the only sector on which we can survive.

With these words, I support the Bill and hope that the Minister concerned will bring forward a further Bill on the question of monopoly distribution and that monopoly distribution can save the country and the people will not go against the public sector. It entirely depends on Shri Malaviya's behaviour, his Bills, his actions and his handling of the corrupt instrument which he has been provided with unfortunately. He has to sort them out. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS) : Shri Monoranjan Roy. Please be very brief as you have promised.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY (West Bengal) : Sir, I begin where Mr. Kali Mukherjee ended. I may come to the question of distribution if I get time. I begin with the wage agreement which you have not only not implemented but which you have kept in cold storage. We have got every apprehension that after the passing of that ordinance on wage freeze, this agreement will never see the light of the day. The workers waited for years. After the agreement, it was hoped that there will be implementation of that agreement and there will be some wage increase. But that

expectation has also been belied. It is most unfortunate. If Malaviyaji thinks that even after that the workers will do their best to produce more, then he is in a fool's paradise. If you think that by this ordinance of wage freeze, you will be able to do whatever you like with regard to the workers, then you are mistaken there also. You must have seen today's newspaper. When the workers went in protest against this wage freeze, they were shot and killed inside the factory. It is a shame on the part of the Government. Whatever steps you are now taking are against the working class and against the labour.

You are bringing forward this Bill and I would like to mention one point only about the Bill and then I shall come to the question of workers and the corruption that is rampant in your organization at present.

Sir, in article 15 of the Bill, at page 7, it is said that after the abolition of the Coal Board, when the services of an officers or an employees are transferred to this new company, his payments, etc. will be there unless and until his employment in the Government company or organization is terminated or until his remuneration or terms and conditions of service are duly altered by the Government company or organisation, as the case may be. Sir, to leave such a power in the hands of the company is most objectionable and, I think, it is a dangerous clause for the workers. Because, we have no doubt that the wages, remuneration and the terms and conditions of service of the workers will be altered according to the sweet will of the company and the authority. The Act itself gives them the power to do that. Then, where will the workers get any guarantee for their service conditions and other amenities which they have been enjoy-

ing under the Coal Board? Secondly, Sir, the workers will not be able to get any compensation because of the transfer. If an employee, working in the Calcutta office of the Coal Board, is transferred to a distant place, he must get some compensation for that. But the provision in the Act says that they will not get any compensation and that they will not be allowed to go to any court. That is there in Section 16. If he is transferred to a distant place, he must get some compensation. That is not permissible under this Act. Moreover, his service conditions may be altered at the sweet will of the company, which should not be allowed. And you have accepted that all employees will be absorbed in the company. That is also not written clearly. If you do not write that all the employees will be taken by the company, if you write that the company can terminate their services and can alter their remuneration and terms and conditions of service, then the employees will be at the mercy of the company. So, it must be guaranteed that, firstly, all employees will be absorbed, secondly, their service conditions will be maintained, thirdly, nothing will be done which is detrimental to the interest of their service conditions, remuneration, etc., and fourthly, when they are transferred, they will get compensation.

Sir, when his Bill has come, we expected that Malaviyaji will at least give us an indication as to when that agreement is going to be implemented. And after your Ordinance of wage freeze, even if it is implemented, the workers will not get a single pie. In that case, you may be rest assured that discontent among the workers will be such that you shall not be able to control them. Is it for that that you have asked for 9 battalions of police from the West

[Shri Monoranjan Roy.]

Bengal Government? And the authorities are losing Rs. 5 lakhs a day? as they have to bear the expenses on the police force. Is it in order to crush the workers that you have asked for nine battalions of police from the Government of West Bengal? I want to know that. What for have you asked for this police force? Is it to check the corruption or is it to crush the workers? I have got no doubt that you have asked for this police force only for the purpose of crushing the workers because, so far as corruption is concerned, your Ministry or your Government for that matter is not interested to stop corruption as such. I find that there is a chain system of corruption.

Now, this C.M.A., Coal Mines Authority, do you know what people call it? It is called the Corruption and Malpractices Authority. The people call it so instead of calling it Coal Mines Authority. It has earned such a good name for itself.

Now, regarding Road Despatch Department, it was first run by one senior officer. Now it has three senior officers with four junior officers and big business is getting special favours from them. Although the forms are available in the office, should be available in the office, yet they are being sold before the very eyes of these officers and they are being given only to big business as a special favour to them. Small businessmen who had been dealing with coal are now being cornered and big business has taken their place.

Now, recently the employees and workers wrote to Malaviyaji. I would like to ask him whether he got their letter? They had written to Malaviyaji about the corruption and had made an

appeal to him to look into the matter. I would like to know whether it is only after that that he has instituted some sort of an inquiry and about 20 junior officers—and not a single senior officer—were suspended. Nine of these names have not yet been published. Again and again people are demanding to know the names of those people, those officers, who have been suspended. They want to know whether it is a fact at all and what the result of that is if such a thing has been done. These things should come out. Otherwise, people are getting fed up. The price of coal during one year has been increased four times and again you are increasing the price. All this you are doing in the name of the workers' wages and you say that workers' wages have been increased. Workers' wages have not been increased during one year. Not a single farthing has been given to them. Instead you have increased the price of coal several times. That is creating a very bad impression not only with regard to the Coal Mines Authority but in regard to the whole nationalisation question. Nationalisation is now being questioned by the people who are so much in favour of it and who are sympathetic to nationalisation. Now they are questioning it. What is the fate of nationalisation? If this is the fate of nationalisation, God save us from nationalisation. That is what they say. This is what people are telling, which we, of course, do not support. We want proper nationalisation. Workers should have some say in the matter of distribution, in the matter of administration and other things. They are not taken into confidence in any place. Rather, to suppress them, all sorts of things are being done. (*Time bell rings.*)

Lastly, Sir, the workers, whose services were terminated by the erstwhile employers even when the Tribunal gave the award for their reinstatement, made repeated appeals and representations to the Minister in charge, Mr. Malaviya, and his predecessors, but they have failed to do any justice to the workers. I would once again request Malaviyaji to look into the matter. The workers, who were evicted by the erstwhile employers, contractors and *goondas*, are not being taken back. Their names are there. We have given the names. The CITU has given the full list of those workers who were evicted by the erstwhile employers, but they have not been taken back as yet, even after two years of nationalisation. Sir, it is high time Malaviyaji did something for these workers. Even in those cases where the Tribunal's award is in their favour, the workers are not yet taken back. It is a most shameful thing.

Lastly, what about the implementation of the agreement? What is the fate of it? We want to know whether it would be implemented and, if implemented, whether the workers will get the money in cash in their hands or whether it will go to dogs in the name of deposit in their provident fund accounts. That also must be made clear here. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER RE-STRIKE BY JUNIOR ENGINEERS AND OTHERS IN THE NEYVELI LIGNITE CORPORATION

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA): Sir, with your permission I would like to make a very important statement. This statement relates to the strike which has been declared by 1,200 Junior Engineers of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): I have tabled a Calling Attention on that.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Please listen to it. Perhaps you will know more about it.

Sir, about 1,200 Junior Engineers and intermediary technical staff working in the Neyveli Lignite complex of Neyveli Lignite Corporation in the South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu went on strike from the morning of 11th August, 1974 in connection with their demands for higher emoluments, automatic promotion and upgradation of certain categories. Following the strike and sympathetic work-to-rule action by the Assistant Engineers, the Corporation has been compelled to close down their briquetting, fertiliser and power plants. According to information received this afternoon, the mines are, however, being worked.

The Junior Engineers and intermediary technical staff have already been offered higher emoluments but in regard to other demands, like automatic promotion, etc., these could not be conceded. The Chairman, Neyveli Lignite Corporation had offered to place the matter before the Central Government but this was not accepted by the Engineers and these officers decided to go on strike. Earlier, there were conciliation talks with the Management at Madras, which had also failed. In this context it is relevant to note that strikes in the Neyveli complex have been prohibited by the Union Government under the Defence of India Rules. Forty-one persons have been arrested so far in connection with this illegal strike under the Defence of India Rules.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame shame.

(Interruptions)