

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

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

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

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN : Sir, I move :

"That the Bill be passed."

The question was proposed.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN : Sir, after having heard the various hon'ble Members and their intention behind their speeches, why should the Government not come forward with a statement to say to the people of Andhra that the Government of India is willing to have a plebiscite on this issue to solve the entire problem ? Then there will be no agitation, no violation and no shooting. There will be no need for your shooting. Why do you not come out today with a statement saying that there will be a plebiscite on this issue ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is .

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

1. STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING DISAPPROVAL OF COAL MINES (TAKING OVER OF MANAGEMENT) ORDINANCE, 1973 (No. 1 OF 1973)

2. THE COAL MINES (TAKING OVER OF MANAGEMENT) BILL, 1973.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA (Rajasthan) : Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, I beg to move ;

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

Sir, I beg to submit that the action on the part of the Government in taking over the non-coking coal mines has—tflRSS/73

' very far-reaching consequences. It has a bearing. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : On a point of order, Sir. I am for some healthy conventions. Now, Sir, this kind of Resolution defames the Parliament and the country before the eyes of the world. My friend is moving a disapproval resolution here. I think by agreement and convention, we should not move such preposterous resolutions in the end of the 20th century. Therefore, I would request him not to do it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It is no point of order. It is a matter of opinion.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Sir, I must submit that a seasoned parliamentarian like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta should not indulge in such preposterous talk.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is not preposterous talk. You have a right to move it. You have a right even to commit suicide here till I apprehend you.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : I will leave that right for you. Sir, as I was submitting, this action on the part of the Government has a bearing not only on the coal industry

SHRI LOKANATH
MISRA

(Orissa): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, your party has already committed suicide by becoming the tail of the Congress. So there is nothing left.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Your party was born in Hell. . . . (Interruption)

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU) in the Chair]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : This has no relevance to the Resolution.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : I was saying that this has such far-reaching consequences on the entire economy of the country that the Government has to make up its mind on the very fundamental question of nationalisation and taking over of management of different kinds of industries and businesses in the country. Sir, if we analyse carefully

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the reasons given by the Government for this action on their part, we will find that the action was entirely unwarranted and it was not in the best interests of the economy of the country. What is the most important reason held out by the Government ? It is that the coal industry, left to itself, would not have been able to modernise and develop in the way required by the economy of the country; therefore, the Government thought it proper to take over the management as the first step towards complete nationalisation of the entire coal industry. Sir, the greater implications of this move on the part of the Government must be studied very carefully and in some detail. The reason, viz., because some coal mines, left to themselves, would not be able to develop or modernise, therefore, the entire coal industry should be taken over, is a very dangerous principle, if I may say so, which, if applied to other walks of life, will lead us to a very difficult situation. There are not a few, not half a dozen or a dozen, but several hundred coal mines whose management has been taken over. It cannot be the case of the Government that in all those several hundred coal mines no development work was taking place. Perhaps some coal mines were not developing, some coal mines were not modernising to the extent desired. But that cannot be any reason for taking over the entire industry. Sir, if this kind of reasoning is carried to its logical conclusion, it would mean that because a few members of a particular profession, say, lawyers, are not doing their bit, the entire legal profession should be abolished, or because a few doctors are not doing their duty, the profession of doctors should also be abolished. I cannot understand this kind of logic at all. If the Government

4 P.M. had said that the management of those coal mines which are lagging behind in modernisation and development should be taken over, there would have been at least some point in it. But there can be no reasonable explanation for such a sweeping action as taking over of all the coal mines. Then again it must be

borne in mind that out of the several hundred coal-mines whose management has been taken over, a large majority are very small concerns. The Government has said on several occasions that it wants to encourage small businessmen, it wants to encourage middle-level businessmen. But what has happened is that the affluent coal-mines, the coal-mines which were connected with big business houses or with big businessmen were not the ones who had not modernised. They had the resources, they had the organisation; they had all paraphernalia to modernise and develop. But the smaller ones were the ones which had great difficulty in carrying out modernisation or development. In this way the Government has hit not the monopolists, not the big businessmen, but the small and the middle-level businessmen. I think that could not be the intention of the Government. But this is an apparent contradiction which cannot be explained away by the Government

Then again we must also consider what will be the effect of this action on the part of the Government on other sectors of the economy, particularly on the question of modernising, development and expansion of industries. What has happened in the case of coal-mines is that all their assets have been frozen; not only the fixed capital assets, but even the working capital assets consisting of bank balances or receivables or other liquid assets have all been frozen on the one side, and, on the other, all the liabilities remained, which means that all the thousands of small businessmen people who had given credit to these coal-mine owners for the supply of stores and other articles on any other business account, they cannot be paid by these coal-mine owners because the receivables are all frozen, bank accounts are frozen. And therefore, until such time as the whole thing is unfrozen and things start moving, those people who had given credit simply will be left in the lurch. The result is that people are reluctant to give credit to other industries on which the threat of nationalisation hangs, like the cotton textile industry, the sugar industry, the tea estates, etc. People are not willing to give them

any credit at all because they think that *OBO* fine morning the Government will announce that all the tea gardens are taken over. What will happen to all the credit that the small businessmen may have given to these tea gardens?' What will happen to the credit that they may have given to the cotton mills or the sugar industry ? This is throwing a spanner in the works of the private enterprise in such a way that the functioning of the private enterprise is made more and more difficult by the Government thereby helping nobody, not helping the economy, not helping the small man, not helping the consumer and unnecessarily putting obstacles in the way of the development of the industry. While on the question of modernisation of industrial units it must also be borne in mind that modernisation and expansion or development is not such an easy task to be accomplished. After all, those units, which are weak financially have a great deal of difficulty in raising resources for modernisation. They are the very people who have great difficulty in putting things in order. If one goes to nationalised banks, it is a known fact, it is the experience of everyone, that money from the nationalised banks can be available to big business people and to viable industrial units but not so easily to middle-level or small people who are really in need of money for modernisation. And then again such small and middle-level businessmen are invariably not in the Category of widely held companies.

By that I mean that their shares are not quoted on the market nor held by thousands of shareholders. In most such cases, the personal money of the proprietor or the main shareholder is at stake. When more money is required for modernisation, he has to shell out money himself. He cannot sell his shares to the public nor can he raise it from the financial institutions as easily as the big businessman can. The difficulty is that it is the middle and small businessmen who suffer. And then there is the over present threat of nationalisation. It is there in the case of several industries. I am mentioning cotton textiles, sugar and tea because in the

business and commercial circles they are always referred to. When the threat of nationalisation is there, the small businessman will never be able to have enough credit to put more money into modernisation and therefore a vicious circle will start. Because of the threat of nationalisation, he will not modernise and if he does not modernise, Government will say : "We will take it over". How to break this vicious circle ? How to ensure that the development process will go on in the best interests of the economy and of the citizens of the country ? May I, therefore, suggest. . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) ; What about non-payment of provident fund contribution and what about non-payment of wages ?

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Anybody who has not paid provident fund contribution or wages should be penalised. But because one man has not paid, you cannot take over all the 400 or 600 coal mines. That cannot be the argument. Because one trade union leader may have been found to be scoundrel, you cannot abolish the trade union movement in the country...

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Here it is not abolished, but only taken over.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Please do not interrupt. Your name is in the list of speakers.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : I would submit that unless the Government makes it clear through a categorical statement for the benefit of industries, particularly those industries which are the threatened ones, that any money spent by those industries on modernisation and development, say during ten years prior to any nationalisation, will be repaid in full to those people, I am afraid modernisation by itself will suffer, because in spite of that the Government may say, people are not going to put in more money for modernisation if the threat is going to hang on their heads all the time. Presently there is no formula for payment of compensation. Nationalisation may take place

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and a compensation of Re. 1/- may be offered. It is not justiciable and nobody can, therefore, go to court and challenge the action of the Government. Therefore, let the Government say very categorically that anybody who has modernised will not be made to suffer. If somebody does not modernise after that, you can definitely put the blame on him. Unless and until you make it clear, the responsibility for not modernising the industry will be squarely on the shoulders of the Government.

The issue of disparity of incomes and wealth and the way to reduce disparity are sometimes confused with the other economic questions in such a way that the whole economy of the country suffers. If it is the declared policy of the ruling party and of the Government that disparity should be reduced, I have no quarrel with that. There are ways of doing it and it can be achieved by fiscal measures. There are so many weapons in your armoury for achieving it. Certainly to nationalise an industry without any promise of adequate compensation is not the way to achieve it. Out of the nationalised industries some may be small people and some others may be big people. A small businessman should not suffer because the big man is also there in the same industry. Through fiscal measures you can tax the rich more. You have been doing it and I am sure you will definitely do it in future also. But due to the nationalisation, if the small man is to be penalised to such an extent that the whole economy suffers, I do not think this is wise action or policy on the part of any Government, especially if the ruling party professes to be a democratic party, believing in democratic principles. It is not a totalitarian party. I am not talking of Communist theories. I am only talking about policies and principles which the ruling party itself had declared to be its own.

Under those policies and principles it cannot be denied that at least the small men, the middle-level businessmen must be given protection which they have been denied upto now.

On these counts, Sir, I would submit that the action of the Government in having taken over the management of the coal mines is unwarranted and is not in the best interests of the economy and, therefore, I submit that this House should disapprove of it.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI S. MOHAN KUMAR AMANGALAM): Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, while opposing the statutory Resolution moved by Shri Mohta, I also move :

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

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will only say a few words because the objects of this Bill are well known and my friend has paid little attention to them. With his usual eloquence in a misplaced cause he has traversed a wider area, I say this because he may have a case for other things, but he has no case for coal. He may have a case in many other areas, but not in coal and, therefore, I would not deal with the homilies delivered about the economic situation and so on, because I have heard them often from him and the House also has heard them from him and it is not worth while dealing with them. But I will deal with coal which is the subject matter of the Resolution he has moved as well as the Bill that I have moved now.

First of all. Sir. I would like him to appreciate one thing, because, living as he does in Rajasthan, far away from the coal mines and, if I may say so with respect, not being, shall I say, very much acquainted with the conditions of the coal mines, he should appreciate that it is not just one mine owner, one

small owner only, who is responsible for the defaults that have taken place. It is the general practice in the coalmining industry mostly not to reinvest, not to invest money in order to develop the mines, make quick profits, swindle the workers of their Provident Fund, Swindle the Government of its royalty, swindle the country by underestimating, rather, putting in the accounts lesser amount of coal than what is actually produced—these are general practices and I do not say all these on my own or without any reference. I will read now from the reports given to me by the Additional Custodian-General who took over the Mines on our behalf :

"Most of the collieries were despatching coal by road by trucks. Although the full value of the coal was realised by the owners, the sales documents used to be prepared for considerably less quantities and the Government was cheated of Sales Tax and Income-Tax and royalties and cess on coal production ..-."

Now, this is one report. This is mostly the practice. But this is not the only one. This is one report and there is another report ;

"In the areas of the collieries, Government dues on account of royalties, cess, different types of taxes, electricity bills, which are lying unpaid are in considerable amounts...."

Well, here is another quotation :

"Most of the collieries have huge arrears of Coal Mines Provident Fund contributions and the records were not available in many collieries at the time of the take-over. Figures of arrears are being collected from different Government sources..."

Then, take the question of the employment. The practice in the coal fields is not what you think it is, though you may be thinking so, because I know that you yourself have certain interests in certain recognised factories where persons who are permanent workers 9—161RSS/73

are automatically made members of the Provident Fund, where it is deposited by the employer month after month. But these standards do not apply to the coal fields and do not apply the standards which you may be applying and which you may be applying or which your friends may apply in the areas where you have factories. Do not apply them here. Can you give me an example of a factory which you may be aware of where something like this takes place ?

I will give you an example. Take the South Loyabad colliery. Seventy permanent workers should be there and that is the strength that should be there in the mine. Ten persons are members of the Coal Mines Provident Fund. So, this is the position whether you take it in terms of payment of the taxes, payment of royalties, cess or sales tax or payment of wages that should be paid. This is the position and I have got the figures to show it. Though the Wage Board compels that certain level of wages should be paid, two or- three rupees less a day is paid to the worker.

The record shows that a particular wage is being paid. The investigation shows that the wage is not being paid. In relation to every single sphere of activity, a large number—not a few, but a large number—of the mine-owners did not conform to law or to the standards the society expect them to conform. Therefore, it is not a question of our generalising in relation to owners of textiles, tea gardens and so on. So far as coal is concerned, it is a special category. It is such a special category that even in relation to Mr. Mohta who is very friendly with England, in the sense of its economic system, coal was nationalized years ago. And no English man—and even the most Right Wing Englishman—ever thought that coal be handed back to the coal mine owners, though, they thought of steel being handed back and they wanted to hand it back. Why this difference ? This is because coal mine industry, traditionally the world over, is such an industry that he who touches it dirties his hands. In ending this

[Shri S. Mohan Kumaramanglam]

type of exploitation in terms of workers, on the one hand, and the type of exploitation in terms of the most valuable natural resources that we have in our country, I think the Government is in the stage of completing a historic task.

Production in 1971-72 was 71.61 million tonnes. We want to take it up to 143.7 million tonnes by 1978-79. In the collieries, which I would like to call ex-privatized sector, the investment has to be in the region of Rs. 100 crores. For the last ten years, in all the collieries, even in the biggest collieries, taken together, they could invest a sum of about Rs. 5 crores. This is the estimate given to me. Let us give them a little margin. Let us double it and take it as Rs. 10 crores. But where is ten crores compared to one hundred crores that has to be invested? This is not my view. The Reserve Bank set up a committee, and that committee examined this question of resources in the mining industry. I quote from it :

"Considering the substantial increase in production envisaged, as also the recent lean period through which it has passed, which has resulted in an erosion of most of its financial resources, it is obvious that the internal resources of the industry can contribute little to the investment effort required..."

And in that committee set up by the Reserve Bank we had Mr. R. Lai, Chairman of Indian Mining Association of Calcutta and Shri H. N. Mukherjee, Chairman, Indian Mining Federation, Calcutta. They also signed this report. They were also a party to this comment. They wanted that we should finance them...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra): That is the position of every industry. Financial institutions are giving aid to any industry. That is not the case with any particular industry...

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGLAM: With great respect, I think...

Well, you should not provoke me. Leave it at that. Let me finish. I do not think this is the position in all industries. ...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: It is 99.9 per cent in all industries. Even the Tata project... (Interruptions)

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGLAM: If you have certainly become a revolutionary as to nationalise everything, of course I will consider it. You file an application in the proper way. But let me first deal with Mr. Mohan's problems.

Obviously, as regards resources, they have been treating the industry badly from every aspect—from the point of view of the Government, from the point of view of the State Governments, from the point of view of sale of coal. They are not in a position to proceed on a rational and scientific basis. The case of Raniganj and Bihar area is well known. Why these artificial barriers, between a mine and a mine?

In view of all these things, I think there is more than adequate justification for taking the decision that the Government took.

I do not want to go into any further details. I do not think that is necessary at this stage. Therefore, I would oppose the Resolution and move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

The question was proposed.

श्री बनारसी दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
अघोष्टता महोदय, कोल बेसिक इंडस्ट्रीज में से है और हमारी इंडस्ट्रीयल पालिसी का रेजूलेशन भी है कि बेसिक इंडस्ट्री को पब्लिक सेक्टर में होना चाहिए। सिद्धान्तः यह बिल जो सदन के सामने पेश किया गया है मैं इनका स्वागत करता हूँ कि कोल का मैनेजमेन्ट फिलहाल टेकओवर किया जाय और उसके बाद कोल इंडस्ट्री का नेशनलाइजेशन किया जाये लेकिन इस संबंध में मैं माननीय मंत्री जी को यह सलाह देना उचित समझता हूँ कि नेशनलाइजेशन करने से पहले या मैनेजमेन्ट

को टेकओवर करने से पहले इसके सब पहलुओं पर विचार करना चाहिए। नेशनलाईजेशन केवल एक मूर्ति पूजा की तरह से इस्तेमाल करने से न राष्ट्र की प्रगति होगी, न इससे आम जनता का कोई लाभ होने वाला है।

माननीय मंत्री बड़े योग्य और अनुभवी हैं। स्टील उद्योग को उन्होंने अपने हाथ में लिया। लेकिन मुझे यह कहने में जरा संकोच नहीं, बड़ी निराशा हुई है कि स्टील का दाम बढ़ा है, घटा नहीं है और स्टील एक ऐसा उद्योग है जिसकी कीमतों का हमारी आम इन्डस्ट्रीज जैसे रेलवेज, बैंगन्स और तमाम मशीन बिल्डिंग इन्डस्ट्रीज पर असर पड़ता है। इसी तरह से कोल है। गत दो वर्षों में निरन्तर ईंटों की कीमतें बढ़ती चली गयी हैं करीब करीब सौ प्रतिशत से अधिक कीमतें बढ़ गई हैं। उसका कारण यह है कि उनको कोयला मिलना कम हो गया है। दिल्ली में कुछ लोग गैस का इस्तेमाल करते हैं, कुछ समृद्ध लोग जिनका प्रतिशत पांच से ज्यादा नहीं होगा बाकी सब लोग साफ्ट कोक का प्रयोग करते हैं। दिल्ली और दूसरे नगरों में कोक का दाम दुगने से ज्यादा हो गया है। दिल्ली में इसका दाम तीन गुना हो गया है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपके दिमाग में एक परिकल्पना होनी चाहिए कि कोल इन्डस्ट्री के बारे में किस तरह का आपका स्ट्रक्चर होगा? क्या आपकी कीमत होगी? क्या आप 1960-61 में जो कोयले की कीमत थी उस स्तर पर लाने में कामयाब हो सकेंगे? कोल इन्डस्ट्री में कल ही हमने डिसकस किया कि 47 वर्कर्स की जानें गईं। क्या आप ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा करेंगे.....

श्री कल्याण राय : इससे ज्यादा।

श्री बनारसी दास : यह तो आपका कर्तव्य था। तो क्या आप इस तरह की व्यवस्था करेंगे जब कि आधुनिक युग में सेफ्टी मीजर्स इवाल्व किए जाते हैं कि मजदूरों के लिए अधिक सेफ्टी हो? जब कि कोल माइन्स का

पेशा बड़ा है जाइडुअस है, क्या इस तरह की व्यवस्था करेंगे कि मीनिमम वेजेज उनको मिले जो बैंक के इन्प्लाइज से, एल०आई०सी० के इन्प्लाइज से कम न हो? 300 रुपये आपके एल०आई०सी० या बैंक के इन्प्लाइज को काम से कम वेतन मिलता है, तो एक ऐसी इन्डस्ट्री में जो कि हमारी बेसिक इन्डस्ट्री है और जहां पर जीवन के काम करने की कंडीशन ऐसी है कि बड़ा खतरा होता है, एक मीनिमम वेज फोर्थ क्लास इन्प्लाइ के लिए, लेबरर के लिए जो कि एक रिस्क लेकर जमीन में कोयला निकालने के लिए जाता है उनकी मीनिमम वेज आप गारंटी करेंगे?

दूसरे, जो लोग कोल माइन्स के अन्दर काम करते हैं क्योंकि वह एक नेशनल प्रोडक्शन के फ्रंट पर काम करते हैं, क्या आप इस बात का आश्वासन देंगे, इस बात की गारंटी करेंगे कि जो व्यक्ति कोल माइन्स के अन्दर मारे जायेंगे उतना उनके परिवार को नार्मल स्पैन में ही वेतन मिलेगा जितना की उसके जीवित होने की हालत में उनको मिलता?

तीसरी चीज यह है कि उन सब लोगों का एक कम्प्लेसरी इन्श्योरेंस हो अगेंस्ट एक्सीडेंट, अगेंस्ट डिसएविलिटी, पूरा बैनीफिट उनको मिले। उनको डिस-एविल होकर केवल एक डोल दे देते हैं, जिस तरह से वे समाज के दूसरे दर्जे के नागरिक हो जाते हैं, उनकी स्थिति यह न होकर एक समानता का स्थान मिले। उन्होंने उत्पादन के लिए सफर किया है, उनका अंग भंग हो गया, डिस-एविलिटी हो गई, इस लिए उनका पूरी तरह से ध्यान रखा जाएगा।

श्री कल्याण राय : कम्प्लेसरी इन्श्योरेंस होना चाहिए।

श्री बनारसी दास : कम्प्लेसरी इन्श्योरेंस जो वर्कमेन ऐसे कामों को करते हैं उनके लिए अनिवार्य होना चाहिए। यह नहीं कि कुछ हद तक आप कंपेंसेट कर दें, बल्कि जो डिस-एविल हो, परमनेन्ट डिसएविलिटी हों या

[श्री बनारसी दास]

इंज्यूरी या और प्रकार से उनको जो हानि पहुंचे, वही चूँकि अपने परिवार की रोजी कमाने वाले हैं, इस दृष्टि से उनके परिवार को किसी प्रकार की हानि नहीं होनी चाहिए। जब कि आपका फिक्सड इकोनामी कंसेप्ट है, आप सब लोगों को काम देने की जिम्मेदारी नहीं लेते हैं। जब कि आप काम लेते चले जा रहे हैं तो यह भी आपकी जिम्मेदारी होनी चाहिए कि जो लोग डिस्प्लेस्ड हुए हैं उनकी पूरी व्यवस्था आप करें। आम तौर से जब तक कि पूरी जिम्मेदारी नेशनलाइजेशन करके आप नहीं लेते हैं नतीजा यह होता है कि जितने भी आप के नेशनलाइज्ड सेक्टर्स हैं मैं आपकी जानकारी के लिए बता दूँ कि जब से बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ, दिल्ली में कहीं चले जाइये, आप चाहे किसी एम०पी० से पूछिए 5 हजार रु० एक क्लर्क के अप्वाइंटमेंट के लिए है और 3 हजार रु० एक चपरासी के अप्वाइंटमेंट के लिए है। एल०आई०सी० के अन्दर भी एक क्लर्क को नियुक्ति बिना 5 हजार रु० दिये नहीं हो सकती और एक चपरासी की नियुक्ति बिना 3 हजार रु० दिए नहीं हो सकती। आप यह कह सकते हैं कि यह इससे संबंधित नहीं है लेकिन कोई बुनियादी इंटीग्रेटेड योजना आप की होनी चाहिए। जब कि आप सब से बड़े एम्प्लायर हैं और नेशनलाइजेशन करने के साथ मैं आप एम्प्लाइमेंट की अपार्चुनिटीज अपने हाथ में लेते जा रहे हैं, तो इस बात की आशंकाएं और इस बात की जो भ्रांतियां लोगों के दिमाग में हैं उनको दूर करना आपका फर्ज होगा कि जब देश में रोजगार की कमी है और नौजवानों का भविष्य अंधकार में है आप पालिटिकल लाभ पहुंचाने के लिए इन नेशनलाइज्ड यूनिट्स को इस्तेमाल नहीं करेंगे और जिनका पुल होगी उन्हीं को काम मिलेगा और बाकी को नहीं मिलेगा और बाकी तमाम के तमाम नौजवान आप एक क्यू में खड़े करके एक ऐसी डिस्प्रेट हालत के अन्दर रखेंगे कि वे केवल सरकार के यस्मैन बनेंगे और नौकरी तलाश करने

के लिए कोराइडर्स के अन्दर चक्कर लगायेंगे नेशनलाइजेशन करते समय आप का यह जरूरी काम है कि जो भी सेक्टर्स आप के लिए, जैसे कापर माइन्स को आप ने लिया, तो आपको यह देखना चाहिए कि कापर माइन्स को लेने के बाद उनकी एफिशिएंसी, उनकी वकिंग, उनकी प्राफिटेबिलिटी, और उनकी प्रोडक्टिविटी बढ़ी है या घटी है। जैसे आप का स्टील है, स्टील के अन्दर यह मैंने माना कि जहां गैस्टेशन पीरियड ज्यादा है वहां कुछ लासेज हो सकते हैं। संसार में और भी डेवलप्ड कंट्रीज हैं। आखिर हमको एक नया एक्सपेरीमेंट नहीं करना है। उनके अनुभव से जितना गैस्टेशन पीरियड होगा कब वे एक आफ टेक स्टेज पर आएंगे, इन सब चीजों को ध्यान में रखना होगा।

कंज्युमर की दृष्टि से मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि फलों फलों आदमियों को काम मिलेगा और जो लोग आलरेडी इस्टैब्लिश्ड हैं वे सड़क पर फेंक दिये जायेंगे। उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि उसमें केवल पोलिटिकल पुल्स चलते हैं और जो लोग भी इस लाइन के अन्दर आते हैं पोलिटिकल आधार पर स्वयं तो इस काम को नहीं करते हैं। कुछ बीच के मिडिलमैन जरूर हो जाते हैं। नेशनलाइजेशन के नाम पर एक नया मिडिलमैन पोलिटिकल कॉन्सिडरेशन से पैदा होता है दिल्ली में आप देखिये चाहे कोई ट्रेड हो, चाहे फूडग्रेन की ट्रेड हो एक नया मिडिलमैन पैदा हो गया है जिस का काम सविस करना नहीं है। उसका काम केवल अपने पोलिटिकल इंफ्लूएंस को कैश करने के लिए कुछ कमीशन ले लेना है जिसका नतीजा यह है कि एक नया मिडिलमैन बन गया जिस का काम कुछ नहीं है, जो पैरासाइट है और जो केवल एक अपना कमीशन चार्ज कर लेता है।

कोल जीवन की प्रमुख आवश्यकताओं में से है। अब लकड़ी के प्यूल की भी बहुत कमी होती जा रही है। छोटे छोटे नगरों में आज

साफ्ट कोक की जरूरत है विल्डिंग एक्टिविटीज के लिए ईंटों की जरूरत है। तो क्या मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से यह आशा करूँ कि वे एक निश्चित अवधि का संकेत करेंगे कि एक साल भर के अन्दर कम से कम ब्रिक किलन्स मिल्स को जो कोल सप्लाई किया जाता है उसके दाम 1971 के उस लेवल पर आ जाएंगे। जब कि गरीबी हटाओ का नारा लगाया गया था। आज तक तो कोल सबसे बड़ा फैक्टर है ईंटों के दाम डिटेमिन करने में।

क्या माननीय मंत्री जी इस बात का आश्वासन देंगे मैं ज्यादा दूर की बात नहीं कहता, जो 1971 के पहले की पोजीशन थी, जब 'गरीबी हटाओ' का नारा लगाया गया था, दिल्ली के रहने वालों को, मजदूरों को, गरीब लोगों को, फोर्थ क्लास इंप्लाइज को जो साफ्ट कोक मिलता था, जिस कीमत पर मिलता था कम से कम उसी दाम पर आप क्या देने की गारंटी देंगे। अगर आप यह कर सकते हैं तो नेशनलाइज कीजिये। क्योंकि कोल एक बेसिक इंडस्ट्री है। इसका नेशनलाइजेशन अवश्य होना चाहिए। जो व्यक्ति राष्ट्र हित को सर्वोपरि समझता है वह इसका स्वागत करेगा। साथ ही आप ने कहा कि कोल का जितना प्रोडक्शन है पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना तक, जैसा कि हम डेवलपमेंट इन्वियेज करते हैं दुगना हो गया तो क्या फिजिकल टारगेट पूरे होंगे। यह केवल थ्योरी में नहीं रहना चाहिए और इस संबंध में मैं एक बात और यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ लोगों के लिए नेशनलाइजेशन एक सिद्धान्त हो सकता है हमारे देश में जैसा कि आपने इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी में माना है, एप्रोच प्राग्मेटिक होना चाहिए और आपके पास में कन्ट्रोल, स्टैच्युरी कन्ट्रोल की पावर कम नहीं है, जो लोग कम्प्यूज करते हैं लैसेसफेरी के उसूल को वह कन्ट्रोल के साइड इश्यूज को लोगों की नजरों में कम्प्यूज करने की कोशिश करते हैं। अगर गवर्नमेंट कन्ट्रोल की मशीन को पूरा शक्ति के साथ और इमानदारी के साथ इस्तेमाल करे तो देश में जो आब्जेक्टिव है कीमतों को नीचे

लाने का, प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाने का, रोजगार को ज्यादा देने का उसके लिए इसका बड़ी सफाई के साथ इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है। नेशनलाइजेशन हो और जहां नेशनलाइजेशन नहीं हो सकता है वहां पर कन्ट्रोल की मशीनरी का पूरी तरीके से इस्तेमाल किया जाये, प्राइस कन्ट्रोल हो, वेज बोर्ड के जरिये से मजदूरों को मजदूरी पर कन्ट्रोल हो, ट्रेड रिलेशनस मजदूरों के और इंडस्ट्री के कन्ट्रोल हों और साथ ही श्रीमन् मैं आप के द्वारा एक बात और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज बिना किसी कल्पना के एक लोक साइडेड डेवलपमेंट होता चला जा रहा है। रेलवे के फर्स्ट एण्ड सेकिन्ड क्लास इम्प्ला-इज ने काले बैज बांधना शुरू कर दिया है और स्ट्राइक नोटिस दे दिया। कल को कोल माइन्स के जो बड़े अधिकारी हैं उनकी तरफ से वे भी आप के पास नोटिस आयेगा। आज ऐसा लगता है कि होल नेशन ही भानो स्ट्राइक पर है। तो एक सिद्धान्त तो आप मानिये कि जहां पर एक्सप्लायट्स नहीं हैं, जहां पर एक्सप्लायटेड नहीं हैं जहां क्लास वार का कोई सिद्धान्त नहीं है, कम से कम उन नेशनलाइज्ड इंडस्ट्रीज के अन्दर तो स्ट्राइक और लाक आउट्स, या वे तरीके जिन की वजह से प्रोडक्शन कम होता है, उन को आप इल्लिगल करार दीजिये। ग्रीवियेंसेज के लिए आप मशीनरी बनाइये, हाईकोर्ट के जजेज को मुर्करर कीजिए। जिन के पास अगर वेजेज के संबंध में कोई ग्रीवियेंसेज हों या डिनाइल आफ जस्टिस के संबंध में कोई मामला हो, तो वह हल करने के लिए पेश किया जा सके। लेकिन आपका दिमाग किलयर नहीं है। तो एक तरफ तो आप क्लास वार को इन्करेज करते चले जाते हैं और कुछ लोग हैं जोकि उसमें आगे फोर रनर होकर चलते हैं और गवर्नमेंट को ऐसी एक स्थिति में लाना चाहते हैं कानून करके कि जहां पर सिवाय इसके कि कीमतें बढ़ाई जाय गवर्नमेंट के सामने और कोई चारा नहीं रहता, बेबस होकर गवर्नमेंट को कीमतें बढ़ानी पड़ती

[श्री बनारसी दास]

हैं और उसका लाजमी नतीजा इन्फ्लेशन होता है और ऐसी स्थिति में हमारी इकानामी आ जाती है कि जिस में एक्सप्लोजन हो जाये, कंम्लीट कयास हो जाय। तो नेशनलाइजेशन करने से पहले आप का दिमाग साफ होना चाहिए, दिमाग के अन्दर कोहरा नहीं होना चाहिए, दिमाग के अन्दर कंफ्यूजन नहीं होना चाहिए। और दिमाग बिल्कुल साफ होना चाहिए कि नेशनलाइजेशन आपके लिए एंड है या नेशनलाइजेशन आप के लिए मीन्स है। हमारी नजरों में नेशनलाइजेशन एंड नहीं मीन्स है और एंड है राष्ट्र की प्रासपैरिटी। एंड है जनता का कल्याण। एंड है जो लोग की पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे हैं उनको ऊपर उठाना और देश में एक सोशल जस्टिस की आधार-शिला कायम करना, एक मजबूत स्तंभ पैदा करना, यह एंड हो सकता है। नेशनलाइजेशन मीन्स है, यह एंड नहीं हो सकता।

और इस एंड को मद्देनजर रख कर के आप नेशनलाइजेशन कीजिये, कोल-माइन्स का कीजिये, जहां आवश्यकता हो, वहां पर कीजिये। प्राफिटियरिंग को रोकने के लिये, एक्सप्लायटेशन को रोकने के लिए कीजिये। मुझे उम्मीद है कि माननीय मंत्री जी ने जब कि यह कदम उठाया है, कोयले के बारे में—और स्टील भी उन्हीं के पास है—तो कम से कम एक साल के अन्दर ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करेंगे कि कोयले की कीमत दो तीन साल पहले जो थी उस नीचे स्तर पर ले आयेंगे और यह रा-मैटीरियल जो कोल और स्टील का है, वह थोड़ा चीपर बनाएंगे जिससे कि फिनिश्ड गुड्स की कीमतें भी कम हों और प्राइज का कंट्रोल इफैक्टिवली किया जा सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ, मैं इस आशा के साथ इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ कि असली आब्जेक्टिव पूरा होगा, मजदूरों की सुरक्षा अधिक होगी और कंजुमर्स को सस्ते दामों में कोयला मिल सकेगा। यदि यह नहीं किया तो मैं समझूंगा कि नेशनलाइजेशन का आपने दुरुपयोग किया और नेशनलाइजेशन का आपने

और लोगों का एक्सप्लायटेशन करने के लिए इस्तेमाल किया।

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I warmly congratulate the Minister of Mines for having taken this bold step in the interest of development of our national economy. Taking over of 700 and odd number of mines at a time spread over six different States is not a very small thing and I certainly appreciate the courage shown by the Minister; under Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam we have seen this progress from copper to coking coal :o Indian Iron and Steel and now non-coking coal. All this has happened only within two years and this is certainly a very admirable performance.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI :
You have forgotten copper.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Copper I have stated; I started with copper in fact. Sir, I admire Mr. Kumaramangalam for his steady but sure steps forward, one firm forward step at a time and in time, thereby adding a new momentum every time to our determined march towards the goal we have set before ourselves.

I need not put forward any argument in justification of this measure. Mr. Mohta tried to put forward the case of the big business under the cloak of pleading for the small man and the Minister has already answered it. There is absolutely no doubt that this industry has gone under public control and public ownership throughout the world except perhaps in the USA and its nationalisation has been long overdue in this country. This industry plays a very important role in our national economy; it is the principal source of our energy and such an industry needs quick development. From about 70 to 75 million tonnes annually we want to take it to 150 million tonnes and it requires a huge investment. The private sector which has been holding this industry so far has proved to be absolutely incompetent either to expand or to develop or to do justice to the workers and to the national economy. Therefore I need not go into other arguments by way of justifying this

measure. This industry so far held by the private sector had become a fortress of corruption, dishonesty, inefficiency and swindle, swindle of the nation, swindle of the workers and this Bill only seeks to level that fortress to the ground and I therefore welcome it.

Sir, the only point that strikes me is when you have taken over the entire coal industry, why leave aside the captive mines of TISCO ? Why is this? Why not the entire industry come under public control, public ownership, so that we may develop it in a coordinated manner with a national policy in this regard ? I have not been able to understand the precise reason why the coal industry under TISCO has not been taken over.

Secondly, there is the point about 20 paise compensation. The Bill says that the intention of taking over the coal mines is ultimately to nationalise them. Only because you say this you have to pay this compensation of 20 paise. If without saying that you just take over for the time being for a limited period of two or three years you need not pay any compensation and later on we may nationalise it.

So, why do you try this experiment today only by declaring the intention that you are going to do something tomorrow? We can very well keep it under our own management, under State management for two or three years. Then, I do not think we have to pay any compensation, but we shall have to pay compensation when the ultimate intention is made clear. Why do you not then straightway go in for nationalisation ? Why this intermediary stage? I fail to understand this particular point. Then, Sir, when compensation is paid, whatever be the amount, I submit that some amount must be deducted from the compensation to be paid to the mine-owners for : (1) the amounts due to the workers on provident fund account; (2) wages, unpaid to the labourers; (3) assistance given by the Coal Board and subsidies given for labour welfare schemes etc. which were misappropriated and not utilised; (4) royalty and cess not paid on production which was concealed and unaccounted. Some part of the production

was unaccounted by the mine-owners and to that extent they have not paid royalty and cess. We should realise it from the compensation to be paid to the mine-owners. I am wondering why this provision is not there. Most probably the Minister might have forgotten it. I do not know. Even if this decision cannot be introduced right now in the Bill, I hope some steps will be taken to rectify this mistake or lacuna.

Now, what I am going to suggest is important. I know that the public sector of late has been improving. I have seen the Minister saying in the other House that in the public sector we have got some very excellent and competent men. I do not deny that there are very competent men. But what I insist is that we must have a correct and comprehensive management policy so far as the public sector is concerned. In this regard I suggested some time back that we should build up a special cadre specially trained for the purpose. People who are trained for the IAS or IPS or that kind of thing or people who have retired from the Army just do not fit in. After all the people who manage the public sector industries must know something about industry something about business and something about commerce. This business management has been overlooked. So, I would insist that there must be a special cadre built up for the entire public sector and particularly in this case I hope Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam will make a beginning.

Then, I do not want that all the former officers in these mines should be dismissed. Those who are competent, those who are honest, those who did not take part in the crimes committed by the mine-owners and who were free from guilt should be retained. Also some of the mining engineers who started small mines should not be displaced. Their services should be fully utilised, although they happened to be owners of small mines in the past and if they are not otherwise guilty. At the same time I would suggest that the mining engineers who will be mainly responsible for managing these mines, for working these mines and developing these mines should also be given training in cost accounting. Not only in this case but the engineer

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

in other cases also should know cost accounting. In this particular case I would suggest in order to improve the efficiency of the mining industry and the coal-mine industry and in order to make this industry contribute substantially and significantly to the national economy the mining engineers will have to be mainly responsible for conducting the mining operations and they should also be given some training in cost accounting.

Take labour relations. In the past labour relations were not good in the coal industry. Everybody knows it. Very often we have heard in this House itself trade union leaders complaining about injustice done to the labour in coalmines. If my estimate is correct about Rs.22 crores have been misappropriated by the mine-owners and this amount was due to about 4 lakh workers on provident fund account alone. That indicates to what extent or what is the state of labour relations in the coal-mines. I hope when the Government has taken over, the situation will improve. Then, the contract labour system must be given up. Either we take them in as regular employees or if we do not need, them, they may be employed elsewhere. The system of contract labour cannot be done away with at one stroke, I know. But as early as possible, this system should be completely abolished.

Housing conditions of the labourers are absolutely hopeless. I do not want to go into the figures again. They must be improved. I understand that there are Rs.7 crores in the Labour Welfare Organisation Fund and that amount can be very well utilised for improving the housing conditions of the labourers.

Mr. Banarsi Das suggested about compulsory insurance and that must be there.

But the most important step that you have to take not only in the case of the coal industry but in the case of other industries also that come under the public sector is workers' participation in management. As I understand socialism, I do not think nationalisation by itself is socialism unless the workers are made

to actively participate in the management and they become part of it. They must play a part in the management of the industry after nationalisation. Only then it will be a significant step towards socialism. Otherwise, mere nationalisation itself will not lead us towards socialism. Therefore, I lay special emphasis on workers' participation in management.

Immediately after the takeover, the prices of coal have gone up, particularly that part of coal which is used for domestic purposes or for brick burning. We also know why they have gone up. There are people, some middlemen, black-marketeers and profiteers who have deliberately created a situation of short supply and rising prices in order to discredit the Government of India or Mr. Kumaramangalam or nationalisation itself. This is the cause. And the prices should be curtailed.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Is it not a fact that the wages of the labourers were to be increased and therefore the prices have naturally gone up?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I do not agree that wages can be increased by allowing the prices to rise. The prices have been allowed to rise—where ? In that section where it goes into private consumption, domestic consumption so that the people may directly feel the impact and revolt against, nationalisation. A short supply situation has been created deliberately although I know that the distribution system is not perfect. I also know that there is a shortage of wagons, railway wagons. We need about 2800 wagons for coal in place of which we have 1700 wagons. Shortage of wagons, defective distribution system and supply system. . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI :
Then why accuse ?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : . . . and over and above, the black-marketeers and the profiteers have deliberately created this situation of rising prices and short supply in order to discredit the taking over of the coal industry. I hope that the Minister will take quick action in this matter. There should be a proper distribution system also. That is the need of the hour. I hope the Minister will not lose any

time in setting up this machinery «-> hat people do not suffer from shortage of coal or high prices.

Ours is a vast country. And coal comes mainly from the Eastern region and partly from Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. It is to be carried all over the country and supplied. So, I suggest that coal depots may be set-up region-wise as centres for supply of coal in different regions under the direct responsibility of the Government itself.

Then, Sir, I may also suggest that the entire coal industry needs reorganisation including the Coal Board, the Coal Controller's Organisation, the Coal Mines Provident Fund and the Coal Mines Welfare Organisation. The whole set-up needs thorough overhauling and reorganising. Otherwise, I have doubts whether we will not face a number of difficulties in progressing forward.

Sir, I would submit to the Minister another very important point. I hope Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam will lend me his cars.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJU):
Please spare the Minister, Mr. Krishan Kant.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I am drawing his attention with some purpose. There is an urgent need of reassessment of the existing reserves, colliery by colliery, and for exploring new reserves. In this connection I draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the North-Eastern region. The North-Eastern region produces very little coal today. But a few months ago I told the Minister personally that the entire North-Eastern region of Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Arunachal and Nagaland has not been properly and thoroughly surveyed by the Geological Survey of India. Till now little coal has been discovered, but we think much more wealth lies hidden in that area. Not only coal but many other mineral resources exist there. But a survey has not been made. That is why this entire region remains unexplored and unexploited. So far as mineral wealth is concerned, I would request the Minister to set up a special regional centre of the Geological Survey of India

in that area so that the operations can be directly conducted with direction from the spot in order to have a thorough and complete survey of this area so that the geological wealth lying hidden may be exploited for the national purpose.

Finally, Sir, I conclude by saying that we are also in need of a Comprehensive fuel policy including not only coal but also oil. I know oil does not come under Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam. But he is a very dynamic man. He has shown the way and he will take steps and, through him, I put it to the Government of India that a comprehensive fuel policy has become the need of the hour. I need not explain to him my idea. I hope the hon. Minister has understood my point. We know the requirement of fuel today and we can very well envisage the requirement of ten or twenty years hence. Unless we have a comprehensive fuel policy we will be in serious trouble. I, therefore, hope that Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam will take some steps in that direction to evolve as early as possible a comprehensive fuel policy including oil and coal. And then a master plan will be required, a master plan for the whole country, for exploration; for development, for production and for distribution. This is the most important task in fulfilling which the Mines Minister can certainly play a very significant role and make a lasting contribution. Let me hope that Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam will accept this challenge. Bold and dynamic and a man of action as he is, he will help in accelerating our development in this very vital and significant sector of the national economy. With these words I support the Bill.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) :
उपसभापति महोदय, मंत्री महोदय ने अपने कथन में यह कहा कि ब्रिटेन में भी कोल माइन्स का नेशनलाइजेशन हो चुका है और इस नाते से इसके अन्दर कोई बड़ा सैद्धांतिक प्रश्न नहीं है, यह एक बेसिक इंडस्ट्री है और इस नाते से उसका राष्ट्रीयकरण किया गया है तो किसी को आपत्ति नहीं करनी चाहिए। जिस समय आपने

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

कोकिंग कोल माइन्स का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया था उस समय एक अवसर था कि आप इन खानों का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लेते। उस समय अगर आप उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण करते तो आज जो तर्क आपने दिए हैं कि पैसा इनवेस्ट नहीं हो रहा है, वेज बोर्ड की पालिसी लागू नहीं की जा रही है, प्रावी-डेण्ट फंड इकट्ठा हो गया है, क्या वे सारे के सारे हालात उस समय नहीं थे और अगर उस समय थे, तो उस समय क्यों नहीं किया? उस समय कम्पेनसेशन देने की जो प्रक्रिया आपने अपनाई और उसमें जो आपत्तियां हुईं उसके कारण से इन खान मालिकों के दिमाग में यह बात पैदा हुई कि हमारी खानों का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण होगा और उसके कारण से उनके अन्दर किसी भी प्रकार का इनवेस्टमेंट होना, किसी भी प्रकार का सुधार होना बिलकुल बन्द हो गया। यह बात मैं नहीं कहता। उपसभापति महोदय, श्री कल्याण राय जो इस सदन के सदस्य हैं और माइनिंग के अन्दर रुचि रखते हैं, उन्होंने एक किताब संकुलित की थी। उसके अन्दर स्वयं जो हमारे मंत्री थे, लेबर मिनिस्टर श्री आर० के० खाडिलकर साहब उनका एक लेटर श्री कल्याण राय ने उद्धृत किया है। उसमें यह बात साफ हो जाती है कि उस समय जो कोकिंग कोल का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया उसके कारण से इन बातों में खराबी पैदा हुई। अगर आपको लेना था यह मानकर कि बेसिक इंडस्ट्री है तो मैं मान सकता था, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने जान-बूझकर इनकी हालत में बिगाड़ पैदा किया और यह श्रीमन्, खाडिलकर साहब का 22 फरवरी का पत्र है। जो कि श्री कल्याण राय ने कोट किया है —

"Insofar as the enforcement of Safety Regulations is concerned, the Director-General of Mines Safety has reported that initially the take-over of coking coal mines did have some adverse impact on the working of the remaining coal mines, particularly in J

the Raniganj Coalfield. However, it is possible that the standards of maintenance of machinery would go down. But the Director-General of Mines Safety would be keeping a careful watch."

इसी के साथ, उपसभापति महोदय, श्री कल्याण राय ने कोट किया है—

"Lately fear of Government taking over of non-coking coal mines following the recent nationalisation of coking coal mines has made the private sector coal industry shy. The standard of implementation of safety laws in some of these mines is generally going down since the owners are not investing any capital and even for day-to-day running of the mines, there is not sufficient spending of money by them."

यह स्वयं इस बात का प्रमाण है। मैंने कहा कि आखिर आपने डेढ़ साल तक इनकी हालत को बिगड़ने क्यों दिया? आपको करना था तो बेसिक इंडस्ट्री के नाते से आपको राष्ट्रीयकरण करना चाहिए था और उचित समय पर करते, लेकिन जान-बूझकर इनकी हालत खराब की जाए और फिर हमें यह आर्गुमेंट दिया; मुझे खूशी है कि श्री कल्याण राय ने उनके ही आर्गुमेंट्स को कोट करके यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि गवर्नमेंट ने इनकी हालत को जान-बूझकर खराब करने में सहयोग दिया।

जब राष्ट्रीयकरण किया गया तो सदन की बैठक होने वाली थी। उसके दो सप्ताह पहले आर्डिनेन्स लाकर राष्ट्रपति महोदय के द्वारा आप इसका राष्ट्रीयकरण करते हैं तो उस समय कौन-सी तुक थी? आपने वेट क्यों नहीं किया? जिस समय आपने पहली माइंस का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया था उसी समय कर सकते थे, कोई दिक्कत नहीं थी। लेकिन जब सदन की बैठक होने वाली है उसके दो सप्ताह पहले आर्डिनेन्स के द्वारा राष्ट्रीयकरण करना, इसमें कौन-सी तुक है? जब कि सदन में पहले भी चर्चा हुई कि आखिर आर्डिनेन्स की जो पावर गवर्नमेंट के पास है उसका उपयोग

एक्स्ट्रा-आर्डिनरी सिचुएशन पैदा हो जाए उस समय, उस हालत के अन्दर करना चाहिए, हर हालत में नहीं। ऐसी बात नहीं थी कि कोई बड़ी चीज लीक-आउट हो रही थी। ऐसी चीज ऐसी गोपनीय बात नहीं थी जो लीक-आउट हो जाती कि आप तत्काल जाकर कब्जा करना चाहते थे। अब तो यह बात सिद्ध हो गई कि कोल माइंस के जो ओनर थे उनको मालूम था कि नेशनलाइजेशन होने वाला है। वह किसी प्रकार का इन्वेस्टमेंट नहीं कर रहे थे, वह हाथ-पर-हाथ रख कर बैठे हुए थे। आपके आर्डिनैस लाने के कौन-से कारण थे? मैं कहूंगा कि आर्डिनैस लाने की पद्धति ठीक नहीं थी। श्री मोहन कुमार-मंगलम स्वयं भी कानून के पंडित हैं और कानून के पंडित में इस प्रकार की आशा नहीं थी कि संविधान ने जो हमको अधिकार दिये हैं उनका इस प्रकार दुरुपयोग होगा। इस तरह आर्डिनैस लाने के लिए जहां तक सरकार गई है, जिस हद तक गई है और जिस तरह से सरकार अपने अधिकारों का दुरुपयोग करती है, उसका मैं विरोध करता हूं।

उपसभापति महोदय, बहुत-सी बातें कही गईं। अभी बाबू भाई चिन्ताय कह रहे थे कि इन्वेस्टमेंट के अन्दर गवर्नमेंट को पैसा लगाना पड़ता है। उन्होंने रिजर्व बैंक की रिपोर्ट पढ़ी। मैं भी रिजर्व बैंक की एक रिपोर्ट को कोट करता हूं। उन्होंने कहा है—

"According to a Reserve Bank study, the rate of growth in gross fixed investment for the coal industry in the last four years was 6.3 per cent, as compared to 5.9 per cent in Cotton Textiles, 6 per cent in Cement, 5.1 per cent in Paper, 3.3 per cent in Oil and 5.8 per cent in Steel."

तो अगर हम यह कम्पेरीजन करें तो माननीय मंत्री जी कहेंगे कि बिल्कुल इन्वेस्टमेंट नहीं हुआ है। यह मैं मान सकता हूं कि जब से आपने बाकी कोल माइन्स का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया है, उसके बाद से वह शायद गिरा होगा। लेकिन जो रिजर्व बैंक की रिपोर्ट है, उसको आप देख

लीजिये, उसमें उन्होंने यह नहीं माना है कि बाकी इंडस्ट्रीज के मुकाबिले में यहां हालत बड़ी बदतर हो गई थी। यह मैं मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूं। इसके साथ उन्होंने यह भी कहा है—

"The t/oss block of the mines increased from Rs. 40.94 crores in 1965 to Rs. 53.56 crores in 1971. The value of other assets in 1971 amounted to Rs. 21.69 crores and capital funds plus reserve Rs. 28.40 crores."

इतना ही नहीं, इसके अलावा 17 करोड़ रु० की विदेशी मशीनरी भी ले करके उसके अन्दर लगी है। तो यह जो स्थिति कोल माइन्स की चल रही थी उससे यह नहीं लगता कि उनकी हालत खराब थी। जहां तक वेज बोर्ड का सवाल है, वेज बोर्ड के अनुसार कर्मचारियों को वेतन दिया जाता है या नहीं दिया जाता है, मैं इसके सैद्धांतिक पक्ष में नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन जहां तक व्यवस्था की बात मंत्री महोदय ने कही, मैं उनके अयुमेंट से बता रहा हूं कि किस प्रकार स्वयं सरकार ने अपने इन अयुमेंट से इन्कार किया है। एक मीटिंग हुई 12 जनवरी, 1973 को। उसमें यह हुआ—

"At a tripatite meeting held on 12th January, 1973 at New Delhi under the chairmanship of the Union Minister for Labour and Rehabilitation, it was disclosed by the Minister of Labour that 80 per cent of the workers were enjoying the benefits of the Wage Board recommendations and that 20 per cent of the collieries which were small and producing low grade coal were unable to implement owing to the extremely low price realization of the coal."

यह स्वयं मंत्री महोदय ने जो लेबर के थे, उन्होंने 12 जनवरी, 1973 को स्वीकार किया है। तो भी अयुमेंट्स मंत्री महोदय ने दिये, मंझे लगता है कि उनमें कोई भी तुक नहीं है कि हमने इस कारण से इनका राष्ट्रीय-कारण किया। मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार हूं

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर]

कि यह बेसिक इंडस्ट्री है और देश का सारा उद्योग इस पर निर्भर है और इसको ऐसे लोगों के हाथ में नहीं छोड़ा जा सकता, जो इसका एक्सप्लायटेशन करें। यह एक सैद्धांतिक बात है। लेकिन जो आपने इनकी डिटेरियोरेशन की हालत के बारे में बात कही है, चाहे वह इन्वेस्टमेंट की बात हो, चाहे वेज बोर्ड की बात हो, इनकी हालत अगर बिगाड़ी तो किसने बिगाड़ी। स्वयं सरकार ने बिगाड़ी है। उनकी हालत बिगाड़ने का अगर कोई कारण हो सकता है, तो सरकार स्वयं हो सकती है।

जहां तक पैसा वसूली की बात है, अभी स्वयं आप के कांग्रेस के एक सदस्य कह रहे थे कि यह बात बिल्कुल सही है कि राष्ट्रीयकरण करने के बाद सरकार ने स्वयं कोल की कीमत बढ़ाई। जब तक सरकार ने इसका राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं किया, तब तक कोल की कीमत नहीं बढ़ी। राष्ट्रीयकरण होने के बाद उम्मीद यह थी कि कोल ठीक ढंग से मिलेगा और उसकी कीमत नहीं बढ़ेगी। जहां तक प्राइवेट हैंड्स में वह था, उस समय तक सरकार ने दाम बढ़ाना अलाऊ नहीं किया और जब यह इनके साथ में आया तो इनके हाथ में आते ही इन्होंने इसके दाम बढ़ा दिये। आखिर, राष्ट्रीयकरण के माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय जो हमें देना चाहते हैं, वह क्या यही है? इसी प्रकार की स्थिति वे पैदा करना चाहते हैं इस इंडस्ट्री के अन्दर। जिस दिन मंत्री महोदय सदन में वक्तव्य दे रहे थे, जब कि मजदूरों ने अपने वेतन के लिए प्रदर्शन किया था, तो उन्होंने यह स्वीकार किया था। आखिर कितने मजदूर हैं। आपने कहा कि कोल माइंस की स्थिति वैसी नहीं है, वहां के लेबर की स्थिति वैसी नहीं है, जैसी कि बाकी इंडस्ट्रीज में है। जैसा कि मोहता साहब के वक्तव्य के उत्तर में आपने स्वयं माना कि कोयले के लेबर की स्थिति और बाकी जो आर्गेनाइज्ड इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उनके लेबर की स्थिति से भिन्न है। तो यह मान कर चलना होगा कि जो लेबर वहां

अपनी वेजेज डिमांड करने गये, वे उसके अन्दर काम करते थे। मुझे पता लगा, कोल-फील्ड में काम करने वालों से कि हर एक लेबर को पूरे शायद 31 दिन या 30 दिन काम करने को नहीं मिलता था। कोई 25 दिन काम करता है कोई 20 दिन काम करता है। तो इस प्रकार की स्थिति वहां पर है। आज जो रजिस्टर आप मेन्टेन करवाना चाहते हैं तो उस के मायने यह है कि मजदूरों का एक बहुत बड़ा सेक्टर कोल फील्ड्स में इम्प्लायमेंट के बाहर चला जाएगा, उनके कारण और नहीं जायेगा, तो आपने कहा कि वहां केवल 570 इलिस्टेड थे और 25 हजार आदमी वहां पर तनख्वाह मांगने आ गये। तो इसके मायने यह नहीं है कि वह लोग वहां काम नहीं करते थे। हो सकता है कि उन में से कुछ लोगों ने वहां दस दिन काम किया हो, कुछ ने 15 दिन काम किया हो; क्योंकि वहां इसी प्रकार की पद्धति है और उसको आप ने स्वयं ही स्वीकार किया है कि कोल माइन्स में काम करने का तरीका बाकी इंडस्ट्रीज में लेबर के काम करने के तरीके से भिन्न है, दोनों में अंतर है। तो आप उनको वेतन देने में क्यों कतराते चले जाते हैं। आप को इस प्रश्न पर गंभीरता से विचार करना पड़ेगा।

एक बात मैं आप से और निवेदन करना चाहूंगा जो कस्टोडियन्स की नियुक्ति के संबंध में है। आप ने उन के लिए कौन से क्राइटेरिया अपनाये, किस आधार पर आप कस्टोडियन्स की नियुक्ति करेंगे। हो सकता है कि आप के संबंधी भी उस में काम कर रहे हों। अगर वे योग्य हैं तो वे कस्टोडियन्स हो सकते हैं, लेकिन आप की नीयत पर कोई शंका न लाये किसी तरह की, इस नाते आप को सदन को बतलाना चाहिए कि आप उन के लिए कौन से क्राइटेरिया फिक्स करने जा रहे हैं और किस आधार पर आप उनको अप्वाइंट करना चाहेंगे।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं इस नाते से कहना चाहूंगा कि जो कारण माननीय मंत्री जी ने गिनाये वह कारण इस पर लागू नहीं होते। सरकार ने स्वयं कोल माइन्स की स्थिति

खराब होने के लिए ऐसे हालात पैदा किये और उन सब की जिम्मेदारी सरकार के ऊपर है। सरकार का कोई भी आर्गुमेंट वैलिड नहीं है और इस बारे में आर्डिनंस ला कर सरकार ने आर्डिनंस लाने की प्रथा का जो दुरुपयोग किया है मैं उसका गंभीर रूप से विरोध करता हूं और कम से कम इस काम में जहां पर कि प्रायः सभी को पता लग गया था कि उन कोल माइन्स का राष्ट्रीयकरण होने वाला है और आर्डिनंस नहीं लाना चाहिए था। सब लोगों ने इस बात को माना है और बाकी के सदस्य भी कह रहे हैं और कहेंगे कि जितने कोल माइन ओनर्स थे उन्होंने जितने प्रकाशन लेने चाहिए थे, जितना पैसा बचाना चाहिए था उसे बचा लिया और वह सारे प्रकाशन उन्होंने ले लिये, पिछले डेढ़ साल से निरंतर उन्होंने ऐसे तरीके अपनाये कि जिन के चलते उनका पैसा बचता चला जा रहा था और इस नाते एक प्रकार से माननीय मंत्री जी ने स्वयं उनको लाभ पहुंचाया है और उनके द्वारा जितना पैसा लिया जा सकता था लिया है और उन के द्वारा उन खानों की हालत खराब करवायी है और इसकी जिम्मेदारी सारी माननीय मंत्री जी की है। यही मुझे निवेदन करना है।

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT
(Madhya Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, The Coal Mines (Taking Over of Management) Bill, 1973, brought before the House deserves to be welcome and I congratulate the hon. Minister for having brought this Bill.

Sir, in all genuineness I feel that this is right step in the right direction. It was our feeling that the Government has slightly delayed in bringing this Bill. But one can understand that such an important measure like this cannot be taken up in haste. All the pros and cons have to be gone into. Therefore I would say that it was in the wisdom of the Government that they brought in a little late. All the same a measure of this nature cannot be undertaken after it is fully discussed here. Therefore, Government is perfectly justified in bring-

ing forward an ordinance first to take over the management of all these mines.

Sir, this is not something new that we have been asking for. We have been asking for it since 1949. 'We' mean organised working class. It is true that an industry of such a big magnitude and of such basic importance to the development of the country cannot be run by the private sector. It cannot be left in the hands of private owners. This matter was discussed in the Estimates Committee when they examined the working of the coal mines in 1954-55. On that occasion, the Committee had observed :

If nationalisation is postponed by 25 years and (he industry is given a free hand, there will be little left at the end of the period for the country to take over. We will be left with a number of units, which, if not affected by underground fires, and other hazardous conditions, would be uneconomic to work.

".. At that stage the prospects of the nationalised mines producing the requirements of the country at a fair cost will be remote and the chances of nationalisation not succeeding will be greater."

Not only this, Sir. The finding of the Estimates Committee was that little fresh capital had flowed into the industry and that there had been little progress towards mechanisation and, therefore, technically the industry was still underdeveloped. The Committee had, therefore, no alternative but to come to the conclusion that in the long run nationalisation of the coal industry was essential in the interest of industrial development.

Sir, it is not something extraordinary that the management of the industry has been taken over. It should have been taken over much earlier. All the same, better late than never. Sir, my friend, Shri Mobta, made a comparison of nationalisation of this with the nationalisation of the legal profession or the medical profession. It is not so, Sir. The point is that in an industry of this nature it requires reserves, it requires constant development and we know the way-

[Shri Nand Kishore Bhatt]

in which the colliery owners in our country had dealt with the mines. They believed only in profit-making and in exploitation and not even for a moment did they think of developing those mines. In a modern society, Sir, it is the State alone which should undertake the development of the industry of a vital nature like coal mining. Sir, the point that was made by my friend on the other side was that the private management was doing a good job. Sir, for the last one year, thinking that the mines were going to be nationalised, they did not take any interest and that was precisely the reason why there was a demand that the coal mines should be nationalised.

Sir, the other day a very serious and major accident took place in which many precious lives were lost and this brings us to a major point. After nationalisation, the Government will have to take some positive steps to look into the safety of working in the mines. There is a lot of potentiality and the potentialities for having safety measures in the mines will have to be utilised by the nationalised mines which no single employer could have done. Then, Sir, the delay in bringing forward an amendment to the Mines Act is one of the main reasons and we hope that when the Mines Act is amended properly, it will provide for all possible care to be taken for providing minimum conditions for safe working and safe operations in the mines and for constant improvement. This will naturally require constant consultation and dialogue between the representatives of the workers and the management because the trade union people are as much conversant with the working of the mines as the technicians are. I think that the new amendment to the Act will help the Government in seeing that hereafter no such casualty takes place and all possible and feasible steps will be taken to avoid such a major accident, which took place the other day in Jitpur Colliery.

Sir, in the case of accidents and disasters, where Courts of Inquiry have been constituted, we do not know how far the recommendations of these Courts were implemented. This requires to be

brought to the notice of this House, Sir. No doubt, Sir, while complimenting the honourable Minister for the immediate steps that he has taken to announce the appointment of a Court of Inquiry, I would at the same time like to know from the Government as to how far the recommendations of the Courts of Inquiry held in respect of accidents that took place previously have been implemented and in how many cases follow-up action still remained to have been taken. Sir, in the present case, I am sure the court of inquiry will associate representatives of labour and other specialists who very well understand the interests of the industry and also the interests of the workers who have been working there.

Sir, it has been said that there has to be effective participation, it is hoped that in this new venture which the Government of India has taken—it will not only be a slogan but it will be given proper effect also—the trade representatives will be associated at all levels.

Sir, this industry which has been nationalized has passed through various stages. There were private collieries. There were collieries owned by the Government of India through the National Coal Development Corporation. In the NCDC collieries all the recommendations of the Wage Board and legal provision are properly implemented. . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : What about the losses ?

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT : I will come to losses also. There were collieries that were never registered. Under-hand dealings were taking place. There were officers who were paid huge salaries of four thousand or five thousand rupees a month. What for ? They were being paid this huge salary because they were a party to the private colliery owners in all these under-hand dealings they were indulging in and it was as a prize that the officers got so much. I hope that in this new set-up due consideration will be given and due care will be taken to see that the officers are the best. I can say in respect of those officers, who took their degrees, after spending a lot of money and after undergoing hardships, who come to the

public sector instead of going to the private sector, that it is not a less patriotic service than any others can claim. At least in the set up that will be created by the Custodian, this aspect will be taken care of fully and the question of seniority and merit will be taken into fullest consideration. Such officers who were indulging in under-hand deals should be transferred or retired so that they, because they have got enough money, can go and start new industries.

Sir, another ill with which this industry was suffering from was at the hands of contractors. We have passed here the Contract (Abolition) Labour Act, but that remains only on paper. I feel that the contract system should be done away with. In the present set-up the contractors were charging Rs. 7.50 but they were paying only Rs. 3/- to the labourers who were made to put their thumb for Rs. 5/-. That is what is going on. Now, in the larger interests, I would say that this policy contract system must be done away with once and for all.

Sir, in 1942, to boost up the coal production and meet war requirements the then Government, the British Government had their own policy regarding the recruitment of workers. I am glad that that organization has gone. We do not believe in that. We do not want any discrimination between one worker and another. There are some 'feelings in our friends from U.P., particularly coming from that side. But we have nothing against them. Any worker can talk to another worker. I remember there was a Sardar who would not tolerate this. A *dander* will be there so that he does not open his mouth. They are being used as a terror to other workers so that they can have the things done as they wanted. It has been a very proud class of workers. The people in the coal mines are very hard working people and we feel that justice should be done to them and they should be treated as other workers in other places are treated. I would only say that after these consultations, immediate steps should be taken to improve the service conditions. I would expect that continuity of service and security of employment will be there, the difference between temporary

I and casual workers will go and the payment of past dues will be given top priority by the management. All the awards and agreements which have been entered between the workers and the management will be implemented. With these words, I welcome the Bill. I congratulate the Minister for having brought it.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : When we are discussing about the Coal Mines Takeover Bill, the United States Senate is also discussing the strip Mining Control Bill. It appeared in yesterday's New York Times. In evidence before the United States Senate Committee, the coal leaders and the leaders of various States stated this :

"A great world energy conglomeration interested only in profit has exploited resources all over the world with little, if any, concern for the people of this country who either consume their products or work to produce them."

If this is the condition in the United States on March 15, then one can imagine the working conditions in this country so far. If tributes have to be paid and garlands have to be given, then they should be given to the leaders of the trade union organisations like INTUC, Hind Mazdoor Sabha and All India Trade Union Congress who have been agitating since not the day when Mr. Kumaramangalam became the Cabinet Minister, but for the last 20 years for taking over all the coal mines. There have been shooting on this issue. People have gone to jails. Thousands have lost their jobs in the last 20 years on this demand.

Sir, a resolution was passed unanimously in West Bengal Assembly in May requesting the Government of India to take over the entire non coking coal mines. When the Government did not move with the workers, they had to go on an all-India strike on the 15th of January. The first issue was the takeover of the non-coking coal mines. It is the first time in the history of the trade union movement in this country that 4 lakh workers went on strike affecting 800 coal mines. Even the workers from the mines which were taken over went on strike on this issue. Therefore, if

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congratulations have to be given, and if flowers have to be given, they should be given to the miners who went down and worked even without getting their wages. But I will be failing in my duties if I do not congratulate the Minister of Mines who at last took courage in his hands and fought more inside the Cabinet than outside in order to get the Bill passed because I know how his dear Cabinet colleagues and how some of the Chief Ministers opposed this Bill tooth and nail.

Sir, the coal industry was the biggest generator of black money. The entire Bihar politics was vitiated by black money coming out of coal mines. One has only to read Shri K. B. Sahay Enquiry report to find out how much money came out of the coal mines and where did it go. This money was also playing in West Bengal politics and it has lately entered into Madhya Pradesh. Why do I call it the biggest generator of black money? It is because what was shown to the income-tax authorities on account of wage bill and other bills was not actually paid. The difference was pocketed. It is presumed that about 20 to 30 crores of black money used to be pocketed by the mine owners in various States, particularly the mine owners of the non-coking mines.

Sir, I leave that aside, Mr. Kumaramangalam pointed out in the Lok Sabha also in his speeches—it is known to everybody—that there have been plenty of awards giving wage rise, for housing, medical facilities, leave, sickness benefits, bonus and because of that the coal price was raised. The mine-owners used to come and say "How can we pay so much to the workers unless you increase the coal price?" In the last ten years, the coal price was increased many times; a 100% increase was made in the last ten years in coal price, from 1947 to 1972. But later on when the workers demanded an inquiry, it was found out—and it was admitted on the floor of the House—that 70% of the workers did not receive any wages—leave aside the wages as per the Wage Board's recommendations. Can

you believe a worker going down and working in a mine going week after week on the pay day—Saturday is the pay day—and asking the manager for his weekly pay and the manager saying "*Calcutta se paiua nahin a, ya*" ? In other words, money has not come from Calcutta. He goes the next week and gets the same reply; he goes the third week and gets the same answer. Later on he is called one evening by one of the big tough men of the manager and he says "If you take less wages and give your thumb impression in receipt of full wages, then only you will be paid". And that is not an exception; that is the rule. If you go to the coal mines you will see the pay counters. In the coal mines, a literate worker is a suspect. There are special instructions that any worker who knows how to sign should not be allowed to sign. Therefore, the hole at the pay counter is so very small that a worker can only push his thumb inside in order to give his thumb impression. That was the condition prevailing till 1973; this mediaeval condition was continuing till then.

When the workers demand payment of bonus, wages or salary, they are threatened with closure. You have heard in this House Mr. Kumaramangalam state that about 65 coal mines have been closed down in the non-coking coal mines in the Raniganj belt alone—the rest of India I am leaving; I am leaving Jharia and Madhya Pradesh where coal mines have been closed down—not because the mines were exhausted, not because there is no coal but only to pressurise the workers to accept lesser wages. For five months, six months, eight months or two years the coal mines were closed down. Permanent workers do not get retrenchment benefits. After they leave, the mine is reopened with new hands and thus crores of rupees are saved. That was the rule which has been admitted on the floor of the House and yet the Government did not have courage enough to pull up the mine and ask them to open the mines. And the answer so far : "We are prosecuting them; the Coal Board has launched prosecution

for closure without permission." And this is what was happening in the coal mines.

Can you imagine that we have the greatest number of fires in the coal mines in the world ? If you go to Bihar, if you go to the Asansol area you will find fires raging all over, in mine after mine where the safety laws were violated, where the conservation laws are violated.

Slaughter mining was started during the British regime. After the Britishers were gone, the Indian owners moved in and* they also started slaughter-mining. I think that is one of the biggest problems facing Coal Board and the Coal Mines Authority. How to tackle these problems—the problem of fire—which may affect the entire Asansol and Jharia area is a serious question.

The mine owners used to get Rs. 2 crores to Rs. 4 crores for putting sand in the mine, for conservation. And Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam admitted and replied many questions on this issue. The Minister admitted : "Yes, we pay Rs. 2 to 4 crores to the coal mine owners for stowing, for safety and other things." And where it used to go ? It used to go into the pockets of the fourteen industrial houses. I am reading the reply of the Minister of Mines in June, 1971 :

"Amount of stowing assistance paid to the coal mines owned by the 14 industrial Houses constituted 38 per cent of the total assistance to coal mines."

Similarly, assistance for adverse factors paid to those companies constitute 38 per cent of the total to all collieries. They were getting money from the Government. They were getting cess from the Railways, the thermal power stations, because they were the highest consumers. But the money was not going down to the public sector who was appropriating and not utilising it for the purpose for which it was paid. So, the loot was going on from all sides.

Recently, the Bihar Enquiry Committee found out in a sample survey of Jharia that out of every four coal-miners one is suffering from T.B. Everybody who is associated with the mining industry knows that pneumoconiosis is a fatal disease. Father of Mr. Bevan, the ex-Minister of the United Kingdom died of Pneumoconiosis and he gave a pathetic speech in the House how Pneumoconiosis could finish generations after generations.

The mining industry has been there for more than hundred years in this country but only two people had been paid compensation for Pneumoconiosis only two. Unofficial survey says that about 75,000 workers in this country working in the coalmines are suffering from Pneumoconiosis, leave aside the T.B. because it is a household disease. And the people suffering from the disease are sacked. There was no medical benefit, no gratuity, not even one week's pay. This was the condition in which the coalmines were working. Mr. Khadii-kar that day replied that out of 4 lakh workers, only 19 per cent workers got profit sharing bonus, i.e. 8.33 per cent.

Mr. Kuma'ramangalam is right in saying that here we are dealing with peculiar type of scoundrels who have forgotten all the norms and turned into monsters. It is not the question of saving the working class. It is more to save the national property. It is a question of revision of wages. The workers want more bonus and other facilities. In that way, the mine workers today are getting less wages than the jute workers, the cement workers and the iron and steel workers. I want the wages to be revised. In all other countries in the world the miners are the best paid, best looked after and here according to the survey of the National Labour Commission not even 30 per cent workers have been given housing. During the last week, in reply to my question, the Minister of Labour, Mr. Reddy, said that we have no information as to how many workers in the private sector have been given quarters. You have to see and believe that the workers down below are without houses whereas the

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owners used to have suites and double-room sets in Oberoi and International Ashoka Hotels in Calcutta.

And what a wonderful rate of accidents do we have ? Both the Director-General of Mines Safety and the National Labour Commission stated that per million tonnes of coal raised the rate of accidents that we have in India is the highest, *i.e.* 3.11. The number of people killed in 1972 was 233, much more than 1971. Last year, the number of people killed in Asansol was twice the number of people killed in 1970-71.

Take whatever point you want. Look from whichever angle you like. Accident, housing, payment condition, conservation, safety, everything was in utter mess. Complete ruination would have been the result. As a matter of fact, in spite of the fact that where there was the largest deposit of coal in the country, if the things had been allowed to continue any further, we would have to spend foreign exchange to import coal. Therefore, Mr. Kumara-raangalam has moved in the right direction. I congratulate him for this, but then all is not well today. That is also true. If he has the courage to take over the coal mines for which he deserves congratulations from the country, equally he should have the courage to straighten the house where he has moved in.

Sir, the contractors are there but the contractors are not paying to the workers category one wages. He did take the initiative to call a meeting on the 1st February in Delhi, a tripartite meeting, in order to sort out defects which may arise out of taking over the non-coking coal mines. This meeting was followed by a meeting of 3rd February at Calcutta. The 3rd February meeting was followed by another meeting at Asansol but has he taken a look whether these agreements, unanimous agreements, are being implemented, are being put into practice. I will read just one. (3)—Agreed. It says that representatives of workers would also be included in the Advisory Board. Has

any Advisory Board set up ? No. 1 do not want to give much details; I would only give out the salient features to show how the violations of the Delhi and Calcutta agreements have started. Item (4)—Union leaders will furnish as soon as possible a list of undesirable persons operating in the different coalfields to the Custodians in order to enable them to ensure that such persons are not taken on the rolls of the mines. Then Item (7)—It is likely that some of the old officers employed by the erstwhile owners might create trouble. The Custodians should consider the advisability of transferring such officers from the present collieries to other collieries Mr. Kumaramangalam, would you please tell the House how many officers have been transferred ? How many undesirable elements have been weeded out ? I have got a letter from the Additional Custodian-General dated March 3. I had pointed out that hundred of new men had been inducted by the erstwhile Managers. Mr. Balram, Additional Custodian-General, in his reply says, 'Your allegations seem to be true; we are enquiring into them.' In respect of Khas Chhalbalpur Colliery Mr. Balram says : "Your information regarding induction of workmen appears to be true. Necessary action is being taken for screening them....." In respect of North East Salanpur Colliery he says : "Your report that some induction has taken place at this colliery appears to be correct." Sir, I can give a number of instances.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM : What is that ?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : I am reading from the reply of Mr. Balram, Additional Custodian General regarding my complaint that new people have been inducted. But no action is being taken.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM : What is your grievance ?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : My grievance is pathetic. He agrees with my contention but he is helpless to remove them because the old owners and their agents are still there and some of your officers are giving them support. I am not accusing Mr. Balram of anything. Don't

misunderstand me. I have no complaint against Mr. Balram.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM : Are you surprised ?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : I am surprised because here are agreements, unanimous agreements of Delhi and Calcutta and. ..

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM : If you do not mind my interrupting you, it is not fair to rely on all these things. I expected that the debate would not go on in this manner. You know very well that these agreements are being followed and the best that could be done is being done : ! You know very well also that there are persons who are trying to violate them, and we have to go on correcting them. That is continuous. So what is the purpose of making a charge sheet as if we are doing something wrong ?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Sir, it is now 5.45 and if the Minister shows a little patience I can finish my speech early.

Sir, as I was pointing out hundreds of people have been inducted. We are trying to do something about it. This information is being supplied by the trade union leaders to the Custodians and our allegations are found to be correct. Even then if they are not removed don't you think I am justified in feeling suspicious about the whole thing. You are shouting in Parliament but have I not the right to challenge you and say that you are not sincere about the implementation of these Delhi and Calcutta agreements ? Some proved corrupt and anti-labour officers have been made Custodians. I can name them. They are lobbying all the time in order to get good jobs. You have put a person as Custodian in Madhya Pradesh because some Minister campaigned for him. Is this going to be the shape of things for the future ? Please tell us, Mr. Kumaramangalam. On 2nd March 1973 you said in this House that some records were removed.

Mr. Wadhera, one of the topmen of NCDC now in Jharia, has said that a large amount of cash was taken away

and documents were taken away. Please, could you furnish us with the names of the owners who removed their books who removed their cash ? Why are you keeping them secret ? As a matter of fact, your hands will be strengthened if the villains are put before the whole public. People like Mr. Moha cannot challenge your decision and criticise the Government. People like Mr. Moha will be exposed before the entire country.

I would draw the attention of the Minister to the closed mines. The question of closed mines came up again and again in this House, but unfortunately till today not a single mine has been reopened in spite of the fact that some mines were closed in West Bengal with huge reserves. As these mines are not reopened, it is not surprising that the price of coal is going up. What steps are you going to take to reopen the closed mines about which Parliament shouted so long?

Then, what about the question of appointments : What about the future to come? What about the evicted workers? This is a very important point, which I have been raising all along. On 19th May, 1972, in reply to a question by me, Mr. Khadilkar gave the names of 7 coal mines where 500 workers were evicted by the goondas. They did not commit any crime. They were not saboteurs. They were not guilty of any misconduct. It was just because the goondas drove them out. This was admitted in Rajya Sabha. Now, would you make the conditions sale for them to return? Otherwise, the initial enthusiasm of the workers is turning into bitterness. There was a firing in Kargali Colliery. We do not know if things go wrong, how many firings you will have to make tomorrow. The safety standards are going down. I do not blame Mr. Kumaramangalam for that. The managers used to get commission. The commission has been stood by the Coal Mines Authority. The managers have stopped going underground. The stores I are not available. I can read out letter after from the Additional Custodian-General. Cash is not available and stores are not there. What are you going

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to do ? I am not going to sing in praise of Mr. Kumaramanagalam. My duty is to put forward a straight case straight.

This is the thing I will speak last and I will be done. It came in the 'Hindustan Standard' of March 16. Please listen. I can only speak to him through you. Mr. Kedar Das, a communist MLA of Bihar, has said that the situation in Bihar has come to such a pass that non-Bihar were not even enlisted or (registered in the employment exchanges in Jamshedpur. He has accused the Chief Minister of Bihar stating that the Chief Minister is supporting chauvinistic activities, fanning provincialism and making it impossible for non-Biharis to live in Bihar. He mentioned the coal-mines also where a section of the Congressmen are giving the slogan and as a result good men are finding it difficult to work in Jharia, BCCL and NCDC. In his party a section of Bi-haris are raising the slogan. You see the Statesman of Calcutta dated March 6, 1973. A Congress MLA from Bengal asked "the State Government to take a lesson from the Bihar Government in this regard which had already set up a special 'coal cell' to coordinate and control all activities relating to production, distribution, payment of wages and recruitment in the mines located in that State. Bihar was not depending solely on the Central Government." Then he said that "the interests of West Bengal must be properly protected." Some Congressmen were giving the slogan of Bengal for Bengalees. They are members of the same party. In Bihar they are shouting only for Biharis and swearing by the same leader. Mr. Indira Gandhi. MLAs in Bengal are giving the other slogan resulting in a situation of creating bitterness among Bengalees and non-Bengalees and Biharis and non-Biharis. What are you going to do about it ? This is not my paper. These are the speeches in the Assemblies of Bihar and West Bengal. Is he not ashamed of his own party which tries to divide the working class and make them fight with each other ? The bulk

of the workers Come from these areas of Deoria and Azamgarh and some of the Congress MLAs are making propaganda asking them to go away from West Bengal and Bihar. What steps has he taken to kill this poisonous provincial feeling which has been raised by a section of Congressmen in order to create a division among the trade union? Has he got any answer to that ?

Then, I would say that on behalf of the trade unions we have already pledged cooperation and you will agree with me that the takeover of nearly 700 coal mines would not have been so simple but for the complete cooperation of the trade unions. There has not been a single instance of *mar-peat* or clash in the West Bengal fields which has got the highest number of non-coking coal mines, that is over 220: 60 per cent of the non-coking coal mines are concentrated in West Bengal. There you are getting the maximum cooperation. But what have you been doing about future wages ? Are you going to consider the revision of wages because that is also becoming a very important point. Is he going to see that the agreements of Delhi and Calcutta are properly implemented, which are not implemented ? Is he going

I to transfer the corrupt officers, which was - agreed to in Calcutta and Delhi?

Has any one officer been transferred or dismissed, who was indulging in mal-practices ? If that is not done Mr. Mohta will be the beneficiary. The reactionaries are out to discredit the takeover. Please do not blame the trade unions. Do not treat us as outsiders because I have a feeling that the trade unions are not taken into confidence. If we had not given cooperation, the Custodian would have rushed to us; because we are very cooperative—we have even stopped making proper criticisms—they think, well, we can manage without them. Please do not be under that impression. But we are going to give you

I cooperation.

Lastly, I must ask : What is your logic in not taking over the Tatas mines? The question is of captive mines, which means that the coal which comes out of a particular colliery goes to a particular factory. The coal mines owned

by Padampat Singhanian are one of the best in the country-. The JK colliery coal goes to the JK aluminium factory. Not a single naya paisa royalty has remained unpaid; the workers have been paid full dues and wages. But why have you let the Tatas captive mines free and taken over the Padampat Singhanian captive mines ? Why two standards. If you have had to leave out the captive mines, you should not have touched the captive mines of the cement industry or of the JK aluminium industry. Their workers were getting more than the wage board wages. Is it because you are a friend of the Tatas and an enemy of Padampat Singhanian? What is the logic? So I do not understand. Unless you have a special relationship with the Tatas, you should have taken over their mines also. Because of the victimisation and illegal dismissal of workers, they are terribly angry. Unless you do something to stop the anti-labour practices of the House of Tatas, I am telling you that by April there will be a prolonged strike in all the coal mines under the NCDC, BCCL and CMA and I do not think that at that stage Mr. Kumaramangalam will be able to defend or save his friend, Mr. Tata.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत
(राजस्थान) : उपसभापति जी, यह जो कोल माइन्स के मैनेजमेंट का टेक-ओवर किया गया है उसका मैं स्वागत करती हूँ। कोल की इंडस्ट्री ऐसी है जिसकी कि सारी इंडस्ट्रीज की जननी कहेंगे, अगर कोयला नहीं तो हमारी रेलवे नहीं चल सकती, अगर कोयला नहीं तो स्टील नहीं, अगर कोयला नहीं तो सुरक्षा की जितनी फैक्ट्रियां चलाई जा रही हैं वह भी कोई काम नहीं दे सकती, इसलिये इस बेसिक इंडस्ट्री पर सरकार का मैनेजमेंट होना चाहिये और मैं इसका स्वागत करती हूँ।

जब इन कोल माइन्स का यह टेक-ओवर किया गया तब इन माइन्स की स्थिति बड़ी खराब थी। जिस तरह से सैकड़ों की संख्या में माइन्स विखरी हुई होने की

वजह से उनका जिस हंग से हिसाब-किताब रखा जाता था, शायद गवर्नमेंट को भी यह पता नहीं था कि ठीक ठीक कितनी मात्रा में कोयले का उत्पादन होता है। इसके अलावा अन्धकानामिक भी था क्योंकि 44 परसेन्ट ही उसका उत्पादन किया जा सका था जब कि दूसरे मुल्कों में 75 परसेन्ट तक हो सकता है। जब तक कोल माइन्स प्राइवेट ओनर्स के पास हैं इससे मजदूरों का ही नुकसान था, सरकार का नुकसान था और हमारे मुल्क का नुकसान था। अकाउन्ट्स में भी गड़बड़ी होना लाजमी था क्योंकि प्राइवेट सेक्टर में कई तरह की गड़बड़ियां चलती थीं। मजदूरों के प्राविडेंट फंड का भी ठीक से इंतजाम नहीं था और मजदूरों का काफी एक्सप्लोइटेशन होता ही था और करोड़ों रुपया उनमें बकाया था जिसमें एक्सचेकर को भी नुकसान हो रहा था। ये सारी बातें थीं लेकिन इसके अलावा सबसे बड़ी खामी यह थी कि प्राइवेट ओनर्स के हाथ में होने की वजह से उन माइन्स की दुर्गति हो रही थी और अच्छा-अच्छा माल निकाल ले जाते और बाकी को ठीक से इस्तेमाल के लिए तैयार नहीं किया जाता, न इसका कोई साइन्टिफिक तरीका था, न मजदूरों के लिए कोई सुविधा थी। तो ऐसी स्थिति में उनसे यह तो आशा ही नहीं की जा सकती थी कि उनको साइन्टिफिक हंग से आगे बढ़ायेंगे या नहीं या उन पर काफी मात्रा में इन्वेस्टमेंट करेंगे। पिछले दिनों में कोकिंग कोल का राष्ट्रीयकरण होने के बाद वहां वालों ने एकदम 86 खानों को बंद कर दिया और इसके कारण कोयले की बहुत भारी शॉर्टेज मुल्क में हो गई, उसकी वजह से कन्ज्यूमर परेशान थे और कई कारखानों को भी उसकी वजह से नुकसान हो रहा था। खानों के मालिकों को अंदेशा हो गया कि उनकी खानों का भी मैनेजमेंट सरकार ने लेगी तो उन्होंने उनको बरबाद करना शुरू कर दिया, अपना असेट बेचना शुरू कर दिया। इसलिए यह जरूरी था कि उनका बरबादीकरण रोकने के लिए उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाए।

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूड़ावत]

तो इस व्यवस्था का स्वागत करने के साथ साथ मैं दो बड़े सारे सवाल साफ शब्दों में मंत्री जी से करना चाहूंगी। पहला सवाल तो यह कि जब आपने इसके मैनेजमेंट को अपने हाथ में ले लिया, सारे खानों को ले लिया, तो साथ ही टिस्को का क्यों नहीं लिया? अभी हमारे जनसंघ के सदस्य ने कहा आपने इन कोयला खानों को साल भर के लिए छोड़ा, आप ही इस बरबादी का कारण हैं। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहती हूँ क्या यह इल्जाम कल नहीं लगा सकते हैं कि टिस्को को आपने छोड़ दिया इसलिये इसकी बरबादी हो रही है। इसलिए मेरा पहला सवाल है कि टिस्को को क्यों नहीं लिया गया?

दूसरा प्रश्न मेरा यह है कि इस वक्त आपने केवल मैनेजमेंट को टेक-ओवर किया, इसके लिए एक करोड़ और कुछ पौण्ड्स रुपया हर साल मालिकों को दिया जाएगा। पता नहीं, दो साल लगे या तीन साल लगे? तब तक हमको इतनी बड़ी रकम देनी पड़ेगी और इसके बाद राष्ट्रीयकरण करते समय मुआवजा देना पड़ेगा। तो यह हमारे एक्स-चेकर पर इतना वजन क्यों?

इसके साथ ही मैं निवेदन करूंगी कि जब मैनेजमेंट आपने अपने हाथ में लिया है, तो जनता आपसे आशा और आकांक्षा करती है कि इसका मैनेजमेंट इस तरह से चले कि पहले जो गड़बड़ियाँ हो रही थीं वे आगे न हों, ब्यूरोक्रेसी के हाथ में इसको सौंपने न दिया जाए नहीं तो वही स्थिति होगी जो कई पब्लिक सेक्टरों की हो रही है। कंज्यूमर्स को कई तरह की दिक्कतें हैं, और खास तौर से मैं हाउसवाइक्स का सवाल आपके सामने रखूंगी कि कोयले की कमी की वजह से हाऊस-वाइक्स को कितनी दिक्कत होती है। हमारा मुल्य कृषि-प्रधान मुल्य है, गांवों में करोड़ों लोग खाना पकाने के लिए डोमेस्टिक यूज में गोबर को इस्तेमाल में लाते हैं। अगर उनके

पास ठीक ठीक मात्रा में कोयला पहुंचाया जा सकता है तो हम काफी मात्रा में गोबर बचा सकेंगे क्योंकि केवल फर्टिलाइजर्स से खेती नहीं होती, उसके साथ-साथ गोबर या दूसरी खाद का उपयोग करना बहुत जरूरी हो जाता है। मैं आपसे यह भी निवेदन करूंगी कि जब आपने सब-डीलर्स रखे, तो सबसे पहले उन डीलर्स के ऊपर चौकसी की जाए क्योंकि बार-बार देखने में आया है कि जब जब कोई ऐसा प्रोप्रेसिव कदम सरकार उठाती है तो उसमें कुछ न कुछ ऐसे लैक्यूने छोड़ देती है कि वह सब किये कराए में पानी फिर जाता है। तो यह खयाल रखें कि सारे के सारे डीलर्स पर पूरा कंट्रोल हो और खास तौर पर मैं रेलवे के वैगन्स के बारे में आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ। हमें अपना कड़वा अनुभव राज-स्थान कैनल का है जो हमारे लिए जीवन-दायिनी नहर है, उसके बनने में देर आई तो कोयले की रक्कावट से आई। जब देखा यही प्रश्न आता है कि रेलवे के पास वैगनों की कमी है तो ऐसा प्रबन्ध किया जाये कि रेलवे वैगनों को ठीक समय पर दे दे ताकि सब जगह पर कोयले का वितरण ठीक समय पर हो सके।

जहां तक मैंने सुना है कोयले का इतना उत्पादन होता है कि उसको भेजने के लिए 2,800 वैगनों की आवश्यकता पड़ती है, लेकिन रेलवे के पास केवल 1,700 वैगन ही हैं। वह कोयले को ले जाने के लिए देता है। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि कोयले की कीमत ठीक तरह से निर्धारित कर दी जाये ताकि कंज्यूमर्स को वह सब जगह पर ठीक दाम पर मिले और उसका वितरण भी इस प्रकार से किया जाना चाहिए ताकि कंज्यूमर्स को उचित मात्रा में और समय पर प्राप्त हो सके। इस बात का भी ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिये कि ब्यूरोक्रेट्स के हाथ में यह पब्लिक सेक्टर न जाने पाये। मैं इतना समय ही लेकर, ठीक समय पर अपना भाषण समाप्त कर रही हूँ।

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIAM MENON (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir this is a problem with which I am not very

conversant and about which I am not on very sure grounds, but the amount of material that is before us definitely indicates that this is a measure which should have been taken long ago. In fact, in 1954 the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha had recommended that the coal mines should be nationalised, because it was pointed out that apart from the availability of plenty of non-coking coal or non-metallurgical coal, the availability of metallurgical coal and its resources were limited and, therefore, it was necessary that it should be properly conserved and should not be left to the capacity of the private coal mine-owners. However the Government had dithered a decision on this and it took another 20 years for them to come with this measure, by which time, I should say, the country has been made poorer not only because a lot of resources have been wasted, but also because it has retarded the development of other industries in this country. I say it has retarded because the coal industry was the main motive force until recently of the Railways, and the Railways have suffered because of bad supply of coal by the coal mines. The power industry all over India has suffered because rotten coal has been supplied and the outage content of the furnaces has been so heavy that a large number of these power houses have been rendered bad. The latest instance is the Patradu power station in Bihar where the machines have been spoiled because rotten coal was supplied. Similar is the case of so many others. And because we have taken so many come to a correct decision, the country to-day is faced with a crisis not only in the matter of coal itself, but also in power supply and in many other fields. But

even if it is late, we should say that the measure is a correct thing.

Now, Sir, the coal industry in this country has been one of the worst employers. It employs about four lakh workers, but the conditions of their working, their living, is anything that you can call Hell on this earth. In fact, the Report of the National Commission on Labour has given us vivid examples of how things are there in the coal industry. For example, this report has pointed out that the system or recruitment of labour to the coal industry, i.e. indentured labour, is something which is outmoded and it should be stopped immediately. In fact, the recommendation for stopping this thing was first done by the 1963 tripartite committee. But it was not carried out. Again the Central Wage Board in 1967 recommended ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Subramania Menon, how much time will you take ?

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : I will take about ten to fifteen minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Then, will you please continue on Monday ?

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : All right, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 23rd March, 1973.