

प्रदान करने हेतु खाजूवाला में शीघ्र दूरदर्शन केन्द्र की स्थापना करने की कृपा करे। यह सीमावर्ती क्षेत्र है और यहां हजारों की संख्या में जवानों का आवागमन होता रहता है। जवानों को भी जब अपने देश के कार्यक्रमों को देखने और सुनने का लाभ नहीं मिलेगा तो मैं सोचती हूँ कि यह मुद्दा बहुत ही अफसोसजनक है। इसलिए सामने बैठी हुई मैडम, इस पर थोड़ा गौर करें और जो आश्वासन आपने दिए हैं, उन्हें पूरा करें। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

**सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) :** पांच मिनट में बेटी मैडम हो गई ?

**श्रीमती जमना देवी बारुपाल :** इसलिए आप जल्दी से जल्दी खाजूवाला में दूरदर्शन केन्द्र की स्थापना कराने की मेहरबानी करें। आपने मेरी बात सुनी, इसके लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद। मुझे आशा है कि आप चंद दिनों में ही इस काम को पूरा कराने में अपना योगदान देंगी।

**श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज :** हमने आपकी बात सुनी ही नहीं है बल्कि हम इसे मानेंगे भी।

#### DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR

**SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal):** Sir, after a lapse of nine long years, we are discussing labour in this House. Probably, for the first time we are discussing labour since the policy of LPG - liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation - was introduced in our country. The ILO report of 1997-98 has reviewed the global effect of LPG. The report has mentioned that globalisation has widened the inequalities. It has further noted that globalisation has created more insecure position for the labour. I wish to know from the hon. Minister, who has emerged through the wave of social justice movement, what is his experience about the functioning of his own Ministry. It is said that in the year 1993-94, seven paise of every rupee of the GDP was being allotted for the labour. Now, in the Budget for 2001-02, the allotment is half-a-paise of every rupee of the GDP. From seven paise, it has gone down to half a paise. This reflects the attitude of this Government towards the labour and towards your Ministry. I wish to know the reaction of the hon. Minister on this point.

Sir, I would also like to know whether his Ministry was consulted before the policy of so-called labour reforms was announced outside the House and in this House. Secondly, if his Ministry was consulted, on how many occasions did he call the trade unions and discuss the different aspects of the so-called labour reforms with them. Thirdly, I would like to know whether he can give an assurance to the House that nothing would be done unless there is a total unanimity among the labour so far as labour reforms are concerned.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I can understand why employers are demanding the blood of labour, after liberalisation has collapsed. They are trying to jack up the liberalisation policy, the Policy of LPG over the blood of the labour. I can understand their logic. I will come to that later. But I do not understand why the Government is biased in favour of the employers over the issue, when it has already been diagnosed and universally accepted that the basic reason for the present economic crisis is not the labour, but the demand crunch, squeeze of demand and constraint on the demand. Supply has overstripped the demand. If the so-called labour reforms are introduced, the demand will further squeeze and not widen, and the crisis will be aggravated further. I do not understand why the Government is following this policy and the Labour Ministry is also toeing that line?

Sir, the figure shows that the rate of employment is going down alarmingly. From 2.04, it has gone down to 0.84. It is the worst since the post-independence period. But the most dangerous thing is that the rate of outflow, the rate of labour dispersal and the rate of throwing out labour, is much greater than the intake or inflow of labour. The figures show that both in the private and the public, organised, sector, the number of labour has gone down by three lakhs during the last two or three years. In the registered manufacturing units between 1995 and 1998, the labour number has gone down from 87 lakhs to 84 lakhs. As per the current assessment by the CSO, which has appeared in the Economic Times, between 1998 and 2000, the manpower has gone down further by seven lakhs in the registered manufacturing units. That means, the manpower is going down in the organised industries as well as in the unorganised industries. The Business Standard has reported that out of 7.5 lakhs, 3.49 lakhs are in the textile sector, which is our traditional industry. Sir, this industry has been there since the industrialisation of the country started. Sir, this is a very dangerous situation. The outflow is much greater than the inflow.

It is not just that the rate of employment is 0.84 per cent. People are thrown out of employment in a larger number than the number of intake. That position has to be addressed. If this law is introduced, will it solve the problem? During 1999-2000, 3.28 crore man-days were lost due to lockout. In 2000-2001, the man-days lost due to lockout is 1.6 crore. It crossed the highest loss of man-days of the 60s in the post-Independence period. Therefore, there is outflow through lockouts too. I do not know how the labour reforms will help the industry. High-tech labour, technical manpower, is getting decreased. As you know, during the 60s and 70s, the

main thrust of the industrialisation was on the basic and heavy industries. And 80 per cent of products was coming through the basic and heavy industries. The personnel in those industries are high-paid and technical. The recent figure arrived at by the CSO is that 60 per cent of the products are concentrated in the consumer goods industry and export-based and import-based industries. Large-scale, basic and intermediate factories are being imported. Therefore, the high-tech, high-wage, labour are being banished. Since the high-paid labour are getting banished, this dynamics is working to bring down the wages of the low-paid workers. These are the figures that I am having. In the year 1998-99, 15 workers out of 100 were coming from the high-tech industry. The figure has gone down from 15 to 6. Out of 100, 38 workers were coming from the medium scale industry. The figure has gone down to 12. From the low-skill industry, 47 workers out of 100 were coming. That figure has gone up to 82. Therefore, manpower is getting reduced, wage level is getting reduced. Then, what more flexibility and elasticity do you want from labour? I want to ask him.

Secondly, casualisation and feminisation of labour is taking place on a large scale. It is not to raise the wages, but to get labour free of cost. The wage is very low. I am having the figures. The figures come to your Ministry also. If you check up, you will find that since the last 15 years, there is no change. There is no change in the daily-rated wage level. At the Central level, the wage level is between Rs.52 and Rs.124; in Andhra Pradesh, it is between Rs.27 and Rs.63; in Gujarat, it is between Rs.64 and Rs.95; in Karnataka, it is between Rs.49 and Rs.77; in Tamil Nadu, it is between Rs.44 and Rs.109; in West Bengal, it is between Rs.58 and Rs.165; and in Maharashtra, it is between Rs.8.64 and Rs.116. Therefore, there is casualisation and no pay. A myth is created that the wage of the daily labour is getting increased at the rate of three per cent. This myth is being created on the basis of two hypothesis. One hypothesis is that everyone is being paid the minimum wage in our country and nobody is deprived of it. The second hypothesis is that every casual worker is permanent and is getting DA rise as is taking place according to the consumer price index. Therefore, when the wage is going down, when the number of high-paid workers is going down, when low-paid workers are flooding the country, when workers are thrown out of employment, what is the meaning of, what is the reason for, running behind the new labour reform law? Such a situation is prevailing in the country. They are trying to protect the interest of foreigners. The World Labour Report 1997-1998 says that the world labour is facing two main problems. Since the multinationals want the flight

of the capital from one place to another, that is, close down the factory at one place and open it up at some other place, they want the right to exit. This right has become a threat to the labour the world over because they want to bring down the wages of the Indian labour. This move is not in the interest of the Indian industries, whether Bajaj or any other industry. They, with a view to protecting the interest of foreigners, want to maintain the right to flight of capital from one country to another, because in the process of globalization, there is a rapid mobility of finance, and at any time and at any place, they can raise money, and they can spend money. And therefore, for that right, they are demanding the right to exit. Every right is originating from that point. You have to ask the Government whether they will be protecting the interest of foreigners or the interest of the nation. If you want to expand the interest of our own country, our own people, our own workers, there should be much more spending by the Government. The number of Government employees has to be increased. The employment opportunities should be increased; the number of food for work programmes should be increased. Here also, the multinationals dictum is working. Since the world competitiveness is rising, the Government does not want to spend money. The Keynesian theory is not being implemented these days, and the Government does not want to spend. I have the figures with me. When we are closing down the public sector undertakings in our country, the countries, which are advising us to close down the public sector undertakings and stop business in this sector, are themselves recruiting the Government employees. In the United States of America, 14 per cent of the total workforce is the Government employees. In Switzerland, 13 per cent of the total workforce is the Government employees; in Spain and Germany, 15 per cent of the workforce is the Government employees; in U.K., 17 per cent of the workforce is the Government employees; in Canada 20 per cent of the workforce is the Government employees; in France, 25 per cent of the workforce is the Government employees; in Australia, 23 per cent of the total workforce is the Government employees, and in Norway, 30 per cent of the total workforce is the Government employees. They are following one principle, in this respect, in their own country, and trying to dictate another principle to be followed, in this respect, in our country. The Government has to reconcile this position. First of all, there should be rapid growth of employment, and the demand side has to be strengthened. Do you want to maintain the supply line or do you want to stop the entire supply line and depend only on the export market? This is one option. At the same time, you are to democratise the labour movement. Right now, the right of

collective bargaining is not accepted by the Government of India. Why is it so? The philosophy is, every aspect, in this respect, should be democratised, except the labour. The labour should not be democratised. Seventeen years back, a Bill was introduced in this House by the then Minister, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan for workers' participation. Why have you not passed this Bill? I have not heard anything from you regarding the passage of that Bill. You have to adopt either of the paths. One path is the path of disaster. The other path is the path of democratising the labour movement, and of creating more jobs. The right to work has to be expanded.

Now, I come to the question of payment of bonus. Everybody is getting bonus in India, except the labour. Don't we have any advisor in the Ministry of Labour to ponder over this problem? Do they take grass? Everybody gets bonus, the Central Government employees, the State Government employees, the public sector undertakings employees, but the labour do not get bonus, because the great fathers, who are formulating the policy, they dictate this path to be followed by us. I would like to know whether you are the Ministry of Labour or the Ministry of Employment? Do you have any teeth to advise the Government? Therefore, you have to take either of the paths. I have been requesting for having a secret ballot. Pranabda and others are also requesting for that. Sir, we are the last generation of trade union leaders belonging to the post-Independence era. New generation of trade union leaders is coming. Youngsters are joining the trade union movement. The strength of members of the trade unions is 61 lakhs. The strength of workers is around 400 million. The number of all the trade unions, according to the ILO Report, is 61. Therefore, the trade union movement is too weak. They are not in a position to face the onslaught from the employers; you should remember this. Moreover, a kind of gangsterism is developing there. The system has not allowed the workers to choose their leaders on their own. They are deprived of their democratic right to choose their leaders. What has been happening for the last 50 years? I can challenge it. The Minister has said that if secret ballot is allowed, if workers' participation is allowed, automatically, there will be a 10 per cent growth in productivity. But the workers are not given the feeling that they are also part of the system. You have to take either of the paths, the path of democratisation or the path of bloodbath. If you take the first path and the advice of our industries, you wait for the doom; you wait for the peril. All the trade unions have united to some extent; because of popular political affiliations, they are coming together and they will take their own course.

So far as your Ministry is concerned, Sir, when even the Government does not recognise labour as part of the Ministry, when they take it as a subsidiary thing, obviously, the functioning of the Ministry would be the same. You cannot expect anything better. Sir, out of 370 million workers, only 26 million workers are covered by the Provident Fund Scheme. Out of 370 million workers, only 26 million are covered by the Provident Fund Scheme; 9 million, under the ESI Scheme; 4.5 million, under the Workmen's Compensation Scheme; only 0.5 million, under the Maternity Benefit Act. So many speeches were made when the Pension Scheme was passed. We were voted down here. At that time, a lecture was made by your Minister, "Everybody would get the provident fund." Tell us why only 26 million are covered by the Provident Fund Scheme today.

So far as the provident fund arrears are concern, in 1997, the figure was Rs.466 crores. Now, it is Rs.1,184 crores. The employees are butchered. Employers are flourishing, but the employees are butchered. From 1997 to 2001, it has increased from Rs.466 crores to Rs.1,184 crores! ...*(Interruptions)*... Coming to the industrial disputes at the Central level, only 25 per cent of the disputes are resolved. All others are either pending or are not resolved. Does it signify that the Ministry is functioning well? Sir, 206 people have died in accidents, coalmine accidents or other general accidents. Sir, you will find from the various reports that most of the mining accidents are taking place because of two reasons. One is roof-fall and another is wall-fall. Most of the deaths are taking place because of roof-fall and wall-fall. What is your DGMS doing? The officials are not getting the money. I do not blame the Ministry. They are not giving money to the officials, required for inspection and such other purposes. In most of the cases, safety audits do not take place. It is the job of your Ministry to take care of it.

I come to the point of child labour. Child exploitation and female exploitation has become the order of the day, under the present Industrial Policy. Male workers are going out. Even in agriculture, there is a negative growth; it is 0.34 per cent. Not only in agriculture; in agro-industries also, there is a negative growth.

People are entering in small numbers. But they are going out in large numbers. Most of the female workers in the agricultural area are leaving and going to the urban areas. The female workers are, sometimes, kept in the camps. They are not allowed to go out, and they are paid low wages. So is the case with children also. This new sector is internationally

called as the informal sector. When the high-grade workers go away, the low-grade workers come in large numbers. Therefore, the intake of female workers in this informal sector happens. Then sexual harassment takes place, and wages are not paid. There are no labour laws of any kind. That is why the women NGOs are raising their voice. This is one area. If our Government is civilised, they have to take care of the labour. If you think that fascism can be allowed in the area of labour, the labour rules can be scuttled, slavery can be brought into the area of labour and democracy can still be maintained, you are living in a fool's paradise. Slavery starts from labour and then it spreads everywhere. We are on the brink of slavery in real life. In the case of child labour, crores of rupees are spent, both World Bank money and our money. According to the latest report, on an average, out of every hundred persons, six are child labourers in our country. If the condition of the children are so miserable, you will appreciate, Sir, how will we be able to compete globally? How do we compete? Unless we provide primary education, real education, at the grassroots level, we will not be able to compete with these people. On an average, six out of hundred persons are child labourers in our country. The rate of child labour is the highest in Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh, the rate of child labour is 11.1 per cent. Out of hundred persons, eleven are child labourers. The more prosperous the State, the greater the number of child labourers. In Gujarat, the rate of child labour is 6.9 per cent. In Karnataka, it is 7.3 per cent. In Maharashtra, it is 5.4 per cent. In Punjab, it is 4 per cent. In Tamil Nadu, it is 9.5 per cent. In West Bengal, it is 4.7 per cent. It is very dangerous. This is the mirror. This reflects the mindset of our nation. This reflects the level of civilisation that we are having. We talk of so many things every day.

Sir, I don't wish to take much time of the House. The thing is, there should be a correct policy framework. A correct policy framework is required. Now, we have followed globalisation for nine years in our country. There is the International experience also. The ILO has consolidated some of the points. The Secretary-General of the ILO has made a speech wherein he has stated that if globalisation means the exploitation of poor people and poor countries, that globalisation is not required, and we require something else. The ILO itself has given the figures. The average *per capita* income in the OECD countries is 20,000 dollars, whereas our average *per capita* income is 1,000 dollars. The entire economy is being allowed to serve the foreign countries, foreign nations, and, as a result, the poor people are butchered in every way and in every direction. Therefore, you

are singing the tune of foreign countries. They set the tune; we just follow it. Can we not set the tune for ourselves? Do we not know about our country? Can we not decide for ourselves what we should follow and how we should work? I am not for the existing labour. The labourers with whom I had worked are all retired or thrown out. A new set of labourers is coming inside the factories. A new generation of labourers is coming inside the factories. They are to be dealt with; they are to be tackled. Therefore, the new policy has to be such. In the factory, from where I emerged as a trade union leader, 20 of my colleagues were killed. I am a leader because of their blood. Why have they been killed? Because our union was unrecognised, despite the fact that we were having majority of the followers. In every election, we have secured 60 to 70 per cent votes. I am the leader because of their blood. Our generation has faced it. Our generation has made sacrifices. The Congress Party has got the capability to control the situation. Now the situation is going out of hand. Why is there no democracy for the labour? You may disagree with me. I do not mind it. But why isn't secret ballot allowed at the factory gate? Elections take place every month. Why don't all the trade unions and all political leaders take up the matter to convince all? Secondly, why don't they allow workers' participation system? Thirdly, the right to work has not been accepted as a fundamental right. You have got every right except the right to work. In this country there is no law to regulate the agriculture workers. Are we a civilized society? Therefore, we are accepting, in principle, that our agriculture labour should remain slaves. If they are not able to make a law, they can at least boast that they have some rights. Sir, in the 70s we fought together. All the trade unions fought together. Sir, you were a Member of this House. At that time, we got the bonus. The late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, during the Congress rule, gave us right to bonus. Now everybody has a right to bonus except the labour. What message are you giving to the labour? The message is very clear that 'you are not part and parcel of the democratic system'. Democracy is for somebody else. It is not a question of money. This malice has affected our industry. I am not a political leader or a theoretical leader. I have got the ground-level experience. Our labour has never felt that they are part and parcel of the democratic system. We have kept them out. You have come from a social justice movement; through the waves of social justice movement. If you can do something positive and something new or give a new direction, it is fine; otherwise you are going to follow the same policy. Why don't you understand it? You are being dragged. You know it very well. We are with



you. We have been with the Labour Ministry. I hope you will answer the questions which I have raised. I wanted to know whether you were consulted or not. If you were not consulted, what do you feel about your own Ministry? Secondly, if you were consulted, did you call all the representatives of the trade unions to discuss the matter? I would request the Minister to assure the House that nothing will be done about labour till there is a total consensus and a total agreement. Thank you.

SHRI RAMACHANDRA KHUNTIA (Orissa): Sir, the discussion on the working of the Labour Ministry is definitely a right step at the right time. Before going into the details, I would like to clarify what the labour is. Whenever we talk of labour everybody, including the Government and the bureaucrats, becomes sensitive. What is labour? Who is a labourer? Sir, 403 million population of the country is labour and they have their wives, children, father, mother and other dependents. So, 80 per cent of the total population is the labour class. When we talk of labour, we talk of 80 per cent of our population. Who are the concerned people? The concerned people are those who do not do any labour.

These people are those who do not work but depend on these 80 per cent of the workers who work hard for the sake of their family members.

Now, when we look at the Budget of the Labour Ministry, in 2001-02, the Budget Estimate was around Rs.134.64 crores; the Revised Estimate was around Rs.122 crores, and the actual expenditure was Rs.102 crores. When we look at the non-Plan expenditure, the Budget Estimate was Rs.99.7 crores; the Revised Estimate was Rs.84.18 crores and the actual expenditure was Rs.71.9 crores. Now, my point is, let us analyse whether the Budget for the welfare of the 403 million people of the country, which is approved by Parliament, is actually adequate or not. Also, while finalising the Budget, we should see whether the actual amount has been provided after taking labour as the main component for the development of the country.

Now, coming to the point of labour reforms, many things have been said about the labour reforms. And I do not want to repeat those things which have been mentioned by Mr. Jibon Roy. Everybody is afraid, everybody is alarmed as to what is going to happen. What does the Government want through these labour reforms? An impression is being created that until and unless the labour reforms are brought about,

investments will not come; the country will not prosper; there will be no industrialisation; there will be no development; that the overall development of the country will suffer. And, their voice is, the labour should co-operate for the development of the country; the labour must co-operate and change the work culture; the labour must try to improve their individual productivity and efficiency. But it should not be one-sided. The mind-set of the employers, the management, everybody, should change. If you look at the development of the country, what were the figures relating to minimum wage, per capita income and GDP growth in 1981? What was the status of the industrial houses in our country? And I emphatically say that labour laws never came in the way of these industrial houses. Look at the assets held by the industrial houses in our country, I have got the data, starting from 1951. I will take four-five names. In the case of Birlas, in 1951, the total assets that they declared -- just the declared assets, not the actuals -- was about Rs.153 crores; in 1980, it rose to Rs.1,431 crores; and in 1989-90, it went up to Rs.8473.50 crores. If you take the case of Tatas, in 1951, their declared assets was worth Rs.116 crores; in 1980, it was Rs.1,538.97 crores; and in 1989-90, it was Rs.8,534.93 crores. Take the case of Thapars, who were having assets worth Rs.16 crores in 1951. In 1980, it went up to Rs.348.06 crores; and in 1989-90, it was Rs.2,177.15 crores. Take the case of Singhania's. Their asset position in 1951 was Rs.37 crores; in 1980, it was Rs.412.72 crores and in 1989-90, it rose to Rs.2,139.70 crores. When this is the picture, how can you say that the existing labour laws have prevented the growth of these industrial houses in the country?

No. Let us see what the position is.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Khuntia, now it is one o'clock. You continue after lunch.

The House is adjourned for one hour.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past  
two of the clock,

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Ramachandra Khuntia to continue his speech.

SHRI RAMACHANDRA KHUNTIA: Hon. Deputy Chairperson...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Such a nice discussion on labour is going on and just see how many Members are interested in it. They go on the street and make all the speeches and take out processions, but when the Parliament, which has to make the labour policies, is discussing it, see how many Members are here. It is a very sad thing. Thank God, he is here. I thought even Mr. Jibon Roy was not here. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am sure, after making the speeches, Members are going to go out. If there is no quorum, I am going to adjourn the House. Yes, Mr. Khuntia.

SHRI RAMACHANDRA KHUNTIA: Respected Madam, when I started my speech, I was just trying to inform the House that the existing labour laws, which the Government intends to amend, are not a barrier for investment, for growth of capital, and the overall development of our country. To prove my point, I would like to give another statistics. The Gross Domestic Product, which was Rs.9981 crores in 1951, increased to Rs.1,76,26,090 crores in 1989-1999.

The rate of capital formation in the current price, GDCF, was 8.7 in 1951. Now, it is 23.4. The rate of gross domestic savings in the current rate, GDS, was 8.9; now, it is 22.3. The GDP factor in 1951 was 2.3; now, it is 6.8.

Coming to the share of the public and private sector in the Gross Domestic Capital Formation, in the First Plan, 1951-56, the public sector contribution was Rs.8,43,419 crores and the private sector contribution was Rs.169,417 crores and the total was Rs.25,37,576 crores. The public sector contributed 33.2%, while the private sector contributed 66.8% for the capital formation.

Coming to the national income, in 1951-52, it was Rs.9,683 crores; in 1999, it was Rs.1,57,439 crores. Taking the constant price of 1993-94 as 100, it is Rs.1,36,668 crores. Madam, this is the position of the national income, the income of the monopoly houses, the GDP, GDS and share of the formation of capital. I want to say that this could be achieved with our present labour laws and the present labour laws have not stood in the way of this achievement.

Coming to investments and stringent labour laws in our country, people say that in India, the labour laws are stringent and that is why it is not attracting the FDI and multinationals. India has ratified 39 ILO Conventions. When a convention is passed as per the ILO obligations, being a Member State, after we discuss it in the Parliament, we adopt it, and then

it becomes a law. India ratified 39 Conventions. If you look at France, the most developed and industrialised country, it has passed 115 of them. The UK passed 81 of them, Germany 76, Russia 55, Japan, the most capitalist and wealthy country passed 43 of them, Italy 101, Brazil 85, Australia 57, New Zealand 56, and Sri Lanka, the weakest and poorest in our sub-continent, has passed 37 of them.

If you say that European countries are developed industrially and we are following them, then they have ratified more number of ILO Conventions than India. Could you say that the labour laws are more stringent in those countries than in this country? My point is, even though they have ratified more labour laws, that means, their labour laws are more stringent even today. The U.S., Japan and other countries are interested to invest their money in those countries than in India. That proves the fact that labour laws are not the barriers, but something else, which the Government is not capable of doing. It may be infrastructure development, the higher rate of interest, red-tapism etc. When the Government has not developed rail transport or road transport in a big way, that too may be one reason for the investments not coming to India. But we are putting the blame on labour, saying that the labour laws are the only problems.

Madam, I want to draw your attention to what Shri Jibon Roy has said. If you look at the statistics of five years on lockouts, strikes and man-days lost, the lockouts are the bottlenecks in production and productivity. You will see that the number of lockouts is much more than strikes.

Madam, I would like to draw your attention to a paper which was circulated in the Indian Labour Conference. Shri Vital Chief Vigilance Commissioner, and the Chairman of the BIFR, - BIFR has been constituted to take care of the sick industries - said that lakhs and lakhs of industries are sick in this country. We admit that. But because of whom? Not because of workers. They have said that it is because of inefficient and corrupt management of the private sector and the public sector. It is a document circulated by the Labour Department itself. I think the hon. Minister might have seen that. We are not looking into the aspect whether the management is inefficient or the management is incapable or whether the management is corrupt. I would like to draw your attention to one thing more. There are eight ILO Core Conventions, including the Core Convention on Human Rights. The ILO has not insisted on the social clauses for ratification because we all fought that social clause conditionality should not be thrust upon us by the World Bank or the IMF. There are eight ILO Core

Conventions, namely, 29, 105, 87, 98, 138, 100, 41 and 182. The ILO Core Convention 87 has been ratified by 125 countries. But we have not ratified it. The ILO Core Convention 98 has been ratified by 145 countries. But India has not ratified it. The ILO Core Convention 138 has been ratified by 83 countries. But we have not ratified it. The ILO Core Convention 182 has been ratified by many countries. But India has not ratified it. That means out of eight Core Conventions, India has ratified only three. The remaining five have not been ratified. Even Sri Lanka has ratified five conventions. Among the SAARC countries Bangladesh has ratified seven, Sri Lanka has ratified five, Nepal has ratified four and most dictatorial country which is considered as anti-labour and anti-people, Pakistan has ratified five. But we have ratified only three. Madam, my argument is that let these employers and let this Government say in which way the Indian labour laws are stringent in comparison to other countries in our Sub-continent and in the whole world. It gives clear indication that our labour laws are not stringent in spite of the fact that we have not ratified five Core Conventions of the ILO. Keeping all this in view, I would like to draw your attention to the sick industries. Dr. Manmohan Singh was there as the Finance Minister. This Government is saying that they are concerned about the labour which constitutes 10 per cent of the total population. They are alleging that they are taking away the total money which is not a fact. You know that labour force is 10 per cent of the total population. You know without amending the labour laws, through VRS in the public sector undertakings you have retired about five lakh workers as a result of which their total number has come down to 7.5 per cent of the total population. There are 403 million workers, as the Labour Minister may be aware, who do not get proper wages. In the whole world what is the position of our country in this regard? They have given statistics of those countries where the workers get less than one dollar per day. Madam, 53 per cent workers in India get less than one dollar a day. Coming to the minimum wages, at the lowest level they range from Rs.30 to Rs.35. At the Government of India level, they range from Rs.75 to Rs.85 at the lowest level. Take it for granted. What does the hon. Supreme Court say? The Supreme Court says that a worker requires 2600 calories a day to work. It may come down to 2400 calories.

'Calorie' has clearly been defined. It has also been made clear as to what type of food is required and how much cloth is required for a labourer. If you take all these things into consideration, the minimum wages in this country should not be less than Rs. 139 per day. But what is our minimum wage per day? It is very less.

Now, let us come to the issue pertaining to people living below the poverty line. Madam, in our country, 30 per cent of the people are living below the poverty line, even after fifty years of our independence! In my own State Orissa - the percentage of people living below the poverty line is 47.3. In Bihar, it is 42 per cent. So, my point is: if we look at it closely, while the stringent labour laws are not creating any problems for the growth of capital of monopoly houses, for the growth of the national income, for the growth of capital formation, GDP, etc., the existing labour policies pertaining to labour wages in our country have not resulted in improving the labour standards in India. In this situation, if we think that labour laws is the only bottleneck, I think, it is not a right stand.

Now, I come to the subject of the Contract Labour Act. Yes, I do admit. India is the only country which is having this Contract Labour (Abolition and Regulation) Act. No other country in the world has this Act. But it has not been implemented in its true spirit.

Now, coming to the hire-and-fire policy, I would submit, the industrial houses want the hire-and-fire policy. Madam, I want your judgment on this. If you go into the statistics, the FCI has got 1,30,000 contract labourers; ONGC, Coal India Limited, SAIL, BHEL, every organisation has the contract labour; the whole production depends on contract labour. If you see the Central Government departments or the State Labour Departments you will find NMR workers, *Baili* workers, contract workers; and, Madam, do you know for how long they are working? In many cases, they start their career as NMR employee and die as NMR employee. The contract labour, getting one-fourth of the pay of a regular worker, die as contract labour. They have been working not for one day or two days or three days or four days; they have been working for five years, ten years, twenty years, thirty years and so on. Even after working for thirty years, if you say, 'Our policy has been changed to hire-and-fire, so you go', nobody can go. Madam, thirty years of his life has been given for building this country. Because of the efforts of the labour, the national income has gone up, the share capital has gone up, the national economy has gone up, the poverty has come down. The contribution of the workforce of this country is much more than anybody else's in this country. But we are not recognising that. We are not recognising the plight of a worker who worked for thirty years as a contract labour without getting the benefit of provident fund, ESI facility, pension scheme, medical facilities and we are asking him to go out because we want to adopt the hire-and-fire

policy? Therefore, I urge upon this Government and the hon. Labour Minister that before they adopt this hire-and-fire policy, let it be decided in the court and in the Parliament as to what you want to do for this contract labour, NMR workers, those who are not employed now, who were working for this country, for the industry, for years together - since 1947, the day of our Independence. This is a human problem, and we have to look at it that way. If some European country says that we are adopting the same thing and some people say that the labour in our country is not supporting the reforms, it is wrong. As a leader of a trade union, I myself and my organisation and everybody is supporting the reforms. But we want the reforms, with a human face. Reforms for whom? Now, the reforms in our country is not in favour of even the indigenous industrialists. It is for whom? It is for the foreign countries. We want the reforms to control our economy, to bring discipline and prosperity to our country. The prosperity of the country cannot be thought of, without thinking about the 1,000 million population and 403 million workers living in this country.

So, we want reforms, with a human face. Go into the condition of the labour in this country. Let us think, where does this money go? This Government has accepted the policy of disinvestment. Let us see what has been the result of disinvestment. People ask, "How much money we have got from disinvestment? How much money has been saved because of VRS?" The important point is, how that money is utilized? When you say that you are doing disinvestment for the betterment of this country, we must also have a specific agenda as to how that money should be utilized. We have also to see how much money we have got in these eleven years. If you have a look at that, you will see that we have completely failed in achieving our target. Nobody created any problem, but we have failed in achieving our target. For whom are we changing our policy? Everybody had been talking about bringing in World Bank money, bringing in IMF money. A report regarding World Bank assistance to India was published in the *Business Line*, dated 16<sup>th</sup> November, 2001. I quote, "Commitment of the World Bank to India is 2,055 million; gross disbursement 1844 million; repayment by India 1109 million; net disbursement to India 535 million; interest paid by India 539 million." India has paid more than what it has received. India has paid 4 million more. Then, coming to 1998-2001, the World Bank's commitment to India was 11,106 million; gross disbursement 9027 million; repayment by India 7133 million; interest of paid by India, 4237 million; net flow to India from the World Bank -- 2342 million. If you look at these figures, you will see that India is not getting anything. We are only

accepting the conditionalities, putting pressure on the people living below the poverty line, and, that too, without getting anything. This matter should be discussed. We must take a concrete stand. Madam, in the Labour Department, the law which they want to stand by is, the Contract Labour Act. What does the section 10 (a)(b)(c)&(d) say? Section 10 (a)(b)(c)&(d) says, "Any work or job that is permanent and perennial in nature, connected with the manufacturing process, and is supposed to continue for a longer period, should be abolished." That is the section they want to take out. However, there is another point. While abolishing the jobs, there is no mention whether the same group of workers was regularised, although they were regularised by the Supreme Court. Okay; we can adopt a system. We can have contract labour under the hire and fire policy. But what to do with the contract labour who have already worked for 30 years? We always emulate the examples of other countries. People in other countries are very much willing to continue as contract labour. Why? An electrician working as a regular employee in UK gets 10 pounds per day, whereas an electrician working as a contract labour gets 12 pounds per day. So, the contract labour gets more than what a regular worker gets. That is why, in other countries, people do not hesitate to work as contract labour. If our Government decides that both, the regular labour and contract labour will get the same remuneration, there is no problem in accepting it.

It is accepted. I know, they are utilizing the contract labour system and this hire and fire system with an intention to exploit workers, to weaken the trade union movement, and to take more work and pay less to the workers. That is their main intention.

Madam, my next point is about the Industrial Disputes Act. It has been mentioned in the Industrial Disputes Act that if any employer wants to close down the factory, or, retrench the workers, he has to give notice to the Government and the Government has to approve it. In the Contract Labour Act also the same system is followed.

I want to know: why is the Government worried about amending this Act? In both the Acts, power is vested with the Central Government and the State Government; nobody else has been given the power. It is mentioned in both the Acts that if the State Government finds it necessary, it can constitute a Committee to examine whether the contract labour, working in a particular industry, comes under Section 10 of the Contract Labour Abolition Act, 1970 or not. If they recommend, then only they get an authority to abolish or not to abolish. The same is the case with the



Industrial Disputes Act also: The power is vested with the State Government. If the State Government is very generous-- for industrial development, it can allow somebody to examine the contract labour. But, if the Act itself gives the power to the State Government and the Central Government to allow for a closure, for retrenchment, for lockout, and for regularisation of the contract labour, then, there is no need for an amendment to this Act. I think this is a very valid point. But the point is that the State Governments do not want to take anything in their hand.

Madam, I want to highlight one more point. There was a dispute about who would be the appropriate Government in the Contract Labour Act. Who is the appropriate Government? I am reminded of an Airports Authority case in Mumbai. The hon. Supreme Court gave a decision that the Administrative Department of the Central Government, which has the administrative control, would be the appropriate Government. That changed the whole scenario in the country. But, that is quite impossible. Previously, all the contract labour issues pertaining to the central public sector undertakings were dealt with by the State Labour Department. Now, all the contract labour issues pertaining to the central public sector undertakings have come under the jurisdiction of the Central Government. The question is whether the Central Government has adequate Officers and Inspectors to control, monitor, give relief and benefit to all the contract labourers. They don't have. So, I also urge upon the Government and the Labour Minister to examine it and bring an amendment, so that the State Government, as usual, gets the power for dealing with contract labour problems in the public sector undertakings.

Madam, as you know, the Government said, 'Amendment of law is a process. I don't know how the Labour Minister is able to sit comfortably. The Government seems to be interested in amending the Labour Act, but is the Government not aware that under the present Bonus Act, nobody is getting any bonus? But the Government does not feel the necessity to amend the Bonus Act. It does not feel the necessity. In all the Acts, there is a rider provision, which says that this Act will be applicable to all workers who get a salary of not more than Rs. 1600 per month. In almost all Acts of our country, this provision is there. Does not the Government feel that it should be amended? The Government is not doing it.

Last year, the ILO passed a convention. What is that convention? The convention was: "Health and Safety of Agricultural Workers."

अब गवर्नमेंट लाइन में आ गयी है। पहले सरकार बोल रही थी हम 10 प्रतिशत मजदूरों के लिए नहीं चाहते हैं हम सारे भारतवर्ष के 403 मिलियन काम करने वाले मजदूरों के लिए चाहते हैं। The ILO has already passed the ILO Convention for health, safety and security of the agricultural workers. The Building Construction Cess Welfare Act, 1986 has been passed by the Parliament. Is your Government sincere in bringing a comprehensive labour legislation providing social safety net to all the unorganised workers and to all the agricultural workers in the country? What have you done? You have launched an insurance scheme, Fifty Blocks Insurance Scheme. What is that Scheme? Under this Scheme, workers will be required to pay one rupee and the Government will be required to pay two rupees. That will come to around Rs.1100/-. What will the workers get? In case of an accident, a worker will get probably Rs.15,000 without giving any premium. In our country, under the Family Benefits Scheme, there is a provision -- this Government, our Government, every Government is giving -- that without giving any premium, after reporting to the Collector, the survivor of a family can get Rs.10,000/-. I repeat it "without giving any premium". But after paying Rs.1,000 as premium, you are giving a compensation of Rs.15,000. This is what your scheme is all about. What was your target? Madam, till now, this Scheme has been implemented in only 15 States covering 11,000 workers only. I want to put this question to hon. Minister of Labour -- in a country having a population of about 403 million workers, with 365 million unorganised workers -- how many hundred years are you going to take to cover the whole of India? You are giving a pittance, thinking that the agricultural workers will be satisfied if this Scheme is implemented for 30,000 workers only. You are forgetting the fact that there are about 365 million agricultural workers in our country.

Now, I come to the aspect of building construction workers. (Time bell) मैडम, यह मजदूरों की बात है, दो-चार प्वाइंट्स बाकी रह गए हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have no problem. It is your party's time. You can consume the whole time, but remember there are four other 'workers' from your Party; and you are the first speaker.

श्री रामचन्द्र खुंटिया : मैडम, मैं थोड़ा और बोलूंगा. Madam, we will manage it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You see, I did not use the word 'Members'; I used the word 'workers'.

SHRI RAMACHANDRA KHUNTIA: Madam, the Building Construction

Workers Welfare Act, 1996 was passed in 1995 in the shape of an Ordinance. The Parliament passed the Act on 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1996. Rules were laid down in 1998, but, till now, it has been implemented only in Kerala and Tamil Nadu States. We have been repeatedly asking the hon. Minister of Labour to press upon the State Governments for the implementation of this Act. The Government is not required to pay anything under the Scheme. Madam, in this era of globalisation, many construction activities are going on. If the Cess Welfare Board is constituted, around 40 million workers of this country will be covered under the Social Security Scheme and get the benefit of this Scheme under which the Government is not required to pay even a single pie. It will be collected from the projects, whether it is the Central Government project, or the State Government project, the World Bank project or the IMF project. The hon. Minister, Shri Ananth Kumarji is also sitting here. Sir, it will be a great help to the workers. The amount so collected would be spent for the welfare of the construction workers.

Madam, one more point I would like to make is with regard to the Provident Fund. I must thank the hon. Minister that despite all pressures, this Government has reduced the interest rate on the Provident Fund. Madam, I want to put one question to him. घर में आप कौन हैं? घर में कोई नहीं है, मगर घर पर पूरा अधिकार कर लिया। केन्द्र सरकार कौन है? प्राविडेंट फंड में पैसा इन्फ्लायर देता है, पैसा मजदूर देता है और केन्द्र सरकार कहेगी कि हम उस पैसे को लेंगे और जहां मर्जी उसका विनियोग करेंगे, जहां पैसा मिलेगा या नहीं मिलेगा. I want to use it anywhere. From 12%, it has now been reduced to 9.5%. It is workers' money; it is not your money.

Madam, I would be happy if the Government gives details of this investment as to where this money has been invested. I will not take other things. Madam, in this way, around Rs. 47000 crores is put in special deposits, which is lying in the Consolidated Fund of the Government. And, if the labour takes its total money back, I doubt whether the Central Government will be able to prepare the Budget. Madam, Rs. 47000 crores is not a small amount. On the one hand, you are investing it, as per your choice, and on the other you are giving the instructions that the interest on the Provident Fund must be reduced. Madam, workers feels it is my money, and the option is with me as to where I want to invest it. I must thank the Provident Fund Trust, which is an independent Trust and of which the Labour Minister is the Chairman that it has not implemented the decision of the Government, in spite of a directive from the Government to

revise the interest rate and reduce it to 9 per cent. One thing that I want to tell the Government is that if they do so further, the labour has a right to take to the Supreme Court. The labour has a right to go to the streets, if you exploit them, and if you misutilise their money.

Madam, now I come to the aspect of Provident Fund. Many times it was said that there should be one security number for the purpose of Provident Fund for each worker, because many workers are depositing their money in the Provident Fund, but when they are asking for it they are not getting their money back. The hon. Minister knows that there are around Rs. 393 crores, which is lying as an unclaimed money. Nobody is claiming that. It is lying with the Government. In the ESI, a sum of Rs. 6000 crores is deposited in the Reserve Fund. But, there is no claim for it. Madam, why it is happening is because most of the workers are illiterate. When a worker moves from one employer to another employer, from one unit to another unit, being an illiterate person, he does not get his money back which he had deposited in his Provident Fund during his tenure with the previous employer. It is because, Madam, the Indian Labour Conference and the Standing Committee on Labour have recommended three times that there should be one security number for this purpose so that there could be no problem, if a worker moves from one place to another because the number will be permanent for the Provident Fund purposes, and in this way the workers will not lose their money. In spite of that, the recommendation has not been implemented.

Madam, in the ESI, the medical care is the worst. I urge upon this Government and the Minister that it should not be given to the State Government. I suggest that it should be taken over by the ESI Corporation so that, at least, those who are paying for it will get the benefits, they are the members who are contributing to that scheme. So, the ESI should take over all the hospitals and dispensaries throughout the country.

Madam, I want to make one more point here. What I want to say is that this ESI money is going to the States. The money is going to the Government fund. The ESI money is not being kept separately. And, because of it, the ESI money is also going in the Budget, and what happens is that when the money is available in the Budget of the State Government, only then the workers are getting the benefits, otherwise, the workers are deprived of it. My suggestion is that the benefits like Provident Fund, the ESI, the pension benefits, etc. which are available to the workers can be put together. In many countries, there is a Social Security Authority.

Madam, because the Government is not paying anything, an authority could be created which can be called 'Social Security Authority', and the unemployment allowance, temporarily dis-engagement allowance, etc. could also be given from this Reserve Fund. So, I think, the concept of Social Security Authority could also be considered. Many Trade Unions have also endorsed it. It is existing in many countries. It could be adopted here also. Now, Madam, I would come to the social welfare schemes. ...*(Time-bell)*... Just one minute, Madam. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry. ...*(Interruptions)*... Just listen to me. Your party has got 58 minutes. You have already taken 48 minutes. So, only 10 minutes are left for the three Members who are going to speak from your party.

SHRI RAMACHANDRA KHUNTIA: Madam, I would conclude in one minute with one sentence that this Government is privatising, disinvesting and selling out PSUs without getting a proper price in the whole country. They do not know anything else. They want to sell only the industries. You know, Madam, there is one story. The story is like this. At one time, two women went to a King claiming one child. Both of them said 'this child is mine, this child is mine'. Now, the question before the King was to decide to whom did the child belong. But, he could not decide. Then, one of his Ministers said to the King that he could give a suggestion. He suggested to the King that 'let us cut this child into two pieces and give one piece to one woman and the other piece to another!' Then, the real mother of the child said: "Don't do that. Let that woman take the child. In that case, my child will at least survive." But the other woman, who sat by the side, said: "I agree. You can cut the child into two pieces." The same thing is happening here also. The NDA Government is selling the industries, because it has no contribution in the making of these industries. That is why they are selling them, disinvesting them and taking benefit out of it. That benefit is not for the workers or the people as a whole. That is why the Government does not feel repentant if the industry is lost or the workers' or people's interests are lost. They think they will remain in power and reap the benefit. We, in the labour organisations as a whole, the 403 million workers of the country, will oppose their anti-labour policies tooth and nail. I think the hon. Labour Minister, who is an erstwhile labour leader, will do something fruitful to protect the interests of the labour in the country. With these words, I conclude.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You spoke very well, but you spoke on everybody's behalf in your party. There is not much time left for them. Only ten minutes are left for them. I do not know how they are going to distribute their time amongst themselves.

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तरांचल):** उपसभापति महोदया, आज हम इस माननीय सदन में श्रम मंत्रालय के कामकाज पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। जब हम किसी मंत्रालय के कामकाज की घर्चा करते हैं तो हम देखते हैं कि उस मंत्रालय की पृष्ठभूमि क्या रही है, उसका दायित्व क्या है, उसके कार्यक्षेत्र क्या है, उस कार्यक्षेत्र में वह क्या योजनाएं निमित्त कर रहा है, उन योजनाओं को वह क्रियान्वित कर रहा है या नहीं कर रहा है, उसके लाभ संबंधित लोगों को पहुंच रहे हैं या नहीं पहुंच रहे, अगर नहीं पहुंच रहे तो क्यों नहीं पहुंच रहे और उसके बारे में हमारे क्या सुझाव हैं। इस तरह की जिम्मेदारी हम सब लोगों की बनती है। हम यहां जितने सदस्य बैठे हैं, हम कभी न कभी, किसी न किसी रूप में केन्द्र सरकार के अंदर रहे हैं या उस सरकार के समर्थक रहे हैं।

उपसभापति महोदया, श्रम मंत्रालय की पृष्ठभूमि बहुत पुरानी है। आज हमारे देश में लगभग 40 करोड़ श्रमिक हैं। हमारे साम्यवादी नेता, और अभी जो माननीय सदस्य बोले हैं, आप श्रमिक नेता हैं, लेबर लीडर हैं, लेकिन हमारे साम्यवादी भाई केवल उन दो-तीन करोड़ लोगों की बात करते हैं, जो संगठित क्षेत्र में काम करते हैं। जो असंगठित क्षेत्र में काम करने वाले 37 करोड़ लोग हैं, जिनमें लेबर, होम बेस्ड वर्कर, 20 करोड़ लोग कृषि के क्षेत्र से जुड़े हैं और इसके अलावा बिल्डिंग कंस्ट्रक्शन वर्कर, बीड़ी वर्कर, साइन वर्कर, नोन-कोल माइन्स वर्कर, बांडेड लेबर, इंटरस्टेट माइग्रेट वर्कर, मछली का काम करने वाले, नमक बनाने वाले, रिकशा चलाने वाले, मोटर मैकेनिक वगैरह वगैरह हजारों अन्य अनआर्गनाइज्ड लेबर हैं, जो संगठित नहीं हैं और जिनकी बड़ी भारी संख्या है, जिनकी कम्युनिस्ट भाई बात नहीं करते हैं, केवल आर्गनाइज्ड सेक्टर की बात करते हैं।

उपसभापति महोदया, मैं बताना चाहूंगा कि लेबर की चिंता हमारे देश में आज से नहीं बल्कि ब्रिटिश काल में भी थी। ... (व्यवधान)... देखिए, हम कभी इंटरवीन नहीं करते हैं, शांति से सुनते हैं। आप लेबर लीडर हैं, हम लेबर लीडर नहीं हैं, लेकिन हम आपसे ज्यादा जानते हैं। अभी लेबर की समस्याएं आपको बताएंगे और सुझाव भी देंगे।

महोदया, जब 1930 में लंदन में राउण्ड टेबल कान्फ्रेंस हुई कि राज्यों और केन्द्र सरकार के संबंध कैसे हों, कौन कौन से विषय किस किस के पास रहें, तो उस वक्त भी लेबर के विषय में काफी घर्चा हुई थी। उस समय इसके आधार पर जो भारत सरकार अधिनियम बना और हमारे देश के संविधान निर्माताओं ने बाद में जो संविधान बनाया, उसमें यह विषय केन्द्र और राज्य, दोनों सरकारों की कन्करेंट लिस्ट में रखा गया और 1935 से यह कन्करेंट लिस्ट में चला आ रहा है। उस समय भी महत्वपूर्ण लोग इस विषय के प्रभावी रहे जैसे रामास्वामी मुदालियर साहब लेबर मेंबर रहे, उस समय मिनिस्टर को मेंबर ही बोलते थे if I am correct, हमारे फिरोज खान नून लेबर मेंबर रहे, डा. अम्बेडकर लेबर मेंबर रहे। उनके जमाने में लेबर की समस्या के समाधान के लिए संयुक्त कान्फ्रेंस हुई और इसके लिए एक कमीशन भी बिठाया गया था जिसका नाम था विटली कमीशन और उस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट भी आई। उसमें इम्प्लॉयर, इम्प्लॉयी, केन्द्र सरकार, राज्य सरकार, अन्य विभाग, इन सबके प्रतिनिधियों ने भाग लिया। मुझे

यह बताने में बड़ी खुशी हो रही है कि डा. अम्बेडकर के जमाने में जो आखिरी कान्फ्रेंस 7 अगस्त, 1942 को दिल्ली में हुई थी, उसमें स्वर्गीय श्री वी.वी. गिरि और लेबर लीडर श्री जमनादास मेहता, श्री ए.आर. दलाल और श्री श्रीराम ने एम्प्लायर्स की ओर से भाग लिया। उसमें इन बातों पर चर्चा हुई कि कैसे श्रमिकों और उद्योगों के बीच में अच्छे संबंध रहें, श्रमिकों की समस्याओं का समाधान कैसे हो और कभी अशांति न हो। इस संबंध में लंबी चर्चा होने के बाद वे कुछ निष्कर्षों पर पहुंचे और उसमें एक निष्कर्ष यह था कि कुछ इस तरह का संस्थान होना चाहिए जो इन दोनों के संबंधों को अच्छा करने में तुरंत सहायक हो और कहीं ऐसा हो कि संस्थानों के अंदर अशांति हो जाए और कार्यकर्ताओं का मॉरल गिर जाए और हमारा संगठन ही छिन्न-भिन्न हो जाए तो यह उसे नियंत्रित कर सके।

महोदया, मैं उदाहरण के तौर पर दो मिसालें देता हूँ। हमारे साम्यवादी भाई नारा लगाते हैं कि - "चाहे जो मजबूरी हो, मांग हमारी पूरी हो" यानी बेशक संगठन का भट्ठा बैठ जाए लेकिन इनकी मांग पूरी होनी चाहिए। एक दूसरा संगठन है भारत मजदूर संघ, वह भी नारा लगाता है कि "देश के हित में करेंगे काम, काम के लेंगे पूरे दाम", कितना अंतर है दोनों में। वे भी काम करते हैं, वे भी श्रमिक हैं लेकिन दोनों के काम करने के तरीके में अंतर है। इसलिए संस्थान में कोई अशांति न हो, संस्थान बंद न हो और बेरोजगारी न हो, इसलिए इस समस्या का समाधान करने के लिए कुछ नियम और कानून बनाए गए।

मैडम, मैं बहुत थोड़े समय में अपनी बात खत्म करना चाहूंगा। यह विषय बड़ा पुराना है। 1854 में इस विषय को PWD से जोड़ दिया गया, फिर 1905 में इसे कॉमर्स और इंडस्ट्री से जोड़ दिया गया, इसके बाद 1919 में इंटरनेशनल लेबर ऑर्गनाइजेशन के साथ इसे नत्थी कर दिया गया, 1923 में इंडस्ट्री और लेबर को जोड़ दिया गया और 1937 में अलग-अलग कर दिया गया, फिर 1946 में इस विषय को डिपार्टमेंट ऑफ वर्क्स माईन ऐंड पावर के साथ जोड़ दिया गया, फिर 1957 में पहली बार लेबर ऐंड इम्प्लॉयमेंट मिनिस्ट्री बनी और फिर 1985 में इसे मिनिस्ट्री ऑफ लेबर को सौंप दिया गया। इस तरह कितनी ही बार इसमें परिवर्तन हुआ है, कितनी ही बार इसे हटाकर और किसी मिनिस्ट्री के साथ जोड़ा गया है। आज जो हमारे भाई परिवर्तन की बात करते हैं, परिवर्तन तो पहले से ही होता चला आ रहा है और परिवर्तन के लिए हमेशा गुंजाइश भी होती है। महोदया, इस मंत्रालय के अन्तर्गत श्रमिकों के हित के लिए और खास तौर से जो संगठित क्षेत्र में काम करते हैं, उनके लिए कितने कानून बने हैं और कितने कानून अब तक काम कर रहे हैं? मैडम, आप देखेंगी कि इण्डस्ट्रियल रिलेशन से संबंधित तीन कानून हैं। मजदूरी - पगार से संबंधित तीन कानून हैं। मजदूर कितने घंटे काम करेंगे इससे संबंधित 11 कानून हैं। महिलाओं की भागीदारी और बराबरी से संबंधित दो कानून हैं। जो लोग डिसेबिलिटी हैं उनसे संबंधित तीन कानून हैं और सामाजिक सुरक्षा से संबंधित चार कानून हैं। इतने तो कानून आज भी विद्यमान हैं जो केवल श्रमिकों के लिए हैं। इसके अलावा मैडम, कितने अन्य संस्थान हैं - सेंट्रल बोर्ड फार वर्कर्स एजुकेशन है, इनके विवादों को तय करने के लिए सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट इण्डस्ट्रियल ट्रिब्यूनल-कम-लेबर कोर्ट है, आर्बिट्रेशन में बोर्ड आफ आर्बिट्रेशन है। कमेटी और बोर्ड 53 हैं जिनमें से 15 तो ऐसे हैं जो नॉन-फंक्शनल हैं और बाकी दो ऐसे हैं जो या तो वाइड-अप कर दिए गए या मर्ज कर दिए गए और 36 फंक्शनल हैं। यह सब इनके विवादों को तय करने के लिए हैं। जो कहते हैं कि श्रमिकों को या श्रमिक क्षेत्र को कहीं नजरअंदाज किया जा रहा है। मैडम, इस तरह की कोई बात नहीं है। बाद में एक दूसरा कमीशन बैठाया गया है, अब वह कमीशन क्या करेगा? हमारे मित्र जीवन राय ने

ग्लोबलाइजेशन की बात कही। एक तो इस संबंध में मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि लिबरेलाइजेशन ऑफ इकॉनोमी, ग्लोबलाइजेशन ऑफ ट्रेड, प्राइवेटाइजेशन ऑफ सर्विसेज से उत्पन्न जो एक आर्थिक स्थिति सारे विश्व में बनी है और उससे संबंधित हमारी सरकारों ने जो आर्थिक नीतियाँ बनाई हैं इसको हमारे देश के सभी दलों ने स्वीकार किया है। किसी ने इसको आज तक रिवर्स करने की बात नहीं कही है। साम्यवादी लोग आलोचना कर रहे हैं। लोगों ने यह नहीं कहा कि इस पॉलिसी को बदल दो। न हमारे कांग्रेस के भाई कहते हैं कि पॉलिसी को बदल दो। पॉलिसी बदलने की बात किसी ने कही नहीं। तो यह हमारे देश की स्वीकृत नीति है। अब गलती कहाँ हो सकती है? इसके क्रियान्वयन में गलती हो सकती है। तो क्रियान्वयन में क्या गलती है उसे बताओ और उसे सुधारने के सुझाव दो। बहुत से प्लेटफार्म हैं, उनके माध्यम से आप बताएं। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ। मंत्री महोदय, मैं क्षमा चाहूँगा कि क्रियान्वयन में एक तो सबसे ज्यादा बड़ी जल्दबाजी हुई। माफ करना हमारे मुसलमान भाई इसको अदरवाइज न लें। यह पुरानी कहावत है कि नया मुसल्ला करे अल्लाह ही अल्लाह। यह सरकार बड़ी तेज गति से चल रही है, आर्थिक सुधार की गति बड़ी तेज हुई है।

**उपसभापति :** यहां मुझे लगता है कि इस वक्त खाली दो ही दिखाई दे रहे हैं। एक तो चेयर पर और एक नीचे। तो हम तो बुरा नहीं मान रहे हैं कि हम नए नहीं हैं।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम :** मैं तो खुद मुसलमान हूँ। मुझे ज्वाइंट कमेटी ऑन वक्फ बोर्ड का चेयरमैन बनाया गया है। आई एम सॉरी मैडम, जो मेरी ऑरिजनल बात है असल में उसे कहने का मैं आदी हूँ, देहात से आया हूँ। मैंने पहले कहा कि मैं लीडर तो हूँ ही नहीं।

**उपसभापति :** नहीं, आप अच्छा बोल रहे हैं, बोलिए।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम :** मैं अर्ज कर रहा था, यहां कई मिनिस्टर बैठे हैं। मैं आपको भी पोटेंट आउट कर रहा हूँ कि आपकी बड़ी तेज गति है। हमारे देश की आर्थिक सामाजिक स्थिति को ध्यान में रखकर के रफ्तार धीमी होनी चाहिए। दूसरे, आपकी प्राथमिकताएं क्या होनी चाहिए, इस पर भी विचार आपको करना चाहिए। इस देश में केवल आप यह समझ लीजिए कि जी०डी०पी० ग्रोथ ऑरियंटेड हमारी नीति अकेली न हो बल्कि रोजी, रोटी, कपड़ा, मकान, पानी, शिक्षा, दवा, सुरक्षा इस देश के प्रत्येक नागरिक को मिले, यह भी ऑरियंटेड हमारी इकॉनोमिक पॉलिसी होनी चाहिए। ग्लोबलाइजेशन का असर हमारे यहां पर पड़ रहा है। इसके बारे में मेरे सुझाव हैं जिन्हें मैं पार्टी के अंदर देता हूँ, फोरम पर देता हूँ, यहां पार्लियामेंट में देता हूँ क्योंकि मैंने यहां पर ओथ ली है। इस पार्लियामेंट में ओथ लेते समय हमने कहा है कि जो कुछ बोलेंगे सच बोलेंगे और देश के हित में बोलेंगे। इसलिए मैं अपनी बात देश हित में यहां पर भी कहता हूँ कि ग्लोबलाइजेशन वाली बात को कहना बंद कर देना चाहिए। हम इसको स्वीकार कर चुके हैं। अब इसके क्रियान्वयन में दोष कहाँ पर हैं, इसके बारे में बताना चाहिए। बार-बार कहा जाता है कि फैक्टरीज का डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट हो रहा है। डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट क्यों हुआ? मेरी पार्टी के लोग मुझे क्षमा करेंगे। मैं नेहरू जी की नीति का, सरकार के जितने इस्टेब्लिशमेंट थे उनके बारे में, मैं उनका पक्षधर था, क्यों था? उसमें था - नो प्रॉफिट, नो लॉस। काम भी करें और रोजगार भी मिले, लेकिन हो क्या गया। जो अभी उधर से भाषण दे रहे थे, चालीस साल तो इस देश में राज उनका ही रहा है। हम तो अभी आये हैं, जुम्मा-जुम्मा आठ दिन हुए हैं। पहले एक्सेस एम्प्लायमेंट इनमें किया गया। जितनी जरूरत थी उससे कई गुना ज्यादा भर्ती इनमें करा दी, जो मेम्बर या चेयरमैन बनकर आया, उसने ही भर्ती करवा ली।



3.00 P.M.

जिनको उन्हें चलाने की जिम्मेदारी दी गई, उनकी कोई एकाउंटबिलिटी फिक्स नहीं की गई और विद कंसीडरेशन उनकी पोस्टिंग हुई। इसलिए उन्होंने इन संस्थाओं का भट्ठा बैठा दिया। वे लोग इलेक्शन के लिए घंटे के रूप में पैसे देते रहे और वहां पर लूटमार करते रहे। इसके कारण इनका भट्ठा बैठ गया। तीसरा कारण, साम्यवादी भाइयों, अब तो साम्यवाद रहा ही नहीं है इसलिए अब इसके बारे में आप क्या कहोगे। अनरेस्ट जो लेबर का हुआ वह सब आपके कारण हुआ। आप भी इसके लिए जिम्मेदार हैं, वे भी इसके लिए जिम्मेदार हैं, जिन्होंने एक्सेस एम्प्लायमेंट किया और कोई एकाउंटबिलिटी फिक्स नहीं की। इसलिए इन सरकारी संस्थानों का भट्ठा बैठ गया। अब वे चलने लायक नहीं है। अब वे रो रहे हैं कि डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट क्यों हो रहा है? मशीनरी पुरानी हो गई, साइंस एंड टेक्नालॉजी नई आ गई। जिस काम को 100 क्लर्क दफ्तर में करते थे, अब उस काम को 10 आदमी कम्प्यूटर पर कर रहे हैं। हमारा देश क्या कम्प्यूटर से काम करने लायक देश है? आप लोग आसमान में उड़ रहे हैं और यहां पर लोग जमीन पर रहते हैं, भूखे मरते हैं, उनके लिए पीने का पानी नहीं है, यहां दिल्ली में पानी की किल्लत होने वाली है, यहां क्या कम्प्यूटर की जरूरत है? यहां पर हाथ को काम चाहिए, हर हाथ को काम चाहिए, हर खेत को पानी चाहिए, हर मुंह को पानी चाहिए, हर हाथ को काम चाहिए, क्या यह कम्प्यूटर से मिलेगा? रोजगार देने के बारे में मैंने अपनी सरकार से कहा है। सरकार ने पिछले वर्ष 28 लाख मकान बनाये हैं, बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। मैं कहता हूं कि मकान और ज्यादा बनाने चाहिए। अगर आप मकान बनाओगे तो उसमें ईंटें लगेंगी तो भट्टे चलेंगे, लोहा लगेगा तो लोहे के कारखाने चलेंगे, सीमेंट लगेगी तो सीमेंट के कारखाने चलेंगे। जब ये सब चलेंगे तो लोगों को काम मिलेगा, रोजगार मिलेगा, भर्ती होगी और रहने के लिए मकान मिलेगा। इसके अलावा "प्रधानमंत्री ग्राम सड़क योजना" का जाल बिछाया जा रहा है। सड़कों को मशीनों से मत बनाओ, हाथों से उसको बनवाओ, लाखों-करोड़ों लोग काम पर लगेंगे। क्या इस तरह के सुझाव आपके दिमाग में आते हैं? तमाम फैक्टरी की बातें करते हैं, हमारे भाई यहां से चले गये हैं, मैं उनको बता रहा हूं।...(व्यवधान)...आपके पड़ोसी जो हैं, मैं उनके बारे में कह रहा हूं।...

उपसभापति : वे दोनों चले गये हैं, जिनसे आप कह रहे हैं।

श्री प्रेमचन्द गुप्ता (बिहार) : मैडम, मैं बोलना नहीं चाहता था, लेकिन गौतम साहब ने कहा है तो मैं...(व्यवधान)...

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : सौरी, सौरी, आपके पड़ोसी।

उपसभापति : आपके लिए नहीं कहा है। जीवनराय जी बोले थे उनके लिए कहा है।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : मैंने आपके लिए नहीं कहा है। मैडम, मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि सड़कों को आदमी बनायेंगे तो लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा, काम मिलेगा। आप सुझाव दीजिए। श्रमिक काम करेगा तो उसको पैसा मिलेगा। सरकार जो काम कर रही है उसमें आप इस बात पर जोर दो कि उसमें मशीन न लगे। गांव में खेती का काम किसने छीन लिया, ट्रैक्टर ने छीन लिया। ट्रैक्टर किसके पास है, जो दो-चार हजार बीघे का काश्तकार है, उसके पास ही ट्रैक्टर होना चाहिए, लेकिन जो स्माल होल्डिंग वाला है, छोटा किसान है, उसके पास ट्रैक्टर क्यों होना चाहिए? अगर वह काम हल से करेगा तो लोगों को खेती में काम मिलेगा।

मैडम, इसके अलावा कुछ बातें और हैं जिनके बारे में मैंने संसद में पिछली बार भी बोला था। यहां संसद में मिट्टी के कुल्हड़ में दही मिलती थी, बाद में यहां पर प्लास्टिक का कुल्हड़ आ गया। मुझे बड़ी परेशानी हुई और मैंने इसके बारे में यहां संसद में आपत्ति की। मैंने कहा कि फिर से संसद में मिट्टी के कुल्हड़ लाये जाएं। मिट्टी का कुल्हड़ कुम्हार बनाता है, उससे अनेकों कुम्हारों को, उनके परिवारों को काम मिलता है। प्लास्टिक का कुल्हड़ फैक्टरी बनाती है। मुझे क्षमा करना, कुल्हड़ की बात करते हुए मुझे एक दोहा याद आ गया है। कुल्हड़ की अपनी एक खुशबू होती है। बृज की एक सुंदरी कुल्हड़ में दूध पी रही थी तो बोली :

ओ माटी के कुल्हड़ा, कहूं तोहे समझाए,

ऑठ रचाये पीय कूं, तू क्यों पीये जाम ।

कुल्हड़ में भीनी-भीनी खुशबू आती है और दही अच्छा लगता है। लेकिन बाद में प्लास्टिक का कुल्हड़ आ गया। इसी तरह से आज बहुत से काम जो लेबर करता था, वे छिन गये हैं। उन कामों को हमें रैस्टोर करना चाहिए।

**उपसभापति :** जो आपने बात कही, मैकेनाइजेशन ऑफ फॉर्मिंग की। उससे सबसे ज्यादा नुकसान महिलाओं को हुआ क्योंकि महिलाएं कटाई और बुवाई का काम करती थीं, उनकी नीकरी चली गयी। कुल्हड़ बायोडीग्रेडेबल है और Plastic is not biodegradable. उससे जब हम फेंकते हैं तो उससे हमारी जमीन खराब हो रही है। वह गलत नहीं है, नष्ट नहीं होता है, उससे जमीन चोक हो रही है, प्रदूषण बढ़ रहा है।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गीतम :** आपने ठीक कहा, आपने ठीक प्वाइंट आउट किया। महोदया, मैं दो-चार मिनट में खत्म करूंगा, मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा।

**उपसभापति :** आप बोलिए, अभी आपका समय है।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गीतम :** महोदया, अभी हमारी सरकार ने अनेक कदम उठाए। कुछ लोग इसकी आलोचना कर रहे हैं कि ये इस कानून में सुधार क्यों कर रहे हैं? आपने अभी तक इस दिशा में क्या किया है? आपने यह कमीशन क्यों बैठाया? महोदया, हमारा श्रम आयोग बैठाया गया। यह कहा गया कि श्रम आयोग जो है, यह क्या काम कर रहा है, इसकी क्या जिम्मेदारी है? एक तो अब तक जितने कानून हैं, उनको यह रिव्यू करेगा और इसके लिए अलग से एक कमेटी बनायी गयी। रूरल इनफॉर्मल सेक्टर में रोजगार कैसे मिले, इस पर विचार करेगा और इसके अलावा इस संबंध में एक कमेटी भी बना दी गयी। इसके अतिरिक्त जिस ग्लोबलाइजेशन की चिंता कर रहे थे - ग्लोबलाइजेशन ऐंड इट्स इम्पैक्ट ऑन लेबर - यह भी विषय है। इसके लिए भी अलग से कमेटी है और वह कमीशन इस पर भी विचार करेगा कि ग्लोबलाइजेशन के क्या असर हुए हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त सोशल सिक्योरिटी, वूमन ऐंड चाइल्ड लेबर, डेवलपमेंट ट्रेनिंग ऐंड वर्किंग ऐजुकेशन - कोई भी विषय उस कमीशन के अधिकार क्षेत्र से नहीं बचा है जो उसको न दिया गया हो और जिस क्षेत्र में वह काम न कर रहा हो। वह जांच करके अपनी रिपोर्ट देगा। जब रिपोर्ट पार्लियामेंट में आएगी तो आप उस पर विचार करिएगा और जो अच्छे सुझाव होंगे, उनको स्वीकार करिए। कोई संशोधन करना हो तो वह कराइए और फिर उसके बाद कानून बनेगा। इसके अतिरिक्त संशोधन की बात हो रही थी कि ये कानून में संशोधन करने जा रहे हैं। वह कानून कौन से हैं? The Payment of Wages Act, 1936; the

Minimum Wages Act, 1948; the Employees Provident Fund and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952; the Employees State Insurance Act, 1948; the Contract Labour Act, 1970; जिसका जिक्र उन्होंने किया। खूंटिया साहब की एक बात से मैं सहमत हूँ और मैं इस संबंध में अनुरोध भी करूंगा लेकिन अभी कोई संशोधन तो हुआ नहीं है। इस संबंध में राज्य सरकारों से पूछा जा रहा है, संबंधित व्यक्तियों से चर्चा हो रही है लेकिन खूंटिया साहब की इस बात से - जो सैक्शन 10 है, कांट्रैक्ट लेबर का - इसमें मेरी भी चिंता है क्योंकि मैं तो उसी वर्ग से आता हूँ, लेबर क्लास से आता हूँ। इसके अतिरिक्त the Factories Act, 1948; the Mines Act, 1952; the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923; the Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 - ये नौ ऐक्ट हैं जिनके संशोधन के बारे में बातचीत की जा रही है। इसमें जो अच्छी बातें हैं, उन्हें स्वीकार कर लो और जो गलत बातें हैं, उनका विरोध करो लेकिन पहले से ही कह दो कि भेड़िया आ रहा है, खा जाएगा, यह गलत है। भेड़िया है ही नहीं और आप पहले से ही डर जाओ कि खा जाएगा। इसलिए मेरा अनुरोध है कि पहले कानून आने दीजिए, फिर उसके बारे में चिंता करना। महोदया, इस सरकार ने ऐसे कई कदम उठाए - अभी कृषि के बारे में कहा गया, खूंटिया साहब ने उसकी आलोचना की। माइका माइन्स लेबर वेलफेयर फंड ऐक्ट 1946, दि लाइमस्टोन एंड डोलोमाइट माइन्स लेबर वेलफेयर फंड ऐक्ट, 1972, दि आयरन ओर, मैंगनीज़ ओर एंड क्रोमियम ओर माइन्स लेबर वेलफेयर फंड ऐक्ट, 1976 - इनसे करीब एक लाख व्यक्ति लाभान्वित हो चुके हैं और ये फंड अभी चालू हैं। ये फंड सैस लगाकर पैसा इकट्ठा करते हैं, कितना, वह भी मैं बताऊंगा। इसके बाद है बीडी वर्कर्स वेलफेयर फंड ऐक्ट, 1976 - इससे 44 लाख लोग लाभान्वित हुए हैं। एक हजार बीडी पर दो रुपए मालिक को देने पड़ेंगे। इसके बाद है सिने वर्कर्स वेलफेयर फंड ऐक्ट, 1981 - इसमें हिंदी फिल्म वाले को दस हजार मिलेगा, दूसरी तमिल-तेलुगु वाले को पांच हजार मिलेगा, असमी-उड़िया वाले को दो हजार या तीन हजार मिलेगा। एक तरह से इससे अब तक लगभग तैंतीस हजार लोग लाभान्वित हो चुके हैं। चौंसठ हजार लोग लगे हैं इस काम में और सब लाभान्वित होंगे। ये पैसा भी सैस से इकट्ठा हो रहा है। सरकार यह काम कर रही है। सब श्रमिक हैं जिनको यह लाभ पहुंचा रही है और लाभ पहुंचा है। अभी जो खेती वाली बात आई, उसके बारे में उन्होंने आलोचना की। एक रुपया खेतिहर मज़दूर देगा और दो रुपए सरकार देती है, 1-7-2001 से यह योजना लागू हुई है। अब वे कहते हैं कि प्रोविडेंट फंड हमारा अकेले का है। यह आपका अकेले का अधिकार है लेकिन पैसा अकेले आपका नहीं है। आधा पैसा आपका है और आधा पैसा सरकार का है। एक रुपया आपका है और दो रुपए सरकार के हैं। अकेले आपका पैसा कैसे है? सरकार का भी तो पैसा है, तो उस पर अगर इंटरेस्ट कम होता है, वह एक अलग बात है, उसके बारे में भी बताऊंगा। इससे तो हमने बड़ा नुकसान उठाया है। यह जो कम किया है, डोमेस्टिक सेविंग्स पर जो लाभ कम हुआ है लोगों का, इसका नुकसान तो हमने इलेक्शन में उठाया है लेकिन वास्तविकता क्या है? आज केन्द्र सरकार कोई नई योजना, नया धन नहीं लगाती है, न कोई नई रेल लाइन बनाती है, न कोई नया कारखाना लगाती है। हम इस तलाश में रहते हैं कि कोई विदेशी आएगा और पैसा इनवेस्ट करेगा। सारी राज्य सरकारें घाटे में चल रही हैं, बिजली बोर्ड घाटे में चल रहे हैं और सब केन्द्र सरकार की ओर देख रहे हैं कि केन्द्र सरकार हमें पैसा दे। राज्य सरकारों के पास नौकरों की तनखाह देने के लिए पैसा नहीं है। जब राज्य सरकारों के पास पैसा नहीं है, केन्द्र सरकार के पास पैसा नहीं है, आज घाटा ही नहीं अनेकों घाटे घले आ रहे हैं न जाने कब

से, तो पैसा कहां से आएगा ? विदेशों से कर्जा लेंगे क्या ? क्या इंटरनेशनल मॉनीटरी फंड से कर्जा लेंगे ? क्या वर्ल्ड बैंक से कर्जा लेंगे ? और जो पिछला कर्जा है, उसके ब्याज को चुकाएंगे ? नहीं, और कब तक चुकाएंगे ? ये योजनाएं कैसे लागू होंगी ? तो आखिर कहीं न कहीं तो पैसा बचाया जाएगा, कटौती होगी, इसलिए कटौती की गई । हां, मैंने पहले ही कहा कि प्राइयोरिटी फिक्स करनी चाहिए । प्रॉपर्टी टैक्स को ज्यादा बढ़ा कर कटौती करनी चाहिए । जिनका हवाला वे दे रहे थे कि इतने करोड़ के मालिक वे आजादी से पहले थे और अब इतने करोड़ के मालिक हो गए हैं, ऐसे लोगों पर वेल्थ टैक्स लगाओ, प्रॉपर्टी टैक्स लगाओ, कई गुना बढ़ा दो । शराब पर पैसे बढ़ा दो, टी.वी. पर पैसे बढ़ा दो । यह प्राइयोरिटी सही नहीं है कि शराब पर पैसे कम कर दो और साइकिल पर बढ़ा दो । मोटर पर पैसे बढ़ा दो, कार पर पैसे बढ़ा दो, यह प्राइयोरिटी होनी चाहिए ।...**(व्यवधान)**... अरे भइया, शराब तुम पीते हो, गांव का आदमी कहां पीता है । इसलिए शराब पर पैसे खूब बढ़ा दो । गरीब आदमी तो एक रुपए की बीड़ी, सिगरेट, पान, तम्बाकू, चरस, गांजा, अफीम पी लेता है । तुम पीते हो दो सौ रुपए की, पांच सौ रुपए की, तुम पर लगना चाहिए टैक्स ।...**(व्यवधान)**...

**श्री राजीव शुक्ल** (उत्तर प्रदेश): मैडम, ये मुझ पर इलजाम लगा रहे हैं ।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम** : भाई, तुमसे मतलब इस बिरादरी से है । यह कोई आपसे व्यक्तिगत तौर पर नहीं कह रहा हूँ ।

**उपसभापति** : गुटके पर लगाना चाहिए टैक्स जिसका इतना बड़ा ऐडवर्टिज़मेंट आता है । हेल्थ मिनिस्टर चले गए, उनको बताना चाहिए था कि it is harmful for health. इसको बैन कर देना चाहिए ।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम** : आपकी बात बिलकुल सही है मैडम । आप बिलकुल ठीक कह रही हैं । मैंने पहले कहा है मंत्री महोदय कि यह ज्वाइंट रिस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी है, यह अकेले फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर की रिस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी नहीं है, आपकी भी है । बहुत नुकसान हो रहा है और हम भी कह रहे हैं कि प्राइयोरिटी हमें फिक्स करनी चाहिए ।

मैडम, एग्रीकल्चर लेबर के लिए जो पैसा है, उस योजना का नाम है कृषि श्रमिक सामाजिक सुरक्षा योजना । एक मिनट । मैं चाहूंगा कि यह सारे देश में लागू हो जाए क्योंकि सभी ने इसकी तारीफ की है । एक रुपया लेबर देगा और दो रुपये सरकार देगी । अब तक कितना पैसा इकट्ठा हो गया है ? 2001-2002 में 2.11 करोड़ रुपये इकट्ठे हो गए हैं । इससे एक लाख लोग लाभान्वित हुए हैं । इसे सारे देश में लागू करिए । हम इसका स्वागत करेंगे । गांव में लोगों को लाभ मिलेगा, श्रमिक इससे खुश होगा । मैं अंत में आपकी आज्ञा का पालन करते हुए यह कहना चाहूंगा कि सरकार श्रम की पृष्ठभूमि के दायरे में काम कर रही है । श्रम मंत्रालय, जो कानून है, संविधान है, उसके दायरे में काम कर रहा है । श्रम मंत्रालय ने जितने कानून बनाए हैं, योजनाएं बनाई हैं उन्हें क्रियान्वित कर रहा है । सरकार की नीयत श्रमिक को लाभ पहुंचाने की है । अधिक लाभ पहुंचे इसमें आपका योगदान होना चाहिए, आपको सुझाव देने चाहिए । मैडम, आखिर मैं एक चीज कहना चाहूंगा कि यह जो बिल्डिंग एंड कंस्ट्रक्शन वर्कर्स ऐक्ट बना है यह पहले से ही दिल्ली, तमिलनाडु, केरल में चल रहा है । मैं वहां की सरकारों को बधाई देता हूँ । अब पांडिचेरी इसे लागू करने जा रही है तो वेस्ट बंगाल में भी इसे लागू करिए । बंगाल में लागू क्यों नहीं करते हो ? यहां करोड़ों लोग काम कर रहे हैं । जो बिल्डिंग और भवन

बनते हैं उसमें लोग काम कर रहे हैं। इस कानून को लागू करो। मंत्री जी आप सुनिए, केरल में एक लाख लड़कियां फिश प्रोसेसिंग का काम करती हैं, उन्हें लाभ पहुंचाइए। जो नमक बनाने का काम करते हैं, गुजरात, तमिलनाडु और महाराष्ट्र में बहुत लोग इसमें काम करते हैं, आप इन्हें ऑर्गनाइज्ड कीजिए, इन्हें लाभ पहुंचाइए। ई.एस.आई. का लाभ अकेले शहर में ही न हो और फैक्ट्री लेबर को ही न हो बल्कि अनऑर्गनाइज्ड सेक्टर में भी जाए। मुझे खुशी है कि श्रम मंत्रालय ने शिक्षा, चिकित्सा और मकानों के क्षेत्रों में भी काफी योगदान दिया है। मेरे पास एग्जेक्ट आंकड़े नहीं हैं इसलिए मैं उन्हें कोट नहीं कर सकता लेकिन हमारे श्रम मंत्रालय का कामकाज बहुत अच्छा है, मैं इसकी प्रशंसा करता हूँ और श्रम मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

**उपसभापति :** श्री रुमान्डला रामचन्द्रय्या, आई बेटर इन्फोर्म यू कि आपके तेरह मिनट हैं। तेरह मिनट में अपनी बात कहने की कोशिश करेंगे तो लगेगा कि आप समझदार एम.पी. हैं। पचास-पचास मिनट बोलेंगे तो ऐसे तो कोई भी बोल देगा।

**श्री रुमान्डला रामचन्द्रय्या (आंध्र प्रदेश) :** अच्छी बात है। उपसभापति महोदया, श्रम कल्याण के बारे में बोलने का आपने जो मौका दिया है उसके लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद। श्रम कल्याण संबंधी स्थायी समिति ने अपने इक्कीसवें प्रतिवेदन में कहा है कि राज्यों और कार्यान्वयन एजेंसियों का कोई कारगर तालमेल नहीं है। उसके संबंध में जो मेल रहना चाहिए वह मेल बढ़ाने के लिए हमारी भारत सरकार को नई-नई योजनाएं लेकर आगे बढ़ना चाहिए। इसके अलावा कुछ योजनाओं में वह ठीक प्रकार से नहीं हुआ है। इस संबंध में मंत्रालय द्वारा निधियों के पूरे उपयोग के बारे में दिए गए कारण तर्कसंगत नहीं हैं। इसके साथ-साथ समिति ने सिफारिश की है कि योजनाओं पर होने वाले काम की देख-रेख ठीक प्रकार से होनी चाहिए। मगर देखें, जिस प्रकार से होनी है उस प्रकार से नहीं हो पा रही है। इसके साथ-साथ जो संगठित और असंगठित कार्मिक हैं उनके लिए प्रचार में, उन्हें मालुमात करने के लिए जो-जो साधन उपयोग करने चाहिए उन साधनों का उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। उदाहरण के तौर पर जो बाल श्रमिक हैं, बाउंडेड लेबर हैं, विशेषतः बाल मजदूरों और महिला मजदूरों की मालुमात के लिए बाल पोस्टर्स, हैंड बिल्ड्स, रेडियो, टी.वी. या नाटकों के द्वारा प्रचार करना चाहिए। भारत सरकार से, राज्य सरकारों से उनको जो सुविधा दी जा रही है, वह उनके पास पहुंच रही है या नहीं पहुंच रही है। हमारे देश में लगभग 37 करोड़ असंगठित श्रमिकों की दयनीय हालत पर कोई भी चिन्ता व्यक्त नहीं कर रहा है। श्रम मंत्रालय में जो कर्मचारी काम करते हैं, उनके पास कोई ऐसी प्रणाली होनी चाहिये जिससे यह पता चल सके कि इन 37 करोड़ असंगठित श्रमिकों के लिए क्या करना है। इन असंगठित कार्मिकों की उन्नति के लिए, भलाई के लिए क्या करना है, जो ठीक हो। भारत सरकार इन असंगठित कार्मिकों के लिए क्या करने जा रही है, इसके दिशा निर्देश, योजना और उसके साथ-साथ विज्ञान रहना चाहिये कि असंगठित कार्मिकों के लिए हम यह करने वाले हैं। समिति ने इस पर आश्चर्य व्यक्त किया है कि सरकारी क्षेत्र के कर्मचारियों का 30 दिसम्बर, 2001 को जो 1747 करोड़ रुपया बकाया था, वह नहीं मिलने के कारण उनकी कठिन स्थिति है और उस समिति ने यह महसूस किया है कि यह धनराशि तुरंत कर्मचारियों को दी जानी चाहिये। 1747 करोड़ रुपये की धनराशि जो आपने पास रखी है, जो 2001 तक देनी थी, अब तक नहीं दी है। इसमें देरी न करते हुए तुरंत यह धनराशि जिनकी है, उनमें इसका बँटवारा करना आवश्यक है। समिति ने यह भी बताया, 15वीं रिपोर्ट में यह कहा है कि परिवर्तनों के बावजूद अच्छे औद्योगिक संबंधों का महत्व बढ़ गया है। वास्तव में मजदूरों और प्रबन्धकों के बीच

अच्छे संबंध बनाए रखने चाहियें और वह संबंध बनाए रखने के लिए क्या क्या कार्यक्रम बनाने हैं, कदम उठाने हैं, श्रम मंत्रालय द्वारा अभी तक ठीक कदम नहीं उठाए जा रहे हैं। इस संबंध में एक विधेयक 30 मई, 1990 को प्रस्तुत किया गया था। उस विधेयक को श्रम कल्याण संबंधी समिति को सौंपा गया था और चौथी बार 17 फरवरी, 2000 को भेजा गया। बाद में इस बिल पर कमेटी में चर्चा हुई और उसने खुद संशोधनों की सिफारिश की परन्तु यह विधेयक अभी भी सरकार के पास लम्बित है। इस पर तुरंत सोच-विचार कर के पास करना आवश्यक है। उसके साथ साथ आज जो संगठित सेक्टर में श्रमिकों से संबंधित कानून हैं, उनकी समीक्षा की जानी चाहिये। असंगठित क्षेत्र में न्यूनतम स्तर पर मजदूरों को संरक्षण देने के बारे में, कानून बनाने के बारे में सिफारिश करें। यह कमीशन काम कर रहा है परन्तु इसने आज तक अपनी रिपोर्ट नहीं दी है। इसकी रिपोर्ट आने के लिए भी श्रम मंत्रालय उस कमीशन से बात करे, चर्चा करे और रिपोर्ट बाहर आने के लिए तुरंत प्रयत्न करे। इस समय विभिन्न श्रम अदालतों में लगभग 10074 औद्योगिक विवाद और 3803 दरखास्तें लम्बित हैं। श्रम मंत्रालय को इनको निपटाने के लिए कोई कदम उठाना चाहिये। हजारों केस पेंडिंग रहने से क्या फायदा है, उन केसों का निपटारा करें और जो मजदूरों को योगदान मिलना चाहिये उसके लिए प्रयत्न करें। इनका प्रस्ताव नवी योजना में किया गया था लेकिन आज तक वह पूरा नहीं हुआ है। मंत्रालय के पास स्थिति स्पष्ट नहीं है कि नवी योजना में कितने पदों का सृजन किया गया है। मंत्रालय को वर्ष 2002 तक बेरोजगारी समाप्त करने के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त कर लेना चाहिये लेकिन आज कहीं भी देखो बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है, कहीं भी सोचो बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है। हर आदमी धिक्का रहा है कि बेरोजगारी को मिटाओ, बेरोजगारी को मिटाओ लेकिन बेरोजगारी को मिटाने के लिए हमारा श्रम मंत्रालय क्या प्रणाली तैयार कर रहा है, कौन सी प्रणाली इस बेरोजगारी को मिटाने में सहायक होगी, यह बताना आवश्यक है और कदम उठाना आवश्यक है। आज के अस्पष्ट वातावरण में मजदूरों की भलाई के लिए जो काम श्रम मंत्रालय को करना है, वह उतना नहीं कर पा रहा है। 2000-2001 में सरकार ने हरियाणा, पंजाब, राजस्थान और तामिलनाडु के 25 जिलों में बंधुआ मजदूरों का सर्वेक्षण करने के लिए 50 लाख रुपए जारी किए और 5 लाख रुपए इसी अवधि में राजस्थान में 5 जिलों के मूल्यांकन व अध्ययन के लिए दिए हैं। यह अच्छी बात है कि सरकार विख्यात एजेंसियों के माध्यम से मूल्यांकन व सर्वेक्षण करा कर बंधुआ मजदूरी को समाप्त करने के लिए प्रयत्न कर रही है। लेकिन यह विषय केवल इन राज्यों में ही नहीं है, सारे भारत के जिन जिन राज्यों में बंधुआ मजदूरों की मुश्किलता है, वहां सर्वे करके उनको दूर करने के लिए प्रयत्न करना आवश्यक है।

इसके साथ साथ 2000-2001 और 2001-2002 में राजस्थान और उत्तर प्रदेश को वित्तीय सहायता दी गयी है। परन्तु इन राज्य सरकारों ने इसका पूरा उपयोग नहीं किया है और इससे बंधुआ मजदूरों की सहायता नहीं हुई है। केंद्रीय सरकार विख्यात एजेंसियों के माध्यम से सर्वेक्षण का कार्य करा सकती है। लेकिन यह क्यों नहीं कर पा रही है, यह धिंताजनक है।

हमारे देश में श्रमिकों की दशा अन्य देशों के श्रमिकों से निम्न है। हमें इसकी तुलना नहीं करनी चाहिए। हमारे यहां श्रमिकों को परिवार के लोगों का भरण पोषण करना होता है। उन्हें छाद्यान्न, स्थान तथा काम उपलब्ध नहीं है। इसलिए भारत के श्रमिक की तुलना नहीं की जा सकती है। हमें अन्य देशों के कानूनों को यहां लागू नहीं करना चाहिए। इसी कारण हमारे श्रमिक, कानूनों में बदलाव के विरुद्ध हैं।

सरकार ने 15 अक्टूबर, 1999 को दूसरे राष्ट्रीय श्रम आयोग की स्थापना की थी। इसने गत अक्टूबर तक अपनी रिपोर्ट नहीं दी है। इसका कार्यकाल 15 फरवरी 2003 तक बढ़ा दिया है। इस कमीशन की सिफारिशें देश में पुराने श्रम कानूनों में संशोधन का आधार बनेंगी ताकि नयी आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार संशोधन किए जा सकें। जब चीन जैसे देश में निवेशकों को संरक्षण मिलता है तो हमें भी आवश्यकता के अनुसार अपने कानूनों को बदलने की आवश्यकता है। इसी तरह हम इस मंत्रालय से कम से कम यह आशा करते हैं कि भारत के जो असंगठित कार्मिक हैं उनकी उन्नति के लिए कुछ अच्छे कदम उठाएंगे।

आज बाल मजदूरों के बारे में अगर सोचें तो दूसरे देशों से भी हमारे देश में बाल मजदूर ज्यादा हैं। उन बाल मजदूरों को कम करने के लिए केवल भाषण देना या कानून बनाना उतना उपयुक्त नहीं है जितना प्रैक्टिकली उनको दूर करने के लिए कोशिश करना आवश्यक है। सरकार ने बाल मजदूरी को दूर करने के लिए कई कानून बनाए हैं, लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि खेती में या बुनकरों में, होटलों में या कारखानों में, हर जगह बाल मजदूर काम कर रहे हैं। हमारे भारत देश में उनको कुछ न कुछ सुविधा देकर पढ़ने के लिए, उनकी शिक्षा के लिए, रेजीडेंशियल स्कूलों के लिए या होस्टल्स के लिए, उनकी भोजन व्यवस्था के लिए कुछ ऐसा कानून बनाना चाहिए कि हर बच्चा कम से कम दसवीं जमात तक जरूर पढ़ सके। उसके पढ़ने के लिए अगर उसके परिवार की आर्थिक व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं हो तो उस लड़के या लड़की को लाकर आश्रम पाठशाला में रखें। उसको खाना, कपड़ा और शिक्षा दें। ऐसा कानून बना करके, इसके लिए खूब धनराशि मौजूद करके, इस काम को आगे ले जाना हमारी सरकार का कर्तव्य है। हम बोलते हैं कि आज का हमारा बालक कल के भारत का भविष्य है। लेकिन वह बालक खेतों में, कारखानों में, होटलों में और घरों में सड़ रहा है। उसे दूर करने के लिए श्रम मंत्रालय कदम उठाए और भारत सरकार एक नया कानून लाकर सारे देश में बाल श्रमिकों की संख्या कम करने के लिए कोशिश करे।

मैडम, वर्ष 1998 से 2000 तक लगभग 7 लाख मजदूर विभिन्न कारखानों से निकाले गए हैं। यह उन के प्रति बड़ा अन्याय है। सरकार को उन्हें काम करने का मौका और साथ ही कुछ दूसरी सुविधाएं देनी चाहिए। ऐसे मजदूरों के लिए भी सरकार को एक प्रणाली बनानी चाहिए ताकि उन्हें काम मिल सके नहीं तो बेरोजगारों की संख्या बढ़ेगी जिस के कारण भारत में नयी-नयी समस्याएं पैदा होंगी। इस के अतिरिक्त आज बीड़ी वर्कर्स, बुनकर वर्कर्स, मटिंग वर्कर्स और खेती-बाड़ी में लगे श्रमिकों की दशा सुधारने के लिए एक ऐसे कानून की आवश्यकता है जिससे कि भारत में अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति, मायनोरिटीज और आर्थिक रूप से दूसरे पिछड़े सभी कर्मकारों को काम व दूसरी सुविधा देने का काम सरकार करे।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मुझे अपनी बात कहने का मौका देने के लिए आप के प्रति धन्यवाद प्रकट करते हुए अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I have to call Shri C. Perumal who will speak in Tamil. So, all should be ready except Mr. Virumbi and some others. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Perumal, You have nine minutes. It is your maiden speech. But it does not mean that the maiden can go amok.

\*SHRI C.PERUMAL (Tamil Nadu): Madam, Deputy Chairperson, I bow my head in reverence in the direction of my leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma, the leading light of India, the glowing light of Tamil Nadu, the General Secretary of the Army-like A.I.A.D.M.K., the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu who is endeavouring hard day and night to make Tamil Nadu number one state in the country, and the life blood of six crore Tamils, who has sent a commoner like me to this august house of stalwarts, veteran Parliamentarians and learned personalities. I am proud to be in this hallowed precinct where, once our late lamented leader, Dr. Anna and the goddess of my heart the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma took part in discussions and debated on various subjects.

Madam, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the discussion on the working of the Ministry of labour. A number of labour protection laws were enacted in India. Day after is May Day. I wish to bring to the notice of this House that it was our late leader, Puratchi Thalaivar Dr. M.G.R., who not only demanded declaration of May Day as national holiday but declared it a holiday in Tamil Nadu. It was that great leader who enacted a law providing that workers who were employed for 480 days out of 720 days would be made permanent. It was during A.I.A.D.M.K. rule in 1984 that the Handloom Weavers Protection Act and Manual Labourers Board were brought to effect. It was again A.I.A.D.M.K. Government that provided subsistence allowance for the suspended employees. Section 10-B which provides for compensation in the event of the dispute being adjudicated through Arbitration or Tribunal as a result of failure of bipartite talks between the management and the worker, was inserted during our rule. It is our A.I.A.D.M.K. Government that constructed a building at Chennai and named it after the respected labour leader late Jeevanandam. That Jeeva Illam accommodates labour leaders and labourers who come to Chennai and the rent charged is very nominal. It is during our rule that free dwelling units were constructed for the workers at summer resorts such as Ooty, Kodaikanal and Kutralam.

Madam, in 1992 for the first time in India, it is our Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma, who introduced pension scheme for the transport workers in Tamil Nadu. For providing technical and medical education to the wards of transport workers, Our Government have taken a number of initiatives. While our leader Dr. M.G.R., had set up I.R.T polytechnic in Erode district, the Hon'ble Chief Minister Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi had set up a Medical College at

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\* English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.



Perundurai in Periar district and I.R.T. polytechnic of Bargur for the children of transport workers. During our A.I.A.D.M.K. rule the transport workers were provided free pass facility to travel all over the state with their families just like the railway employees. It is during our rule that the dismissed employees were enabled to go to the court directly without the permission of the management for justice. It is our A.I.A.D.M.K. Government, which provided ex-gratia payment to employees with higher basic pay who were otherwise ineligible for bonus.

Madam, Deputy Chairperson, the cotton industry particularly the spinning mills are in doldrums. They should be protected. I appeal to the Government to remove the 2 per cent excise duty levied on hank yarn. Cotton is the raw material of the spinning mills. Tens of thousands of workers are employed in these mills. When there is shortage of cotton in the country, I wonder at the decision to export cotton. I urge upon the centre to stop import of cotton and save our workers. Even the exclusive reservation of 22 items for the handloom sector as ordered by the Supreme Court is not being implemented. I appeal to the Government through this House to implement the order of the Supreme Court in letter and spirit.

Madam, due to the wrong policies and decisions of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry the small tea growers and tea plantation workers are suffering. To save the tea growers and plantation workers from the agony, the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, respected Amma held a meeting with tea growers and workers after which my leader ordered procurement and sale of tea leaves through Cooperative Societies and fair price shops. My leader also sanctioned Rs. 32 lakhs as relief. Same way the Centre should procure the delicious Ooty tea and use it in Railways, airways and all the PSUs etc. to give a boost to the tea industry. I wish to make a point about the labourers of tea industry. In Theni district of Tamil Nadu at Pachaihumatchi, there is the Hindustan Leaver Tea Ltd. All the 5000 workers of that company have not been paid salary till date. Without holding talks with the workers, the management has preferred lockout playing with the lives of workers. So I appeal to the Hon'ble Minister to intervene and see that the company is opened early and the workers get their wages.

Madam, I have few words about the construction workers. Our late leader Dr. M.G.R. once said:

Skyscrapers are built  
And huts are also built around  
Yet, should we call this golden world,  
Both, the world and God will laugh

This is the plight of construction workers even now. They build houses for others, but they sleep on the streets. That is why with the noble heart of a mother, our leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi launched free housing scheme for construction workers and also fixed uniform wage structure for construction workers for the entire state. I say all this because I wish the Centre also fixes uniform wage for construction workers for the entire country. The Centre may collect nominal amount from the workers and the State Government and add up its own contribution so that the construction workers get a good amount as P.F. when they retire from work later. In case of death of a construction worker, Rs. 1 lakh is given to the family of the deceased as compensation. I appeal to the centre to give compensation to the workers who are injured. The Centre should also allocate certain sum as maternity fund for the welfare of the families of construction workers. The Government should construct hospitals in all the district headquarters for the construction workers on the line of ESI hospitals. Wage guarantee should be given through the Inspectorate of Labour Welfare.

Madam, there are about 500 cottage industries in the country. Palm production from Palmyra trees is one of the major industries in the rural India, particularly in Tamil Nadu. It is an important cottage industry in Tamil Nadu. My revered leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi has taken a number of steps to protect the cottage industry of palm products. Our leader had set up Palm Products Development Corporation in 1994 and appointed me the Chairman of that Corporation. In fact that has been my avocation. My leader introduced free housing scheme, Pension Scheme and also Interim relief scheme for the no-work period, if there is work for a period of four months only. But the D.M.K. Government merged this Corporation with Khadi & Village Industries Corporation and dumped all the schemes. The Khadi Board should integrate the workers of palm, coconut, dates and palm-wine industries. Palm jaggery that has ayurvedic properties, can be procured by the Centre and distributed to hospitals etc., besides exporting. The palm jaggery and candy have medicinal values and are used in making coffee and tea in lieu of sugar even for diabetic patients. The Centre should procure palm candy and palm jaggery and distribute it to airways, railways and

PSUs for use. So also there are soft drinks produced from palm known as palm cola. This is produced in large quantities at Chennai and Bargur in Dharmapuri district. These soft drinks could be served in flights, trains and Parliamentary Committees. Such a step would develop palm products industry and help the workers involved in it. In case of death of a palm worker, A.I.A.D.M.K. Government led by Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma gives Rs. 50,000 to his family. I urge upon the Centre to give pension and interim relief to the palm industry workers. Our State Government gives ten thousand rupees as relief if a palm industry worker is injured while climbing on the trees. So I request the centre to give ten thousand rupees as its share so that twenty thousand rupees could be given to the injured worker. The Centre should also provide insurance scheme to the palm workers who have proper licence.

Madam, when I was the Chairman of the Palm Products Corporation, our leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma, as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu ordered survey to find out whether palm oil production was possible in Tamil Nadu like the way it is done in Malaysia. It was felt that Cauvery delta and Trichy district had the potential for that. The Paiyur Agricultural Research Centre came to this conclusion after research. But the DMK Government, which came to power later, abandoned these projects. Even the palm kernel, a delicious summer food, was processed and exported. The palm kernel produced at Kualaichal was exported from Tutucorin port. In the year 1995-96 when I was the Chairman of the Board, we earned Rs. 16 crore by way of such exports. But because of the abandoning of such exports by the subsequent D.M.K. Government, Tamil Nadu has been losing 16 crore rupees a year. Therefore I appeal to the centre to resume export of palm kernel. There are 996 palm jaggery corporative societies and 8 district Federations in Tamil Nadu. There are a large number of workers employed in these societies. I request the Government to provide financial and other assistance to these workers.

Madam, cinema industry is a golden goose. We all know this. It gives huge revenue to the Government. Mumbai and Chennai are the cities where majority films are produced. In this industry the fortunate ones thrive and the unfortunate ones suffer. Having realised the problems of the cine workers, my leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi bought 85 acres of land at Palikaranai near Chennai in 1995 and gave it for constructing dwelling units for cine workers. The subsequent Government did not show any interest on that. Though the workers have formed housing board society, they are not

able to construct houses due to paucity of funds. I appeal to the centre to provide financial assistance to the cine workers cooperative housing society so that houses could be built on the 85 acres of land provided by my leader. The cine workers association known as PEPSI was functioning from a rented office. It was my leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi who bought 2 acres land on Nooradi Salai in Chennai and gave it to PEPSI for constructing a building. I am grateful to our Amma for ordering the conversion of Diploma courses conducted by the Film and Television Institute at Taramani near Chennai into Graduate courses. This will be of great help to the students who graduate from there. I say so because, I am proud to say that I am an ex-student of that institute and I have a diploma in film technology from that Institute. The Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi has also reserved seats in each course for the wards of film artists. My leader has taken several steps to overcome the recession in film production and video piracy. My leader has ordered hiking of the ticket fares in cinema theatres to a certain limit up to a period after the release of a movie. Because of this decision, many theaters have been saved from being converted into shopping complex. Tamil Nadu Government is also providing tax concessions and other assistance for low-budget, but good movies. The centre should also extend a helping hand for such schemes in the interest of film industry. I appeal to the Centre to provide compulsory life insurance scheme to the cine workers and protect them and their families. The Centre should also help our State Government in implementing the pension scheme for cine workers. National Film Development Corporation produces films in many languages. But in Tamil it produces very few films. Even movies so produced are not released. If the centre directs NFDC to produce at least two movies in Tamil per year and release them on time that will go a long way in providing the much-needed relief to the cine workers. Though cinema has been recognized as an industry for several years now, banks do not provide loans etc, to film industry like other industries that get lot of help from banks. Due to this neglect people in cinema industry borrow money on heavy interest and ultimately end up in debt trap. The Government should realise that cinema is a golden goose that gives huge revenues. Therefore, the banks should be directed to provide loans to cinema industry also in the larger interest of the nation. It is learnt that 2 crore rupees was earned as royalty from *Gandhi* film is lying with the centre. This amount should be utilised for the welfare of cine workers. The centre is attempting to privatize the Salem Steel Plant and Neyveli Lignite Corporation in Tamil Nadu without bothering about the

livelihood of workers. I appeal to the Government to reconsider this and not to privatise the profit-making PSUs. Even while privatizing to loss making PSUs, the centre should think of the workers and their families and provide social and job security. I urge upon the Centre to provide Rs. 3600 crore to the Government of Tamil Nadu for developmental projects.

Madam, Deputy Chairperson, I wish to make a point about my native district of Dharmapuri. My leader, Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma in endeavouring to execute the Ogenakkal cooperative drinking water scheme to provide potable water to the area. Centre should provide all necessary assistance to this scheme. I take this opportunity to urge upon the centre to intervene and get Tamil Nadu its due share of Cauvery water. My native place Bargur is famous for textiles. *(Time bell)* Please give me one minute, Madam.

Bargur is famous for textile. But the businessmen have to go to places like Mumbai and Surat for the purchase of textile products. So, I request the Centre to setup textile mills at Bargur just like the mills in Mumbai and Surat. Dharmapuri district is also famous for mangoes and coconut. Mangoes and Coconuts are exported to other countries. But the mango and coconuts trees are attacked by insects very often and damage them. To take care of such problems, a mango and coconut research centre should be set up in Dharmapuri district by the Centre. Madam, if a hydel power project is set up at Ogenakkal, about 1000-mw power could be generated. That would be a great stride. As Ogenakkal is a tourist centre, Centre should be set up more parks and gardens. Since lot of grapes and mangoes are produced in Bargur, I request the centre to set up a juice factory at Bargur. In palm products, Bargur stands third in Tamil Nadu. The Government of Tamil Nadu has set up a factory there to produce palm soft drinks such as palm cola and also other palm products like palm jaggery and palm candy. Centre should provide funds to export this.

Madam, there is a long pending demand for a rail route from Pondicherry to Bangalore via-Villupuran, Thiruvannamalai, Bargur, Krishnagiri and Hosur. People of Krishnagiri and Members of Parliament have been demanding this route for long. But this route is still in the survey stage only. If this route is laid and trains operated, people of three states would be benefited. I have one last request. Our late leader Puratchi Thalaivi Dr.M.G.R. began his career as a drama artist at the age of seven and went on to become a celluloid hero, producer, director and finally reached the pinnacle; he became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. It was he who

proved to the world that a cine artist could be a good ruler. I am proud that the Centre honoured him with Bharat Ratna. It would be befitting if a portrait of Dr. M.G.R. is placed in the Central hall of Parliament. I hope the Centre will accede to this demand. Thank you

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. You have made a maiden speech. I think, there was some mistake in the translation because, during your speech, you said that the people will laugh if a scheme for building dwelling units for the construction workers is launched. I don't think, people will laugh. I think, there was some mistake in the translation. It is a good scheme. You better check up, because it is not a matter for laughing. Those construction workers do need some dwellings. Rather, it should be appreciated. You check up with the translator whether he correctly translated it or not. Thank you very much for your maiden speech. Now, I call Mr. Virumbi. Mr. Virumbi, please make your own speech and don't try to reply to what you have heard.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): Madam, my colleague has made a very good maiden speech.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We want to hear your views and not a reply to his maiden speech. Please don't try to tease the maidens.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, I won't do it. Madam, at the outset, I thank you very much for having given me an opportunity to express my opinion with regard to working of the Ministry of Labour. Madam, I feel, in this Session, it is a very important subject that we are dealing with. The time at our disposal is not adequate for us to discuss the issue in a comprehensive manner since it consists of several areas on which we have to take a view.

Madam, I would begin my speech by referring to the growth rate of employment and the growth rate of labour force. I quote from the Annual Report, 2002, of the Ministry of Labour, "The growth rate of employment is less than the growth rate of the labour force, indicating an increase in the unemployment rate. This is considered by the Government. Then, Madam, I come to the next point.

Though the open unemployment was only 2.21 per cent, i.e., 9 million, the percentage of population below the poverty line was as high as 26.1. It clearly shows that in the Ninth Plan period, even though action has been taken to increase the employment opportunities, we are not able to increase the employment opportunities on par with the increase in the

labour force. It has now become an accepted truth. Now, what is the situation that is prevailing in the country? Madam, after five decades of our Independence, we are not able to achieve much. I would like to quote from **The Hindu** dated 27<sup>th</sup> April, 2002 under the caption 'National Human Development'. "The NHDR reminds us that as food stocks began climbing to extraordinary levels in the late 1990s, over half of India's children, under five, were either moderately or severely malnourished." It means, more than 15 per cent of our children are malnourished. This is one thing. The other thing is: "Thirty per cent of the newborns were significantly underweight; and 60 per cent of women were anaemic." This clearly shows where the nation stands. Even though we are giving statistics and producing various kinds of data given by several organisations about the progress that we have made, this is the real situation. Madam, even though the *per-capita* income has increased, even though we say that the open employment is only 2.21 per cent, still, the percentage of people who are living below the poverty line is more than 25, which means that one person among four persons in the Indian sub-continent is not able to earn money even to meet his basic needs. This is the situation. Madam, this problem is not only linked with employment and earning; it is also linked with social harmony and the law and order situation. If the people are employed to the extent we expect, then the violence will also be reduced. I feel, the violence and unemployment are inseparable. Therefore, to reduce the violence in the country, we have to see to it that employment is increased. But, as far as this country is concerned, since we are only in a developing stage and not in a developed stage, our savings is actually very less. And since our savings is less, the investment is less; and since the investment is less, the production is also less. Now, because the production is less, ultimately, the income that we realise through production is also less. And, in this way, the whole cycle goes on. In fact, it has become a vicious circle. We want to break this vicious circle. And, for breaking this vicious circle, we should have sufficient capital. But when the capital that we have is not sufficient, we have decided to get capital from other sources. However, we are not able to get capital from other sources, foreign countries, etc. But China is getting it. I think we have to learn some lessons from China as to how they are able to get the FDI, how they are able to attract the FDI from other countries. It is an important thing which we have to learn. Madam, what I feel is, China has concentrated much on this aspect. The difference between China and India is this. After we decide about a particular issue, there is a long gap between the decision and its implementation. On the

other hand, in China, before deciding about any issue, they go through that issue. In China, the gap between the decision and its implementation is very less. We have to see it how we can reduce this gap between the decision and its implementation. We have to correct the lacuna which is prevailing in our system. That is one thing. I feel, the situation there is totally different. For example, in China, their special economic zones and their labour laws are different from what we have. It does not mean that we have given up all the protection that we have been giving to our workers. But there is one thing in the world scenario that we have to see. It is also linked with this. They say there is recession in the world. But what is the real situation? Nineteen per cent of the people in the world are consuming 80 per cent of the production. It clearly shows that capitalism thrives. They have tuned the system in such a way that it benefits the developed countries. The capitalist countries have agreed to help the developing countries to the tune of 0.7 per cent of their GDP, but they have failed to implement the promise they have made. Moreover, they are not coming to any agreement for the protection of the ecology, which has actually been spoiled by them, and it affects them also.

Another scenario is the free movement of capital and not the workers. That means, the policy of globalisation is also tilted in favour of the developed countries.

Not only that; now, the rightist mentality is gaining currency. In Germany and France, there is a movement against those who do not belong to their nationality. In Germany, they say the non-Germans must go out of Germany. That is the voice that is being heard in Germany. That concept is also being voiced in France. Last week, in Paris, there was a call that the people who have migrated from other countries, should go back to the countries of their origin. This new concept is also affecting the social harmony. Now, in India there has developed religious fundamentalism. Ultimately, all these things affect the job opportunities for the Indian workers in Europe and the Gulf countries. As a result, our people are losing jobs. What is the alternative for them? We have to increase the job opportunities in such a manner that the growth of labour force is commensurate with the growth rate.

Now, what is the working of the Labour Ministry in such a situation? During the last three years put together -- I do not want to go year-by-year because of the time constraint -- of the total amount of Rs.398 crores allocated for the Ministry, only Rs.337 crores could be spent during the last three years. Rs.61 crores was left unspent.



**4.00 P.M.**

It does not mean that they have not done anything. The Government has done the maximum possible they could do. They have enacted the Trade Union Bill and the Workmen's Compensation Bill. The National Labour Commission was constituted for the welfare of the workers. It was mainly to see that the established IT institutions in the North-East and Sikkim could carry on their programmes. These are the positive sides of the Ministry. What I feel is that along with diversification of the economy, acceleration of the economy should also take place. Of course, ours is a poor country, but it does not mean that we do not have natural resources and wealth. Once, Karl Marx said this. Actually, he has said it for the entire world. I put it in the context of the Indian Sub-Continent. Why are most of the Indians poor? This is on the lines of what Karl Marx said 150 years back: "It is very hard and sad to say so, but it is easier to replace a man than an ox in the Indian Sub-Continent because most of the Indians are unfortunately believing in conservative superstition. They believe that desertion of life without reward for the sake of preserving a priest or a cow may cause the beatitude of those base born tribes." I feel that this superstition made India poor and from poor to poorer. We have to get out of this. What is the remedy, Madam?

As I said, only seven per cent of the workers in India are in organised sectors; Government sector, public sector and private sector, all put together, they are only seven per cent. And 93 per cent of the workers are unorganised. Now, there are nearly 410 million people constituting the work force. Out of that, 40 million people are unemployed. If 93 per cent of the workers are unorganised, it means that some sort of social security should be there for them. For that, in October last, the NDA Government convened a tripartite meeting and discussed the Convention decided on by the ILO. There are two issues. No.1 is regarding the declaration of the fundamental principles and rights at work Conventions 138 and 182. They have already been discussed. Then there is the minimum age for admission to employment and abolition of child labour. It has already been taken up and a global employment forum has already been established in November. That is in Geneva, Madam. That is going through employment growth, respect for fundamental principles, rights at work and also promoting a social dialogue and strengthening and extending social protection. To elaborate this, the time at my disposal is not adequate. I want to raise only one or two points, Madam. In this context, the natural resources are limited

in our continent. But the human resources are abundant. Therefore, I request the hon. Minister to try to optimize the human resources. That is how we can do it. We are spending approximately 3.8 per cent, less than four per cent, of the GDP on education. It ought to have been six per cent. Therefore, it is two per cent less than what it should have been.

Secondly, when you are optimizing, please take care of this. There is a gender bias whether you take wages or education and compare between men and women. Even though education has developed, at the same time, the gender bias still exists. What is envisaged by the Tenth Plan in this respect is, "providing gainful high quality employment to the addition to the labour force over the 10<sup>th</sup> Plan period." That is No.1. The second is, "reduction of the gender bias gaps in literacy and wage by at least 50 per cent by 2007". By 2007, at least 50 per cent of gender bias should be abolished. For that, what action has the Labour Ministry taken or what action does it propose to take? Mr. Minister, I think you can enlighten us on this when you reply to us.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Actually, we are signatories to the United Nations Convention on equal wages for equal work.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: I stand by the Chair. Not only in respect of wage. We also support reservation for women in Parliament. We stand by it. At whatever time the Bill comes, the DMK will stand by you and vote for it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not talking about that. Here, I am talking about the wages. There is a Convention of 1975 on equal wages for equal work which is not being implemented totally in every unorganised sector.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: It is there throughout the globe, not only in India. But we are marching towards that end. How can we do it? There are two things. One is the long-term perspective and the other is the immediate duty. I have bifurcated them like that. What can we do immediately, since 93 per cent of our people are unorganised? We have done something in Tamil Nadu. We have implemented the Social Security Welfare Schemes in respect of 64 areas. Take, for example, the construction worker. If a person goes to the municipality or the corporation to get permission for constructing something, in that event, out of the total plan expenditure, he must pay 0.3 per cent to the municipality or the corporation under a separate head. In the initial stages, the corpus fund was very

meagre. But now, the corpus fund has been raised to Rs. 28 crores. Similarly, for the autorickshaw pullers, when he goes to have a fitness certificate or a permit for his autorickshaw, he must pay some amount to the Regional Transport Authority. That amount will be taken as a corpus fund. We have done like that, and we have succeeded in 64 areas. Eleven Welfare Boards are looking after these 65 areas respecting different workers. For agriculture, a separate Welfare Board has been created. You can go through the work done in these areas in Tamil Nadu during the last five years and see for yourself the progress made in various areas by the State. In the field of agriculture, 70 per cent people are able to contribute 29 per cent GDP in India. Seventy per cent of the agriculturists are able to handle 29 per cent of the GDP. The most important sector is the service sector. Through the service sector, the real situation can be upgraded. We have developed the software industry in Tamil Nadu. In 1996, the per capita income in this respect was Rs. 11,000/-. After five years, the per capita income has gone up to Rs. 18,000/-. It clearly shows the steps taken by the Government of Tamil Nadu in all these areas. Even the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri K.C. Pant has said that during the Ninth Plan period, only two States were able to get resources for four years, as promised by the Planning Commission, and the Government of Tamil Nadu was one of them. So, there are three areas. The first one is the receipt of resources, the second one is the per capita income and the third one is the FDI. Three States were able to get resources, and among these three States, Tamil Nadu is one such State. Such an economic scenario has been developed in Tamil Nadu. We are also getting the resources at the local level. (*Time- bell*). So, firstly, we are able to get the requisite resources. Secondly, we are first among the three States in respect of FDI. Thirdly, the per capita income of the State has increased from Rs. 11,000/- to Rs. 18,000/- within a period of five years. So far as the question of judicious distribution of income is concerned, in Tamil Nadu, 35 per cent of the people were below poverty line in 1996. After five years, the percentage has come down to 26 per cent. That means, the number of people below the poverty line has gone down during the last five years, that is, between 1996 and 2001. I do not want to go into the details. But, in some of the statements, the name of my leader has been mentioned, which was unwarranted, and I totally oppose that.

So far as the question of catching up with the agricultural sector is concerned, I would like to tell one thing. The State of West Bengal has also been totally affected in respect of different industries.

The tea industry was totally affected. When it was totally affected, I tell you, Mr. Labour Minister, what we had done at that time. First, the Sales-tax was reduced from 8 per cent to 4 per cent. The Central Sales-tax was reduced from 4 per cent to 2 per cent. The people who imported tea from foreign countries were not allowed to sell that in the local tariff area. The local tariff area was banned for its sale. They could not sell it in the local tariff area. That was the third thing we had done. The fourth thing we did was, we increased the import duty from 15 per cent to 17 per cent. We allocated Rs.34 crores for that period. For one kilo of tea, a subsidy of Rs.2/- was given so that for one kilo of manufactured tea, they could get Rs.8/-. It had to be distributed evenly. For that, we adopted a foolproof method. This was what had done for the tea industry.

Another thing was, previously, hundred kilos of tea could be produced by the agriculturist. Earlier, he could sell in the open market tea worth Rs.25 crores, but he can now sell tea worth Rs.75 crores. What we did was, we gave up the policy of producing 100 kilos. Whether he wants to sell it in the open market or through auction, he could sell it evenly. The rules were modified for that purpose. What is the provision now? Out of 85 lakh kilos of tea, 27 lakh kilos of tea is actually produced for the Public Distribution System. Out of Rs.85 crores worth of tea, more than Rs.82 crores worth of tea is being sold only in the open market, not through the Public Distribution System. Previously, Russia used to buy it. Now they are getting it from some other place. This is the situation. Therefore, what we had done for the agriculturists was ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken 25 minutes.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, I am finishing. Madam, I tell you the position about vegetables and fruits in India. Per year, vegetables and fruits worth Rs.70,000 crores are being wasted throughout the Indian Sub-Continent. I tell you what we had done to protect them. Hundreds of farmers' cooperatives were created. For the first twelve months, from November 1999 to October 2000, the sale, per month, was worth Rs.9 crores and 40 lakhs; in the next five months, it was increased to Rs.20 crores. It was done by the farmers. There were no intermediaries. The producers were bringing the vegetables directly. The shop was free. They could use the space free. There were sales in the evening, and they can add 20 per cent of the cost. I tell you, Madam, during the period November 1999 to April 2001, vegetables worth Rs.212 crores were sold. The rights of the agriculturists were protected. In this way, we have to

protect the interests of the agriculturists. In the case of industries, particularly, the software industry has to be developed. The third thing is, we have to learn something from China. It does not mean that we have to blindly follow the policy of China. Whether the cat is white or black, if it catches the mouse, we can take it. With these words, I thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You spoke well. But I think you should increase the number of your MPs so that you can get more time.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Okay. I thank you, Madam, for giving this suggestion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is the only way I can extend the time.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU (West Bengal) : Madam, because he has to speak something against his conscience, he wants to increase the numbers of his MPs.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: This is nothing but an insinuation.

SHRIMATI S.G. INDIRA (Tamil Nadu) : Madam, that won't be possible. They want to increase the number of MPs, but they can't do it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I won't suggest that he should join your Party for the sake of time! He always speaks well. He does his homework well. प्रेम चन्द जी, आपका भी समय मूल चन्द मीणा के बाद है। You can tell me what you saw in China when you visited there. You met trade union leaders and you met the industry. First let me call Mr. Moolchand Meena. उन के पश्चात् आप बोलेंगे। अब मूलचंद मीणा जी मैं आप को बता दूँ कि आप की पार्टी के तीन स्पीकर्स हैं और उन के लिए केवल 13 मिनट बचे हैं। इस समय का डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन आप कैसे करेंगे, यह mathematics I leave to you. इसके अलावा मुझे लगता है कि कोई दूसरी महिला बोली नहीं है जबकि दो महिलाओं के नाम आए हैं।

DR. T. SUBBARAMI REDDI (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam, you can give him grace time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You forget what you learnt in the other House. You have to relearn the things here. Moolchand Meenaji, you do one thing. You divide the time. Let the women also speak. You start speaking. But be careful that it is not at the cost of women.

**श्री मूलचन्द मीणा (राजस्थान):** मैडम, मैं कोशिश करूंगा। उपसभापति महोदया, देश में जब संविधान बना था तो उस में बहुत से प्रावधान किए गए थे और उन के साथ ही उस में

सामाजिक सुरक्षा के लिए भी व्यवस्था की गयी थी। उस में यह भी था कि इस देश में कोई बाउंडेड लेबर नहीं होगा, बच्चों को काम नहीं करना पड़ेगा और समान काम के लिए सभी को, जिन में महिलाएं भी सम्मिलित थीं, समान वेतन मिलेगा।

[ उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) पीठासीन हुए। ]

इस सब को लेकर देश में कई कानून बने, लेकिन उन कानूनों का पालन नहीं हुआ जिस से न केवल श्रमिकों में असंतोष बल्कि रोष भी व्याप्त है। महोदय, इस का मूल कारण यह है कि हमारे लेबर कानून सही ढंग से प्रभावी नहीं हैं और देश में श्रमिकों की हालत दिन-पर-दिन बिगड़ती जा रही है। आज उद्योगों में श्रमिकों की छंटनी कर दी जाती है। उस के बाद जो श्रमिक रह जाते हैं, वे ज्यादा काम करते हैं, लेकिन उन का वेतन नहीं बढ़ाया जाता है। जो उद्योगपति उद्योग चलाते हैं, वे श्रमिकों के हितों का ध्यान नहीं रखते हैं क्योंकि हमारे कानून उन पर प्रभावी नहीं हैं। इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान उस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ जहाँ कि निर्माण का कार्य शुरू होता है और जहाँ सब से ज्यादा संख्या असंगठित क्षेत्र के कृषि श्रमिकों की आती है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... उन में बीड़ी श्रमिक भी हैं, लेकिन कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो लेबर कार्य करती है, देश में उन की संख्या करीब 15-20 करोड़ के आसपास है। एक यह भी मान्यता रही है कि इस देश के अंदर, कृषि के क्षेत्र में, आबादी के हिसाब से, लगभग 70 प्रतिशत लोग काम करते हैं और उन सभी को हम लेबर मान सकते हैं। महोदय, देश का यह दुर्भाग्य है कि उन के हितों के बारे में आजादी के 50 सालों के बाद भी ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। आज भी कृषि लेबर अभाव में पैदा होता है, अभाव में बड़ा होता है, अभाव में बूढ़ा होता है और अभाव में ही मर जाता है। सब से बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि जो अन्न पैदा करता है, जो वस्त्र बनाता है, उसको न अनाज मिलता है और न वस्त्र मिलता है। उस के लिए उन चीजों का अभाव ही रहता है। यहां तक कि वह भूखे रहकर भी जिंदगी के दिन काटता है। इसलिए आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि कृषि मजदूरों के लिए ऐसा कानून बनाया जाए कि देश में कृषि के क्षेत्र में काम करने वाले मजदूरों को कम-से-कम न्यूनतम मजदूरी तो प्राप्त हो जोकि आज उन्हें प्राप्त नहीं है। महोदय, श्री अनन्त राव जी की अध्यक्षता में एक कमेटी वर्ष 1952-53 में बनी और उस कमेटी ने एक रिपोर्ट भी दी थी। लेकिन उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार उस कमेटी ने पाया कि वर्ष 1992-93 में मद्रास के अंदर कृषि श्रमिक को 4/- रुपए मजदूरी मिल रही थी। इस मजदूरी से न तो वह अपने परिवार का पालन-पोषण कर सकता था, न बच्चों को शिक्षा दिला सकता था और न ही बच्चों को पूरा खाना खिला सकता था। उस रिपोर्ट के बाद भी सरकार ने उसके ऊपर पूरी तरह से गौर करके कोई कानून नहीं बनाया, जिससे कृषि मजदूरों की समस्या काफी हद तक दूर हो सकती थी। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा देश तब तक संपन्न नहीं होगा, जब तक कि इस देश का ग्रामीण मजदूर संपन्न नहीं होगा। इसलिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि यदि देश को संपन्न और मजबूत बनाना है तो मजदूर के हितों की रक्षा करना सरकार का कर्तव्य होना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसी तरह संविधान में बच्चों को अधिकार दिया गया था कि 14 साल से कम आयु के बच्चों के लिए शिक्षा अनिवार्य होगी और इसके साथ ही यह व्यवस्था भी रखी गई कि कोई भी बच्चा मजदूरी का काम नहीं करेगा, लेकिन इस विषय में संविधान के साथ धोखाधड़ी है कि आज दिन प्रतिदिन बाल मजदूरों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है। आज बच्चे घरों में नौकर का काम करते हैं, होटलों में नौकर का काम करते हैं, रेस्टोरेंटों में काम करते हैं, लेकिन ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ, जो उन्हें नौकर रखते हैं, आज तक कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई।

इस व्यवस्था को रोकने के लिए कानून बने हुए हैं, लेकिन कार्यवाही नहीं होती। सरकारी रिपोर्ट के अनुसार देश में बाल श्रमिकों की संख्या 11 करोड़ के लगभग है।

**श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम :** आपके यहां तो बालकों का ब्याह होता है।

**श्री मूल चन्द मीणा :** वह तो आपके उत्तर प्रदेश में भी होता है, सभी जगह होता है। यह बाल विवाह की प्रथा तो आपने ही चलाई है। अगर आप पूरी तरह से लोगों को जागृत करते, तो इस पर रोक लग सकती थी। इस देश के अंदर भारतीय जनता पार्टी जिस तरह की नीतियां चला रही है, अगर वह नीतियां ठीक होती तो बाल विवाह ही नहीं होते। समाज के अंदर इनका प्रभाव रहा, मनुवादी नीति की बात मैं यहां नहीं करना चाहता। मैं यह कह रहा था कि बच्चों के विषय में संविधान ने जो अधिकार आपको दिए हैं, अगर लेबर मिनिस्ट्री उनका सही तरीके से उपयोग करे तो बच्चों को उनके अधिकार मिल सकते हैं, उनके हितों की रक्षा हो सकती है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसके साथ ही मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे देश में कांट्रैक्ट लेबर की भी एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। कांट्रैक्ट लेबर निर्माण कार्य करते हुए मजदूरी करता है, मकान बनाता है, भवन बनाता है, बड़े बड़े आफिस बनाता है। यह मजदूर असंगठित होता है, इनका कोई संगठन नहीं होता। इन श्रमिकों की स्थिति यह होती है कि कभी दो महीने काम मिल गया, कभी दो महीने काम नहीं मिला, दो महीने घर में बैठा रहा और जो भी उसे मजदूरी मिलती है, उससे उनके परिवार को कभी पूरा खाना नहीं मिलता। उसके किसी प्रकार का कोई सही सिस्टम नहीं है। अगर कोई कांट्रैक्ट लेबर गिर जाता है, उसका हाथ पैर टूट जाता है तो उसको इलाज के लिए भी कहीं से किसी प्रकार की कोई क्षतिपूर्ति नहीं मिलती।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** मीणा जी, अब समाप्त कीजिए।

**श्री मूल चन्द मीणा :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी तो मैंने कुछ बोला ही नहीं है। मैं कुछ प्वाइंट्स आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान बछावत कमीशन की ओर दिलाना चाहूंगा। समाचारपत्रों में जो काम करने वाले श्रमिक हैं, उनकी समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए बछावत कमीशन का गठन किया गया था और उसकी रिपोर्ट भी आई थी लेकिन उसको पूरी तरह लागू नहीं किया गया है। उसके जिन प्रावधानों पर अभी तक अमल नहीं हो पाया है, मैं चाहता हूँ कि मंत्री जी उन्हें लागू करें।

महोदय, यहां बंधुआ मजदूरों की बात आई थी। हमारे नवें प्लान के अंदर 19 करोड़ बंधुआ मजदूर हैं लेकिन मंत्री महोदय से मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि आपने कितने बंधुआ मजदूरों को मुक्त कराया है और कितने मालिकों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की है? दूसरी बात मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि नेशनल चाईल्ड लेबर ऐलिमिनेशन प्रोजेक्ट के अंतर्गत आपने कितने बच्चों को स्कूल में पढ़ने के लिए भेजा है? इस पर कितना पैसा आपने खर्च किया है? आपके जो स्कूल चल रहे हैं, उन स्कूलों में जो समितियां हैं, उनमें एम.एल.ए. और एम.पी.ए. को जोड़ दिया जाए ताकि वास्तव में काम हो सके और जो पैसा खर्च किया जा रहा है, उसका सदुपयोग हो रहा है या नहीं, इसका पता लग सके। सरकार द्वारा बाल श्रमिकों के उद्धार के लिए कई योजनाएं प्रारंभ की गई हैं लेकिन उन योजनाओं का कार्यान्वयन हो रहा है या नहीं, इसे देखने के लिए एक कमेटी बना देनी चाहिए और उस ऐरिया के एम.पी. और एम.एल.ए. को उस कमेटी में जोड़ देना चाहिए जिससे आपको भी पता चल सकेगा कि गांवों में बाल श्रमिकों का कितना कल्याण हो रहा है।

**श्री प्रेमचन्द गुप्ता :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अपनी बात शुरू करने से पहले मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे उपसभापति महोदय सबके ऊपर मेहरबान थीं, आप भी समय का थोड़ा रिलैक्सेशन दे दें।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** आपके पास 8 मिनट हैं।

**श्री प्रेमचन्द गुप्ता :** जैसे सबको समय मिला है, मेरी आपसे प्रार्थना है कि आप मुझे भी थोड़ा ज्यादा समय दीजिए। महोदय, यह बड़ा ही सेंसिटिव इश्यू है। अगर आप समय के मामले में थोड़ा लिबरल रहेंगे तो अच्छा रहेगा। वैसे भी माहौल लिब्रलाईजेशन का है।

महोदय, लेबर मिनिस्ट्री के ऊपर आज यहां डिस्कशन हो रहा है और चूँकि बड़ा प्री और फ्रैंक डिस्कशन हो रहा है, इसमें भाग लेने के लिए मैंने अपना मन बनाया है और मैं बिना किसी लाग-लपेट के अपनी बात कह देना चाहता हूँ। महोदय, यह एक बहुत ही संवेदनशील सब्जेक्ट है। अगर ट्रेड यूनियन कुछ बोलती हैं तो इंडस्ट्री उसके खिलाफ बोलती है। अगर इंडस्ट्री कुछ कहती है तो ट्रेड यूनियन वाले कुछ और बोलते हैं। हम लोग यहां कुछ बोलेंगे तो हमारे दूसरे साथी उसको अपोज़ करेंगे। सच्चाई यह है कि आज तक हमारे मुक्त में ट्रेड यूनियनों को ठीक से गाइड नहीं किया गया, वर्कर्स को एजुकेट नहीं किया गया, वर्कर्स के दिमाग में एक ही चीज बिठा दी गई कि फैक्टरी को बंद करवा दो, उससे तुम्हारा काम हो जाएगा। ट्रेड यूनियनों के दिमाग में हमेशा यह बात रही कि जब तक वर्कर्स गड़बड़ नहीं करेंगे, जब तक फैक्टरी बंद नहीं होगी, तब तक तुम्हारा काम नहीं चलेगा। इंडस्ट्री हमेशा यह सोचती रही कि जब तक फैक्टरी का लॉक-आउट नहीं होगा, तब तक काम ठीक से चलता रहेगा। अगर वह अनिग फैक्टरी है, अगर वह अनिग यूनिट है तो इम्प्लॉयर चिंतित होगा कि मेरी फैक्टरी चले और किसी तरह से काम ठीक-ठाक चलता रहे। कम ज्यादा देना पड़े तो भी उसको किया जाए। लेकिन ज्यादातर इण्डस्ट्री में महोदय, जैसे आप जानते हैं कि वह ठीक नहीं है। इसलिए यह रहता है कि किसी तरह लॉक-आउट हो और यूनिट बी0आई0एफ0आर0 में चली जाए और कंसेशन लेकर और फैक्टरी को बंद करके काम खत्म करो। आजकल दोनों तरफ से इसके लिए यह एक ट्रेंड रहा है। इस प्रकार से मैनेजमेंट भी फुली रेस्पॉसिबल है और ट्रेड यूनियन भी फुली रेस्पॉसिबल है। महोदय, सब लोग बोलते हैं कि उनको मिनिमम वेजेज नहीं दिया जाता है, उनका एक्सप्लॉयटेशन होता है, बंधुवा मजदूरों की बात की जाती है, महिलाओं की बात की जाती है। यह सारी बातें ठीक हैं, लेकिन मैं आपकी और हाउस की अटेंशन दिनांक 22-4-2002 के इकॉनोमिक्स टाइम्स में छपी न्यूज की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिसमें लिखा है कि 48 परसेंट कम्पनियां पी0एफ0 जमा ही नहीं करवाती हैं और प्रोविडेंट फंड की चोरी करती हैं। स्लिप भी इश्यू नहीं करती हैं यानी कि जिस वर्कर्स के नाम से पी0एफ0 जमा हुआ उसको स्लिप मिलनी चाहिए ताकि वह अपना क्लेम कर सकें। बहुत तो उस स्लिप को इश्यू ही नहीं करते हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** कुछ में तो ऐसा होता है कि वर्कर्स से पैसा काट लिया जाता है और जमा ही नहीं होता है।

**श्री प्रेमचन्द गुप्ता :** मैंने वही कहा महोदय। अखबार में है कि 60 परसेंट कम्पनियां पी0एफ0 जमा नहीं करवाती हैं। लेकिन उन्होंने यहां क्लेरिफिकेशन दिया कि उसको लेकर 48 परसेंट कम्पनियां पी0एफ0 जमा नहीं करवाती हैं और जो जमा करवाती हैं उनमें से 60 परसेंट स्लिप इश्यू नहीं करती हैं। महोदय, तीन लाख छब्बीस हजार पांच सौ इकतालीस यूनिट्स ने प्रोविडेंट फंड के प्रोविजन का अनुसरण नहीं किया है। वह पी0एफ0 फंड में रजिस्टर्ड हैं लेकिन



उन्होंने उसका पालन नहीं किया। उसमें 81 लाख एम्प्लाइज को रसीद नहीं दी गई कि आपका इतना पैसा हमने काटा और यह आपका बनता है ताकि वह जाकर अपना क्लेम कर सके। इसमें देखने की यह बड़ी इंटरेस्टिंग चीज है कि जो डिफॉल्टर्स हैं, जैसा कि मैं आपको मैं एक स्टेट हरियाणा का बतला रहा हूँ कि वहां प्रोविडेंट फंड की 11.76 परसेंट ही कलक्शन है। इसका मतलब है कि वहां पर 88 परसेंट पीओएफ़ की चोरी होती है। उड़ीसा में सिर्फ 16.91 परसेंट की कलक्शन होता है यानी 83 परसेंट की चोरी होती है। मध्य प्रदेश में 22 परसेंट कलक्शन है यानी 78 परसेंट की चोरी है। नॉर्थ ईस्ट में 22 परसेंट की कलक्शन है। इसका मतलब है कि वहां पर 78 परसेंट की चोरी है। हिमाचल प्रदेश में 23 परसेंट का कलक्शन है, इसका मतलब 77 परसेंट की पीओएफ़ की चोरी वहां पर भी है। मान्यवर, जो बेस्ट परफॉर्मिंग स्टेट हैं, माफ करना मैं अपनी तरफ से फिगर्स नहीं दे रहा हूँ, जो अखबार में हैं वही बतला रहा हूँ, दिल्ली में 66 परसेंट यूनिट पीओएफ़ जमा करवाती हैं, क्योंकि यह सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की राजधानी है, कैपिटल है, छोटी जगह है। बिहार में 61 परसेंट कलक्शन है, राजस्थान में 61 परसेंट कलक्शन है, केरल में 55 परसेंट कलक्शन है और कर्नाटक में 54 परसेंट कलक्शन है और बाकी सब चोरी है। मान्यवर, देखने की बात यह है कि ट्रेड यूनियन की भी जिम्मेदारी होती है कि वह देखे कि जो पैसा जमा कराया गया वह वर्कर्स को मिला या नहीं मिला, माफ करना मैं ट्रेड यूनियन के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ, लेकिन जो सच्चाई है उसको बोलने में मैं बिल्कुल नहीं हिचकिचाऊंगा, चाहे वह पार्टी की लाईन के खिलाफ हो या आप लोगों के खिलाफ हो या मेरे खिलाफ हो। मान्यवर, मैं आपको एक मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ। मेरी बिजनेस बैकग्राउंड है और हमारी गुड़गांव में एक यूनिट है। वहां पर साढ़े पांच हजार वर्कर्स काम करते हैं। वहां पर कभी स्ट्राइक नहीं होती है। जहां पर हमारी फैक्टरी है उसके सामने आईडीपीएल की फैक्टरी है जहां पर परमानेंट टैंट लेबर यूनियन की स्ट्राइक का लगा रहता है, वहां पर परमानेंट स्ट्राइक होती है। वहां पर झगड़ा हुआ, खून-खराबा हुआ, पिटाई हुई और हमारी यूनिट में भी स्ट्राइक हो गई। वर्कर्स मेरे पास आये, वे मुझसे कहने लगे कि साहब आप यूनियन के बिहाफ पर हमारे आरबीट्रेटर बन जाइये। मैंने कहा कि मैं तो नहीं बनता, मेरी बात कोई नहीं मानेगा, क्योंकि मैं इस कम्पनी का चेयरमैन हूँ। यह तो गलत काम हो जायेगा। मैं अपने हित के खिलाफ कैसे यह काम कर सकता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा कि साहब हम लोगों को आपके ऊपर विश्वास है। आप इसको कर दीजिए। मैंने कहा कि मैं इसको नहीं कर सकता हूँ क्योंकि मैनेजमेंट ने मेरे से कहा है कि अगर आप आरबीट्रेटर बन गए तो ये आपको इडिव्युजली ब्लैम करेंगे।

उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपको आश्चर्य होगा कि वे लोग चंडीगढ़ में लेबर कमिशनर के पास गए और सरकार से नोटिफिकेशन करवाया कि यूनियन की तरफ से हम इस इन्सान को, इस आदमी को अपना नेगोशियेटर अपाइंट करते हैं। यह हरियाणा सरकार के गजट में नोटिफाइड थीज है। मैं अपनी तरफ से कुछ नहीं कह रहा हूँ। उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, कहने का मतलब यह है कि आज तक जो ट्रेड यूनियन्स, वर्कर्स और इंडस्ट्री के अंदर में जो एक रिफ्ट पैदा की गई है, जो एक गैप पैदा किया गया है, उसका इम्पैक्ट अच्छा नहीं हुआ है। आप एक चीज और देखिए। एयर इंडिया और इंडियन एयरलाइंस दोनों बैकरोएट कर दिए गए हैं। किसी पायलेट की वाइफ को इकानॉमी क्लास से फर्स्ट क्लास में नहीं बिठाया गया क्योंकि फर्स्ट क्लास की पूरी कैबिन फुल थी तो पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के पायलेट स्ट्राइक पर चले गए। यह एक हिस्टोरिक फैक्ट है कि हमारे यहां पर ट्रेड यूनियन को और इंडस्ट्री को कभी भी एक साथ मिलने नहीं दिया गया। हम लोग चाइना की बात करते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, डा० (श्रीमती) नजमा हेपतुल्ला, डिप्टी चेयरमैन के साथ एक इंडस्ट्री डेलीगेशन चाइना गया था। उस डेलीगेशन में सभी पार्टी के सदस्य थे और मैं भी उसमें शामिल था। आपको जानकर आश्चर्य होगा कि वहां पर कोई भी सड़क पर दिखाई नहीं देता था। हम लोगों की ट्रेड यूनियन के लीडर्स से मुलाकात हुई, उनसे बातचीत हुई और हमने उनसे पूछा कि साहब आप लोग कैसे इस प्रब्लम्स को सॉल्व करते हैं। अगर आपके यहां पर फैक्टरी में काम नहीं होता है तो आप लोग क्या करते हैं? हम लोगों को बताया गया कि पहली चीज तो यह है कि चाइना में स्ट्राइक अलाउड नहीं है, किसी भी तरह की स्ट्राइक अलाउड नहीं है। लेकिन एट दि सेम टाइम, इंडस्ट्री की भी ऑब्लीगेशन्स हैं, वे वर्कर्स को प्रोपली पे करें, उसके जो राइट्स हैं, उसकी जो वर्किंग कंडीशन हैं पहले उनको ठीक करें। अगर वर्किंग कंडीशन ठीक होगी तो उसका आउट-पुट ठीक होगा। आउट-पुट ठीक होगा तो इंडस्ट्री ठीक चलेगी और इंडस्ट्री ठीक चलेगी तो जॉब सेक्योरिटी रहेगी और उसको जॉब सेटिसफैक्शन रहेगा। यह एक साइकिल है। इस साइकिल को जब तक हम लोग एक साथ बैठकर, एक नेशनल प्रोसपैक्टिव में इस पर सोच-विचार नहीं करेंगे तब तक इससे कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है। माषणबाजी कितनी भी कर सकते हैं। मान्यवर, मैं एक छोटी सी मिसाल देता हूँ। इटली में जहाज की प्यास फ्लाइट रोम एयरपोर्ट के ऊपर डिपार्चर के लिए खड़ी हैं। अगर एक मिनट में लाइटिंग स्ट्राइक हो गयी, टावर ने स्ट्राइक कर दी तो एयरपोर्ट पर सारी फ्लाइट्स बंद हो जायेगी। आप ट्रेन में बैठे हैं। अगर ट्रेन में स्ट्राइक हो गई तो कुछ नहीं हिलेगा। लोग आकर वहां पर बैठ जायेंगे। वहां पर दस-बारह घंटे तक कोई बताने वाला नहीं है कि क्या होने वाला है। क्या हुआ उस मुल्क का? वह मुल्क यूरोप में सबसे पिछड़ा हुआ मुल्क रह गया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर हिन्दुस्तान में इंडस्ट्री और ट्रेड यूनियन में एक कोऑर्डिनेशन करवा दिया जाये, इंडस्ट्री को बता दिया जाए कि आप लोगों का यह आब्लीगेशन है और यूनियनों को बता दिया जाए कि आप लोगों का यह आब्लीगेशन है तो वे एक-दूसरे के साथ हाथ से हाथ मिलाकर एक-दूसरे के साथ काम करेंगे। अगर ऐसा होगा तो यह मुल्क भी आगे बढ़ेगा, हमारे वर्कर्स की भी स्थिति सुधरेगी, हमारी इंडस्ट्री की स्थिति में सुधार होगा, हमारा एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ेगा और जीडीपी भी बढ़ेगी।

मान्यवर, पी.एफ. जो है, उसमें बड़ा स्कैंडल है। आज तक किसी ने भी उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया है। मंत्री महोदय, आप यहां बैठे हैं, मैं आपके ध्यान में, आपके नोटिस में एक चीज लाना चाहता हूँ कि पी.एफ. की पेमेंट लास्ट पेमेंट होती है। पी.एफ. की पेमेंट प्रोडक्शन होने के बाद होती है। जब रॉ मैटीरियल से फिनिश प्रोडक्ट बन जाता है, उसके बाद पी.एफ. की पेमेंट होती है। आज हो क्या रहा है कि पी.एफ. की चोरी करने के लिए उस प्रोडक्शन को ही बुक्स में नहीं दिखाया जाता। इंडस्ट्रीज का कुछ सैगमेंट ऐसा भी है जो बहुत गलत काम कर रहा है। लेकिन उसके लिए हमारे जो लेबर लॉज हैं, जो लेबर डिपार्टमेंट है, या इंडस्ट्रीज डिपार्टमेंट हैं, वे भी अपनी ड्यूटी ठीक से नहीं निभाते हैं। मान्यवर अभी हरियाणा में, मैं अभी अखबार में पढ़ रहा था..... राजीव शुक्ला जी, जरा माननीय मंत्री जी को थोड़ी देर के लिए फ्री रहने दीजिए।

**श्री राजीव शुक्ल :** मंत्री जी वैसे भी मीटिंग में जाने वाले हैं।

**श्री प्रेमचन्द गुप्ता :** अभी मंत्री जी ऊंच भी रहे थे। महोदय, मेरा एक सबमिशन है। पी.एफ. की जो पेमेंट होती है, वह लास्ट में होती है। उससे पहले अगर प्रोडक्शन को नहीं

दिखाया जाएगा तो पी.एफ. की पेमेंट की आवश्यकता ही नहीं है क्योंकि पी.एफ. की पेमेंट उच्च ही नहीं होगी। अभी फरीदाबाद में क्या हुआ - मैं अखबार में पढ़ रहा था, सारे अखबारों में आया है - एक एक यूनिट ने 25-25 करोड़ रुपये की पी.एफ. की चोरी की है। इसका मतलब इसमें ऐक्साइज की चोरी हुई, इनकम टैक्स की चोरी हुई, सेल्स टैक्स की चोरी हुई, वह रॉ मैटीरियल कच्चे में खरीदा गया, कच्चे में बनाया गया और कच्चे में ही बेचा गया। इस तरह से इसमें न पी.एफ. की पेमेंट की आवश्यकता है और न ही इनकम टैक्स या किसी और टैक्स को पे करने की आवश्यकता है। महोदय, जो पी.एफ. डिपार्टमेंट है अगर वह झूठी डिमांड रोज़ करते हैं तो आप उस डिपार्टमेंट के खिलाफ सख्त से सख्त ऐक्शन लीजिए, इंडस्ट्री को ऐक्सटोरशन के लिए मत उतरने दीजिए लेकिन अगर इंडस्ट्री चोरी करती हुई पकड़ी जाती है तो कानून में जो प्रोवीजन है, अरेस्ट करने का या जेल में भेजने का, तो उसे जेल भेज दीजिए। जब तक आप इस संबंध में ऐक्शन नहीं लेंगे, तब तक इसमें सुधार नहीं होगा। मान्यवर, चीन में एक जहाज 6 घंटे से 12 घंटे में ऑफ लोड होता है, वही हमारे यहां तीन दिन से सात दिन में ऑफ लोड होता है। इसके बारे में क्या कभी सोचा गया है कि ऐसा क्यों होता है? किसी ने नहीं सोचा! हम लोग जब वहां गये तो ट्रेड यूनियन्स के तीन नेता भी हमारे साथ वहां गये थे....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** माननीय गुप्ता जी, अब समाप्त कीजिए।

**श्री प्रेमचन्द गुप्ता :** महोदय, मैं केवल दो-तीन मिनट लूंगा। बात यह है कि जो जहाज हमारे यहां तीन दिन से सात दिन में खाली होता है, वह शंघाई पोर्ट में 6 घंटे से 12 घंटे में ऑफ लोड होता है। हम लोग ग्लोबलाइजेशन की बात कर रहे हैं या हम लोग कह रहे हैं कि हम लोग दुनिया में यह करेंगे, वह करेंगे। इस तरह से कहां आप कम्पिट कर सकते हैं? मान्यवर, पोर्ट्स की सिचुएशन देख लीजिए। जहाज को खाली करने की बात नहीं है, वह जहाज खाली होगा तभी दूसरा जहाज उस बर्थ पर लगेगा। यह एक वीसिअस साइकिल है। जब तक इसको सारी टोटेलिटी में नहीं देखा जाएगा और जब तक कोई रैबोल्यूशनरी इंडस्ट्रीयल पॉलिसी नहीं बनाई जाएगी - माननीय शरद जी का तो सोशलिस्टिक बैकग्राउंड है, इस मामले में इनको ऐक्सपीरिऐंस है, आपको देखना चाहिए कि कोई ऐसी पॉलिसी आप बनाइए जिससे इंडस्ट्री और लेबर के बीच में कोऑर्डिनेशन हो, समन्वय हो ताकि दोनों की ग्रोथ हो सके और अगर ऐसा होता है तो देश हित में इससे बढ़िया काम नहीं होगा। महोदय, जो लोग पी.एफ. की चोरी करते हैं, उनके ऊपर किसी तरह का कोई रिलेक्सेशन नहीं होना चाहिए क्योंकि वह गरीब लोगों के, गरीब वर्कर्स के गाढ़े खून की सेविंग है, उसकी अगर वे चोरी करते हैं तो उनके खिलाफ सख्त से सख्त ऐक्शन होना चाहिए। अभी हरियाणा में जो चोरियां पकड़ी गयी हैं, जो पी.एफ. डिपार्टमेंट ने डिटेक्ट की हैं, उनके संबंध में सख्ती से कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए। आप देखिए कि अगर वह फाल्स इश्यू किये गये हैं तो आप ऑफिसर्स के खिलाफ ऐक्शन लीजिए और अगर सच में चोरी हुई है तो आप इंडस्ट्रीज के खिलाफ सख्त से सख्त कार्यवाही कीजिए। इन सभी बातों के साथ अंत में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां एक ऐसा इश्यू बना दिया गया है जैसे झरिया में खानों में कोयला जल रहा है। पिछले 40-42 साल से जल रहा है। वर्कर्स को उम्मीद है कि किसी रोज़ यह खान धंस जाएगी और सब मारे जाएंगे लेकिन इसके संबंध में कोई कुछ नहीं कर रहा है। कहां है आपका लेबर डिपार्टमेंट? कहां हैं आपके दूसरे डिपार्टमेंट? इस संबंध में सेपटी वाले क्या कर रहे हैं? राम विलास पासवान जी भाषण देकर आ जाते हैं। हमारी सरकार के मंत्री थे तो वे भी भाषण देकर आ जाते थे। किसी ने कुछ नहीं किया।

मान्यवर, अंत में मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इसको एक पोलिटिकल ईश्यू नहीं बनाना चाहिए और सब लोगों को बैठकर, सब पार्टीज़ को बैठकर इसको सॉल्व करना चाहिए क्योंकि यह एक इम्पोर्टेंट नेशनल ईश्यू है। अगर इसको सॉल्व नहीं किया गया तो आज जो दुनिया में हो रहा है, उसमें हम पीछे रह जाएंगे। हमारी कोई पूछ नहीं होगी और हम लोग तकलीफ में आ जाएंगे। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ और आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for having given me this opportunity to participate in this discussion. At the outset, I would like to say that this year's Budget is anti-labour and pro-monopolists.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: We are not discussing the Budget.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN: This is part of it. I would also like to state that the working class or the working force in India had never before met such terrific attack against their interests and also faced such severe problems in the post-independent India. Regarding the workforce, all of us know that they are doing yeoman's service to the nation and the society. It is they who produce the industrial goods. It is they who labour for producing grain, pulses and other agricultural commodities. It is they who are giving their sweat and blood in constructing big projects, big buildings, offices and also the infrastructure. Thus, they are doing a very great service to the nation. Mainly, they are the people who contribute in a major way to the GDP. But they are not being given a proper treatment. They are not being given a proper share of the wealth that is produced with their help. Therefore, they are having so many problems. I would like to mention only a few of them. In the Budget Speech, our hon. Finance Minister has stated that labour reforms or amending some of the labour laws have become imperative; it should be done very urgently. The reason he has stated is that the present labour laws are rigid, not flexible, and, therefore, have become a hurdle to further investment in the economy and also for the growth of production. Along with that, some employers are saying that there is indiscipline among the workers, and productivity has come down. Therefore, chapter 5(b) of the Industrial Disputes Act should be amended. When we are meeting here, thousands of factories are lying closed in India. Of course, there are "rigid laws". But nothing prevented the employers from closing down their factories. Not only they have closed down their factories; I know that hundreds of employers have not also given the wage arrears to their workers, they have not given the bonus arrears; they have not given the gratuity; they have not remitted their contribution to the Provident Fund Account, they have not remitted money to the ESI. In spite

of this, neither the Central Government nor the State Governments have taken any cudgels.

They have been doing it. The rigid laws are not a hindrance. Take the example of Britain. Britain is one of the countries where somewhat rigid laws are in existence, where neither the employers have raised any complaint about it, nor the Government wants to change it. And, even if they want to do it, it is not so easy. Another argument is, Chapter V(b) of the Industrial Disputes Act prohibit the employer the right to lay off, retrench or close down a factory. Sir, it is not prohibited. Only a procedure has been laid down there. If an employer wants to lay off a section of workers or he wants to retrench workers or if he wants to close down a factory, he has to resort to that procedure. He has to file an application to this effect before the Labour Secretary of the State Government or the Central Government, whoever is the appropriate authority. That's all. But it is not prohibited. In spite of that, even the Minister says that it is prohibited. Suppose this law is passed, what will happen? Our employers will be given a free hand. They will utilise it to close down thousands of factories. They may close a factory here and start a new factory somewhere else, at a new place. There, they will not have to pay minimum wages, reasonable wages, fair wages or anything of that sort. They will not give any legal benefit. They will be exploiting the workers. This too will happen at a time when the liberalisation programme is being implemented. The employment opportunities are going down every year. They have become very nominal. At the same time, the employees working in factories or services are being thrown out. Therefore, unemployment is increasing every year. The number of new entrants, youngsters who come to the labour field, is also increasing. Thus, unemployment is increasing day by day. It is not a question of employer-employee relationship only. It will become a very big problem for the society as a whole. It will become a very big problem for the country. If unemployment increases, it is the youngsters who will become unemployed more and more, and they will be an inflammable material. It will upset several things. Due to lack of time, I do not want to go into all those things. But it will be very dangerous. People are saying that because of this, the trade unions are becoming weaker. Yes; the trade unions are becoming weaker. Is it a good thing for the country? Is it a good thing for the industry? If strong trade unions are not there, with whom the employers will bargain? With whom they will come to an understanding about work norms or productivity or terms of agreement? For the smooth functioning of the industry, in order to increase

the productivity, and also to see that the industrial production is high in the country, it is very necessary that an organised trade union movement is there. If anarchy is going to prevail there, what will happen? Of course, there will violence. Sometimes, an employer may be murdered. Sometimes, a manager may be murdered.

Sometimes, the factory may be set on fire. Who would like that? Nobody likes it. The Government should think about it.

Sir, now, I would like to touch upon other labour laws. There are a number of labour laws in our country. But, those laws are not being implemented properly. For example, there is the Minimum Wages' Act, the Factories' Act, the Plantation Labour Act, etc. These laws are not being implemented properly. There are many other labour laws which are not being implemented. Most of them are not being implemented; instead, they are being violated.

Secondly, as you are aware, it is the Labour Department which is supposed to discharge certain functions. But, in most parts of our country, the Labour Department has become passive, or, is paralysed. For example, in Haryana, when the Maruti workers went on strike, they approached the Labour Department officials for solving their grievances. But the officials did not even bother to convene a conference. There is a definite provision in the Industrial Disputes Act that if a strike is apprehended, then, the Labour Department Officer will have to intervene and convene a conference. But the Labour Commissioner did not bother to convene a conference. The Police and the Revenue Officers, everybody, stood in favour of the employer, and the workers were left completely helpless. This is what is happening all over India, in different degrees.

Another point is regarding the safety net. Even the Prime Minister had often declared that the safety net would have to be provided for the working class. He had been saying that. But, what safety net have they created? There are certain schemes for the organised sector, like the Provident Fund and the ESI. But the Government gives a very low rate of interest on the Provident Fund deposits. During the last one-and-a-half year, the Government has already reduced the interest rate by one-and-a-half per cent. And they are thinking of further reducing it. That means, the Government itself is exploiting the workers. It is quite immoral on the part of the Government.

5.00 P.M.

Then the pension problem is also there. The Government had given certain assurance that every year it will be reviewed, but it has not been done. Then, for the better industrial relations, the Government of India had set up a machinery called the Indian Labour Conference. And a Standing Labour Committee was also set up. These are not functioning. Of course, there may be reasons for it. Whenever the Indian Labour Conference met, the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and various other Ministers used to participate in it. They used to listen to the discussions, and on that basis, they used to take certain decisions. Now, it has been forgotten. Due to extreme pressure, the Prime Minister participated in it once or twice, but he gave an assurance that they would convene a conference once in every six months. It is not being observed.

The contract labourers and the agricultural workers are the most exploited class. Their condition is very bad. There was a proposal to enact a comprehensive legislation for providing welfare measures to the agricultural labour. It has not been done so far, and they are not going to do it either. This is the way in which the social safety net is being prepared! Sir, in India, workers are facing a lot of problems and the Government will have to give a serious thought to it and try to solve it, or else, it will be dangerous. Already certain strikes have taken place. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of this month, there was an all-India strike and it was conducted on the basis of broader unity. If the situation continues like this, or, if anti-labour legislations are enacted, the workers will fight against it on a much broader unity. The Government must be aware of it.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक):** माननीय श्रम मंत्री जी को एक जल्दी बैठक में जाना था। वे चले गए हैं। लेकिन माननीय जटिया साहब आपकी बातों को नोट कर रहे हैं। माननीय श्रम मंत्री इस बहस का उत्तर कल देंगे। लेकिन निश्चय यह किया गया है कि आज डिबेट पूरी कर ली जाए और माननीय श्रम मंत्री जी कल इसका उत्तर देंगे।

माननीय एकनाथ केशव ठाकुर - आपके दल के केवल पांच मिनट हैं। लेकिन आपकी मेडन स्पीच है तो मैं आपको टोकना नहीं चाहूंगा, लेकिन कृपया समय का ध्यान रखें।

**SHRI EKANATH K. THAKUR (Maharashtra) :** Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, since you have allotted five minutes to me, I assure you and the House that I will not take more than five minutes. Earlier, during my career as a student, Alexander Poe told me that words are like leaves and when they abound, much fruit of sense or thought beneath is very rarely found. Therefore, Sir, I will address this august House in a few words.

When I do so, the hon. Minister and his representative here would be surprised that a Member of one of their coalition parties is striking a rather divergent note in this House on the proposed reforms under the Labour Policy. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, since I am going to confine myself to the proposed reforms and make only general observations, at the outset, I would like to share with my friends and my support with all those who have spoken for the need for work ethics in our nation. If there is one thing which is wanting in our industrial sector - in any sector in which work is important - it is work ethics. The work discipline is not there; attendance is not there. There are many workers who, till the time they are in the job, are serious about it, but the moment they leave their job, they have no responsibility. We, as a party, and I for one, would never support anybody who betrays the employer who has provided them with employment.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have tried out an experiment in Mumbai, Maharashtra that welfare of workers and uninterrupted production should not be seen as an oxymoron. We have had unions, associations in Maharashtra, and we have ensured, under the leadership of our leader, Shri Bala Saheb Thackeray, continued progress and higher level of production, and, at the same time, the welfare of workers. So, I do not see any dichotomy between the welfare of workers on the one side and the welfare of the production units on the other side. I think, they can work together and they can deliver results provided a right culture and right environment is created. However, Sir, we are a little puzzled with some of the reforms that are being introduced now in the name of labour reforms. We believe that while introducing these reforms we have to bear in mind the purpose of these reforms. While formulating any policy, the Parliament and the nation must first understand that this is a country of workers; this is a country of farmers; and anything that goes against the interests of workers and farmers their - long-term interests will have to be seen very carefully - may have to be opposed. Sir, before the economic reforms were introduced in 1991, almost all the journals, almost all the thinkers, almost all the speakers, the intellectuals used to talk of two Indias. One was India and the other was Bharat or Hindustan.

But from 1991, I have not seen a newspaper or a magazine or a journal where people are talking of Bharat or Hindustan. They are only talking of India. Sir, I believe that when we do not talk of Bharat or Hindustan, we are not talking of farmers and workers, and this is a very sorry state of affairs. We have to ask ourselves whether we want to create



a society by bringing in these reforms where wealth accumulates and men decay. Members have spoken here in this House about the consensus on reforms. We are also for reforms, but we are opposed to the timing and sequencing and the nature of reforms. If this country has to move forward, several reforms have to come in. As they have come in the economic and financial sector, they have to come in the labour sector also. The farmers and the labour are the ones who bear the brunt of the reforms most, and, therefore, they must be given the time to accept these reforms gradually. Sir, I believe that for the next 8-9 years, during this reform period, these lower classes, the farmers and the workers will suffer the most. Even if we have a constant GDP growth rate of 6-8 per cent, for 7-8 years we will experience the trauma of change from the present day economy to a newer economy. Sir, this experiment is being conducted today in 45 countries of the world, and if you look at those countries where the experiment of liberalisation and globalisation is taking place, you will find that those countries are providing various safety networks for their workers, for their farmers. Even countries like France, Germany and Japan are doing this. In a recent decision, Japan had issued instructions, an official fiat, to their various Departments that the jobs in services sector must be protected. I am prepared to produce documents here to show that the Japanese Government had issued such instructions. Now, if progressive governments of the world are trying to protect jobs, how are we in this nation which has nothing except a few jobs are trying to curtail them and contain them? So, we have to take a good care of this transition period of 7-8 years, and move on to reforms in the labour sector in a very gradual and in a very slow manner. We have given the examples of USA, from time to time. But there are two main things about the US economy that we have to understand. The entire US economy is organised, giving purchasing power in the hands of people and maintaining employment levels. The employment levels are monitored on day-to-day basis, and it is a Key Performance Area (KPA) for the US President and US Federal Reserve Chairman Allan Greenspan to preserve the employment levels. However, in our country, it appears that it is nobody's KPA, nobody's priority to preserve the employment levels in India. The unemployment is rising. It is an accepted and stark reality in this country. When we are discussing labour reforms, this stark reality cannot be ignored. Another thing, which is important about the reforms in the Western countries, is that there are very strong unions in those countries. Sir, in the United States of America, the AFL-CIO or Teamsters are such strong unions that they constitute a check on the whole

Government. In fact, they finance the elections of many Congressmen and many Senators, and they have very big lobbies in the Senate and Congress. So, the interest of the labour is protected through very strong unions and through very strong political lobbies. We do not have very strong labour unions here in India. Also, we do not have very strong political lobbies in India. Therefore, because of it, the labour has suffered a lot over the years and has not got its due share in productivity gains that are made only by the capitalists of this country.

Sir, there is another aspect which is related to the reforms in the Western countries, and it is that they are well laid out. *...(Interruptions)...* Sir, it is my maiden speech. I will finish within two minutes. Sir, there is another thing. There is a social security system there in the United States. There is a provision of \$7,000/- per annum for an unemployed to provide him food, clothing and shelter, there. This is not the case here, in India. There even an ordinary worker is protected in his day-to-day life. Sir, if I travel in a taxi from my residence in Mumbai, which is in the middle of Mumbai, to Santacruz Airport, I pay him Rs.90/-. The taximan earns only Rs.10/- out of that. I visited in the USA for five years from 1993 to 1998. There, I travelled the same distance from my residence in New York to the Airport, and used to pay equivalent to Rs. 900. Out of these Rs. 900, Rs. 850 used to go to the taxi driver. So, even in the day-to-day life, the ordinary worker there is protected. If I employ a house-maid there, I had to pay \$5 per hour for cleaning the floor. Therefore, comparisons that are being made with Western countries and America are not proper because the level of prosperity is not the same.

Sir, I would like to dwell upon one more aspect. Over a period of time, we have to give the right to work, which is not immediately possible. But this Government and this House must ensure that we continuously create more jobs and try to protect the jobs that are available to us.

I would like to point out one more thing. There are certain sectors which add to the jobs. For example, the small scale sector provides about 60 per cent of the industrial jobs, but, today that sector is being starved of finance. According to the norms that have been laid down by the Naik Committee, the Gupta Committee, and even the Reserve Bank of India, the small sector needs finance, to the tune of Rs.100,000 crores, but the total finance that is available to them from the public sector and other financial institutions and banks is only Rs.45000 crores. Whereas they have to get 20 per cent of the finance as working capital, they are getting only 9 per cent

now. This denial of working capital to the small scale industries is resulting in closure of these units, which in turn is resulting in loss of employment in the small scale sector. The sector, which was a very big avenue providing employment, is being increasingly closed.

This morning some Members talked of privatisation and disinvestment. I would urge upon the Labour Minister to persuade the Government to have faith in the labour. While going in for disinvestment and privatisation, some of the units should be exclusively handed over to the labour. For example, if a bank is going down, why don't you hand over that bank to the Executive Officers and employees of that bank to run that? They will definitely show you a good performance.

Sir, private capital has a place and private industry also has a place. But, if you don't keep on investing in knowledge and skill building fields and in the areas of interest to the workers, the country would not have a great future. These things I have mentioned because rural unemployment is one problem.

Sir, I come from a metropolitan city, Mumbai. Employment of labour there is in such a bad shape today that many social problems are being created. The social problems have now exceeded all bounds. In Mumbai, you will find bear bars. Some of the young girls, who were working in offices, have succumbed to the situation and joined there as dancing girls. Similarly, young boys are joining the mafia gangs of Dawood and other brands. These problems should be taken up very seriously and the reforms that are being initiated should be phased out. They should be dealt with in such a way that they do not harm our younger generation.

**लाला लाजपत राय (पंजाब) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस महत्वपूर्ण चर्चा में भाग लेने का अवसर दिया। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि बिजनेस ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी ने श्रम मंत्रालय की वर्किंग के बारे में घर्षा करने का अवसर प्रदान करके बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। यद्यपि इम्प्लॉयर और इम्प्लॉयी के आपस के संबंधों और एक-दूसरे के प्रति अपनी जिम्मेदारियों को निभाने के लिए कायदे-कानून बने हुए हैं जैसे मिनिमम वेजेज ऐक्ट, प्रॉविडेंट फंड ऐक्ट, ई.एस.आई., काम करने के घंटे कितने होंगे, ये सारे कायदे-कानून बने हुए हैं जिसमें से 2 महकमे केन्द्र नियंत्रित करता है और बाकी सारे महकमे राज्य सरकारें नियंत्रित करती हैं। आज राज्य सरकारों में 17 सरकारें ऐसी हैं जो अपोजीशन पार्टियों की हैं।

महोदय, एक इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट होने के नाते मेरा अनुभव ऐसा है कि ये जो कायदे-कानून बने हुए हैं, इनको लागू करने में स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के अधिकारी अपनी जिम्मेदारी को ठीक तरह से नहीं निभा रहे हैं। आप अपने हिसाब को कितना भी अच्छा रखें, तो भी उनका कमीशन बंधा हुआ है। 6 महीने और साल भर में उनका चक्कर लगता है और वे उगाही करके घले जाते हैं। जो

इम्प्लॉयर्स हैं, कोई संस्था आज ऐसी नहीं है जो उनको अपना फर्ज निभाने के बारे में समझाए। फिर भी आज इम्प्लॉयर्स में इस बारे में काफी जागरूकता है और वे अपने फर्ज को निभाते भी हैं लेकिन उनमें भी कुछ दोषी लोग जरूर हैं। वर्कर्स को यह समझाने के लिए कि उनके अधिकार क्या हैं, उनको क्या मिलना चाहिए, उनके अधिकार से भी ज्यादा उनको क्या मिलना चाहिए, यह बताने के लिए ट्रेड यूनियंस काम कर रही हैं। मैं अपने अनुभव के आधार पर यह कह सकता हूँ कि ट्रेड यूनियंस का काम ऐसा है कि उसके कारण जहां पर भी इम्प्लॉयर-इम्प्लॉयी का काम है, वहां वर्क कल्चर बिल्कुल बदल गया है। मैं अपना निजी अनुभव आपको बताता हूँ। मेरा लुधियाना में रीटा सिलाई मशीन के नाम से सिलाई की मशीनों का कारखाना रहा है। यह सन् 1958 की बात है। मेरा काम ठीक-ठीक चल रहा था। सी.पी.एम. की चलाई हुई "सीटो" ने कुछ कारणों से, हो सकता है कि वे राजनीतिक कारण रहे हों, मेरे कारखाने के वर्कर्स को भड़काना शुरू कर दिया। हालांकि मेरे और मेरे वर्कर्स के आपस में बहुत ही अच्छे संबंध थे, हम साल में एकाध बार इकट्ठा भोजन करते थे, कभी साथ घूमने भी जाते थे। उन्होंने मेरे वर्कर्स को समझाना शुरू किया कि तुम्हें तो कुछ नहीं मिलता है, तुम्हारे मालिक तुम्हें बहुत कम बोनस देते हैं। उस समय बोनस की प्रथा शुरू ही हुई थी। मैंने अपने वर्कर्स को बातचीत के लिए बुलाया। उनके मांगपत्र को पढ़कर मैंने कहा कि मैं आपको 8 परसेंट बोनस दूंगा। वे कहने लगे कि 8 परसेंट नहीं, हमें तो 20 परसेंट मिलना चाहिए। मैंने कहा कि बोनस तो मुनाफे के साथ संबंध रखता है, तुम मेरा हिसाब देख लो। मिनिमम 8 परसेंट बोनस देना चाहिए लेकिन अगर आपका मुनाफा एलाऊ करता हो तो उससे ज्यादा भी दिया जा सकता है। उनको ट्रेड यूनियन वालों ने इस तरह पढ़ाया जैसे बंदर को ऊपर चढ़ाते हैं तो नीचे आने के लिए रास्ता तक नहीं छोड़ते, इसी तरह उन्होंने मेरे खिलाफ वर्कर्स के दिमाग में इतनी बातें भर दीं कि वे 20 परसेंट से 19 परसेंट तक आने को तैयार नहीं थे। इस पर डिस्प्यूट हो गया और फिर डिपार्टमेंट ने उसमें इंटरवीन करने की कोशिश की। हर लेवल पर बातचीत हुई, लेबर कमिश्नर तक के लेवल पर बातचीत हुई और उन्होंने भी कहा कि 20 परसेंट बोनस का कोई औचित्य नहीं है। फिर यह झगड़ा इंडस्ट्रियल कोर्ट में चला गया और पेशियां होती रहीं। आखिर हुआ क्या? इंडस्ट्रियल कोर्ट ने 4 परसेंट बोनस देने के लिए निर्णय दिया। फिर मेरे वर्कर्स मेरे पास आए कि आपने ठीक ही समझाया था कि आप 8 परसेंट बोनस देंगे लेकिन फैसला अब 4 परसेंट का हुआ है, आप ही हमें अब 8 परसेंट बोनस दे दीजिए। मैंने कहा कि नहीं, अब तो मैं 4 परसेंट बोनस ही दूंगा, अगले 5 साल के लिए मेरे साथ समझौता कर लीजिए।

मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आज इम्प्लॉयी और इम्प्लॉयर के आपस में जो संबंध हैं, उनको बिगाड़ने में आज की ट्रेड यूनियंस का बहुत बड़ा हाथ है। मेरा कारखाना इसके कारण डेढ़ महीने बंद रहा। इसलिए ये जो सुधार लाने की चर्चा हो रही है, मैं श्रम मंत्रालय से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि मालिकों को सुधारने के लिए और वर्कर्स के वर्क कल्चर को सुधारने के लिए ऐसे कायदे-कानून बनाए जाएं ताकि उनमें आपस में समन्वय पैदा हो। प्रेमचन्द गुप्ता जी ने जो बात कही है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ और ऐसा काम जापान करता है, चीन की भी बड़ी चर्चा है। लेकिन जापान के अंदर अगर मालिक और मजदूरों में कोई भ्रम पैदा हो जाए, कोई झगड़ा हो जाए तो वहां पर मजदूर काम करते हैं, केवल काला बिल्ला लगाते हैं। काले बिल्ले से पता चलता है कि वहां कोई गड़बड़ चल रही है। अगर ऐसा कोई झगड़ा यहां पर आ जाए तो यहां एक दस्तूर है। वर्कर्स अगर मालिक को तंग करना चाहें तो वह चाय पीने के लिए भागते रहेंगे, टॉयलेट जाते रहेंगे। अब टॉयलेट जाने से कौन रोक सकता है। वह आधा दिन तो इसी काम में

लगा देते हैं। ट्रेड यूनियन द्वारा वर्कर्स को काम न करने के लिए पढ़ाया जाना बिल्कुल ऐसा है जैसे भगवान की पूजा करने के लिए मना करना है। मैं इस बात के लिए श्रम मंत्रालय से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह कायदे कानून में बदलाव लाने की सोचें और ऐसे कायदे कानून लाएं जिससे कि दोनों के संबंध ठीक हों और पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिए उनको प्रेरणा दें।

SHRIMATI BIMBA RAIKAR (Karnataka): Thank you very much, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak on this subject. Sir, we only speak about the child labour, the women labour, and it is only on paper. But, nothing has been done so far in this respect. You know, Sir, that ours is a very poor country, and 70 per cent of the people are agriculturists. They are very poor and are living in the villages, and that is why, children are not being educated, and they are not being sent to schools, and this is one of the reasons for the child labour. As you know, Sir, children are working in house construction, in hotels, in garages, in coffee plantations and in so many other fields. But, they are not paid properly, and they are not looked after. It is said that two lakhs of children have already been identified by the Government. But, I do not think that it is done properly. If at all, we have to identify the children, we must take proper steps to take care of them. There should be proper accommodation for them, and some rehabilitation programmes, like vocational training, must be there, so that they are properly trained, and looked after properly; and afterwards, they can become good citizens. Otherwise, simply giving advertisements or news-items in the newspapers, will not serve the purpose. I am very particular about two points. I know that I do not have much time at my disposal. For example, women labour. You know, these women are working with men, and we always talk about the equal wages for equal work. But, nowhere, the women-folk have been paid equally. A mason is getting Rs. 280/- per day. He also works. Alongwith him, a woman also works. But, I do not think that a woman gets more than Rs. 80/- per day. In a family, where the husband, wife and children are working, out of the whole week's earning of the husband, three days' earning comes home and three days' earning is spent on consuming liquor, and that is why the mother is forced to send her children for work, and that is why the problem of child labour is there. So, we have to take particular care of the child labour and we have to think about women.

So far as the ESI scheme is concerned, this is available only in big cities. Our women do not know anything about the ESI scheme in villages. ESI hospitals should be established in every district. I want to mention one particular thing. We should take the help of the police to identify the

children who are working in factories and also the children who are not working but who are on the streets. This work should be given to the police, and also to the *Tehsildars*, to see that the women are helped by the ESI hospitals.

About women, there is one more problem, i.e. the problem of sexual harassment. You know, Sir, there is an order of the Supreme Court. सुप्रीम कोर्ट का आदेश यह है कि जो कलप्रीट है उसको दंड देना चाहिए। But I just want to ask, how many culprits have been found so far. Has anybody been given punishment? There is nothing like that. So, the problem of sexual harassment of women should be taken care of.

Another thing that I want to mention is, we do not have skilled labour. The skilled labour is only six per cent. In a State like Karnataka, where the software industry is the talk of the day, where we have got only six per cent of skilled labour, unless we give training to the people and unless we bring them to a proper level, we cannot take care of our industries. Again, we will have to depend on foreigners. We will have to invite them to take care of our industries. If it is very difficult to give training and to spend money on those schemes, we can take loans from the World Bank. We must see that our skill enhanced so that we can compete with other countries and achieve something new.

Sir, these are the things about which we have to be very particular. Nowadays, the agriculturists are migrating from one place to another. Because of lack of water and lack of electricity, the people are shifting from one place to another. That should be stopped. For that, the Government has to take particular care and do something in this regard.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMA SHANKER KAUSHIK): Shri Bashistha Narain Singh. He is not here.

SHRI N.K. PREMACHANDRAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this House is taking up the discussion on the working of the Ministry of Labour. It is the right time because the whole industry, the multinational corporations, and the Government are very eager to have labour reforms. So, first of all, I take this opportunity to appreciate the decision of the Business Advisory Committee for allowing a discussion on this. Sir, I hope this discussion will open the eyes of this Government because, cutting across the political lines, almost all Members, whether they are from the Treasury Benches or from the Opposition benches, have expressed their apprehensions, so far as the labour reforms are concerned.

This year, considering the Budget proposals also, there is a small increase in the Budget provisions, compared to those of the last financial year. During 2001-02, the Plan allocation was Rs.122.54 crores, and it has been enhanced to Rs.148.59 crores. There is an increase of Rs.26 crores. The main questions to be considered by us are: what is the budgetary allocation, what is the purpose of making the allocation and how it is being used or how it is to be appropriated. Whether it is used for the safety and security or for the welfare of the workforce of the country-this question is to be considered in the discussion, and I hope the Government will take note of the points which have already been enunciated by the Members in the House. I am not going to repeat the points which have already been made by Members during the discussion which is taking place since morning. What is the main objective of the Ministry of Labour? According to me, the Ministry of Labour has to protect the interests and ensure the welfare of the workforce of the country. It is the prime responsibility of the Ministry of Labour. I submit that it is also the duty and responsibility of the Ministry of Labour to create a healthy environment so that production and productivity will be increased. These are the two purposes. In order to achieve these goals a labour policy should be enunciated. What is the labour policy of this Government? Is it supporting the poor labour of this country? The answer is, no. If you analyse or look into the post-independence labour scenario, you will find that almost all the labour legislations are pro-labour. But, now the focus has turned around. What is the policy of this Government? After 1992, when liberalisation began, during the post-liberalisation period, the Government has always been thinking in terms of anti-labour and pro-investors. An investor-friendly labour policy is being adopted. Does it mean that it should be anti-labour? Why is a propaganda going on throughout the country that the economic growth is declining, or, the Foreign Direct Investment is not coming to this country, or, there is a steep decline in the industrial production due to the workforce of this country? Is the labour responsible for it? The real facts are not taken into account. Why is such a propaganda unleashed against the workforce and the entire blame cast on the labour? I am not going into the statistics. Mr. Khuntia has already given the statistics a little while ago. What about strikes? What about the loss of mandays during last year as compared to the previous years? If you go through the statistics, you will find that it was much lesser in the previous years. They are prepared by the NSSO and other responsible agencies. It is a fact that it is not because of the labour, but because of the policies that have been pursued by this

Government. We are always comparing ourselves with the developed countries. We are equating all these things with industrially well-developed countries. What about the situation in those countries? What about the labour scenario in our country? We have to consider the population, the geographical situation, the resources, the socio-political and historical conditions of these western countries *vis-a-vis* the Third-World countries. We are having a population of 102 crores. How can we compare these two? When we compare these two, should we adopt those policies? Who is being affected finally? It is the labour force, it is the working class, it is the farming community of our country. It is reported that our total workforce is 410 million. It means 41 crores. It means 41 per cent of our total population belongs to the workforce. Out of that, 7 per cent belongs to the organised sector. If we adopt such a policy, disregarding the interests of this 41 per cent workforce, what would be the fate of this nation? What would be the future of this nation? All the policies are meant for the people, not for the multinational corporations or corporate business houses. What is meant by economic growth? What is meant by industrial growth? It should help the poor. The workforce of the country belongs to the poor class. When we look at the growth of employment, we find that it is declining steeply. There is no scope for future employment also. Day by day, it is declining. If you look into the recent statistics, it is very shocking on the factory side. More than seven lakhs of jobs have been lost during 1998-2000. During a period of two years more than seven lakhs of jobs have been lost in factories alone. This is for the first time that we are experiencing such a thing. It means the workforce in the factories has fallen by 8 per cent in two years. It is for the first time, since 1987, that the number of employees has fallen in two consecutive years, as a result of liberalisation and globalisation. I would like to know whether it will help the poor people and the workforce of the country. It has to be taken into consideration when we adopt a labour policy and propose labour reforms. There has been a detailed discussion in this House on those issues. There is a hue and cry. Who makes the hue and cry? It is by the MNCs, by the industrial houses, and now by the Government itself. Has the Government thought about all these things? Regarding the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act, what does Chapter-VB say? I submit that it is not a legal protection. Under Chapter-VB of the Industrial Disputes Act, no legal protection is given to the workers, as far as closure, retrenchment and lay-offs are concerned.



It is only a procedural formality that if you want to retrench or lay off or close down an establishment which is having a workforce of more than 100, the approval of the appropriate Government has to be obtained. Now it is proposed to be amended to increase the number to 1000. The Cabinet has taken a decision. It has already been published. For whose sake is it being done? Whose interest do they want to safeguard? Now Chapter V (B) is being amended. Statistics show that 91.1 per cent of the industrial units are having a workforce which is less than 1000. That means, 91.1 per cent of the industrial units are given freedom to fire the workers without getting the approval of the Government. Now, 74 per cent of the total workforce in the organised sector can easily be fired, can easily be retrenched without getting the formal approval. That means the employers have been given absolute freedom. That is the hire and fire policy which is being pursued by this Government. That is why we are opposing it. The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act is meant to weaken the trade union movement. The collective bargaining of the workers would be lost. The Contract Labour Abolition Act also does the same thing. I know that the workers who are there in the Central public sector undertakings continue to work as contract labour. For example, in the Indian Rare Earths Ltd., they have been working as contract labour for the last 33 years. They have not been regularised. The management of the Indian Rare Earths Ltd. has recently issued a circular saying, "You have no future. The entire shipping sector has to be modernised, and, therefore, you have to go. It is part of the policy." That is why the Contract Labour Abolition Act is being amended only in the interest of the industrial houses, not in the interest of the working class. The Trade Union (Amendment) Act has already come into existence; and the right to form associations, the right to the collective bargaining and also the right to form trade unions are being taken away. There is an international conspiracy to weaken the trade union movement as well as collective bargaining movement. My submission before the Government is: Please reconsider the labour policy which is being pursued by the Government. The view of the Government is that in order to meet the requirements of globalisation and the present scenario, the labour laws have to be changed. As Shri Khuntia rightly said in the morning, the labour laws are not standing in the way of economic growth and industrial production. If that is the case, you can convince us. We are ready to accept the amendments. We are ready to discuss all these things. We are ready to have an open discussion. The trade union leadership is ready. The

political leadership is ready to have a discussion. I urge upon the Government to review this decision.

So far as the Provident Fund is concerned, the rate of interest on the Provident Fund has been reduced from 12 per cent to 9.5 per cent. I would like to seek a clarification from the hon. Minister who is also the Chairman of the Trustee Board. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the PF Organisation is capable of paying 9.5 per cent interest. I have come to know from the newspapers that the trustees have already said that they have the capacity to pay more interest. But the Government is giving directions. What is the right of the Government to interfere? It is a contributory scheme. It is a contribution made by the employer and the employees. The Government has no role in this deposit. But the Government is dictating terms to the PF Organisation that the rate of interest has to be reduced and such and such thing should be done. It is highly illegal. So far as the ESI is concerned, it needs to be revamped. The major fund is coming from the Government of India but the administration is in the hands of the State Governments.

So, there is no coordination between the Centre and the States. The ESI Corporation does not provide any medical care; it only takes care of encashment of leave. That is the main thing which is going on. Recently, it was announced that model hospitals would be built in each and every State. I can tell you my own experience in my constituency, Kollam. In 1997, the foundation-stone for construction of a super-speciality hospital was laid by the then Labour Minister, Shri Virendra Kumar. But, later, nothing was done. So, the most inefficient organisation in our country, which is absorbing huge funds of the workforce but doing nothing, is our ESI Corporation. And, the States have no responsibility because they only have administrative responsibility. They say that the funds will have to come from the Government of India. The poor workers' money is not being utilised in a proper way. So, the ESI has to be revamped. That is my submission.

And, regarding D.A. of the industrial workers, what is the base-year that is taken for fixing the dearness allowance? The base year is 1982! Even after 20 years, we are considering 1982 as the base year for fixing the norms while deciding the dearness allowance. I would urge upon the Government to consider this factor as well. Twenty years have elapsed and so far nothing has been done in order to revise the norms for fixing the dearness allowance or the Consumer Price Index, as it is called.

And, regarding the Agricultural Bill and other Welfare Bills, I know, in my State, Kerala, there are 14 welfare fund schemes, say, the Construction Workers Welfare Fund, Agricultural Workers Welfare fund, etc., covering various unorganised sector. But there is no financial commitment from the Government. So, the Union Government will have to formulate legislations so as to protect the welfare of the workforce. Sir, I am concluding with this point that the labour force, the working class in India, is not satisfied. They have no peace of mind because of the new economic reforms and labour reforms. A country like India cannot achieve progress when it has a discontented working class. Therefore, I would once again urge upon the Government to kindly re-consider the labour reforms so that the labour is protected in this country and the country is able to achieve more progress.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMA SHANKER KAUSHIK): Shri Gandhi Azad...(Interruptions)...

**श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ इन्फोर्मेशन है । अभी-अभी ज्ञात हुआ है कि भारतीय शासन के कोयला एवं खान मंत्री श्री रामविलास पासवान जी ने मंत्री पद से इस्तीफा दे दिया है । वे न केवल इस सरकार के महत्वपूर्ण मंत्री हैं बल्कि एक दलित जाति से भी संबंध रखते हैं । हम आपके जरिए जानना चाहेंगे कि क्या इसकी सूचना समापति जी को दे दी गई है कि किन कारणों से मंत्री जी को इस्तीफा देने के लिए बाध्य होना पड़ा है ? क्या वे इस संबंध में वक्तव्य देना चाहेंगे या सरकार इस संबंध में स्थिति स्पष्ट करना चाहेगी ? क्योंकि उन्होंने इस्तीफा ऐसे समय में दिया है जब देश एक नाजुक दौर से गुजर रहा है । चाहे गुजरात की सांप्रदायिक हिंसा हो, चाहे उत्तर प्रदेश में जो राजनैतिक स्थिति निर्मित हुई है, वह हो । माननीय संसदीय कार्य मंत्री जी यहां पर उपस्थित हैं, क्या वे इस बात की पुष्टि करेंगे कि उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया है क्योंकि इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया में बारम्बार बाहर आ रहा है कि उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया है । यह सदन इस बात को जानना चाहता है और सदस्यों को अधिकार भी है कि किन परिस्थितियों में उन्होंने इस्तीफा दिया है ?

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** अब आप इन्हें इन्फोर्मेशन दे दीजिए । माननीय संसदीय कार्य मंत्री कुछ कहेंगे ?

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) :** Sir, you can ask the hon. Parliamentary Affairs Minister to ascertain the factual position and keep the House informed. As we are going to sit until we finish this discussion, the Government should ascertain the factual position and inform the House.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** यही मैं कह रहा हूँ । माननीय संसदीय कार्य मंत्री जी कुछ कहेंगे ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI O. RAJAGOPAL): I will try to get the facts and make the position clear to the House.

**श्री सुरेश पचीरी :** यह इस बात को इंगित करता है कि यह सरकार किस ढंग से काम कर रही है। बाहर इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया में त्याग पत्र देने वाले मंत्री का भी बयान आ रहा है, संसदीय कार्य मंत्री श्री प्रमोद महाजन का भी बयान आ रहा है कि उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया है और संसदीय कार्य मंत्री, जो स्वतंत्र प्रभार के हैं, हमारे माननीय सदन के हैं, कह रहे हैं कि फैक्ट्स बताएंगे। मान्यवर, राज्य सभा को इतनी देर से सूचना देना भी राज्य सभा का अपमान है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** आप इसे जल्दी कीजिए।

SHRI O. RAJAGOPAL: Yes, Sir.

**श्री गांधी आजाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** धन्यवाद उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सबसे पहले तो मैं जीवन राय जी को बधाई देता हूँ जिनके माध्यम से श्रम मंत्रालय के कार्यक्रम पर आज यहां सदन में चर्चा चल रही है। महोदय, मशीनीकरण और उदारीकरण से आज देश में दो स्थितियाँ पैदा हो गई हैं। एक तरफ तो पूंजीपति एवं नियोजक वर्ग है जो आज उत्साहित नज़र आ रहा है और अनेक प्रकार की मनमानी, जुल्म और ज्यादती भी करता है। दूसरी स्थिति मजदूर वर्ग की है जो आज हतोत्साहित है और मजबूर भी है, जुल्म और ज्यादती का शिकार भी है और अपने को असहाय सा लगता है। महोदय, श्रम मंत्रालय द्वारा बहुत से संरक्षण के उपाय किये गये हैं लेकिन जितने व्यावहारिक स्म में होने चाहियें उतने अभी तक नहीं हैं। मैं कृषि क्षेत्र की ओर आता हूँ। महोदय, आज मशीनीकरण के कारण हर काम मशीनों द्वारा हो रहा है, खेत की जुताई, बुवाई, सिंचाई, कटाई, कुटाई, पिसाई, सारे काम मशीनों से होते जा रहे हैं। इसमें रंच मात्र भी सन्देह नहीं है कि इस मशीनीकरण से उत्पादन तो जरूर बढ़ा है लेकिन जहां उत्पादन बढ़ा है वहां बेरोजगारों की संख्या में भी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है और इतनी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है कि गांव का कृषि क्षेत्र में लगा हुआ मजदूर सामन्ती व्यवस्था का शिकार होने के कारण, भूमिहीन और असंगठित मजदूर होने के कारण, अपना खेत न होने के कारण तथा कृषि पर आधारित कुटीर उद्योग धन्धे समाप्त होने के कारण आज वह शहरों की ओर पलायित हो रहा है और उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत ही दयनीय होती जा रही है। यहां तक दयनीय हो रही है कि आज खेतीहर मजदूर जो भूमिहीन मजदूर है, कर्ज में पैदा होता है, कर्ज ले कर के अपना पालन-पोषण भी करता है और वह कर्ज अपनी औलाद पर छोड़ कर इस दुनिया से विदा भी हो जाता है। हालांकि गांव में न्यूनतम मजदूरी श्रम मंत्रालय की ओर से निर्धारित की गई है लेकिन व्यावहारिक स्म न होने के कारण आज जो मजदूरी उसको मिलनी चाहिये, वह भी उसको नहीं मिल रही है। इस प्रकार से वह मजदूर शहरों की ओर पलायन करता है। वहां भी कम्प्यूटरीकरण और मशीनीकरण के कारण मजदूर शोषण का शिकार बनता जा रहा है दुर्घटनाओं में श्रमिकों के अंग भंग होने की दशा में मिल मालिक मनमानी करते हैं। उन्हें मुआवजा नहीं मिलता है और छंटनी भी कर देते हैं। मिल मालिकों पर कोई कंट्रोल नहीं होता है। बीमारी की दशा में भी कोई मुआवजा उनको नहीं मिलता है। बंधुआ मजदूरों और बाल श्रमिकों को आज भी बढ़ावा मिल रहा

है। कानून होने के बाद भी व्यावहारिक रूप से नियंत्रण नहीं हो पा रहा है। विनिवेश की दशा में भी श्रमिकों को शिकार होना पड़ता है। कारखानों के बंद होने की दशा में भी श्रमिकों को शिकार होना पड़ता है। कभी कभी सारी सुविधाएं सेल्स टेक्स, इनकम टेक्स, एक्साइस टेक्स की जब तक सुविधाएं मिलती रहती हैं, तब तक तो वह कारखाना चलाता है और जब सुविधाएं समाप्त हो जाती हैं तो वह मिल के बंद कर के दिवालिया घोषित हो जाता है और सरकार द्वारा दिये गये ऋण अथवा बैंक द्वारा दिये गये ऋण को भी हजम कर जाता है। दूसरे नाम से अन्यत्र कारखाना भी खोल लेता है और बैंकों का बकाया एन.पी.ए. हो जाता है। किन्तु श्रमिकों को अपना बकाया भी नहीं मिलता है और साथ ही साथ उनके हाथों को काम भी नहीं मिलता है। आज स्थिति यह हो गई है सभी उत्पादित वस्तुओं का लागत मूल्य बढ़ता जा रहा है। आज देश की भयावह स्थिति के बारे में मैं सरकार को सचेत करना चाहता हूँ। सब से भयावह स्थिति यह होती जा रही है कि आज मजदूर सब से ज्यादा सस्ता होता जा रहा है और सस्ता होने के कारण उसकी क्रय शक्ति भी दिन-प्रति-दिन कम होती जा रही है। उसमें ज्यादातर शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों की जो कुल संख्या है, 90 प्रतिशत भाग इसी वर्ग के मजदूर प्रभावित हैं। इसी तरह से माइनारिटी और बैकवर्ड के 75 परसेंट लोग इससे प्रभावित हैं। श्रम मंत्रालय की ओर से कोई न कोई कारगर उपाय निकाल कर के मजदूरों को राहत दिलाने का कार्य सरकार द्वारा किया जाना चाहिये ताकि उनको सम्पूर्ण रूप से संरक्षण दिया जा सके। साथ ही साथ हमारा एक सुझाव है। अगर इसको सरकार द्वारा मान लिया जाए तो काफी समस्याओं का हल हो सकता है। उत्पादित वस्तुओं के लाभ हानि में मजदूरों की श्रम साधन के रूप में भागीदारी सुनिश्चित की जाए। अगर यह भागीदारी सुनिश्चित कर दी जाए तो मजदूर अपनी भागीदारी होने के कारण मेहनत और लगन से कार्य करेगा और प्रायः जो तालाबंदी और हड़तालें हुआ करती हैं वे भी नहीं होंगी तथा देश का उत्पादन भी बढ़ेगा और सकल घरेलू उत्पादन में बढ़ोत्तरी करने में भी मजदूर सहायक होगा। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ धन्यवाद।

**श्रीमती जमना देवी बारपाल (राजस्थान) :** धन्यवाद, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी। मैं देश में व्यापक रूप से श्रम करने वाले सभी मजदूरों की दयनीय दशा की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि आज देश में डेली वेजेज पर काम करने वाले सभी मजदूरों से जो काम करवा लेते हैं, वे बाद में उनको नौकरी से हटा देते हैं। वृद्ध अवस्था में उन्हें हटा देते हैं। इसके लिए न तो उनको कोई बोनस मिलता है, न पेंशन मिलती है, न कोई पारिवारिक भत्ता मिलता है। मजदूर जब जवान होता है तो कठिन से कठिन कार्य करता है, लेकिन जब अर्ध अवस्था में आ जाता है, वृद्ध हो जाता है तो वह बेरोजगारी से जूझते जूझते दम तोड़ देता है। आखिर में वह आत्महत्या करने को मजबूर हो जाता है, चाहे वह कोयला खान का मजदूर हो, चाहे वह बजरी खान का मजदूर हो चाहे वह कृषि क्षेत्र का मजदूर हो और चाहे वह बड़ी कंपनी में काम करने वाला मजदूर हो। यह गुलामी जैसी जिंदगी की दासता, दयनीय दशा, देश के लिए बहुत गंभीर समस्या है। जिस मजदूर के दम पर देश टिका है उसका अनादर हो रहा है। देश में बहुमंजिले भवन इनके द्वारा बनवाए जाते हैं, पानी के नल इनके द्वारा लगाए जाते हैं, बिजली की व्यवस्था इनके द्वारा की जाती है, कपड़े की व्यवस्था इनके द्वारा की जाती है, लेकिन स्वतः मजदूर आवास के अभाव में मरता रहता है। उसे न पानी की सुविधा मिलती है, न उसे बिजली की सुविधा मिलती है, न उसे रोंजी और रोटी की सुविधा मिलती है। वह पशु की तरह जीवन यापन करता है। यह कैसी विडम्बना है, यह कैसा अभिशाप है, इस पर यह कहें तो बड़ा अच्छा लगेगा कि -

"मजदूर किसान की यही जिंदगी, हंस-हंस जिएं झुग्गी में  
भारतवर्ष के होली, दीवाली पर्व मनाएं झुग्गी में,  
सास बहू की, बहू सास की लज्जा बचाए झुग्गी में  
गांधी के सारे सपने छिपे हुए हैं झुग्गी में,  
जनप्रतिनिधियों के सारे वोट छिपे हुए हैं झुग्गी में"

मैं सोचती हूँ कि ये जो जनप्रतिनिधि उनका वोट लेकर यहां आकर उनके भाग्य का निर्णय करते हैं, उनके बारे में सोचने के लिए ये संकुचित क्यों रहते हैं। इसलिए श्रम करने वाले सभी मजदूरों की आवश्यकताओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए, उनके जीवन पर मनन करते हुए, उनका जीवन स्तर सुधारने की सरकार व्यवस्था करे तो बहुत अच्छा रहेगा। ये भारतवर्ष के ऊपर एक बोझ नहीं बनेंगे। यह मेरा एक छोटा सा सुझाव है। इन्हें स्थायी रूप से रोजा रोटी मिले, स्थायी रूप से इनको श्रम मिले। कई दिन पहले मैंने देखा कि ग्राम पंचायतों में जो वर्षों तक बराबर वाहन चालक होते हैं, जब तक उनको आंखों से दिखता है या वे अच्छी तरह से गाड़ी चलाते हैं तब तक तो उनको रख लेते हैं, फिर डेली वेजेज का कहकर उनका हटा देते हैं। अगर रास्ते में सड़क दुर्घटना हो जाती है तो उनके परिवार को कोई मुआवजा नहीं मिलता, कोई पेंशन नहीं मिलती। उनके साथ अन्याय होता है। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज बेरोजगारी भारतवर्ष में ही नहीं बल्कि सभी जगह हवा की तरह फैल रही है जिसे रोक नहीं गया तो इस का नतीजा आने वाले समय में बहुत ही बुरा साबित होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरे से पूर्व सांसदों ने बहुत सी बातें कही हैं। मैं उन की पुनरावृत्ति नहीं करना चाहती, लेकिन फिर भी मेरा एक छोटा सा सुझाव है कि जो बाल श्रमिक हैं, उन का सर्वे हो और पता लगाकर उन्हें छात्रावासों में रखा जाए। वहां उन की उच्च शिक्षा की व्यवस्था हो। वहां उन की रोजी-रोटी का भी इंतजाम हो सके तो बहुत ही अच्छी बात है। महोदय, हमारे राजस्थान के बीकानेर का मैं यहां एक हवाला देना चाहती हूँ। वहां जो बुनकर महिलाएं हैं, कतवारी महिलाएं हैं, वे तीस-तीस वर्ष तक एक संस्था के अंदर काम करती हैं और उस के बाद भी उन को एक नोटिस दे दिया जाता है कि यह संस्था फेल हो गयी है और अब यह पनपने वाली नहीं है, इसलिए उन को हटा दिया जाए। आप सोचिए, ऐसी सूरत में वे क्या करेंगी? महोदय, चाहे बाटा हो, टाटा हो या कम्प्यूटर हो, देश में इन सभी अधिक विकास करने वालों ने मजदूरों की बेरोजगारी को बढ़ावा दिया है।

अंत में आप को धन्यवाद देती हूँ कि आपने बोलने का मौका दिया।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) :** माननीय सदस्यों को सूचित करना चाहता हूँ कि श्रम मंत्रालय के कार्यकरण पर चर्चा समाप्त होती है। माननीय श्रम मंत्री जी कल इस चर्चा का उत्तर देंगे। अब हम मंगलवार दिनांक 30 अप्रैल, 2002 प्रातः 11 बजे तक के लिए उठते हैं।

The House then adjourned at fifty-seven minutes past five of the clock, till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2002.