

SHRIS. KRISHNA KUMAR: I introduce the Bill.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI KANCHI PANNEERSELVAM (Chinglepattu): Hon. Chairman, Sir, I wish to say a few words on the Bill moved by Hon. Member Shri Amar Roy Pradhan for making the right to work as a fundamental right.

16.25 hrs.

YOUTH BILL*

[*English*]

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for a comprehensive policy for the development of the youth in the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for a comprehensive policy for the development of the youth in the country".

The motion was adopted

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH: I introduce the Bill.

16.25 1/2 hrs.

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL*

(*Insertion of New Article 16A*)—*Contd.*

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up further consideration of the Constitution (Amendment) Bill moved by Shri Amar Roypradhan on the 16th March, 1990.

Shri Ramashray Prasad Singh is to continue his speech. But he is absent. Now, Shri Kanci Panneer Selvam may speak.

The National Front Government held out so many assurances to the people at the time of elections without fulfilling any of them. They gave a firm promise to the people that right to work will be made a fundamental right. Three months have passed since the National Front have come to power. They have not made any provision in the budget for giving effect to this promise. I strongly condemn the Government's inaction in the matter.

Sir, unemployment is rampant in the country. A large number of families are impoverished due to unemployment. They should be provided with reasonable employment. I would like to caution the Govt. that before they incorporate the right to work as a fundamental right they should take steps to formulate employment guarantee programmes. Without these employment guarantee programmes, the people would only be knocking at the doors of courts for implementation of their fundamental right to work. This has been rightly pointed out in the budget speech of our Hon. Finance Minister.

Sir, in my constituency particularly, where the great leader Anna was born, there are thousands of people belonging to backward and scheduled castes, weavers, farmers and artisans are without any employment. I urge upon the Hon. Minister to establish a big industrial unit in Kanchipuram. You can also establish a textile export network in Kanchipuram as Kanchipuram is famous for textiles. There is also avenue for setting up of a railway workshop in Kanchipuram. Kanchipuram, Madhuranthakam, Achcharapakkam, Tiruporur and Uttaramerur are

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**Translation of the speech originally delivered in Tamil.

certain places in my constituency which are still backward. I request the Hon. Minister to provide special financial assistance for industrial development of the area.

Sir, a large number of people and unemployed youth from Tamil Nadu migrate to big cities like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta for employment. They find it extremely difficult to find shelter in these costly cities. The Municipal administration in these cities should develop special low cost housing programmes for providing shelter to these needy and poor migrant workers to avoid proliferation of slums.

Sir, when the Great leader Anna came to power in Tamil Nadu, he took several special steps to ameliorate the conditions of the poor. The task was continued by Dr. MGR when he was the Chief Minister. Schemes for distribution of free footwear, free dhoties and sarees and nutritious meals scheme are a few of such programmes aimed at uplifting the poor. Our dynamic leader Puratchi Thalaivi (Leader revolutionary) is also striving hard to assist the poor and the downtrodden. That is why the DMK Govt. which has been rejected by the people is hell bent upon physically liquidating her. They made an assault on her in the Legislative Assembly on March 25, 1989. They again tried to finish her in a car accident near Madras recently. No inquiry has so far been ordered into the incident. A day is not far for her to ascend to the position of serving the people of the State. Then the first task of her Government would be to provide employment to all in the State. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI MULLAPPALLY RAMACHANDRAN (Cannanore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to the Chair for having given me this opportunity to participate in this discussion. This discussion is timely and relevant to the present context as the present National Front Government has assured in its Election Manifesto that the right to work would be included in the fundamental rights.

The problem of the unemployment has assumed alarming proportions and this burning issue is one of the major threats which the country is facing today. As per the information available there are some 30 million youngsters who have registered their names with various Employment Exchanges in the country, half of them uneducated. In addition to this, we also have millions of youngsters who have not registered their names with the Employment Exchanges. Even in the relatively small State of Kerala, there are more than 35 lakh such youngsters, who have registered their names with the Employment Exchanges. The lofty idea of having the right to work inscribed in the Constitution as a fundamental right is attractive. It would make it obligatory also for the Government to provide employment to all the citizens or provide them with unemployment allowances or doles. Article 41 of our Constitution says and I quote:

"The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and in other cases of undeserved want."

Hence, Article 41 itself clearly outlines the responsibility of the Union that it shall provide employment to its citizens. The pertinent question before us is whether the Government was able to fulfil these lofty dreams of the Founding Fathers of our Constitution. The answer is not positive. With the second largest population in the world, our planners and administrators have failed to provide jobs to our teeming millions. So, what is required is to tackle this problem in a most scientific manner so that results could be achieved within a stipulated period. Empty slogans and fake promises will not take us to our desired goal. It will only lead to frustration and deep-rooted discontentment among the youth. Take for instance, the Government of Kerala. During the last Assembly elections, the Left Democratic Front had promised in their Manifesto that they

[Sh. Mullappally Ramachandran]

would provide employment to 10 lakhs youngsters each year. This slogan had generate high hopes in the minds of the youth in the State. However, after having completed three years in power, the Left Democratic Front has not been able to make even a humble beginning. Thus, the Left Front Government could not convince even their own cadres about the genuineness of their promises. In fact the Left Democratic Front is groping in the dark to find a solution to the problem.

Sir, what I am trying to stress is that the National Front Government also in their Election Manifesto have stated that right to work will be included in the fundamental rights of our Constitution.

The Election Manifesto of the National Front released on the eve of the elections of 1989 states and I quote:

"The National Front believes that every citizen has the right to productive and gainful work in order to live meaningfully and with dignity. The social and economic policy of the National Front will be geared to the realisation of the right to work as a fundamental right to the citizen of India."

With that end in view, it is widely reported that the National Front Government is going to introduce a legislation during the Budget Session to make the right to work a fundamental right. We all know that a fundamental right will be both enforcesable and justiciable. So, the inclusion of the right to work in the Fundamental Rights is going to be a colossal commitment on the part of the Government. I really wonder how far this Government is going to practise this. Let the hon. Minister enlighten this august House on this.

Elections may come and go. But the rulers must be sincere and honest to the electorate before making lofty promises. As I put it earlier, more than 30 million youngsters have registered their names with the

various employment exchanges. To pay them the minimum wages, irrespective of their skill, ability and qualifications, the Government will have to shell out at least Rs. 39,600 crores every year to keep its promises regarding the right to work. Can the Government afford this huge amount? I very much doubt. This will amount to 48% of the total budget expenditure of the Central Government, and 30% of the Central as well as the State Budgets together. Nearly 10% of the GNP will be eaten up to guarantee this right to work. If the Government is serious and sincere about their promises, I would like to know how the Government is going to mobilize the resources for meeting this great demand of the youngsters. The poor and the downtrodden of the country will have to pay twice the amount of the taxes that they are paying today.

Along with the 30 million registered unemployed youngsters, there are more than 20 million unregistered youngsters in our country. If the right to work is included in the Fundamental Rights, then we will have to provide employment or unemployment allowance or dole to these 50 million youngsters. For this purpose, Government of India will have to set apart another Rs. 66,000 crores. I do not know whether the Government has made any serious study of this proposition. The right to work is really the right to earn. So, the unemployed will be after the cash that they are getting out of their jobs. As such, the Government can tackle the problem in two ways: the first proposition is actually to offer a job as promised in the manifesto, and pay the minimum wages; and secondly, to pay unemployment allowance or dole and forget about the job. The latter is the kind of social security measure which developed countries have already adopted. If the Government has to offer work, there has to be some activity which can generate employment opportunities throughout the country. This is not an easy thing. I doubt whether this Government has really formulated any plan or scheme to generate more employment opportunities throughout the country. To employ one man, it would be necessary, in the least, to invest

Rs. 10,000/. If 50 million people are to be provided with employment, an investment of Rs. 50,000 crores have to be accumulated by the Government. An amount of Rs. 50,000 crores must be earmarked for this purpose. I do not know how the Government is going to raise this fund

I would also like to know whether the Government have even thought of the financial implications involved in such a gigantic scheme.

To give dole to the unemployed, will also pose great challenges to our country. The dangers of such a system have been experienced in many countries, because of the false claims made by unemployed youngsters. This will be even more visible in India where we have 90% employed in the unorganized sector. Either way, it will not be workable. Government cannot provide employment, because there is no way to invest in it. Government cannot give doles, because the cost is beyond the capacity of the Government, and the economy will not be in a position to take it.

Recently, we came across a statement by the Minister of Labour that the right to work did not mean the right to a job. What then does it mean? Let the Minister define it.

I do not wish to take much of the time of the House. I conclude by requesting the hon. Minister who is talking to his friend. Let the Minister hear me. I just conclude by requesting the hon. Minister as well as the Government to be more honest in their declarations as well as intentions. Let this not be another political and Constitutional fraud on the people of this country.

[Translation]

SHRI DEVENDRA PRASAD YADAV (Jhaujharpur): Mr. Chairman, first of all I would like to congratulate and thank hon. Member Shri Amar Roypradhan for giving us the opportunity of discussion by bringing forward this bill. This is a very important issue and discussion on it has been going on

in the House for last many days. Right to life and individual freedom to the citizens of this country has been enshrined in Article 21 of the Constitution, but Article 41 under directive principles of State policy. Here is a provision that Government would provide employment to the citizens and every citizen should get employment. This proposal was approved in the meeting of Constituent Assembly in 1946. But this is also true that provision of employment has been included in the directive principles of State policy and as such the Government is not bound to implement this provision. If we try to understand the substance of Article 21 then it becomes very clear that life has no significance without employment. Therefore right to employment is a part and parcel of right to life to provide employment to each citizen is the foremost responsibility of any welfare state, but previous Government—Congress Government—did not shoulder their foremost responsibility in a proper manner. We feel that as a result of this, disappointment of the employed youth in our country is growing day by day. Previous Government had created false hopes among the youth by raising hallow slogans like "Garibi Hatao" or "Barojari Hatao" while nothing substantial was done in this regard. I was listening very attentively the speech of hon. member of Opposition Shri Harish Rawat because this is a very important matter. When hon. Member was in power he never botqered to express sympathy for the unemployed youth. He did not take away constructive step in this regards. But now since he is sitting in the opposition, we has all of a sudden become so much worried and sympathetic for the unemployed youth Hon. Member Shri Harish Rawat has advocated for unemployment allowance also. While speaking on the bill he said that this should be provision for unemployment allowance. I read it somewhere that once China faced a severe famine. At that time some western countries said ship load of food supplies to help the famine stricken people of China. But the students and the youth, there refused to accept it by saying that they did not want any charity from any one. This is called national character. That is why, the National Front Government

[Sh. Devendra Prasad Yadav]

proposes to make right to work a fundamental right and it is going to do it with out fail. This implies that what Congress Government failed to do. National Front Government is determined to re-establish that national character. During last forty-two years, Congress Government has only contributed to making problem of unemployment even more and worse intricate and increasing the member of unemployed youth in our country. The National Front Government is not capable of performing miracles so that this wide spread problem can be solved in matter of ten days or one month only. Of course, one thing is certain that now that this Government has come into power, it will definitely solve this problem. This Government is taking initiative and adopting a well planned attitude towards reaching solution to the problem but it is not that the problem can be solved with some miracle.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today the nation is facing an alarming situation. Unemployment is the root cause of poverty. There is poverty only because we have the problem of unemployment in our country and the Government is determined to take initiative in solving the problem of unemployment. I definitely approve the bill put forward in the House by hon. Member in this regard. A number of questions including the question of increasing or decreasing the age-limit of the unemployed youth were raised. That is no so important. The important question is to include the right to work in fundamental rights. Once right to work is included in the fundamental rights, the problem of unemployment will automatically be solved because it will provide job to each youth. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I.R.D.P. was one of the many schemes started during Congress regime which aimed at "come, pay money and get it". But unfortunately all these schemes proved unsuccessful in solving the problem of unemployment. Therefore, I would like to say here that not only in North Bihar, but in entire Bihar, the vibration is that nearly eleven lakhs unemployed persons who are peasants and labourers are fleeing from their native places

to other states in search of employment. Such migration from Bihar has created problem in other states also. We are trying to rectify and modify Jawahar Rozgar Yojana started by the Congress Government. The scheme of previous Government was D.M. + P.M.- C.M = Rozgar Yojana. But we will not follow their line of action and ignore the democratic pillar of state i.e. Chief Minister. The Chief Minister will have active participation in and control over the scheme. The previous Government had removed Chief Minister from the picture as money used to reach direct to the D.M. from here which was totally wrong. And above all they talk of decentralisation. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to make it all clear that right to work can be achieved neither through unsuccessful schemes nor with some instantaneous planning or doles. Unless we change over the entire production system, we can not hope to achieve our target of ever continuing process of job-opportunities. Therefore we should change our production system altogether, then only it will prove fruitful to include right to work in the fundamental rights.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Rawat expressed some other doubts also regarding National Front Government. I feel that there should be no question of raising any doubts on the issue of including right to work in the fundamental rights. I would like to say it very clearly that unlike congress Government, National Front Government does not believe in merely waving its tongue, but on the contrary, it believes in proving though its deeds, therefore, hon. Member should not raise any doubts, National Front Government will make right to work a fundamental right and debate is going on regarding this issue all over the country. Socialists and Economists are analysing the issue in their own way. I do not want to get involved in this fuss. All the socialists and Economists of our nation have the right of put forward their arguments. Therefore, they might have their individual opinions about it. As per my views, right to work is directly related to economic system.

Therefore if the right to work is incorpo-

rated in the Constitution of India, then it would become mandatory for any Government at the Centre to formulate programmes to implement the provision. After the inclusion of right to work in the Constitution efforts will have to be made to implement schemes which would generate more employment whether it is in the field of agriculture, irrigation or any other walk of life. Some of our brethren say that it is impractical. I would like to submit that just as in a communist system no one can have right to property similarly, in a capitalist system a section of workers have to remain unemployed. No capitalist system can exist or be successful without unemployed youths. I mean to say that in capitalist system one section must be exploited in order to keep the other developed. There can be other system besides communist or capitalist system. I strongly feel that an egalitarian system would give employment to all. So if right to work has to be realised I think there is no other way except setting up an egalitarian society. Such a system would help us in realizing the dreams of Lohia and Jai Prakash Narayan and solve many other problems, of the country. This is the area which must be given priority to create more employment. Agriculture and cottage industry are the oldest occupations in this country. Barring a few exceptions we have always had priorities. The previous Congress Government divided the Nation into two-rural India that is the real India and the Urban India. The rural India is the symbol of our ancient customs and civilisation whereas the urban India is an offshoot of modern western civilization. If we wish to develop the rural India agriculture and cottage industry must be developed. The previous Government has done much for urban India and paid attention towards increasing production through heavy machines. It is true that it increased the production but it also created an army of unemployed people. They did not pay any attention to it. I would like point out the situation which was created by the previous Government. In the last 35 years the share of net production of Industry and allied services in G.N.P. had risen from 43% to 67% whereas the corresponding rise in work force was almost negligible. The contribu-

tion of agriculture and allied areas has decreased from 58% to 33%. Similarly if 72 workers were engaged for a work in 1950-51 only 69 were engaged for the same work in 1986-87. The production of Industry has risen from 15% to 28% from 1950-51 to 1986-87. The production was 27% in 1950-51 in industrial sector but the percentage of work force was the same in 1986-87 as in 1950-51. In a nutshell work force did not increase. As the production increased, unemployment too increased instead of decreasing. Hence the concept of establishing heavy machines which was a western and foreign concept increased unemployment and poverty. Therefore unemployment has to be removed. Hence I support the bill which Shri Amar Roypradhan has introduced and congratulate him for it. He has given us a chance to discuss and pass a well intentioned Bill in the House. The Objects and Reasons of the Bill clearly indicate that though the right to work is enshrined in the Directive Principles but it has not borne any results. Therefore, it must be made a fundamental right. Since this Bill fulfils this purpose, I would like to emphasise that necessary amendment be made in the Constitution and right to work be made a fundamental right.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI (Ghosi): Hon. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the Constitution Amendment Bill introduced by Shri Amar Roy Pradhan. But I am deeply disturbed by the fact that the main engagement of the ruling party Members for last three months has been criticising and condemning Congress. Will such slogans ever solve the problem of unemployment? Will the name of National Front Government work miracles and solve the problems? Has the Congress done nothing worth while during the last forty years?

We are all elected representatives of the people. We should discuss this problem seriously. The India of 1947 was a hungry, naked and pauper nation. it produced just 5 crore tonnes of foodgrains at that time whereas now it produces 17 crore tonnes of foodgrains. Could progress or agricultural development been possible without corre-

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sponding industrialisation? Could agriculture progress without a fertilizer factory or an insecticides and pesticides factory? Could there be high yield without improved seeds? Could we have produced 17 crores tonnes of foodgrains without industrialisation, fertilizer factories, power stations, factories manufacturing tractors and pump sets. The population of Undivided India that is India Pakistan and Bangladesh was 35 crores whereas today India alone has a population of 80 crores.

The area was hit by the worst drought of the century two years back, yet, not a single person died of starvation. Does not that speak of our self-reliance with regard to the production of foodgrains.

17.00 hrs.

Hon. Chairman, Sir, so far as agricultural or industrial development is concerned, India ranks eighth in the industrially developed nations. It is also a powerful agricultural country of the world. It is the third technical know-how power, fourth so far as fertilizer technology is concerned, fifth remote-sensing satellite launcher, fourth missile power and sixth atomic power of the world today. These are a few of the great achievements of the post-Independent India. So far as the problem of unemployment is concerned which is posing a great challenge to the country, we need to take firm and time-bound steps to solve it. At the time of Independence, a mere 1360 MWs of electricity was being generated which has now risen to 65,000 MWs. Our goal was of generating 22245 MWs of electricity during the Seventh Five Year Plan. We have achieved it cent per cent which is a record. The department of power does not give direct employment but generates it. Crores of people can set up small medium and other enterprises only if we make adequate arrangements for power generation in the country. This is the basic infrastructure on which the whole edifice of providing employment can be erected. If we want to provide work even on minimum

wages to the unemployed youth registered in the Employment Exchanges, we would need about Rs. 50-60 thousand crores. Can this Government, Budget or the economy bear this burden? The Government has imposed taxes worth Rs. 900 crores on Railways which would be effective from 1st May, 1990; Rs. 800-900 crores on telecommunications and several thousand crores in the shape of other taxes. This is an appropriate step and we would not oppose it because for development and nation's progress, crores of Indians will have to share and bear the burden of development. A nation can not be built by a single person or party.

In 1950, we adopted the Constitution and lit the lamp of democracy in India. India is the only developing nation where the concept and practice of democracy on the one hand and welfare state or socialist republic on the other, go hand in hand. Can you cite a single example, other than India, in Asia or Africa where democracy and socialism go hand in hand. The whole world today supports our democratic socialism. We want to create a third world which would be free of the influence of capitalism and the restrictions of communism and where the freedom of thought could be blended with the freedom of action or vocation and where democracy and socialism would be supplementary to each other. Two-third of the whole world is going to accept and adopt our political system. Communism is being thrown out and the erstwhile communist countries have conceded to the experiment of blending democracy with socialism. We neither believe in American capitalist economic system nor in communist dictatorship. We have instead decided to take recourse to nation-building through the path of democratic socialism. Not only this, the goals of industrialisation, development of agriculture and removal of unemployment can be achieved through democratic socialism alone. But mudslinging will not solve any problem. The Government now in power for the last 3-4 months has announced to write off loans upto Rs. 10,000 except in cases where people are able to repay them. Only the loans of those would be written off who are not able

to repay. But I would like to submit here that only those who have repaying capacity are given loans. Shri Ram Vilas, being Labour Minister, you can't be ignorant of the fact, that, no such person who does not have repaying capacity or cannot mortgage his land is granted loan either for construction of house or any other purpose. The Bill provides for writing off loans of only those who are unable to repay and gives no concession to those who can repay. On this basis, the Government has no other alternative but to reply on the reports and recommendations of Patwaris, Tehsildars and District Collectors for writing off the loans. This will breed corruption on a large scale. I would like to remind the hon. Minister that the sentiments of patriotism, love for nation and an earnest desire to die for one's country are the attributes that make a nation strong, a person charismatic and a society developed. Nations are not built through hollow speeches or raising slogans.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it has been stated in the Preamble of the Constitution of India that-

[English]

We, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVERIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;
and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION."

[Translation]

We have framed this Constitution. The Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in the Constitution are not justiciable. It is clearly stated in the Directive Principles of State Policy that:

[English]

"The State shall, with the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want."

[Translation]

It has been stated in the Directive Principles of State Policy that the State shall make provision for securing the right to work. I think there is hardly any constituency of the Members of Parliament where 10 to 15 thousand Junior Engineers or Doctors are not unemployed. But I have to say that in India... (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Since when they are unemployed?

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: My friend has asked since when they are unemployed, so I would like to tell that unemployment was there even before independence and it exists today also. Population Control is the main factor to solve the unemployment problem. Today our population is touching the mark of 80 crores. So long as the population growth is not checked, we cannot solve the unemployment problem whether there is

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Congress Government or the National Front Government. You may provide employment to all the unemployed but the number of unemployed will again go on multiplying. The Government should frame a population control policy on the basis of national consensus. The Government have to think over all the population control measures and all political parties have to work unitedly on the warfooting to achieve this goal. There are certain countries in the world such as Germany, France, Sweden, Norway etc., where population is not increasing. In these countries incentives are given by the Government to those people who increase the population. In developing countries like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan etc., population is increasing rapidly and if efforts are not made to check the population growth, we will not be able to solve the unemployment problem.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, who do not want to solve the unemployment problem? In 1936, the then Congress President, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru said at Lucknow that:

[English]

"The problems of India i.e. poverty and unemployment cannot be solved without the establishment of socialism. I am a socialist. I want to convert the Congress into a socialistic organisation..."

[Translation]

In 1936, Acharya Narendra Dev, Jai Prakash Narain and Achyut Patwardhan were included in the Congress working committee. Even during the freedom struggle the goal of establishing socialistic Republic was declared and after independence a resolution regarding socialistic pattern of society was brought in the Congress session at Awadi and was adopted in 1953. In 1962, the foundation of

cooperative society was laid under the leadership of Shri Kamraj. Under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi the Bank nationalisation was done and privy purses were abolished. It is all because of the Bank nationalisation that crores of youth have got employment in the banks. It was a great step towards the socialism. It is also because of the Bank nationalisation that today we see tractors and crores of pumping sets in the rural areas because this step has opened the doors of the Banks for the crores of farmers.

I would like to say one thing that on the one hand Government talks of providing jobs to the unemployment and on the other hand the Government have not yet approved the Draft of Eighth Five Year Plan which was supposed to be effective from day after tomorrow. Till now it has neither been approved by the cabinet nor it has been brought before the National Development Council. When the draft of Eighth Five Year Plan has not been prepared how the National Front Government would implement its decision to work according to planning. There should be coordination between the planning and educational Institutions such as Engineering Colleges, Medical Colleges, other colleges and Universities. We should make assessment as to how many Engineers, Doctors, Graduates and Post Graduates we would require within next five years and we should impart education according to the requirement. So long as we do not link planning with employment, we cannot succeed in our mission.

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR (Barackpore): Should the rest of the people, not be imparted education? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: Can you impart education to all of them? Take the case of West Bengal where Communist Party is in power for the last 12 years. Poverty in West Bengal is much more than other states of the

country. Therefore, we should not say anything which is not possible. (*Interruptions*) I am not saying anything irrelevant but what I am saying is the real truth. Please listen to me. I have listened to you, so you should listen to me also. The Communist Party is in power in West Bengal for the last 12 years. Therefore, I would like to ask my colleagues of Communist Party that inspite of their good intention, have they succeeded in solving the unemployment problems? I would like to say to the Labour Minister, his colleagues and to all other hon. Members of this House that in the Eighth Five Year Plan which is being finalised, more emphasis should be laid on power;

[*English*]

Power creates employment. Power does not give employment.

[*Translation*]

Power will increase agricultural production. The factories, small scale industries, medium industries and heavy industries will make significant achievements with the availability of more power. One of our friends from Bihar was saying that 90 per cent small scale industries of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are in rural areas and become sick for want of power. Handlooms and powerlooms cannot work without power. Therefore, in Eighth Five Year Plan, priority should be given to power generation. The power generation will go a long way in solving the unemployment problem.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, while welcoming the Bill brought by Shri Amar Roy Pradhan, I would like to say that if we cannot provide job to the unemployed persons, we can at least give unemployment allowance to them. If Rs. 100 is given as unemployment allowance, that would have positive effects. If we want to provide jobs to all the persons who have registered their names with Employ-

ment Exchanges, it would require Rs. 50 to 60 crores but we do not have that much provision in our Budget.

Can we solve this problem merely by discussion? Not at all. Therefore, I would say that the right to work is a good and welcome step. If the National Front Government does it, crores of people of India would be grateful to the Government. But its practical aspect has also to be examined. I am not here to criticise the good steps taken by the Government. But we cannot take concrete and time bound steps in this direction with the existing provision of the Budget. We cannot do that at any cost. Therefore, I would like to say that the land reforms should be implemented on war-footing in the rural areas. Uniform land laws should be enacted for the entire country and for this purpose land laws should be included in the concurrent list. Land reforms should be implemented on large scale all over the country. With a view to solve the unemployment problem emphasis should be laid on industrialisation, development of agriculture sector, power generation and encouragement to small and medium industries so that we may utilise the man-power of our country for the national building and national re-construction.

With these words I welcome the Bill.

[SHRI JASWANT SINGH *in the Chair*]

17.20 hrs.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR GANGWAR (Bareilly): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Bill moved by Shri Amar Roy Pradhan. Infact, this should have been done immediately after the independence. It is true, as has also been pointed out by the earlier speaker, that had such a scheme been implemented earlier in our country, we would have different Budget for the country. I would like to say that 10 to 12 per cent youth in our country are unemployed and when such a

[Sh. Santosh Kumar Gangwar]

large number of youth are unemployed, they may be tempted to take any course. Today we have five crores unemployed youth in our country and yet another equal number of youth are under employed as agricultural labourers. It is a serious problem that the country is facing. Even after the independence, we did not pay attention to this problem, due to which it now assumed an alarming proportion. I am not a supporter of communist countries, even then I would like to submit that China had more population than India, but this large population could not come in the way of solving its unemployment problem. From the very beginning our party has been supporting the idea that work should be provided to each hand. Providing work to one and all individual does not mean that money should be collected for the purpose. In 1977, the Government was changed and the Janata Party came to power. At that time, the entire country experienced a drought situation. The Government initiated development schemes which provided work to the rural labourers. I do not say that every one will get job from tomorrow. I hail from Bareilly. The IFFCO has set up a unfertilizer plant at a cost of Rs. 1000 crores there but it could not provide employment to the local people in bulk. I am not against computerisation but the prevailing circumstances in the country demand the generation of more employment opportunities. If we take this factor into consideration, only then we can tackle the problem properly and find a solution to this problem. Today crores of graduate and post graduate youth are jobless as a result of which many of the unemployed youth have adopted wrong path. It is our responsibility to provide right direction to the youth of the country and we should think accordingly. We can take the example of other countries also. Japan and Germany become independent almost at the time are got it and they were ruined more than this country but they developed at a faster rate. I have read in the

newspapers that in foreign countries, more educated people are engaged in agricultural work but in our country a graduate does not like to work in the field because he considers it a work below his dignity whereas it is just reverse in the foreign countries. Forty years ago, our country was considered to be an agricultural country and milk and ghee were available here in abundance. Everything was available in our country. Today the urban people treat villagers in a most contemptuous manner. We should immediately make beginning in this direction and provide work opportunity to the people. All rural areas should be developed and people should be encouraged for it, only then we can succeed in tackling this problem. We should have such planning in our country, only then we will realise that we are heading towards the right direction. It should be ensured that all the person in the age group of 18-45 who need employment, are provided jobs. I hope that the Government would take such decision, so the people may also realise that Government have taken right decision.

[English]

SHRI T. BASHEER (Chirayinkil): Sir, I am glad to participate in this discussion on the Bill, presented by Shri Amar Roypradhan. This Bill has been brought forward to make the right to work, a Constitutional provision. Our country is one of the largest countries so far as its population is concerned. Our population is one of the major problems facing us. Now, unemployment in the country has also become a great problem, having its alarming proportions. All the political parties and various sections in our country are very much concerned about it. It is a concern for all the people in the country. We have always been talking about the seriousness of this problem and finding out the way in which we could, at least, ease the situation in our nation. So, there is a long standing demand from the people, especially from the youngsters and the youth of this country to make this right to

work, a Constitutional right. The National Front party, in its election manifesto assured that they will do this. But, after they came to power, when the President Addressed the Parliament, there was nothing about this promise, which was made by the National Front in its manifesto. Then, there were criticism in this House that this National Front Government is going back from its promise. As you know, Sir, there were so many amendments moved by the Members of this House, especially from this side of the House, that this Government must come forward with a Bill, to fulfil the promise regarding right to work. Then, of course, in the second Address which the President has delivered at the start of the current Session, there was an assurance by the President that the Government will fulfil that promise. In the Budget also, Shri Madhu Dandavate has referred to it. It is a welcome step. But the question is how the educated unemployed people of this country are going to get the benefit. Simply putting this right to work in the Constitution will not deliver any goods. Everybody knows about it. What we are arguing or what we are voicing is the employment for all. That is our objective. That is our aim. Lakhs of youths of both rural and urban areas who have and have not registered their names with the Employment Exchanges, their dream and hope is employment and not the provision in the Constitution. Of course, that provision is a welcome step. How are you going to provide employment? What is your scheme? We have seen the Budget. There is nothing concrete or specific. There is only one proposal in the Budget and that is regarding employment guarantee scheme. It is nothing new. There were so many such schemes in the past and still we are continuing those schemes. Those schemes could not fulfil the aspirations of the people who were raising their voice for employment. So, the motivation behind this Constitutional provision is to give employment to those people who are unemployed. So, I would like to know from the Govern-

ment as the hon. Minister is here—as to what are the specific schemes that you are proposing in order to provide employment to the lakhs of people who are in search of employment for their livelihood? I am not going into the figures.

I come from Kerala. I know that Keraia is a worst sufferer of this problem. The unemployment problem is very acute in my State. The figure of unemployment is staggering at 31 lakhs. The Left Front Government is there. I am not accusing them. They came into power by giving lots of hopes to the unemployed people of the State. They assured in their Manifesto then, that they will provide employment to 10 lakh people every year. The youths were attracted by this rosy slogan and they had voted the Left Front, which is led by the Marxists, to power. Now, more than three years have passed but nothing has happened. They have not even provided ten jobs per year what to talk of 10 lakhs jobs per year. So, that is the situation. Young men and women there are very much distressed and disappointed. There Constitutional provisions will also not make any difference. Unless you find out some proposals, some schemes to provide them jobs, this is useless.

I know that there are thousand of people from Kerala working abroad. They have gone to the Middle East. The incoming remittances from the Gulf countries were once more than the annual revenues of the State Government. But now these are coming down, because the avenues there in the Middle East i.e. Gulf countries are now almost getting closed. So, there is a large exodus back home from the Gulf countries, and this influx creates serious repercussions in the economy of Kerala.

We have been raising our voice with the central Government demanding that it must come forward with schemes to rehabilitate those Indians who are coming back to the

[Sh. T Basheer]

homeland from abroad, from those countries. It is a serious problem so far as Kerala is concerned. But I am sorry that during this Session, myself and my colleagues received answers to some questions put by us, to the effect that the Central Government has rejected our state's proposal. The Minister himself was answering the question, saying that the proposals submitted by Kerala Government in this regard were actually rejected. The Central Government is trying to put the whole responsibility on the State Government. But because of its financial constraints, the State Government could not take up such projects. There was a proposal from the Kerala Government submitted to the Central Government, about a scheme for a Fund for this purpose, viz. rehabilitation of the workers coming back from the Gulf countries. But the Central Government's decision in this regard is very disappointing. The Minister concerned is here. It concerns his Ministry. I would request him to reconsider this take a positive stand on this proposal which has been given by the Kerala Government.

We know that ours is a rural economy. As correctly put by the *Rashtrapita* Mahatma Gandhi, India lives in its villages. So, the welfare of our rural folk is most important; I am not saying that the urban people are not important. We know that our economy is dependent mainly on rural people: agriculture, small industries and traditional industries. So, I would like to point out that for providing more employment, our traditional industries are of great importance.

But, unfortunately, we are neglecting our traditional industries. The result is that thousand of workers, who are engaged in those industries, are becoming jobless every year. I can cite the example of Kerala. In

Kerala, there are many traditional industries like coir, cashew, etc. They are the sources of livelihood of thousands of workers over there; they get employment in those industries. Handloom is also a traditional industry. So, these traditional industries are in doldrums, in crisis now. We are talking about providing employment; we are talking about the right to work and everything. But the problem is that, people who are employed in these industries are losing their jobs because of their neglect. It is a serious concern for all of us and it should be the concern of the Government also. How could we revitalise these industries? How could we re-start these industries so that we could provide more jobs to these people? We could protect the existing employment opportunities in that sector and provide more employment opportunities. I think that is very important so far as India is concerned.

This is connected with our educational system also. We have to re-mould our educational system. We are talking a lot about it here and there, in the House and outside the House also. But not much progress has been made in that direction. We are raising a hue and cry about vocationalisation. We should apply our mind and do something to change the system of our education to suit the needs of this country and provide more employment orientation to the educational system. That is important so far as this problem is concerned. The Government decided to put right to work in the Constitution. If you fail, for the time being, to provide employment, the Government must come forward to provide unemployment allowance to the unemployed youths. Many States are giving unemployment allowance. Since there are serious financial constraints in the States, the Central Government must come forward to provide financial assistance to the State Governments so that they can provide unemployment allowance to unemployed youths of this country.

[*Translation*]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Mr. Chairman Sir, I would like to make a submission. All of us are very eager to know whether the House will meet on Monday or not? Tuesday is already a holiday. We were expecting some announcement from the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs in this regard.

Secondly it was decided to take up the Matters under Rule 377 at 6.00 P.M. Many hon. Members are sitting here to make mention under Rule 377. Sir, if you think it proper, they may be permitted to raise matters under rule 377 first and discussion on this Bill may be resumed later on.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The matters under Rule 377 will be taken at 6.07 P.M. after the time for discussion on the Bill is over. Regarding the Monday holiday, it is under consideration and the House will be informed about it immediately after the matters under Rule 377 are over.

SHRI PREM PRADEEP (Nawada): Mr. Chairman, Sir, today we are here to discuss the Bill seeking to make Right to work as Fundamental Right. It is not a problem of any particular state but it is national problem. As many as 4.5 crores unemployed people are registered on the live registers of the Employment Exchanges in the country and almost equal number of them have not registered their names with employment exchanges. There are also 2-3 crores illiterate people having partial employment only. In all there are about 12-13 crores unemployed persons in the country.

One thing I would like to say that there are nearly 36 crores people in our country who are living below the poverty line and they are generally those people who are either unemployed or under employed on a very meagre wages. As such it is a problem

of the entire nation. If we go into the deep of the problem we shall find that idle mind is a devil workshop. As unemployed person can easily be instigated to do any thing wrong and they are doing. Whether it is a separatist movement, communal riots, dacoity, robbery or any other crimes, if we go deep into the problem we shall find that the educated unemployed people are behind it. If they are unemployed, their mind will not remain idle. They may take to a wrong path but we have to think about them. The Bill which has been brought forward to make right to work as fundamental right, though very late even then considering it as better late than never, should be given a serious thought. If we are able to provide employment to the people, many chronic problem we are facing would automatically be solved. Just now one of our colleagues was saying that a number of unemployment go on increasing. This goes with the saying that with the every dose of the medicine the disease aggravated. The disease could not be cured. The time will tell whether it can be cured or not. The National Front and particularly the Janata Dal has promised in its election manifesto that the right to work would be make a fundamental Right. The Communist Party has been including it in its election manifestoes since 1952. We have to think over it seriously. If we solve this problem, it would be a great achievement. We are not going to do anything which is not there in the constitution. It has a mention in the Preamble of our Constitution and also in the Directive Principles of State Policy. If we give practical shape to it and it in the Fundamental Rights, that would be the first steps towards the socialism. We should not worry about the size of our population China have more population than India and they have solved this problem. In China, the Communist Party came in power after a direct revolution in which many people were killed. Their social conditions were very critical but even then they developed much faster than our country. Just now one of our friends from Kerala was criticising the Gov-

[Sh. Prem Pradeep]

ernment. I would have been more happy, had he presented a comparative position of the present and previous Governments. But he has not done so. He should have compared the achievements of the previous and the present Governments.

The problem of land reforms is one of the major problems of our country. Though many land reforms laws have been enacted, but these laws have not been implemented. If we enact any law merely to make it a show piece in the Statute book and do not implement it, that would be of no use. I hail from Bihar where large number of benami land is available. Maharaja of Kursaila and other Zamindars have vast land as benami land and somehow they are still retaining their land. If that land is distributed among the tillers, they would get benefit of that land. The National Front Government have said that land belongs to the tiller. If we want to give land to the tillers we have to take the surplus land from the Zamindars.

17.52 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

The problem will not be solved by merely providing sufficient water for irrigation and more fertilizer, the land could be utilised properly if the land is given to its genuine owner. Only then these facilities would be utilised properly and country will make progress, otherwise the anti-reservation agitations against Harijans will continue. When we would not be able to provide employment to all, the struggle between backward and forward will continue and when we will be able to provide employment to all, this will not happen. It appears to us that poverty line of our country has even defeated the 'Laxman Rekha'. When Sita crossed the 'Laxman Rekha', the whole Lanka was ruined within two and half years and Ravana was killed.

Similarly, the people who are about 36 crores in number, and living below the poverty line even after 42 years of independence, will not remain submissive. At present, the capitalists and feudalists are maintaining it but the day the people living below the poverty line would revolt, the whole capitalist and feudalistic system will be shattered. Therefore we have to pay special attention towards these aspects and we have to go into the root cause of the problem. For this, I may suggest that new industries should be set up, and land reforms should be implemented so that employment opportunities could be made available to the people. If we will not be able to provide employment to all, no party would be able to run the administration of the country, but there will be a Government of the man who works day and night. He works hard but when he is so much tired that he is unable to work any more, he resorts to begging, and actually he does not have even a begging bowl made of aluminium. For how long these people will be suppressed, they are also born in this country, they are also the citizens of India, they have the same right as the other citizens enjoy. Therefore, unless this system is not changed and such legislation is not enacted, the revolution on this land cannot be stopped. Therefore, we want that the present Government which we have supported with any preconditions should initiate action in this regard. We have always given full cooperation to this Government and continue to do so in future. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH (Buxar):
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there are so many articles in the constitution but it has nowhere been mentioned that if Government does not provide employment, any unemployed youth can file a case against the Government to get employment. Even in the fundamental rights, covered under Article 12 to 36, it has nowhere been mentioned. Hon. Prime Minister proposed to add a new clause in Article 16 of the constitution so that unemployed

youth can be given guarantee of work, I support this proposal. If this right is provided whichever Government is in power, unemployed youth would have the right to file a case in the court of law, if employment is not provided to them. This proposal should have been brought much earlier. This amendment should have been brought in the constitution itself when Nehruji had mooted the concept of socialistic pattern of society, but it was not done. Today a new Government come into power, the party to which it belongs, has promised in its manifesto that they would introduce the measure and the motion was likely to be moved by this Government very soon. But Hon. Prime Minister has proposed it before hand and we got this opportunity to express our views on it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there were 50 lakh unemployed youth in the country in 1950, this was the number of educated unemployed youth and today according to official figures, there are 4 crores educated unemployed youth and it is very difficult to give number in respect of illiterate unemployed youth because our country is a very poor country. It is very backward in so far as education is concerned and such people who work in agricultural fields and barns are also unemployed. If figures of these people are also added, I feel that the number of such unemployed youth would go upto about 10-12 crores. If both the figures are added, about 15 crore people are unemployed in this country and want work. The Government have formulated many schemes for providing employment but the situation has not improved.

The Government had proposed in Seventh Five Year Plan that about 4 crore unemployed youth would be provided employment but according to my information, the Government had not been able to provide work to even 50,000 unemployed youth. Now a new Government has come into power, I cannot say what it will do but I believe that

this Government will definitely take steps to solve and eradicate the problem of unemployment. As our Prime Minister had made a statement that we cannot go back from the commitments make in our election manifesto. We will implements them. I cannot say to what extent they will be successful. In hope if this is included in the statute Book every unemployed youth would be able to get work by filing the case in the court of law even if Government may try to avoid. But some people express their fear that if right to work is included in the statute book, the exchequer of the country would be overburdened.

I want to say that there is no shortage of money in this country. There is no shortage of money after independence. But according to the figures of the Government, there are such millionaires in the country who own more than half of the wealth of the country. I feel that as Land Ceiling Act was enacted, similarly, money-ceiling Act should be enacted. By this, there will not be any shortage of money. If this legislation is enacted and Government works honestly, there will be no shortage of money. As the land of Zamindars was acquired under the Zamindari Abolition Act and Land Ceiling Act, similarly if money ceiling Act is enacted implemented to provide work to the unemployed youths, problem of unemployed youth will be solved in the country. By taking this money, incomplete works can be completed. It will also solve the problem of dependence on other and borrowing money from other countries.

According to the figures published, 3-4 months ago, there was a deposit of Rs. 13,000 crore of our country in foreign countries. In case money is brought back by prosecuting them, unemployment problem can be solved. In this way, there are so many ways by which unemployment problem can be solved. I feel that if Government wants to provide work, irrigation facilities should be provided throughout the country. It will solve

[Sh. Tej Narayan Singh]

half of the problem of unemployment. I belong to Bihar and about 4 lakh people go to Punjab and other places by Banaras Express and Punjab Mail in every season whether it is paddy season or rabi season. If sufficient irrigation facilities are provided then nobody would go to other States for work. Our colleagues of Congress Party get angry on criticising them. Just now one of our colleagues said that production of electricity has increased in our country. At the time of independence, production of electricity was 13,000 M.W. and now it is 65,000 M.W. But I want to say that this electricity has not reached the fields of the farmers and villages of the Harijans. It has gone in the temples of Tata and Birla, not to the poor and farmers. Therefore, the problem of unemployment still exist in the country. Crops of about 5 lakh farmers would not be destroyed if electricity is provided in Bihar and water is supplied to Scne canal. Farmers cannot earn their livelihood by depending on canal.

Many a person may not be knowing it. During the British rule, the English constructed a canal with the irrigation potential of about 22 lakh acres of land which was substantial to eater to the needs of the farmers of a total of 5 districts. Once a proposal to prepare the estimate cost required for the conversion of existing canal into a pacca canal was introduced in the Lok Sabha. The engineer were deputed to undertake the job and according to the estimates as prepared by them, the project was to cost a sum of Rs. 1300 crores which was big amount in those days. The report also revealed that the conversion of existing canal into a pacca-canal would add to its capacity bringing it to a total of 28 lakh acres of land as compared to the previous one of 22 lakh acres. 42 years have passed since independence and the Congress Government has, till now, spent a sum of Rs. 2-4 crores on this canal in the name of the process of

modernisation. Even that amount has been pocketed by the contractors and the canal still awaits its modernisation. Now all the ducts and the distributaries of the canal stand damaged and collapsed for want of repairs since the end of British rule in India and consequently, the farmers of 12 districts are now on the verge of starvation. Our friends claim to have achieved much when we ciriticise them, but now they are criticizing us. But I would like to say that their programmes remained packed in files alone and in case a bit of it was implemented it has benefitted the contractors. The benefits never reached the peasants and labourers for whom they were meant. It is said that millions of rupees were disbursed among the poor and weaker sections of society under various programmes but you must be aware of the fact that out of a loan amount of Rs. 5000 sanctioned to a farmer, the Bank Manager grabbed a sum of Rs. 1000 as his commission and there is no law to check him and to initiate action against such corrupt officials. In 1986, a loan of more than Rs. 50 crores was disbursed in the country but in the absence of such a law, the Bank Mangers shared an amount of Rs. 2000 out of a loan of Rs. 5000 sanctioned to a Harijan and an amount of Rs. 1000 out of Rs. 5000 sanctioned to a farmer. Thus the entire amount of subsidy released to benefit the poor farmers and the labourers did not reach them. Instead it has been pocketed by the Bank Managers and the contractors. The proposal of the canal met the same fate. The road constructed by the P.W.D. also obstructed the flow of aid to the deserving labourers. This is why the unemployment is on increase in our country. Therefore, it becomes obligatory upon us to bring forward an amendment in our constitution so as to guarantee the opportunity of work to every youth, and to enable the unemployed youth to file a suit in a court of law against the Government to claim it. Despite all such provisions being available in Bihar, no other State of the country can probably match her poverty.

Bihar is the poorest of our states and most of the people who die of starvation belong to Bihar. Figures reveal that half of Bihar's population lives below the poverty line. The Government gives their number as 65% of the total population. But the Congress Government didn't pay any attention to Bihar during the last 42 years of its rule. Bihar being the poorest state has the largest number of unemployed youth and I am sure that Janata Dal Government would take some concrete steps for Bihar. There was a factory of Dalmia in the district form where. I have been elected to represent them. Even that factory has been closed down now throwing the employed out of job. It is a no industry district and if Janata Dal Government works in a satisfactory manner and industrialises the non-industrial districts the unemployed youth of this non-industry district will be having ample opportunities of employment. I would like to say that Bihar should receive the proper attention of the Government and an amendment to that effect in the constitution may provide employment to the educated unemployment youth. While supporting this motion, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

[*English*]

18.10 hrs.

RE: CANCELLATION OF SITTING OF
LOK SABHA

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA): Sir, I have a suggestion. Tomorrow and day after are holidays and 3rd April has been declared also as a holiday. In between, on 2nd we have scheduled the sitting. Many hon. Members have requested that 2nd also be declared as a holiday so that they can go to their constituencies. If the House agrees, the Government has no objection.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Agreed.

[*Translation*]

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA (Jaipur): There is consensus on it.

[*English*]

SHRI P. UPENDRA: Then we will meet on 4th April.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think as the hon. Minister has made the statement in the House and the House has agreed, 2nd will be observed as a Parliamentary holiday.

I think we had agreed that we will work in the House for the period which is allotted for the Private Members Business, but in between some statement was made. So, I am seeking the sense of the House whether we should continue to sit here. And I think we should continue to sit. I have some names of Members with me and they would like to express their views on this important topic. So, we will continue and we will give the opportunity to the Members to express their views and later on we will take up matters under Rule 377.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): We have been waiting for this item—Matters under Rule 377. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Right to work is a very important matter and after that we will take up matters under Rule 377.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: After Matters under Rule 377 we can continue this.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You know, I think when I had made that statement in the House, some of the Members who had given notice under Rule 377 were under the impression that the matter would be taken up at Seven O' Clock. So, if we take it up now, it will

be difficult for them long list of names is there.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: But, Sir, most of the Members are here.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: A long list is there. Even if one Member is not here, it causes difficulty. Please cooperate.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Sir, most of the Members are here and the Chair has announced earlier that it will be taken up at 6.00 p.m. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When we were discussing the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, I had announced that the time taken for voting on the Constitution (Amendment) Bill will be available for the Private Members' Bill also. But later on when I left the Chair, some other announcement was made. So, I am correcting it now.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: But some of the Members may have some other business also. Sir, it will be very difficult for them to wait.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM BAHADUR SINGH (Maharajanj): We have other engagements also. There will be no sittings of the House for 2-3 days and we have also go to the far flung areas, Hence I will request you first to take up notices under Rule 377.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The issue of Right to Work is more important and then I am also here with you.

[*English*]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Sir, discussion on this Bill can continue in the next Sitting also. It is a very important Bill. But in the meanwhile you can take up matters under

Rule 377. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will continue up to Seven O' Clock.

Now, we will discuss this issue up to Seven O' Clock and the time which is in between will be the time allotted to this item.

Now, Shri Chhaviram Argal may speak.

18.14 hrs.

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL

(Insertion of New Article 16 A)

By Shri Amar Roy Pradhan—*Contd.*

[*Translation*]

SHRI CHHAVIRAM ARGAL (Morena): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I heartily welcome and support the Bill brought forward by the hon. Member, Shri Amar Roy Pradhan, which seeks the inclusion of the Right to work in the list of Fundamental Rights, Article 16 (A) of the constitution should also be amended. This is the most vital issue because person shall necessarily be entitled to the right to work. The Bhartiya Janta party in its manifesto had given a slogan, i.e. Samvidhan Men Jodo Dhara, Rozgar Adhikar Hamara a new article guaranteeing our right to work and employment be incorporated in the Constitution. With the provision of that article, we mean the provision of work for all the youth of this country. The problem of youth is a universal phenomenon. Therefore, scheme should be formulated in this regard on a priority basis and the priorities should also be determined therein. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you may see whenever there has been a change in this country, it was on account of the efforts put in by the youth and again it was youth alone who have caused the de-

back of the ruling lot, during the recent general elections, giving their place to those who earlier used to occupy the opposition benches. In case this force of the youth is not properly channelised and the right to work is not given to them, they may be deviated and led astray.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have been elected from an area, that is, District Morena, that has remained a stronghold of the dreaded dacoits and it was only for their terror that this region could not see the light of development. I would like to draw your attention to the days of 1977 when the then Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai had introduced a scheme to provide employment opportunities to all the unemployed youth. It was his "food for work" programme by dint of which he was able to provide a road link for all the villages with a population of 2000. Thus it has also provided work for the youth. Also the youth of the country can be provided with employment opportunities if agriculture is given the status of an industry. A stretch of seven and a half lakh acres of land is barren in this Chambal region. These ravines are known as Chambal which also produces dacoits as well because all the youth who are not able to get employment, turn dacoits. However, on the appeal of Lok Nayak, Jai Prakash Narayan, the dacoits surrendered and that had paved the way for development in this Chambal region. Again it has come to a pass that there is no employment opportunities for the youth of this region

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, every problem in our country, today is side tracked by terming it as a national problem. There are several such problem viz. problem of illiteracy, poverty, electricity, Housing and Pollution. But the attention of the country is diverted from the main and basic problems by terming them as national problems. I would like to say that such schemes like the one of education on the lines of vocational education should be prepared and implemented. A

number of I.T.Is should be opened up in this country to impart training in all the professional skills and trades so as to provide employment to lakhs of youth. As one of our hon. friends was just telling here in the House that there are nearly 10 crores of educated and uneducated unemployed youth, of which 3 crores are registered with the employment exchanges in this country. Besides, that there are several other uneducated persons who have no registered themselves in these exchanges. They are on the verge of starvation and the present situation demands an immediate solution to this problem. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you might be aware that it is only for want of employment that even today the unemployed are tamed as bonded labour. That is why a number of people from Bihar, Madhya Pradesh. and U.P. have deserted their houses to migrate to other areas. As regards, the gravity of the problem of unemployment, Morena is no exception. So I would like to urge upon the Government to undertake the development of Chambal ravines through a Development Authority. If that area is provided with irrigation facilities nearly 7.5 lakh acres of land can be developed thus generating employment opportunities for lakhs of people it has been our misfortune that schemes were either not drawn up properly or were not properly implemented. This deprived people of employment opportunities. One of our earlier Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri had raised the slogan of 'Jan Jawan Jai Kisan' I am not saying that there was no development during the four decades of congress rule. A number of schemes were prepared during their regime also, new technology was introduced and the acreage of land under irrigation was also increased but no such scheme was formulated the generation of employment opportunities as could provide employment for the unemployed. We have had many Five Year Plans in our country. Ideally the Eighth Five-Year Plan, which we are currently having should have been oriented towards upliftment of youth in

[Sh. Chhaviram Argal]

general and providing employment opportunities for them in particular. We may talk of moving into the 21st Century but we have never really thought of providing employment opportunities to the unemployed people in this country. After all what do we want to achieve? We could have promoted agro-based industries in the small-Scale section. We have never concentrated our efforts in that direction. Instead we are inviting multinationals like Pepsi Cola to operate in this country and it will not lead us to the generation of employment opportunities for the unemployed. If such a practice is continued it would be something unfortunation detrimental to the progress of the country.

In the recent past "Bofors" and other scandals have been hogging the headlines. The Government's invitation to multinationals has given rise to an apprehension that this may not be another Bofors-like scandal in the making. I hope that the National Front Government will not invite multinational like Pepsi Cola to operate in this country. Instead, this Government will take some concrete steps towards the provision of employment opportunities to unemployed youth. With a view to solve the problem of unemployment in this country, schemes like the self-Employment Schemes and the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana were introduced but they failed to achieve the results that were expected of them. These scheme could not be helpful for provide employment to our youth. Big industrial houses like the Tatas are producing the items like soaps, tractors and chassis for vehicles. As such the big companies and large industrial houses now have established their monopoly over the production of all such items that can be manufactured in the small-scale sector or the cottage industry sector. This monopoly must be done away with. Moreover, The principle of one man one profession should be adopted which means that a person should be allowed in

practise just one profession. It may be argued that we cannot exercise a complete check on it but we will have to draw the line somewhere. 70 of the country's big industrial houses have evaded taxes to the tune of Rs. 300 crores. I would like to submit that all the amount of tax arriars outstanding against of these companies should be realised so that this money may be utilised for the country's development. The hon. labour Minister is present here and I hope he will soon introduce a Bill which will ensure employment to the youth in this country. Unless and until schemes/plans are formulated on a priority basis it will may be possible to work for the development of this country and for providing employment opportunities to our youth. Formulating Sir, you can understand it very well that the people who have been poor and exploited for thousands of years and have not seen the light of development to this date, do not require loans. Instead they should be given equal status in society and a means of livelihood to sustain themselves.

"An empty mind is the devil's workshop" is a popular saying. If the youth do not get work, they will go astray. So the provision of employment should be treated as their right to works keeping in mind the late Shri. Lal bahadur Shastri's Slogan of 'Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan, we shall have to give agriculture the status of an industry and to develop if accordingly. Besides this, the entire stretch of follow land in the country should be distributed among the youth.

We will have to make the slogan of Samvidhan mein joro dhara, rozgar, adhikaar hamaara, come true.

I would like to thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR (Barrackpore): Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, while extending my whole-hearted support to the Bill introduced by hon. Shri Amar

Roypradhan. I would like to make only 2-3 points. Through there has been a lot of discussion on this subject today in this House. I hope the Government will formulate a scheme after considering all the pros and cons.

The Bill introduced by the hon. Member has given us an opportunity to discuss this subject. It is not the moment of solving any problems or giving some suggestions in this House.

[English]

It is a question of policy, it is a question of outlook, it is a question of philosophy.

[Translation]

I would like to make a submission that first of all the right to work should be included in the list of fundamental rights provided under the Constitution. It will make it mandatory on the part of the Government to set up new industries and introduce land reform laws. One of the benefits of it would be that plans will have to be drawn up accordingly.

I would like to urge upon the Government to bring in a piece of legislation on land reforms at the earliest and go ahead with the industrialisation. Planning, modernisation and industrialisation etc. will then take place accordingly.

[English]

The Planning must be totally upside down. Which way are we moving now? It will have to move in the reverse way.

[Translation]

The capitalists in this country will certainly try to stall the move. However a counter action from the masses will open up the new vistas of conflicting ideas. It is not a question

of merely framing a law and planning accordingly. When there is a conflict of philosophy, then to adopt it we will have to cross over the hurdles caused by reactionary elements. When a Bill for the inclusion of right to work' as a fundamental right is introduced in this House I hope none of the hon. Members will oppose it and will unanimously pass it. While formulating programmes we will have to see our socio-economic policy from different angles. This will result in a lot of debate before a final decision is taken. If no decision is taken, the poor people, the 'have-nots' will launch a movement to go ahead with their struggle.

With these words I would like to conclude my speech.

SHRI HARIBHAU SHANKAR MAHALE (Malegaon): Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, I rise to support the constitution (Amendment) Bill aimed at the removal of unemployment and enforcement of land reforms.

This Bill aims not only at the removal of employment but also at the solution of a problem of national significance.. Unemployment is a very big challenge for the country and all political parties and politicians should rise to think of a way out to face. I am glad to see that the present Government, particularly the hon. Labour Minister has started thinking in that direction and has held out an assurance to work and put in their utmost efforts for the removal of unemployment. There is definitely an urgent need to concentrate on the removal of unemployment and introduce land reforms in this country. Therefore I support this Bill.

I would request the Government to fulfill the aims and objectives of this Bill.

I again support this Bill.

SHRI RAM KRISHAN YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think

[Sh. Ram Krishan Yadav]

the decision to include the Right to Work in the list of Fundamental rights will herald the greatest and the most revolutionary socialist change. It is not merely the question of providing work to an individual and thus securing him the means to earn his livelihood; but it is a very significant step in the direction of the maintenance of a socialistic trend in our progressive Constitution as visualized the fathers of our Constitution who had desired that with the help of this Constitution it will be possible to ensure food, cloth and shelter as well as human dignity and self respect to our people in our system of Parliamentary democracy. But it is very sad that attention is being given to this after a very long time. Today the winds of change that are sweeping our country have compelled even the people of feudal and capitalistic mentality to reckon the worth of labour and today such people who used to worship such deities like Saraswati, Luxmi and Durga viz the goddesses of Learning Wealth and Valour are also thinking in this direction. According to my knowledge there is no god or goddess of Work or Labour who are worshipped by the people belonging to any religion in India. Today it is a matter of great happiness that people of capitalist ideology and feudalistic ideology are thinking in terms of labour. But I would urge that we should keep in mind the priorities of the labour force also. Today there is a great paradox in the System of our country. On the one side we don't get labourers to work in the fields in the villages and to perform other jobs and on the other hand, an army of lakhs and crores of unemployed people is on the streets. Therefore we will have to bring about a revolutionary change in the priorities of labour. People are not ready to perform physical labour in the villages. Educated men are running towards cities, they want the job of a clerk or a white collar job, they want to lead their lives without performing any physical labour. So until the people recognise the value of physi-

cal labour, no basic change is going to take place. Therefore, we should value most the physical labour and hold all these in high regards who perform it. But it is the greatest misfortune of our people that the people who work in the agriculture fields enjoy scant respect and they are looked down upon by the people and that is why people detest from physical labour. I think that the maximum scope for work is in our agriculture fields, but as it is not a paying proposition, people are running away from agriculture. I think if the agriculture can be made profitable and respect is given to all those who work in agriculture fields and perform physical labour, a great problem which this country of ours is facing today can be solved. On the other hand we should try not to value much such people who don't want to perform physical labour but want to have a clerk's job instead, just to enjoy the sitting comfortably in offices. And respect should be given to those who perform physical labour. The land should be taken out of the possession of all those who don't want to work in their fields and it should be distributed among those who want to work in fields but don't have their own piece of land. Until such laws are made, no other law can prove to be of much use. So the land should be provided to those who are willing to till it and it should be taken away from all those who don't want to work on it. Work can be provided to a large number of people by the way of cottage industries. In the same way employment can be provided to many more people by following the policy of one man one job only. Only this policy can ensure the well being of the people of this country. Today there are so many wealthy people in our country who have everything - land, job and big industries also- and on the other hand there are such people also who have no means to earn their livelihood. Therefore, the Policy of one man one job should be adopted so that unemployment can be wiped out. I will conclude with this last point of mine. No purpose will be served by just including the right to work in the list of

fundamental rights. If a poor person does not get a job, he cannot knock the doors of the courts to seek justice for want of adequate finances. Therefore, there should be some such provision by which poor people can get justice and work even without going to the courts. The problem of unemployment is not the problem of an individual alone. Instead it concerns the entire country. To achieve that end it is necessary that the right to work is included in the list of fundamental rights.

With these words I would like to express my gratitude to you for giving me an opportunity to speak and conclude.

18.41 hrs.

RULES COMMITTEE

First Report

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under Sub Rule (1) of Rule 331 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, the First Report (Hindi and English Versions) of the Rules Committee.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: With the leave of the House the report is laid on the Table of the House.

*[Translation]

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL*—
CONTD.

(Insertion of New Article 16 A)—By Shri
Amar Roy Pradhan

SHRI GOVINDA CHANDRA MUNDA
(Keonjhar): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I rise to

speaking a few words in favour of the Constitution Amendment Bill moved by Hon. Member Shri Amar Roy Pradhan. This Bill is for insertion of Article 16 A i. e. Right to work in our Constitution. The unemployment problem is one of the biggest challenges which our country is facing today. Though our unemployed youths are facing problems they are not able to go to Court. Perhaps my friend Shri Pradhan thinks that by having this right to work as a Fundamental Right, anybody can go to Court if he is not given employment. Though the right to work is mentioned in the Directive Principles of our Constitution, but it remained outside the purview of the law. Perhaps this led the Hon. Member, Shri Pradhan to bring forward the Constitution Amendment BILL. But I doubt whether Govt. will be able to tackle the unemployment problem even if the Bill is passed. Because many legislations were enacted in the past seeking to achieve some objectives. But those objectives were not achieved. The previous Govt. have given so many assurances to the people. They launched several schemes like NREP, RLEGP and IRDP etc. The aim of these schemes were to provide some work or the other to the rural people. A huge amount of money were earmarked for implementing these schemes. But the money was spent on generating employment. The rural people could not derive the benefit which they were expecting to get under those schemes. The middle men and the employees who were in charge of implementing these programmes played mischief. The funds were misappropriated. The party in power did not take much interest to check the misappropriation. The Ministers turned a deaf ear to the complaints made by the people. As a result of which the unemployment problem could not be solved in the rural areas.

Sir, the unemployment problem cannot be solved unless we plug the loopholes in our planning process. Our Planning process is defective. When Five Years plans were drafted the real problem of the people were not properly identified. Therefore Five years plans are completed one after another. But

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Oriya.

[Sh. Govinda Chandra Munda]

each five year plan left behind a huge backlog of unemployment. So our Planning need to be reviewed. We have to identify the root of the problems. We have to rectify the defect of our planning process. When we discuss the subject connected with the rural areas in the House we express our concern for the growing unemployment in the country. The previous Congress Govt. raised slogans after slogans. They promised that they would remove poverty. But the poverty of the people continues. We say that more than 50% of the people of our country are below the poverty line. But what have you done to remove poverty. In this context, I would like to say about Orissa. Sir, Orissa is a poor State Majority of the population in my State is living below the poverty line. We have to provide them employment. How can we do so? We have to identify the backward areas. We have to set up major industries which will generate large scale employment in those areas. For example, I come from Keonjhar district of Orissa. It is a backward district. The people are reeling under dire poverty due to growing unemployment. There was a proposal to set up the second steel plant of Orissa in my district. The infrastructure facilities needed for the steel plant like land, water labour and raw-materials are available in plenty. There has been an inordinate delay in the establishment of that steel plant. If the proposed second steel plant is set up, it will provide employment to a majority of the unemployed people in my district. Therefore I would like to request to the Honourable Minister through you that the proposed second steel plant of Orissa should be set up in my district without any further delay.

Lastly I would like to make a request to the Honourable Member Shri Amar Roy Pradhan to withdraw his Bill. Because our National Front Government had mentioned in its Election Manifesto to make Right to work as our Fundamental Rights. The Hon. Prime Minister has also made this promise to our people. The Honourable Labour Minister has also laid stress on this point

time and again. The Govt. Bill is going to be brought before the House. Then, where is the need of passing the Private Member Bill seeking insertion of a new Article i. e. Right to work? But, I support the Bill and I welcome it as it has been moved by Shri Pradhan with a noble intention. However I once again request Shri Pradhan to withdraw this Bill and conclude my speech.

SHRI HET RAM (Sirsa): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Bill, which seeks to provide for the right to work to our youth; but this Bill should have come from the Government and in fact it is a sad state of affairs that it has come as a private Member's Bill. Just now in the House the hon. Members belonging to the Opposition were speaking of the progress this country has made during the last 42 years in various fields viz. the production of foodgrain has increased to 17 crore tonnes and also in the field of power generation the country has made appreciable stride and so also the progress has been made in all other fields. But today the living conditions in the hilly and tribal areas of our country speak of the primitive stages of life the tribes of these areas are living because to this date we find them following the elephants in the hope that when ever the group of elephants reaches a rock of salt, they will also be able to get it. So there are people of primitive castes who still fight for kerosene oil and salt. No effort has been made for their education or to construct roads in these areas to provide them an excess to the outer world. While on the other hand there are people who enjoy the facilities of air services. Thus there is a contradiction between the two as the tribal areas have witnessed a lop sided development. One section of people owns 25-30 storeyed Five Star hotels while the others do not have even a roof on their heads. In order to make the Right to work a reality we will have to follow the path of Gandhian doctrines. Nehru has failed here. All the industries which have been established are capital intensive and not the labour intensive. Take the case of Jamshedpur. In that area, Tata, Telco and Tisco mills have established there units after displacing the Munda tribals. Moreover the

local people are not being given employment in these mills whereas the opportunities are open for the outsiders. It shows that big industries have given to the poor nothing but humiliation and poverty. They did not get house to live in. No roads have been constructed for their convenience. Their children have to go without schools for their education. You may impose any amount of tax on the rich but it does not affect them because the range of their daily income is somewhere between 3 to 5 lakhs a day. On one side, there is the poorest of the poor in India, whose per capita income is mere rupees 1.25. With that meagre amount, Government of India and Janata Dal intends to remove poverty and provide jobs to the people of this country.

The only effective way of creating employment for everyone is the one suggested by Mahatma Gandhi. We should try to preserve our traditional skills by providing all the facilities and proper wages to such artisans. Once you oust Bata and Liberty from India, the traditional craft of shoe-making of ancient India will be revived.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please be brief and to the point.

[Translation]

SHRI HET RAM: I am just enumerating the factors which have been responsible for the increasing incidence of unemployment. We have established very big factories and as a consequence thereof our artisans and craftsmen are starving today. We have very expert mechanics known as Sikligars with us who know all the technique of making all the modern and most sophisticated weapons. But whenever we require weapons, we import them from other countries. We do not make of use Indian technicians and technology. Konark temple has proved that our country had gone far ahead in the field of making sophisticated instruments of iron even in ancient times. But we are making no efforts at all to develop our own technology by

taking inspiration from Konark temple. Instead, we are importing technology from America. The poor artisans have neither the facility of electricity and resources nor the ready capital with them to make proper use of their traditional skill and above all, their paying capacity is almost nil. As at present our level of Poverty is increasing, independence is endangered and the poor is becoming poorer day by day.

I welcome and support the bill introduced by hon. Amar Roy Pradhan and would like to request the hon. Members to pass this bill at the earliest so that atleast a law can be enacted for the welfare of those young people outside the House in whom we have raised very high hopes. This law will help them a lot in continuing their struggle to get jobs. With that hope, I conclude and thank you all.

MINISTER OF LABOUR AND WELFARE (SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I convey my thanks to all the hon. Members and especially our new colleague Shri Amar Roy Pradhan for bringing such an important subject to the notice of the Government and by raising this issue in the House. I was listening with rapt attention to the views expressed by all hon. Members. There can not be any two opinion about the fact that this bill has been supported here by Members of both the sides. Not only this, they have also referred to the articles of constitution. Framers of the constitution had envisaged that after a period of ten years of our independence, all the children of this country will be having equal opportunities for education and every individual will be provided with employment in our country and such an atmosphere will be created which will be conducive for the development of this country. Just now our friends were saying that undoubtedly our country has made progress but at the same time we have gone far ahead in the matter of unemployment. Figures speak for themselves because in 1951, there were only 3.20 lakhs names on the live registers of Employment exchanges, but this figure had gone up as high as 328 lakhs in 1989 which indicates that nearly 300

[Sh. Ram Vilas Paswan]

lakh people have added to the earlier figure and it again means that an increase of 100% has taken place. This is really a very horrible situation for the country. Whether it is article 39 'A', 40 or 41 of the constitution, under the chapter of "directive principles of the state policy", the constitution provides for the right to work and right to live. But at the same time, article 37 of the Constitution says that these provisions shall not be enforceable by any court. It has been so laid down in the chapter directive principles of state policy. Hon Member Shri Amar Roy Pradhan has demanded that it should be included in the fundamental rights. As per the provisions of article 32 'A' anyone who does not get employment may seek the intervention of the court. We have also very clearly put it in the Election manifesto of National Front that we will add the right to work to the list of a fundamental rights in the constitution. If you go through the address of the Hon. President, there also you will find that it clearly states that such a provision will be made. Apart from this, he has also explained it in detail as to what kind of economic policy should be followed and how it should be taken up. There is no confusion in this regard. All of us know that right to work does not mean right to job. I understand that it will not be possible for any Government in the present circumstances to commit that it will provide job to everybody. It is just impossible. However we can form some policies so as to enable us to say that no one will be left without a work for him in India and every such person who is ready to work will get an opportunity for the same. We can definitely make such provisions. We are already framing some and the Planning Commission is giving it a very serious thought. Different ministries are also discussing the pros and cons of it and a cabinet Sub Committee has already been constituted. However we want to prepare such a social base and bring about such modifications in our economic policy so that we are capable of saying that not even a single individual will be remain unemployed. In that context, you must have observed that we have proposed to spend

50% our budget estimates on rural development. Rural development implies that there will be an around development of rural areas which will give rise to new horizons of employment, whether it is construction of new roads, or bringing about an improvement in the irrigation facilities or some other developmental activity. One of my friend has expressed his deep concern over the fact that only big industries are being which provide employment only to handful of people and even prior to that, a larger number is being added to the list of unemployed. We can generate more employment by promoting cottage industries, small scale industries or agro-based industries. This has been mentioned by a number of our friends. And we also do not have any hesitation to say that all the powers and wealth have concentrated in the hands of a few families. They have land in their possession, and also the Government job in hand and thus they enjoy all the comforts of life. On the other side, there are poor people who are not even able to meet their basic requirements. In other words, these are the people who have to work without a right whereas on the contrary there are other people who enjoy all the rights with no work for them. We have to alter this situation. Just now one of our hon. friends was saying that suppose a person owns twenty thousand acres of land. A single person with such a vast stretch of land cannot cultivate it singlehandedly and consequently that land is bound to be rendered unfertile, or it becomes less productive as compared to a piece of land which is cultivated by its owner. It is something undesirable that a single individual has more than hundred jobs and the other one has to go without it. It means that there has been some or the other drawback in our economic system or policies which is causing a rapid increase in the number of unemployed. We have stated that matters relating to the land will be included in ninth schedule of the constitution and it will definitely provide the poor farmers with a piece of land which will enable him to earn his livelihood. But unfortunately there are lakhs of poor who own land only on papers but actually they do not enjoy any right over that land. It is not so that

resourceful land owners are capable of approaching courts and the poor is afraid of going to the courts. If any poor farmer somehow manages to go to the court, then the very system of our judiciary prolongs the process of justice. As a result, the poor farmer is denied this due. Our Government has decided and we have also promised that all the laws pertaining to the land reforms will be put under ninth schedule of constitution so that landlords may not approach courts and the poor may get his due. We are paying full attention to our rural economy. In this country, there are persons who have hundreds of licenses, quotas and permits in their name while on the other hand, a poor and educated youth having all the necessary qualifications does not have any work in hand although he badly needs it. Therefore, in view of all these things we want to take all the strict measures in all our seriousness and with good intentions in this regard. In order to solve the problem of unemployment, we shall have to take certain concrete measures. On behalf of the Government I would like to assure you that we are taking up the problem of unemployment very seriously. We all agree on it that in case we are able to solve the problem of unemployment, 90% problems of our country, will be automatically solved. It is a general saying that an idle mind is devil's workshop. Therefore each individual should have some or the other type of constructive work to do. I would like to assure you that the issue including "the right to work" in the list of fundamental rights in the constitution is under the active consideration of the Government. However as regards the fulfilment of promises we have made to the people of this country, we will not wait till the expiry of our term of five years. Instead, we will go ahead step by step towards the achievement of our goal. Although, this is a little bit difficult and complicated but still we hope that with the active cooperation of this House and the people of this country with all our good intentions and efforts for a noble cause, we will be certainly able to solve this problem. Therefore, I would like to request the hon. Prime Minister not to press this issue any more and withdraw it at the moment because it is under the consid-

eration of the Government since it had promised to add the right to work to the list of fundamental rights in the constitution. Next time when we come forward with a bill, we definitely take care of your sentiments.

A HON. MEMBER: Will that Bill be brought in the current session itself?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: It is not so. We have already had enough of discussion on it. However the question of holding public debate as well as national debate on this issue, still remains. 'What and how all these things should be done' is still under the active consideration of the Government. Thanks.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If the House agrees, let us extend the sitting the house today until submissions under Rule 377 are made. That would cover the time required for the present Bill also.

MANY HON. MEMBERS: The House will sit till the submissions under Rule 377 are made.

SHRISATYAGOPAL MISRA: (Tamluk): We may continue discussion on this Bill next time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: In that case, the other Members will lose their right.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Behar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, first of all, I would like to congratulate all the Members, whether from this side or that side, who have taken part in this debate. Particularly, I would like to thank them because there was not a single Member who opposed the Bill. But it is a fact, that though some friends from the Congress (I) did not oppose it directly, but somehow they raised some questions, by which they wanted to say that this Bill should not have come up at this juncture. The Hon. Member, Shri Faleiro, who is not at all in favour of this Bill, cautioned that Government not go in for such a populist measure

[Sh. Amar Roypradhan]

like right to work. He raised a number of questions, e. g. where from will the money will come, where is the infrastructure to give work to all the unemployed youths and soon. He also raised the question as to whether the cart will be purchased first or the horse. After all it is not horse-riding. The horse will pull the cart, and so we should think of both the horse and the cart. Just now one hon. Member explained how the number has gone from 3 lakhs to over 3 crores. So many slogans were made like...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Pradhan, you should reply only to the points which the Minister has made, and not make a regular speech.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: (Cooch Behar): Sir, you have said it so many times that it is an important debate.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I know. I will discuss this issue separately with you because there are many complications. I will give you important points because I have studied it in detail. You have a right to reply to the points which are raised by him.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: My Congress friends will say...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Don't go into these details. We are sitting for a pretty long time. Please reply to the fresh points which he has made and don't make a regular speech.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: Sir, you have been in the house for a long time. He has raised so many points. They said that they are committed to a socialistic pattern of society, to programmes like 'Garibi Hatao' NREP, RLEGP and so on. Forty two years is not a small time. Many a time he has said that during all these years we have taken up so many programmes. Shri Harish Rawat said that slogan of socialistic pattern of society was raised by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. But I would like to ask, what is the fate of that ?

You have not been able to solve the unemployment problem. What is the result of your 'Garibi Hatao' programme which was launched by the hon Prime Minister ? What is the fate of NREP and RLEGP? My friend from Orissa rightly asked as to what is the fate of Madan Pandey and Dasgupta Report. Do you know the pitiful condition of the agricultural workers? They are not getting a regular job. They are getting only Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per day, after working for more than 8 hours. In a year, they get only about 50 days work. The Minister has assured us that a comprehensive Bill with regard to right to work, will come very soon. He said that it was under active consideration of Government. What is this "active consideration?" The Government officials only know what is the fact of the active consideration, we don't know. We have only one scope and that is we can only ask the latest position from the hon. Minister. Every time, he will say that "the matter is under active consideration." Active consideration means nothing. So, it would have been if the hon. Minister could have assured us that he will bring forward a comprehensive Bill in this Session itself. In the meanwhile, they can do some job.

Now comes a point regarding ban on recruitments. As far as lifting of ban on recruitment is concerned, we don't need any comprehensive Bill. You also say that overtime should be stopped. You can do that. you can withdrawn even ESMA also you see the condition of unemployed youths. Their condition is beyond imagination. At least, you see to it that the fees which you are charging for the examination, that should not be there. Whether it is Rs. 10 or it is Re. 1/-you should not charge anything.

So, these steps should be taken up soon I hope, the hon. Minister will take up into consideration all these things. Anyway, he has given us an assurance that he will come up with a Bill for this purpose. I hope such a Bill comes up before this House very soon.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Are you withdrawing?

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: Yes. I beg to move for leave to withdraw the Bill, further to amend the Constitution of India.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to withdraw the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India."

The Motion was adopted

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: I withdraw the Bill.

19.13 hrs.

MATTERS UNDER RULE 377

[English]

(i) Need to take steps to desalt and develop Chilka lake

SHRI GOPINATH GAJAPATHI (Berhampur): It is a matter of serious concern that the fate of Asia's largest inland lake, Chilka is in jeopardy. The lake has shrunk from 1,165 square kms. to 916 square kms. due to heavy siltation, decreasing salinity and spreading of weeds. Now the channel to the bay of Bengal is clogged, restricting the flow of sea water. The thick layer of the dead weeds and silt on the lake bed, have turned Chilka shallow and its waters marshy.

Chilka is an excellent breeding ground for millions of local and migratory birds. With the first nip of winter, the migrants begin their spectacular descent on this lake. They sweep across the high mountains, from as far away as Siberia. The lake with its vast expanse of blue waters and its picturesque islands, is a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. But this joy will be short-lived, if the lake is not desilted and developed soon.

The people of Orissa are much concerned for Chilka's survival. A Master Plan has been prepared for its development. This however, has not been implemented due to the constraint of resources. As Chilka occupies a prominent place in the tourist map of India, I request the Government to bear the entire cost of the Master Plan and save this nature's marvel from extinction.

[Translation]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Harish Rawat.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): I would like to make a small request. Under Rule 377, hon. Members raise very important issues pertaining to their respective areas. Matters raised under Rule 377 are given coverage in the programmes 'Parliament News' and 'Sansad Samiksha' broadcast from A.I.R. and Doordarshan. As the matters under Rule 377 have been taken up late, they might not get coverage in today's programmes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think that they are noting them and coverage will be given in today's 'Parliament News.'

(ii) Need to develop roads passing through hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh as National Highways

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the condition of roads in the hilly areas is very miserable, as a result of which promotion of tourism is not taking place at desired pace. Although hilly area in U.P. is bigger in size than entire Himachal Pradesh, yet there is no national highway in the area. The condition of roads maintained by the Border Road Organisation is also very deplorable.

Therefore, I urge upon the Government to declare (1) Moradabad-Ramnagar-Almora-Badrinath motorable road, (2) Bareilly-Tanakpur-Pithoragarh-Tawaghat motorable road and (3) Saharanpur-