

over especially in the textile and jute sector. I also told you that Rs. 25,000 crores invested in monopoly houses of these eleven people as I mentioned, should be nationalised.

With this I request the Hon. House that my Resolution may be unanimously accepted.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I shall now put the Amendment moved by Shri Mool Chand Daga to the vote of the House.

Amendment was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"This House expresses its deep concern over the increasing incidence of industrial sickness and consequent developing crisis in industry, which is resulting in lay-offs, lock-outs and closures affecting millions of workers and employees and resolves that the Government do take urgent and appropriate steps to remedy the situation."

The Motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION RE: UNEMPLOYMENT

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now we go to the next Resolution. Mr. T.S. Negi, you may move it.

श्री टी. एस. नेगी (टिहरी गढ़वाल) : सभापति महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :-

यह सभा देश में बढ़ती हुई बेरोजगारी पर चिन्ता व्यक्त करती है और सरकार से आग्रह करती है कि वह निम्नलिखित कार्यों को करने के लिए बेरोजगार व्यक्तियों की भूमि सेना का निर्माण करने हेतु तुरन्त कार्यवाही करे—

(क) बड़ी नदियों के तल गहरे करने का कार्य ;

(ख) हिमालय क्षेत्र सहित समूचे देश में वनरोपण कार्यक्रम इस प्रकार चलाना कि भूमि का कम से कम एक-तिहाई भाग वन प्रदेश हो ;

(ग) व्यापक भूमि संरक्षण कार्यक्रम;

(घ) देश की बड़ी नदियों को दूसरी नदियों के साथ मिलाना; तथा सिफारिश करती है कि सरकार को सभी बेरोजगार व्यक्तियों को कम से कम 100 रुपये प्रति मास बेरोजगारी भत्ते के रूप में देने चाहिए ।

श्रीमन्, आज हमारे देश में बेरोजगारी की समस्या बहुत भयंकर हो चुकी है। हम यह नहीं कह सकते कि कितने बेरोजगार नौजवान प्रति दिन खुदकशी कर रहे हैं और कितने लोगों ने बेकारी के कारण गलत धंधा करना शुरू कर दिया है। ये सब बातें बहुत चिन्ता का विषय है।

भारत वर्ष में आबादी का औसत घनत्व लगभग 375 प्रति-वर्ग मील है। किन्तु यहां पर घनत्व से, ताल-मेल बिठाते हुए औद्योगीकरण नहीं किया गया है। रूस, जर्मनी अमरीका और ब्रिटेन आदि मुल्कों की तरह मशीनों को अपना कर मानव-श्रम की उपेक्षा की गई है। हमारे मुल्क में जो प्लानिंग हुआ है, वह मानव-श्रम को दृष्टि में रख कर नहीं किया गया है, बल्कि सिर्फ करेन्सी के आधार पर प्लानिंग किया गया है और उसमें देश के मजदूरों, कार्य करने वालों, को नजर-अंदाज किया गया है। हमारा देश एक खेती-प्रधान देश है; परन्तु फिर भी गांवों की तरफ सरकार का ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं गया है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में कितने बेरोजगार हैं, उनकी क्या समस्याएं हैं; इस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है और उनकी समस्याएं बरकरार बनी हुई हैं।

हमारे देश में शुरू से ही कच्चा माल विदेशों को भेजा गया है, जिसका उद्देश्य

सिर्फ यह रहा है कि हम लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा विदेशी मुद्रा मिले, भले ही हमारे लोग भूख से मरें। विदेशी मुद्रा अर्जित करने के लिए कच्चा माल देश से बाहर भेजा जाता रहा है और मानव श्रम के उपयोग की बात सोची तक नहीं गई है।

मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। जब हम 1947 में आजाद हुए, तो उस समय हमारे देश में इस्पात का उत्पादन 14 लाख टन प्रतिवर्ष था और जब चीन 1949 में कम्युनिस्ट बना, तब वहाँ पर इस्पात उत्पादन 11 लाख टन प्रतिवर्ष था। लेकिन 1956-57 में भारत का इस्पात का उत्पादन 70 लाख टन प्रति-वर्ष हुआ, जबकि चीन ने 150 लाख टन इस्पात अपने देश में पैदा किया। चीन ने मानव-श्रम का उपयोग किया। यदि हम भी ऐसा करते, तो हमारा उत्पादन भी बढ़ता और बेरोजगारी घटती। लेकिन हमने ऐसा नहीं किया। जब भी सरकार की तरफ से बयान आते हैं, तो सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि विरोध पक्ष के लोग सहयोग नहीं करते हैं। कैसे सहयोग करें? क्या चाहती है सरकार? माननीय बहुगुणा जी ने एक सवाल रखा था जो इस प्रकार है:—

“Whether government will fully involve opposition groups in planning at the initial stages in overall national interest.”

इसका जवाब सरकार क्या देती है, पहले नहीं पूछेंगे जब प्लानिंग कमीशन बना देगा तब पार्लियामेंट को इन्वाल्ब करना चाहेंगे।

“Parliament will be involved in the finalisation of the 7th plan.”

जब प्लान बन जाता है तो सरकार जो चाहती है बहुमत के बल पर वही होता है।

प्लानिंग क्यों सक्सेसफुल नहीं होती? इसलिए कि सरकार पक्ष की नीति देखी गयी

कि याद प्लान ठीक चल रहा है आगे बढ़ रहे होंगे तो बीच में 20 पॉइंट प्रोग्राम आ जायगा, नया मोड़ आ जाएगा। और 20 पॉइंट प्रोग्राम में कुछ काम चालू हो गया तो नया 20 पॉइंट प्रोग्राम आ जाएगा। लगता है प्लानिंग कमीशन 20 पॉइंट प्रोग्राम के लिए बन गया। अगर देश के विरोध पक्ष को शुरू में ही इन्वाल्ब किया जाता तो अच्छा प्लान बन सकता था और देश आगे बढ़ता। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हो रहा है।

श्रम शक्ति का उपयोग कैसे होता है वह मैं बताता हूँ; हमारे पौड़ी गढ़वाल के चौद-रोट में 1950 में एक बलाक में 50, 60 मील लम्बी सड़क गांव के लोगों ने बनायी, सरकार ने कोई मदद नहीं दी। और टेहरी डैम में जो डैम की सड़क बन रही है चम्बा के घरालू के लिए जो पैसा उसके लिए सरकार ने निर्धारित किया था उससे 70 लाख रु० ज्यादा खर्च हो गया, लेकिन सड़क पर मोटर गाड़ी नहीं चल रही है; क्योंकि सड़क पूरी तरह बनी ही नहीं। तो करन्सी के ऊपर बनी प्लान असफल ही होगी। 4, 5 वर्ष पहले वह सड़क बननी शुरू हुई और आज बोर्ड लग गया कि पैसे की कमी के कारण सड़क का निर्माण कार्य बन्द है।

आंकड़े सब गलत होते हैं। क्योंकि जो आंकड़े प्लानिंग कमीशन में आते हैं। वह ब्लाकों से आते हैं। जब हमने ब्लाक वालों से पूछा कि आंकड़े कैसे देते हो जबकि मौके पर कोई कार्य नहीं दिखता तो वह कहते हैं कि हमें ऊपर से कहा जाता है कि ऐसे आंकड़े बना कर लाओ। जब गलत आंकड़े आयेंगे तो प्लान कैसे सही बनेगा? नीचे से फर्जी आंकड़े आते हैं। उदाहरण देता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जो पेड़ लगाने के लिए गढ़े खोदे गये हैं; असम्बली में एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि अगर हम इन गढ़ों को कैलकुलेट करें तो

विधान सभा का हाल भी गढ़े में है। पूरा उत्तर प्रदेश गढ़े में है। लेकिन पेड़ कहीं दिखाई नहीं देते। यह प्लान है। जितने आंकड़े यहां आये हैं और रेडियो पर बताये जाते हैं अगर वह सब बातें सही होती तो देश स्वर्ग होता। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है।

पहाड़ में हम यही देखते हैं। जितना पैसा प्लानिंग के अन्दर निर्माण हेतु अलग स्टेट से जिलों तथा ब्लाकों को दिया जाता है उसमें से 60, 70 परसेन्ट तो ऊपर से नीचे तक खाया जाता है। केवल 20, 30 परसेन्ट ही लोगों के काम आता है। इस प्रकार पांच योजनाओं में सिर्फ एक योजना अभी तक पूरी हुई है। और छठी अब चल रही है। चार योजनाओं का पैसा तो दिल्ली में ब्लैक मार्केटियर्स, बड़े बड़े अफसरों और नेताओं के पास खजाने में जमा है और जिम जगह के लिए पैसा रखा गया वह आज भी बुरी हालत में है, यह गांवों का हाल है। आंकड़े जो दिये गये हैं उनके आधार पर हम आपको बताते हैं कि 1980 में आबादी 65.95 करोड़ हो गई और लेबर फोर्स 25.1 करोड़ हो गया। 1985 तक लेबर फोर्स 30.2 करोड़ हो जायेगा। इसके लिए रोजगार की क्या व्यवस्था होगी यह तो कहीं नजर नहीं आता है।

छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना में अकेले साइंस और टेक्नोलौजी पर 3369 करोड़ खर्च किए जायेंगे। ऐसी व्यवस्था है लेकिन 1982 में 5 लाख टेक्निकल ग्रेजुएट्स बेरोजगार थे। जब इन टेक्निकल ग्रेजुएट्स को ही सरकार रोजगार नहीं दे सकती है तो बी ए और एम ए पास किए हुए लोगों की क्या दशा होगी—इसका अनुमान आप स्वयं लगा सकते हैं। इसी प्रकार से आप देखें कि 1978 में 3.75 मिलियन पढ़े-लिखे लोग बेरोजगार थे जो कि 1985 तक बढ़कर 4.6 मिलियन हो जायेंगे। इसमें बताया गया है कि छठे प्लान में 34.771 मिलियन लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा। अब कितने लोगों की बेरोजगारी हल

होती है इसको हम आगे देखेंगे लेकिन हमें तो कोई आशा नहीं है कि कुछ हो सकेगा अगर यही हालत चलती रही।

जहां तक एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज का सम्बन्ध है, सारे देश में वह खुले हुए हैं। कितने लोग उनमें अपना नाम दर्ज करवाते हैं और कितने दर्ज नहीं करवाते हैं—इसके कोई भी आंकड़े आपके पास नहीं हैं। मैं समझता हूँ जितने भी लोग बेरोजगार हों उनके लिए कंपलसरी किया जाए कि वे जाकर एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंजेज में अपना नाम दर्ज करवायें। आज नेशनल सैम्पल सर्वे के द्वारा दी गई बेरोजगारों की संख्या के आधार पर सरकार काम कर रही है जबकि सरकार के पास अपनी मशीनरी है, ग्राम सभायें हैं, ब्लाक्स हैं, जिला परिषदें हैं उनका ईस्तेमाल बेरोजगारों की संख्या जानने के लिए कर सकती है। ग्राम सभायें आपको इसके आंकड़े दे सकती हैं लेकिन आप उनका कोई उपयोग नहीं करना चाहते। सरकार नेशनल सैम्पल सर्वे के गलत-सलत आंकड़ों के आधार पर निश्चित करती है कि देश में कितने लोग बेरोजगार हैं। मैं समझता हूँ गाँव के लोगों को इस काम में इन्वाल्व करना चाहिए। 1983 तक 20,199 मिलियन पढ़े-लिखे लोग बेरोजगार होंगे—यह आपका अनुमान है। मेरा निवेदन है कि सभी बेरोजगार लोगों को अपने नाम वहां पर दर्ज करवाते चाहिए ताकि देश और सरकार के सामने सही पिक्चर आ सके। 1981 तक 90.18 मिलियन लोग मैट्रीकुलेट या उससे ऊपर पढ़े लिखे बेरोजगार थे और 1.72 मिलियन लोगों को रोजी मिली। मैट्रीकुलेट से नीचे जो कम पढ़े-लिखे बेरोजगार लोग हैं उनकी संख्या 88.20 मिलियन थी जिनमें से 3.33 मिलियन को नौकरी मिली। जहां तक नौकरी का सवाल है वह भी उसी को मिल पाती है जिसके पास पैसा है। चपरासी या बाबू बनने के लिए भी 5, 10 और 20 हजार तक देना पड़ता है।

एक बात मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आजकल तो यह हालत हो गई है, यदि कोई पैसा नहीं देगा तो उसकी नौकरी नहीं मिलेगी। मंत्री महोदय भी यदि सिफारिश करेंगे तो नौकरी नहीं मिलेगी। यहीं दिल्ली में एन डी एम. सी. में ऐसी घटना हुई है। यहां पर जिन लोगों को बैंच पद पर नियुक्त किया गया है, उनसे बीस हजार रुपए लिये गये हैं। बैंकों में भी यही स्थिति है। वहां पर दस बीस तीस हजार रुपए देने पड़ते हैं, तब जाकर उनको नौकरी मिलती है। सरकार का शायद कोई ही विभाग ऐसा होगा जहां पर बगैर पैसे से किसी को रोजगार मिलता हो। ऐसी भयंकर स्थिति इस मुल्क के अन्दर है। जब हमारी सरकार ऐसी स्थिति को देख रही है, तो हम यही समझेंगे कि यह सब काम सरकार की मिलीभगत से हो रहा है। जिनके पास पैसे नहीं हैं, तो क्या वह चोरी करेगा, डाका डालेगा या कहां से रुपये घूस देने के लिए लायेंगे, इसलिए वे लोग बेरोजगार घूम रहे हैं। गांवों में भी यही हालत है। जिनके पास ब्लैक मनी है, जिनके घूस के पैसे हैं, कमीशन की मनी है, वे लोग तो पैसे की परवाह नहीं करते हैं। इनके लड़के और लड़की रिश्तेदार या इनके जान-पहचान के लोगों को नौकरी मिल जाती है और बाकी लोगों की कोई सुनने वाला नहीं है। जैसे विरोधी पक्ष के लोग हैं, नौकरी के लिए कोई रास्ता दिखायी नहीं देता है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज की भी यही हालत है। पूरे देश में एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज नहीं हैं। सिक्किम में नहीं है, अरुणाचल प्रदेश में नहीं है, मेरी दृष्टि में इसकी जवाबदेह केन्द्रीय सरकार है।

एक बात मैं सरकार से यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पांच-पांच और छः-छः साल से लोग कंज्युअल लेबर के रूप में काम करते हैं, टैम्पोरेरी काम करते हैं,

लेकिन उनको रेगुलर नहीं किया जाता है। मेरी दृष्टि में यह पॉलिसी भी गलत है। मैं मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो दो महीने की नौकरी कर लेता है, उसको परमानेंट न करना सरकार के लिए अशोभनीय है। सरकार उन लोगों को नौकरी पर रखना चाहिए। एक तरफ तो बेरोजगारी को खत्म करने की बात की जाती है और दूसरी तरफ ऐसे लोगों को नौकरी से निकाल दिया जाता है। कहीं-कहीं ऐसा भी होता है कि बीच में एक दिन की छुट्टी देकर फिर नौकरी पर रख लिया जाता है। मैं सरकार से यह भी पूछना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है ?

मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को एक परिवार में एक व्यक्ति को रोजगार देने की नीति बनानी चाहिए। इसकी व्यवस्था यदि प्लानिंग कमीशन नहीं कर सकता है, तो हम किससे उम्मीद करेंगे। देखने में यह आ रहा है कि एक-एक घर में पांच पांच, छः-छः, सात-सात लोग नौकरी करते हैं। यदि कोई इस दुनिया में आने वाला भी है, तो शायद उसका नाम भी लिस्ट में दर्ज हो जाता है। लेकिन गांव के लोग आदमी को नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। एक गांव नहीं, बहुत से गांवों में ऐसी स्थिति है। सरकार को कम से कम-फैमिलि एक नौकरी मिलने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए।

जहां तक प्राइवेट सेक्टर और पब्लिक सेक्टर का सवाल है, प्राइवेट सेक्टर में 1972 से 1976 तक 18 हजार लोगों को नौकरी दी गई, जबकि पब्लिक सेक्टर में 18.75 लाख लोगों को नौकरी दी गई। प्राइवेट सेक्टर पब्लिक सेक्टर से बहुत ज्यादा रुपए कमा रहा है, लेकिन पब्लिक सेक्टर के मुकाबले कम लोगों को नौकरी पर रखता है। मुझे निवेदन यह करना है कि जब प्राइवेट सेक्टर को पांच छः सौ करोड़ का फायदा है, तो उसको ज्यादा लोगों को नौकरी पर

रखना चाहिए। नौकरी उनके पास नहीं है और न कोई साधन है। अगर सरकार उन को अपने अंदर ले ले तो इससे समस्या का कुछ समाधान हो सकता है।

20 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम की बात सुनिये। यह गांव-गांव में रूलिंग पार्टी के प्रचार का साधन बन गया है, इससे कोई फायदा नहीं हो रहा है। मैं अभी हाल में देहरादून गया था वहां उत्तर प्रदेश के वित्त मंत्री कैम्प कराते हैं, जो कांग्रेस पार्टी की ओर से लगाया जाता है और कहा जाता है कि जो कैम्प में जायगा उसको लोन मिलेगा। यह पार्टी प्रोपेगण्डे के अलावा कुछ नहीं है। मेरा निवेदन है कि प्लानिंग कमीशन एक स्टेचूटरी इण्डिपेन्डेंट बाडी होनी चाहिए। जब तक यह इण्डिपेन्डेंट नहीं होती, तब तक जो भी पावर में आयेगा इस का इस्तेमाल अपने मतलब के लिए करेगा। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने 20 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम के लिए कह दिया-बस उसको मान लिया गया और कह दिया गया कि इतना रुपया रायबरेली के लिए खर्च हो जाना चाहिए। अभी गमियों में उत्तर-प्रदेश के इरिगेशन के चेयरमैन मुझे मसूरी में मिले थे। मैंने उनसे कहा कि यहाँ तो इरिगेशन का काम बिलकुल चौपट है, नहरें बनी हैं लेकिन लोगों को पानी नहीं मिलता है, दूसरी तरफ आप उनसे लगान वसूल कर रहे हैं। वह कहते हैं—हमने राय बरेली में ढाई करोड़ रुपया मांगा और वह वहाँ खर्च हो गया लेकिन काम कहीं दिखाई नहीं दिया...

सभापति महोदय : नेगी जी, आपका जो मोशन है वह बहुत अच्छा है, इस में लोन, कन्जर्वेशन प्रोग्राम, नदियां; बहुत सी अच्छी बातें हैं लेकिन आप का बोलने का टाइम तो खत्म हो रहा है, आप कहीं से कहीं चले गये।

श्री टी. एस. नेगी : मैं यही निवेदन कर रहा था कि वहाँ रुपया खर्च हो गया। जब चेयरमैन साहब इंजीनियर की शिकायत के लिए मंत्री के पास गए तो मंत्री जी ने उनका तबादला कर दिया।

अब फूड-फार-बर्क के काम को देखिए—कहा जा रहा है कि इस योजना के तहत बड़ा काम हो रहा है, लाखों आदमियों को रोजगार दिया जा रहा है। राय बरेली में 15 लाख आदमी अगर सही मायनों में काम करते तो 1 माह में काम हो सकता था, लेकिन कागजों पर एक माह में काम हो गया, वहाँ लेबर दिखलाई नहीं दी। इस तरह से धन का दुरुपयोग हो रहा है।

अब मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम किस तरह से काम करें जिससे हमारा प्लान ठीक ढंग से चले और हम सब को राहत मिले। मेरा सबसे पहला निवेदन यह है कि हमारा प्लान ग्राम पंचायत के स्तर से चालू हो, जहाँ प्लान बनाते समय यह देखा जाय कि वहाँ क्या पैदावार होती है, क्या खनिज पदार्थ उपलब्ध हैं और कितने बेरोजगार हैं। किस ढंग से उनको एडजस्ट किया जाय जिस से उनका भला हो सके।

वन-मित्र; वायु-मित्र, श्रम-मित्र, वन संपदा, खनिज पदार्थ बाढ़ नियन्त्रण—इन कामों को प्रायोरिटी दी जानी चाहिए। नदियों का पेटा गहरा करना चाहिए, नहरों का जाल बिछाया जाना चाहिए। कच्चा माल पक्का बनाकर विदेशों को भेजा जाना चाहिए ताकि उनमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को रोजगार मिल सके। छोटे उद्योगों पर ज्यादा जोर देना चाहिए—साबुन—तेल—जैसे लघु उद्योगों पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा जोर देना चाहिए जिससे ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को रोजगार मिल सके। यह जो देश में पांच-तारा संस्कृति चल रही है, जिस पर करोड़ों रुपये खर्च हो रहे हैं,

वह रुपया पीने का पानी मुहिया करने के लिए डायवर्ट किया जाना चाहिए। पाँच-तारा संस्कृति को बिलकुल समाप्त करना चाहिए।

भू सेना का गठन किया जाना चाहिये, जिस तरह की सेना चीन और दूसरे देशों में बनाई गई है, ताकि लाखों लोग उसमें काम कर सकें। शिक्षा नीति में परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है, वह ऐसी हो जिसके द्वारा लोगों को रोजगार मिल सके। दोहरी शिक्षा प्रणाली बन्द की जानी चाहिए। बड़े-बड़े लोगों के पब्लिक स्कूलों में पढ़ने जाते हैं और गरीब के लिए टाट-पट्टी भी उपलब्ध नहीं है — यह भेदभाव समाप्त होना चाहिए। शिक्षा ऐसी हो जो रोजगार से सम्बन्धित हो। लड़के 5-10 साल पढ़ें और उसके बाद किसी न किसी रोजगार में लग जायें। ऐसी शिक्षा होनी चाहिए।

मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो बेरोजगार हैं जब तक उनको कोई काम नहीं मिलता सरकार की ओर से कम से कम 100 रुपये प्रति मास बेरोजगार भत्ते के रूप में दिए जाने चाहिए। यदि हम ऐसी व्यवस्था कर सकें तब देश की जनता को कुछ लाभ हो सकेगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने संकल्प को प्रस्तुत करता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

“That this House expresses its concern over the growing unemployment in the country and urges upon the Government to take immediate steps to raise a land army of unemployed persons to take up—

(a) the work of deepening the riverbeds of major rivers;

(b) the afforestation programme throughout the country including Himalayan region in such a way as to cover atleast one-third part of the land;

(c) extensive land conservation programmes;

(d) linking of major rivers of the country;

and recommends that Government should pay an unemployment allowance of at least Rs. 100/- per month to all unemployed persons.”

There is an amendment by Shri Moolchand Daga, but he is not present. Now, Mr. Sudhir Giri may speak.

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI (Contai) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Resolution moved by Shri Negi is of great importance in the sense that the problem of unemployment in the country is very acute. Only the unemployed people can feel the pinch of unemployment. Those who are employed and those whose need for employment is not there, would not feel the pinch and the unemployed persons alone will feel it. Therefore, the unemployment problem is very acute in the country and it deserves the wholehearted attention on the part of the Government for its solution.

What are the causes of unemployment? As far as I understand, the means of production are owned by a few people and outside its periphery remain the bulk of the masses, that is, large masses. The owners of the means of production are definitely running after profit. They only want to increase their capital, they only want to subserve their own petty interests of building up huge capital and nothing else. Whenever they speak for the welfare of the people of this country, I think they merely do it and we can call it a mockery and nothing else. Therefore, I think the huge problem of unemployment can be solved if the economic policy of the country is changed. But in our country unfortunately the Government

has been pursuing a capitalist way of development and we know from various countries that under the capitalist system unemployment will be on the increase. No capitalist system of development has ever solved the problem of unemployment. Only the socialist system of development has solved this problem.

Sir, the Chinese Constitution and the Constitution of the Soviet Union have guaranteed the right to work to every citizen. This implies that whenever a person capable of working remains unemployed or remains without any work he has the right to go to the court for his unemployment allowance so long as he does not get employment any where. Sir, in the socialist system of society I have already named two countries and there are other socialist countries also and in the Constitutions of these countries the right to work has been guaranteed, but in our Constitution right to work has not been guaranteed, rather it is denied. Whenever the youth forums of this country or the youth organisations of this country have been demanding the inclusion of this right to work in our Constitution, they are denied of this right and they are denied through different means.

In the capitalist system of development, the owner is having profit motive and tries to exploit the worker. To meet this end, he gives a small amount as wages to the workers. He gives a small amount of money towards the cost of raw material. That is why he wants to bring down the cost of Production. On the other hand he creates artificial scarcity in the market. The price of the articles produced is also increased. In this way the margin of Profit becomes higher and the capitalists build up their empire.

In this system the workers cannot get wages necessary for them to lead a comfortable life. Not only that, their purchasing power is too much low. That is why they cannot create a suitable market inside the country.

Our Government is trying to export goods and our industries are becoming

export-oriented. Without emphasising the fact of creating market in our own country, they are laying stress on the export. This is, no doubt, a weakness of our economy. Exports should be made in order to meet the foreign exchange gap to maintain trade balance. But at the same time we should also look to the welfare of our own people. With this way of building up a capitalist way of development, they are creating unemployment problem.

In 1981 Shrimati Indira Gandhi gave the promise to the people of India that in every house one will get employment during the tenure of five years from 1980-85. But till now such a promise has been belied.

The Prime Minister on the 15th August, 1983 declared from the Red Fort that Government will provide Rs. 25,000/- to a young educated man. The amount comes to Rs 20,000/ per young man if the Government is really intending to give employment to every young man in the country. But only Rs. 100 crores have been provided in this Budget and some amount has been sought for in the Supplementary Budget also. This amount will definitely not provide employment to every young educated man. That is why I say this unemployment problem will remain if the Government in power pursues the capitalist way of development. That is why I suggest to the Government that the total economic policy must be changed. Otherwise whatever tall talks have been made here and there in the public meetings. The unemployment problem cannot be solved.

I have some suggestions because I know that this Government will not definitely follow the socialist path of development. So long as they do not follow these paths, I suggest that there should be an unemployment fund. This should be administered by the Central Government and in this fund contributions would be made by the Central Government as well as the State Governments and the Union Territories. Out of this fund, unemployment allowances can be made available to those who are unemployed and the rate of unemployment allowance should be commensurate with the fair living of a young man who is unemployed.

Sir, my friend, Shri Negi has pointed out that whenever we go for employment, we have to give money. Without money, there is no employment. This is a complaint made by Shri Negi. It is a fact. Now, how shall we curb this tendency because only these people who have money can get employment? But those who have no money, who have already sold out their land even though they are educated to some extent are not finding job any where. In this way, a very strong work-force exists in the country and this working force is on the verge of rebellion. If the government does not take suitable steps, I think, the working force which has been thrown outside the employment scope or outside the employment periphery would definitely take such steps as Naxalites did take. And the only way we adopt is to accuse the Naxalites or those who want some employment are accused on various grounds.

My second point is that employments are provided only to some youngmen who are giving money. I would therefore suggest that all employment should be made through the employment exchanges—be it in the private firm or organisation or in the public sector undertakings or in the Government. All employment should be made through employment exchanges. I would request the hon. Minister to take note of this suggestion.

My third point is, so long as all the unemployed youngmen are not provided with job, let us change the policy. I know that they will not adopt the socialist policy. At least, the land reforms policy must be adopted by the Government. Because if the land reforms are resorted to, then a vast army of unemployed youngmen living in the rural areas would be in a position to cultivate the land if the land could be provided with suitable irrigation facilities. In that case, they would not come to the cities and towns in search of job. Therefore, I urge upon the Government to resort to land reform policies and these land reform policies should be total. Without land reform policies, the Government cannot solve the unemployment problem.

Towards the solution of unemployment problem in the country, the Government has

been giving some token amount of money, to the extent of Rs. 25,000 to some young men. This will create chaos, because those young men will take the money but they will not be in a position to implement the schemes that they are submitting, because whatever they produce in the countryside, in the rural areas, for that, there is the dearth of prospective purchasers there. Therefore, I think, without changing the economic policy, the Government cannot solve the unemployment problem.

The Government has come forward with an assurance to the people that they will provide jobs to the people. The Minister of Labour is here. I simply put a question to him as to how they are going to solve the unemployment problem and what course of action they have taken. Only some figures will not do. In West Bengal, the number of unemployed youngmen is the largest in the country. There are some reasons as to why West Bengal is the problem-ridden State. Crores of refugees have come across the border and they have not yet been settled there. Sir, you come from Orissa. You know how your educated boys are groaning under the problem of unemployment, how they have been pressing upon you for solving the unemployment problem. You know it very well. My State also is the problem-ridden State. There is no doubt about it.

When I come to Delhi, in 1980, I found that whenever some young boys came here, they got employment in some small factories. They got only Rs. 250 or Rs. 300 per month. That problem could be solved. But now the boys coming from West Bengal and Orissa are not getting jobs in Delhi even in small factories. The problem has become very acute. So, it is the problem of the whole Government. The labour Minister alone will not solve the problem. It may be that he has been entrusted with this job. But if the Government does not change its policy, the unemployment problem cannot be solved. I would, therefore, urge upon the Government that they should come forward with a suitable proposal as to how they intend to solve the problem of unemployment.

I am repeating my suggestions again. There should be an unemployment fund to which contributions can be made by the Central Government and by the State Governments: on the basis to be determined by representatives of the Central Government, the State Governments and the Union territories.

My second suggestion is that all appointments must be compulsorily made through the Employment Exchanges. Without going to the Employment Exchanges, no private firm, no public undertaking, no Government organisation, should recruit any person.

My third suggestion is that total land reforms policy must be adopted by the Government and it is a policy of the whole Government. It is not the policy of the Department of labour only.

Therefore, I urge upon the Government to accept my suggestions and go forwards the solution of the problem of unemployment.

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR (Hamirpur) : Sir, the Resolution which is under discussion in the House has some very valid points and some good suggestions. It tries to tackle the unemployment problem and to suggest some solutions.

There is no doubt the unemployment problem is the gravest problem that the country is facing today. The number of unemployed young men and women in the country is increasing every year not in arithmetic progression but in geometrical progression. Every family is affected by it and there is discontent in every family.

There are a few causes which have led the country to this type of situation.

One of the factors responsible for this is that our educational system has led to the isolation and uprooting of the educated young men and women from the native milieu. A farmer's son, after graduation, does not like to work on the farm. He does not like to work on it. Similarly, the artisan's son also runs after a white collared job. All the traditional crafts are being neglected

and given a go by and the people are moving on and shifting to white collar jobs in the cities from their traditional occupations. This has also led to some kind of exodus from the rural areas into the urban areas and the urban areas are becoming centres of discontent, agitation, restlessness and hence a solution to this grave problem should be found out by the Government.

While, on the one hand, we are afraid of the denudation of the upper Himalayan ranges by the disappearance of forests, we are also equally concerned, down below, with the problem of floods. Therefore, the Resolution rightly suggests that afforestation programme should be undertaken.

Recently the Government has decided upon the setting up of task forces of ex-service men for this particular purpose and that is a very good step in the right direction. If you examine the condition of forests—I would invite your attention to some of the reports prepared by the Agriculture Commission—you would find that gradually in every Plan, the area under the green cover has been shrinking. When the Plan begins, the green cover is at a certain level and when the Plan ends, generally the green cover has been receding.

Therefore, some such situation which is alarming is developing and we belong to the hill ranges and hilly States. We fear because of this, not only the hill States are suffering but also the plains are suffering and hence this Plan for doing something to check soil erosion because the valuable and alluvial soil is being washed away from the hills and is going down into the sea causing floods in the plains and depriving our bills of the rich soil for cultivation.

In my own State, for example, the Government has been suggesting some very big projects like the Shivalik project, the Swan Channelisation Project in Una district and the Dhola Dhoola Dhar (Himalayan) Project.

Now they are in the process of consideration by the Government and in case Government is serious, not only will the unemployment problem be solved to some

extent but the valuable wealth of the country also would be saved. To add to that, the general atmosphere would also be benefited in the sense that the ecological balance would be restored.

Now the position today is that the upper ranges of the Himalayas are without trees. The lure for commercial utilisation of the forests has led to many unhealthy practices among the contractors and timber merchants and the people of that type who have under one pretext or another, managed to sell the valuable timber by cutting the trees in the forest in a legal or illegal manner and got the spoils and become richer. This has to be stopped and an afforestation programme has to be launched all along the Himalayan belt from Kashmir to Kohima. When we reduce the area under cultivation, let us say, when one-third of the area of the State of Himachal Pradesh or the U.P. hill areas or other hill States, is to be brought under green cover, then some matching contribution from the Central Government is required because the people have to be persuaded that they will not stand to lose by allowing a portion of their land, the land in the upper reaches, to be covered under forests for national benefit, they will have to be assured of what they are getting in return.

Our experience has been that most of the dams have been constructed in our State, and the people have been uprooted. But these people have not been treated fairly by the people of the places where they were to be settled or the States which are the beneficiary States. I refer to Himachal Pradesh. The people have been settled in Rajasthan, the people have been brought to Haryana and to certain parts of Punjab, but these States have treated them like outsiders. In Haryana, even the Petitions Committee of the last Lok Sabha noted that they have not been given even the ownership rights on the land allotted to them after they had lost their lands under the rising tides of the Govindsagar lake consequent upon the construction of Bhakra Dam, with the result that they are unable to get loan from the banks. Even in Rajasthan people have to run from pillar to post and they are not allowed to settle at one

point, they are driven from one point to another, they are scattered all over, they cannot have any political representation, they cannot have any cluster around which they can settle; their cultural entity is endangered. Therefore, when we construct dams and bring certain parts of the country under green cover, especially the mountain ranges, we have to see that the people who are put to a disadvantage on account of national programmes or national priorities are not allowed to suffer. The people who are rich are growing richer. Punjab and Haryana have benefited at the cost of Himachal Pradesh because they have got good water. But the Bhakra Beas Management Board is asking for Rs. 21 for every cusec of water that we would like to utilise from Govindsagar lake on the plea that this is water which is allowed to remain in Himachal Pradesh because the dam has been constructed. The water, even otherwise, was flowing through the territory of Himachal Pradesh. At long last, Himachal Pradesh has been accepted as a partner State by the Beas Management Board. But think of the miserable life to which the people have been subjected by being uprooted from their native milieu, by their houses being submerged, by the roads and bridges being submerged; they have not been compensated suitably. Therefore, wherever any programme of national reconstruction in order to solve the unemployment problem or to check soil erosion or to promote afforestation, has to be launched, all these things must be taken into account. Because what happens is that the project comes up, the beneficiaries get the benefit and the people who are ousted are left in a cursed state.

Then I come to soil conservation programme. Every State which is having some sort of a concern for soil conservation should find a good response from the Central Government, and the soil conservation programme should be launched by the Central Government in collaboration with the States. Because, the States with their meagre resources, cannot raise all these check dams or big dams for every streamlet which is ultimately the cause for all this erosion.

Some people can be employed there also. To add to this, various other programmes for the eradication of unemployment have to be supported and implemented with full vigour. I do not agree with the suggestion made by my friend who was speaking prior to me that this scheme of giving Rs. 25,000 as loan for unemployed matriculates between the age of 18 and 35 would end in chaos. No, Sir. Rather we should try to see that this becomes a success because, for the first time, an ample amount of money is being offered by the banks. This is the programme that is available for the age group of 18 to 35, for the people who are matriculates. Let them come forward because the guarantee money is initially contained in this Rs. 25,000. Now, what is required is marketing facilities. These should be provided to them for whatever benefits that may be. This is another dimension that should be looked into. The programme in itself is a very good programme. It is sure to eradicate unemployment. You can give a start. What is more important about this programme is that for the first time, it changes the focus from seeking employment in Government, in a private sector or in an industrial unit to another point, that is, to stand on one's own feet. If a young man is able to utilise this money and is able to stand on his own feet or to set up a small unit or use it in any worthwhile activity, he is able to check himself from running into corridors of Employment Exchanges and, for getting employment they have to enter or a long queue and wait for pretty long time. This is one such programme and similar other programmes can also be thought of. For example, I made a suggestion. We have spent a lot of money for what is called the Adult Education Programme. On this a huge amount is being spent. What is happening is that young unemployed graduates or unemployed trained teachers who are still reaming on the road are not utilised. They have the talent. There is a trained pool available. We can first put them into the Adult Education Programme so that the programmes will improve in quality, in content and, ultimately, provide employment whenever their regular turn comes, they could be pushed into the schools.

Lastly, I want to take one other point. I want to commend the new scheme of

what called PEXEM. This is preparing the ex-servicemen for employment. This is a very good scheme which has been launched in some States and, in one of the districts of Himachal Pradesh also it has been launched. Some ex-servicemen are to be prepared. After they come out of armed forces, they need employment. They get some training etc. They are to be given Rs. 3,000 as loan immediately. After the training is complete they require stipend for six months. I want the Government to extend this programme for all the districts immediately, especially, to these districts where ex-servicemen are there. These young men after 15 years of service in the army come out at a relatively very young age and they are unable to find any avenue of employment—againful employment.

So, Sir, the spirit of the Resolution is very laudable and I suggest to the Ministry to examine it critically and to think of such other method to implement this. You can extend it to any extent so that the programme can be launched therefore eradicating the total unemployment from the country. With these words, I request the Ministry to add whatever is lacking in this and to make the programmes which are to be launched by Government under the various schemes such as PEXEM, N.R.E.P. etc. success by putting in more vigour and zeal in them.

PROF. RUP CHAND PAL (Hooghly) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I will be very brief. As has already been said by previous speakers, it goes with out saying that unemployment is a serious problem facing the whole nation. I have no illusion that the unemployment problem can be solved by this Government. Unemployment can not be solved in our country unless those who are rulling to-day are made unemployed by being removed from the Government. A new sadical change can be brought about only by a new leadership with new values.

I say this because, in the system in which we are living in, unemployment is inevitable as has been seen in history, as you look to the capitalist world.

Sir, I don't want to take much time. I will just confine myself to two or three factors only.

My first point is, rural employment. In a country like ours, rural unemployment, that is, unemployment among the rural people, is rampant. It is, a matter of grave concern for every one of us. For 7 months in the year, agricultural labour and landless labour do not have any work. Now the 'National Rural Employment Programme, has been announced by the Government in place of the earlier programme, what was known as the 'food-for-work programme. On this occasion I can tell you, I can tell this House, of our experience. It has been admitted by Central agencies and other agencies that they could create millions of mandays through, that 'Food-for-work, programme, They could also create some durable asset. It was changed to 'National Rural Employment Programme. There have been reviews made regarding the utilisation by states of the allocation of funds given by the Centre. It is seen from that review that states like Bihar, West Bengal and many other States could not even utilise the money because they did not have ample resources to find the matching amount.

Secondly, if you compare the 'Food-for-work programme, with the 'National Rural Employment programme' you will see that the food component has been limited to such an extent by the Central Government that, in spite of the best wishes and the sincerest attempts made by the State Government, the National Rural Employment Programme could not be made so successful. It could not create mandays and find jobs for the unemployed and Rural people. A new programme has been announced recently. You may give it a new name, special IRDP or any other name. But from our experience we find that all these programme are not properly coordinated. It has not been scientifically thought-out, it has many loopholes. We think that it is bound to fail as the earlier programmes have failed. You have come with another programme—the self—employment programme for the educated unemployed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. Your time is over.

PROF. RUP CHAND PAL : Rs. 25,000 would be provided by the banks. 25% of the amount will be given as subsidy only after the money has been returned back. Sir, my experience is this. Regarding the additional employment programme and the earlier programmes and the role of banks for generating employment, we find, it has been to some extent, only doling out of money... Reports are coming that money is being taken, and they are being told by interested people that they will not have to return the money.

Secondly, where is the market ? The money could have been given to workers' co-operatives and others. These amounts would have proved fruitful, otherwise what is going to be the fate of these people. We have no illusion. These are all election stunts with an eye on the coming elections. All these are indications that elections are round the corner, because whenever elections are round the corner, such pronouncements are made. We would very much like that in spite of class limitations, in spite of limitations of the system, and in spite of the capital philosophy they are advocating, if anything can be done, that can be done only by sincere efforts. We have a good Minister and he can do a lot. I would earnestly appeal to him to take some sincere steps to ameliorate the sufferings of the unemployed people, and for that purpose, I support the suggestions already made by Shri Sudhir Giri, and the mover of the resolution, hon. Shri Negi.

SHRI UTTAM RATHODI (Hingoli) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset I must congratulate the mover of this resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You may please continue your speech next time.