

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

withdraw the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India.

MR CHAIRMAN The question is

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

The motion was adopted

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH I withdraw the Bill

UNEMPLOYMENT ALLOWANCE BILL

SHRI K LAKKAPPA (Tumkur)
Sir I beg to move*

"That the Bill to provide for compulsory payment of allowance to all unemployed persons in the country be taken into consideration"

Sir the Bill is one of the historic Bills. It is a most important Bill which is now under consideration. Of course facilities for drafting the Bill in a more scientific manner were not available from the Secretariat, but still I have drafted it in a lucid manner. I hope the dynamic Minister Shri Ravindra Varma would bring forward a Bill on the same lines. The basic object of this Bill is to provide allowance to the educated unemployed. There are doctors, engineers, diploma holders who are unemployed. They should be paid each an allowance of Rs. 150 per month. I want that this allowance should be increased till such time they remain unemployed or start their own business. The number of unemployed persons must be on the increase. I have stated that more than 20,000 doctors, engineers and diploma holders are there in the country. Half a million job scheme was announced with high sounding words by the government. It has not fulfilled the aspirations and

desires of the unemployed people of this country. So this Bill is inevitable, if the government wants to establish egalitarian society.

In reply to a recent question of mine on unemployment my hon. friend Shri Ravindra Varma has not given the correct picture of the situation in the country. He has given a sort of promise. But this country is not prepared to listen to the promises of the government. Government must understand the explosive and alarming situation in the country. It can lead to any situation any time, it can blow off the present government if they do not take it seriously. The Prime Minister got up and gave a reply saying I am not for unemployment doles. Some states in the country want to give social security to unemployed people. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra had brought forward a scheme. In Karnataka we had a scheme that if the income of a particular family or a person is below 3000-5000 rupees an unemployment doles and facilities should be given to that person. I cannot understand the helplessness of the present government. I do not know what is the philosophy. I am not satisfied with the answer given by Moraji Desai the Prime Minister of this country. I do not know how the younger generation of unemployed people, teachers or doctors or diploma holders, literate and illiterate can agree with that statement. The Prime Minister said that it was the philosophy of the Janata Party government to abolish unemployment within ten years. Mr. Fernandes says we are considering providing opportunities in cottage industries and other things. Our Charan Singh has got beautiful philosophy and economic policy. He has written a book. He mentions Mahatma Gandhi. I do not know how it is relevant for him. He says Gandhian blueprint. I do not know what it is that he envisages for this country. The hungry

*Moved with the recommendation of the President

and angry nation of youths is on a war path. He wants to establish his own society, kulak society. It is his philosophy. The Janata Party President says that 10 years is small time to meet the challenge; he requires another 5 years, that is fifteen years. That is 15 years, 5 years, 10 years, that is 25 years. This is the thinking and philosophy of the Janata Party Government.

Whenever we asked, the Government of India has not been able to give even the correct statistics in this regard. From the various Employment Exchanges that are functioning, it has not been able to find out the number of unemployed Graduates, Literates, illiterates, diploma-holders, Engineers and Doctors. Every time we have put a question, I think they have come out with this answer: "The live registers are not maintained. The Government is conscious of the seriousness of the unemployment problem and proposes to follow an employment-oriented strategy in which primacy will be given to the development of agriculture, agro-industries, small and cottage industries." With these words, they want us to be satisfied. Is there any strategy worked out by the Government in the last one year? Nothing has been done. Recently, the Planning Commission came out with a statement that they are not for doles to unemployed persons. Then what is the strategy—Rolling Plan? Can the Rolling Plan go on rolling? Will it solve the unemployment problem of this country? No. Ultimately, it will blow off the present Government in the next Election. It is an indication which we have already seen.

Then, what is the job security that is provided in the public sector undertakings? Everywhere, there is nepotism, favouritism and every employment exchange is full of corruption. In fact, in certain States there are no Employment Exchanges at all. If you examine the position in the public sector undertakings, you will

see that if the Chairman belongs to a particular community, then his nephews, relatives, brothers-in-law, his kith and kin are given employment. There is no rule, no procedure. Nothing of that sort. Throughout the country, it is so. The various companies are also functioning in the same fashion. The near relatives of the person at the top are the Directors of the companies. Therefore, the entire country is in the stranglehold of a few persons, a few companies.

The educated people are also not provided with jobs and this is one of the important reasons for the frustration of the people in this country.

Now I come back to history. In the socialist countries and even in the imperialist countries, social security has been provided for. It has been done even in developing countries. But in our country which is lagging behind, no such security schemes are coming up. The security schemes have not even been introduced in various organisations. From this, you can see the pitiable condition that is prevailing in our country.

I would like to give certain facts which I have in my possession for the benefit of the hon. Minister. In Australia, unemployment and sickness benefits are paid to men over 16 and under 65 years of age, and to women over 16 and below 60—i.e., to those who are unemployed or who are temporarily incapacitated and thereby suffer loss of income. But here in India, people are hale and hearty; manpower is available in plenty. But there are no jobs available. When jobs are not available and no doles are given, where should they go? Do you want all those people to be turned into socially evil forces in this country? They will become a menace to the nation and to the society ultimately.

I would like to quote the case of certain countries which have provid-

[Shri K Lakkappa]

ed contributory social welfare measures like unemployment insurance under which payments are made in the event of unemployment. There are a number of countries giving such benefits. The Prime Minister has stated that the unemployment allowance will ultimately lead to beggary. I do not know how this fantastic theory has developed in his mind. I would like to know from the Prime Minister how unemployment allowance will be converted into beggary. This is how the seriousness of the problem has not been understood by the present Government. The number of educated job seekers—Matriculates and above—on the live registers of employment exchanges, has been showing a rising trend. This is so according to the statement of the Minister made on 7th July 1977. After the present Government came into power, Government said that they proposed to follow an employment oriented strategy, which will primarily be worked through the development of agriculture, agro-industries, small-scale and cottage industries, especially in rural areas. Government said that the educated and uneducated unemployed will get the benefit.

Now about the budget presented by Mr Patel. Can we gather anything from it? It was such an uninspiring budget. Can it cover the schemes that he has stated in his reply? Can any developmental activity take place as a result of such a budget—which is going to be discussed? What is the strategy that the Government has adopted? What is the area of developmental activities that the Government have envisaged in the budget, to create an employment potential? Till such time these are done, what is the provision that has been made for the unemployed persons? Thousands and thousands of engineers are going out and seeking jobs in other countries. They are treated like animals in other countries. These instances are also

brought to our notice. Doctors are going out; so also engineers and diploma-holders, now you are packing off skilled and unskilled people to various parts of the other world.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA) Other world'

SHRI K LAKKAPPA I mean the other parts of the world.

This country is capable of absorbing any amount of employment potential because nature has given us plenty. We have rivers full of water and many natural resources. So employment can be created. Only will on the part of the Government is lacking. On a vital issue like providing jobs to the unemployed there is complete failure on the part of the Janata Party during the last one year. In that background, what credibility will the people give to the assurances of the Janata Government?

In reply to one of the questions, the hon. Minister has stated:

Government propose to follow an employment oriented strategy, in which primacy will be given to the development of agriculture, agro-industries, small and cottage industries especially in rural areas which will benefit both the educated and uneducated unemployed. The 6th Five Year Plan is also proposed to be formulated with a high employment content in order to tackle the problem of unemployment both among the educated as well as uneducated persons.'

Again he says in reply to another question:

'The Union Budget for 1977-78 contains a provision of Rs 6 crores for a scheme to provide 'seed' money and other finance to enterprising educated unemployed considered eligible for assistance. In addition the Union Budget provides for addi-

tional outlays for agriculture, irrigation, power, khadi and village industries, sericulture, handlooms, postal and telephone facilities in rural areas and wide ranging rural infra-structure programmes."

Can they provide all these things with a meagre Rs. 6 crores? Then you have fixed a target period of ten years to achieve the objective of removing destitution. In another reply he has stated that statistics are not available about the number of educated and uneducated unemployed. The manner in which the present Government have dealt with this problem is an indication of their complete bankruptcy of ideas. Therefore, I say that a situation has arisen where they should accept this Bill.

He says in reply to another question:

"According to information available with the employment exchanges, 22.58 lakhs of educated (matriculates and above) men and 4.13 lakhs educated women sought registration during the year 1976 and 1.51 lakhs of men and 0.35 lakhs of women were placed in employment in the corresponding period, leaving 21.07 lakhs of men and 3.78 lakhs of women unemployed."

The number of educated (matriculates and above) men and women on the Live Register of employment exchanges (which is a cumulative figure and hence includes the back-log) as on 30th June, 1977 were 45.45 lakhs and 8.44 lakhs respectively."

What type of answers does he give?

17.00 hrs.

In reply to another question, the Minister of Irrigation has stated:

"Development of Agriculture with Employment-Oriented Scheme. A programme of Integrated Rural Development was initiated last year

and 20 districts were selected for it. It was realised that the programme was not making much progress because the preparation of Resources Inventories and Action Plans as envisaged under this programme was taking time. It has therefore been decided to have a new programme of Integrated Rural Development with the main objective of creating employment and production in the rural areas. Under the new programme, it is proposed to include rural industries and self-employment programmes in the tertiary sector besides the agricultural development programmes."

What is the result of it? Where have these programmes been started, how many people have been employed, what is the progress of the programmes in the last one year? Will the hon. Minister be able to clarify these things?

17.01 hrs.

[SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO in the Chair]

This Bill has been pending for long I tried my very best even in the previous Lok Sabha to bring it, but somehow it lapsed.

I want to focus the attention of the Government on the fact that this is a simple measure which will help inspire full confidence in the younger generation, especially the educated people who are searching for jobs after having taken degrees.

You are talking of austerity measures in Government. I think you should provide doles to the unemployed people. The provision that I am suggesting is not more than Rs. 15 crores from the Consolidated Fund of India. Can you not spend at least Rs. 15 crores? It will give the benefit of providing a job and doles and give confidence to the people of this country

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-
TARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI
RAVINDRA VARMA): I want to
know whether it is Rs. 15 crores per
year or per month.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: It is per year.

This is not a big amount for the Government of India. We have seen that crores are being wasted on various schemes in various ways. Austerity measures have not even been introduced in the Government though they have been claiming that austerity measures and simplicity are the objects of the Janata Government. Only this morning, in reply to a question by Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, it was revealed that even on the decoration of the Ministers' bungalows they are spending lakhs of rupees. I do not know about other expenditures.

श्री नाथ सिंह (दोसा) : यह काग्रेस सरकार में होता था ।

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: It is not a question of the Congress. When we come to power, you can say that. Even when the Congress was in power I was saying that the utmost austerity measures should be taken.

This is a very simple Bill. The Minister must have been convinced by this time. Every day one question or other on the unemployment problem in the country comes up. If the Minister is ready to bring forward a comprehensive Bill, I will consider it. We can cover all the other unemployed persons, literates, illiterates, whatever the case may be. But it is not a new thing that I am now introducing. There are two States, progressive States, Maharashtra and Karnataka, which have introduced the scheme successfully and created confidence in the minds of the unemployed and the lower strata of the society. That is how you can redress the regional imbalance of economic programme. My friend Shri Kamath, was very vehem-

ent on civil liberties and democracy. I can appreciate the sentiments. Democracy should function. But what is that that has been guaranteed to the people? The living right of an individual is not there. Suppose, 'A' dies without medicine today, can his relative have any right to go to the court and claim damages? Tata, Birla and big companies can go to the court for claiming damages if their property is taken over. These are social revolutions, social systems and social security. Therefore, the success of democracy is not based on your high sounding words and by saying that civil liberties and democracy had been throttled and everything had been throttled. You rich people must have been throttled by somebody and that is why, you say that your civil liberties had been lost. The man in the street does not have even the basic necessities of life. Millions of people today have no house to live, no cloth to wear and no food to eat. And no attempt has been made by you to provide these things. The Government claims that they are restoring back the supremacy of democracy, civil liberties and everything. When you go out, you will see lines of beggars everywhere, destitutes everywhere, unemployed everywhere and frustration everywhere, disparity everywhere. All these things you will see then. Therefore, no democratic system will be successful unless you give social security to the people. This is of paramount importance in a democratic system that has been adopted by the present Government. But nothing has been done and no attempt has been made. It is impossible for this Government to run in this fashion.

I am appealing to the House to accept this Bill. This is a most important Bill which provides for social justice to the millions of people of this country.

With these words, I place this Bill before the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to provide for compulsory payment of allowance to all unemployed persons in the country be taken into consideration"

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALLA (Faridkot): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. Member, Shri Lakkappa, in his speech, mentioned that the country is facing unemployment specially among the youth. Not only the young people are facing unemployment, there is dissatisfaction also among a large number of people even in the upper age bracket. I feel in a country where skilled people, unskilled people and highly skilled people are unemployed, the progress of that country will be retarded and affected badly. So, I am of the opinion that the Government should seriously think over this problem of unemployment and try to come forward with a solid and concrete programme so that this dissatisfaction is not there and the people of this country, particularly the unemployed youth which is the cream of this country, which is entirely responsible for the prosperity of this country, should be satisfied

I fully support whatever the mover of the Bill has said in regard to giving unemployment allowance. I have a report with me according to which if Rs. 30/- per month are paid to 10 million persons, it would cost Rs. 360 crores per year to the Exchequer of the country. Even small States in the country are giving unemployment allowance. Only yesterday, we read in the newspapers that in Punjab the Minister of Finance, Sardar Balwant Singh, announced Rs. 40/- to 50/- per month as unemployment allowance to all those matriculates who got registered themselves with the employment exchange five years ago. If a small State like Punjab can do this, why not the Government of India which is more resourceful. They also should do so?

Some other methods should also be adopted to cope with the unemployment menace. I have a suggestion to make in this regard to the Government. The capital goods are mainly produced by using automation and large-scale machinery which results in two-fold effects. When automation is introduced, when large-scale machinery is used, it deprives more and more people of doing manual work through their self-oriented employment device. It also creates scarcity of essential goods. At the same time, luxury goods become available in large quantities in the market.

Just a moment ago, I was reading a statement made by the hon. Minister Shri Ravindra Varma which he made in Bihar that the Government will try to do the maximum to provide facilities for small-scale industries, to employ more and more people and to have self-employment. But there is a difference between what the Government says and what is actually done. I am sorry to say that the recent Budget has created dis-satisfaction and frustration among youth. Even a small instance will be sufficient to assess the recent budget. Today in the papers, it was mentioned that the new advertisement policy of this Government would deprive 10,000 poor people from their jobs. Those who are in jobs, they will lose their jobs due to the new advertisement policy. I would request the hon. Minister to talk to the Finance Minister and reassess such a situation.

Moreover, unemployment is rampant in this country. There are two types of frustrations. One is that trained youngmen, skilled persons, persons with degrees do not get jobs. They go from one office to another office, but they do not get jobs; no job is there for them. On the other hand, the policy of the Government in Centre and even in the States—there may be States which are run by the Opposition or the Ruling party—the position is that whenever they advertise

[Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia] they ask the candidates to apply with Postal Orders of Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 and so on. As far as these youngmen are concerned, in order to apply, they have to arrange for these Postal Orders. After that, they are called for an interview. Then they have to spend money there. For spending money on these things, they have to borrow money from somebody. After the interview is over, they are not sure to get jobs. So, I would request the hon. Minister to do away with this application fee altogether.

Application fee should not be there for unemployed persons who apply for a job.

Secondly, in the employment exchanges, there is a system of renewing the Registration Card. A candidate has to get his card renewed after a certain period. If a candidate does not get his Registration card renewed for a period of six months, then his name is automatically struck off the register. I would request the hon. Minister to make a provision of two years. At least for two years, his name must continue in the employment exchanges. The previous regime also played foul with the people and did not give serious thought to the unemployment problem.

When there are less jobs, when vacancies are not there, people apply and they are refused. Suppose a person has passed his BA examination this year, and he could not get a job for five years. Automatically, there will be frustration for him. The most frustrated situation will be, not to speak of getting a job, that he will not be eligible to apply for it. A person, after a specified period is not only able to get a job, but he is not eligible to apply for it, because he has crossed a specified age limit. So, I would request the hon. Minister to do away with this age limit for applying for a particular post in this country. There are a large number of people who are unemployed. I would request him to

raise it by five years more. They must be eligible to apply upto 30 years at least.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Chittoor): Suppose he is not able to get job even within that period.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: There is no guarantee. I have bitter experience about it. There are certain concerns, cooperative departments in some States, even semi-Government departments, which advertise through their post box nos., they do not give their address. They say, 'For this job, apply to the Post Box number such and such'. What happens? Only a few people apply. And in that there is lot of scope for favouritism. I would request the hon. Minister that, if at the moment it is not possible to give unemployment allowance to all the people he may kindly categorise and grade the people and try to satisfy more and more unemployed youths of the country.

SHRI SHYAMAPRASANNA BHATTACHARYYA (Uluberia): Sir, I rise to support the content of the Bill moved by my hon. friend, Shri Lakkappa, about giving unemployment doles. It is interesting for me to see that at last the Kumbakarna sleep has been broken, so long, he was sleeping like a Kumbakarna now he has woken up from that sleep and has raised this problem. It is very good. It is a good thing. But is it being done with sincerity and patriotic feeling? I do not think so. Our problem of unemployment, as it is, is a serious one. If we consider the rural unemployment, if we consider the educated unemployment; nearly 5 crores of people are suffering. In this modern age of technological development, we can see with open eyes how to develop a country. Our country has sufficient natural resources and sufficient manpower to fulfil all the requirements of our country and to make our country healthy, good and prosperous. Still we are losing per day a labour power of

5 crores of people. An agricultural peasant or labourer, with his primitive implements, can produce goods worth at least Rs. 15 per day. If we take into account the technologically trained people, the value of goods produced by them per day may vary from Rs. 20 to Rs. 100—in the case of some it may be Rs. 20 and in the case of some it may be even Rs. 100. So, you can imagine how much we lose every day, how much our country loses, how much of national income we lose. If we see with deep patriotic feeling, we will find that the whole nation loses and so many people suffer. Our country is such a vast country; the people are so vast and glorious that, if only we utilise their labour power for production of agricultural goods and industrial goods, we can prosper rapidly. That is true. America and England are taking it for granted that monopolists must remain, big business houses must remain, the profiteers must remain. They require some unemployment scheme to bring down competition of the employed workers. It is their necessity. They have to do it; it is part and parcel of capitalism—unemployment in employment

Now, in our country, we must give thanks to Shrimati Indira Gandhi 'bat she has done something good. Somewhere it is written:

Moru ke she mere merai gojie tole ghas (Tagore-meaning).

"By attacking and attacking the desert land, nature compels the grass to grow".

So, Shrimati Indira Gandhi has done some natural good by developing her dictatorial power.

MR. CHAIRMAN. Now let us come to unemployment.

SHRI SHYAMAPRASANNA BHATTACHARYYA: I am coming to that.

By her dictatorial rule she has aroused the anger of the people and such a big wave has developed in our coun-

try that she was overthrown from the throne of Delhi and the Janata Government has come to power. They also, in their manifesto, promised to do something. Now the task is..... (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (SHRIMATI RENUKA DEVI BARAKATTA-KI): Let him speak; Mr. Lakkappa spoke for more than 45 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is because he is the mover. You can give the main points, Mr. Bhattacharyya, to help the Minister.

SHRI SHYAMAPRASANNA BHATTACHARYYA: What I say is, this big unemployment problem cannot be solved until the debris is cleared for the real development of our country. No one should remain unemployed; no one should remain illiterate; no one should, in this country, work against the interests of the masses. Why should profiteers raise the prices of things and make people suffer? The Janata Government is not yet ready to fulfil its promises, its manifesto.

I come from West Bengal. Now, the West Bengal Government came to the U.P. Government and asked for some mustard oil. The U.P. Government said they were ready to do so, but the traders of West Bengal told the traders of U.P. don't give them. We have got a sufficient stock and we shall be losers if you send mustard oil to West Bengal' and we could not get it. Our Minister, Mr. Dharis imported some rapeseed oil and partly solved our problem, and this year also they are trying to solve our problem. But the thing is, this must be solved when it can be solved.

The West Bengal Government, even before the Punjab Government, took the initiative and they are giving unemployment doles to 1,50,000 unemployed young men who have included

[Shri Shyamaprasanna Bhattacharyya].

their names in the Employment Exchange for five years. They are the first persons to get Rs. 50/- per month as unemployment dole. We are a poor State and we have got very little money, but we have started this. The feeling is there. Punjab is also paying; the feeling is there. This must be developed. But the main thing is what is the task of the Janata Government. Whatever the people want, they must solve all their problems. So long as they cannot solve them, they must give something to all these people so as not to starve, not to lead a dishonoured life and not to commit suicide. This basic problem of unemployment must be solved. The Janata Government must stand by its manifesto. At the time of elections, you promise to give something but after that you forget and think of your own self-interest. I would like to remind you that the old days are gone. The electorate has become very vigilant today. After the Janata Government came to power, I saw thousands of people coming to Delhi to find out how the Members of Parliament from their constituencies were functioning and trying to fulfil their task.

The Janata Government has not also been able to solve the problem of the cane growers and they are still suffering. This should not be allowed to continue. The things today are not very simple. Our country is striving to achieve new things. The Government must fulfil its task and try to remove the sufferings of the people, otherwise the people would not allow the Government even to complete its term. They would ask the Government to resign and go and ask for fresh elections. And this is the spirit of the people and the spirit of Shri Jayprakash Narayan.

In the end, I would urge the Government to be more serious, to be more practical, to be more patriotic, not to think of scrambles, but to think

of the people as a whole, the country as a whole with a big heart and not with a pigeon heart.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA (Cananore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I stand to support the idea enshrined in the Bill of Shri Lakkappa. He wanted that the uneducated unemployment in the country should be given a certain allowance. I support this idea, because during the last thirty years since independence, the problem of unemployment had been mounting and it continue to be a serious and a growing menace. I think since we failed, all the Government failed to tackle this problem and the problem is becoming more and more serious, we have no right to tell the victims of unemployment that we will not be able to provide him anything. The Government failed to give him employment and now the question is whether the Government would be in a position to provide him at least something to bank upon so that he would not starve and die. What I would prefer is that the Government should solve the problem of unemployment itself because this is the basic problem. I have my own approach and that was made clear in the House many times. I think that so long as the Government pursue the capitalist path of development like any other capitalist country, the question of unemployment will be haunting. It is not the question whether this country is affluent or developing or poor, unemployment is a problem which is there even in the United States, a country which is so rich. Because it is the offspring of the capitalist system. I have seen poor countries. My friend, Shri Samarendra Kundu was there—in Vietnam. There is no unemployment, a country not rich in material terms but a country which succeeded in bringing about a social order where there is no exploitation of man by man. And then they have ensured the distribu-

tion of wealth equitably among the people. There, the problem of unemployment itself was solved. Even if they did not succeed in bringing about all that affluence, they have reduced the magnitude of poverty by everyone suffering and everyone taking a share of that poverty on himself. That is a very fundamental question and I do not want to go into that. There I would like to make one point very clear. I wish my Marxist friend would have been here to listen to that. The question is: it is a fact that Congress has failed and it is an equally important fact that the Janata will also fail because both of you pursue the same path..

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: No, no.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN: No issue. We will quarrel on that but history will judge you that issue.. (Interruptions). It is not a jyotish, it is a fact of life. It is a proven fact..

श्री नाथू सिंह : ज्योतिषी होते तो उस समय कांग्रेस का साथ न देने ।

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN: You are too young to understand. I do not want to argue with you.

Now let us face the facts of life. There are several millions of unemployed educated people in this country. What Mr. Lakappa wants is not something very revolutionary. He wants that they should be provided with some money, some subsistence allowance by way of unemployment dole so that they would not starve and die. Could we do that since we have failed in tackling the basic problem? I think we should be able to do that and for that, he says—I do not know the statistics—it requires Rs. 15 crores according to his calculations. I think that is not a very big amount, if that figure is correct. Rs. 15 crores, the government should find. If the figure is wrong, it is a different matter. I do not know. The Minister will clarify....

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN- TARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): The difference is only in a few zeroes.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: He has got the biggest machinery. He can calculate it.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I have said the difference is only in a few zeroes.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN: Whatever it is, my point is that the Government has a moral responsibility to find that amount. If you cannot accept Mr. Lakkappa's proposal, then come forward with certain other proposal to have a lesser amount or some kind of relief provided to them. I may even say that if you cannot provide them money, can you organize relief work so that they will produce and enjoy food? That is not being done....

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: That will be done.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN: That was heard for 30 years. So the point is that they should not be allowed to die of starvation. There we need not quarrel who is correct and who is wrong. Whoever sit on those chairs have a special responsibility to see that this guarantee is ensured. I ope the government will not hesitate or shirk its responsibility.

Here a few practical things I would like to draw your attention to. May be the Minister himself is aware of the fact, that in certain States like Madhya Pradesh, the employment exchanges are under fire from those who are working there from outside that State because the employment exchange has refused in several cases to register the names of people who came from other States seeking employment. For example, in Ballai there

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan]

are a large number of people from Kerala, the State from where myself and the hon. Minister who is going to reply to this debate come. They settled for the last 20 or 30 years.

I do not know whether you have seen the film called 'Jannaranya' directed by Satyajet Ray, depicting the horrors of unemployment. It depicts how moral values will get shattered in a society which is ridden with unemployment. So, it is not merely a question of providing a few rupees as doles or providing facilities regarding extension of age limit and all that. If we fail in tackling the problem, I am sure, it will create a condition in our country which will be so explosive, which will shatter all the moral values that we cherish.

I conclude by saying that the hon. Minister will seriously consider this proposition and come forward with concrete suggestions to give the unemployed millions some kind of relief that at least you are serious in sympathetically considering this problem.

SHRI B. P. KADAM (Kanara): I am in agreement with the Bill moved by the hon. Member Shri Lakkappa and I am sure every one will agree by and large with the purpose of the Bill. When the Constitution was debated, particularly the provisions of the Constitution on the Fundamental Rights, very clearly remember the hon. member, Shri H. V. Kamath, suggested that the right to work must be guaranteed under the Constitution so that there would be no unemployment and people would have some certainty. But that was opposed by certain other hon. members in this House. Then Shri Kamath suggested—if unemployment cannot be solved, right to work cannot be guaranteed, then the provision in the Indian Penal Code must be amended, i.e. the right to commit suicide must be deleted so as to reform the victim. Because right to

commit suicide is an offence, that should be deleted. I very well remember the words of the hon. member—Shri H. V. Kamath.

Unemployment is a curse and there cannot be a greater curse than this. Mentally the man gets retarded. Physically the man gets invalidated and all the best values are weakened & shattered. Many of these suicides, I am sure, are on account of this.

The problem assumes gravity because in the rural areas also we find a large number of educated unemployed people. Education has spread every where. The evil is that—our education was not so oriented as to get employment or to help to seek self employment after the completion of education. It was the same clerical oriented policy which has been pursued—the policy laid down by our old rules.

In the U.N. Charter of Human Rights, the right to work is suggested to be guaranteed. I believe, it is Article 13 or 14. It has been suggested that it should be guaranteed by all the Governments.

In the USSR, work for an able bodied person is a honour. The right to work is guaranteed by and large not only by the socialist countries but some allowance is also paid in U.K. and also in U.S.A. and in a large number of countries. Israel even I do not believe in giving doles. Give them some sort of employment which would at least keep them living till full employment is given. They have to be assured of that. That is how it should be and it should not be a full allowance or a dole. That also is not the purpose of this Bill. It is a social security service.

Something was said by my hon. friend there about the employment centres in each district. Unfortunately they are woefully lacking in these statistics. Not even one-third of the unemployed personnel is indicated in these registers. There is also a great deal of fraud. Under

these circumstances, I feel, this is a thing which has to be attended to by the Government without delay.

Sir, the Janata Government is assuring us that the unemployment problem would be solved. I know hon. Shri Morarji Desai because he was my Chief Minister in the Bombay State where I was a Member of the Assembly in 1952. He was then the Chief Minister. I very clearly remember the words of hon. Shri Morarji Desai as Chief Minister of Bombay when he stated:—

'Under a democratic set-up there cannot be full employment.'

Lot of other things also he said, about capitalism and other things, which are out of context now.

Sir, I want to know from this Government whether Shri Morarji Desai cherishes the same view or simply because of prolonging himself in office, he is speaking of full employment. Mr. H. M. Patel, the hon. Finance Minister is speaking of employment for all. He said that full employment is assured. They are saying all these things from house-tops. They are there for nearly 11 months now. Just look at the huge magnitude of the problem. I doubt whether even a few hundreds have been employed by now. What have they done during these 11 months?

During the election meetings also they said, they have got this programme or that programme. They have not solved the problem. You have not touched even the fringe of it. Nothing has been done. So, let nobody be fooled by such tall-talks and the shouts and the slogans from the house-tops. At least I am not going to be a cynic; I am an optimist. Let there be concrete results. Otherwise it will be a Doomsday, it will be a very sad day for our democracy.

Sir, Liberty is hailed; Freedom is hailed; the hon. Prime Minister has stated again and again about 'right to

live without fear'. Very sublime words indeed! These are words which you will find in the Upanishads—fearless and so on. But in respect of those unemployed people, people coming from the weaker sections, from backward communities and so on, where is the question of fear? They have only one freedom and that is freedom to die non-violently. That is all.

I very well remember a saying in a book. A man who is in a pompous situation calls his servant and asks him to be perfectly nonviolent. He tells him, it is worthwhile to live hungry because he will be saved from indigestion.

It is worthwhile to live in open because there is not a question of having foul air and it is a question of having fresh air. It is something like telling that it is worthwhile to live without fear. There is no fear at all, where is freedom to the poor unemployed.

Therefore, I would urge upon the hon. Minister in charge, particularly, the Government, to view the magnitude of the situation. That is all I want to say.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must say at the outset that I do sincerely and broadly agree with my good friend. Shri Lakkappa on the objectives of his Bill.

I must say, however, that the remedy that he is suggesting may not really be found workable and very satisfactory. I do not think anybody requires—none else in this House and certainly in the country, educated as we are all—I am talking of the limited educated classes—or needs to be told that unemployment is a very serious problem, that it is a great menace and that it causes a lot of frustration, and especially to those who are educated and to those who have spent a lot of money in training and equipment etc. and, at the end of which all, if they do not get a suitable,

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proper and adequate employment satisfactory to themselves and, in tune with the skills and training that they have got, then, obviously, you are not only creating an army of uneducated people but you are also creating an army of frustrated souls. Frustrated souls will not, for a long time, remain quiet. I do not think that the Government needs any further persuasion on this point. Actually, I think, they are seized of the matter that unemployment is a serious problem. The questions therefore, are to be looked at from different angles. But, before I go to these angles, let me also say this at the outset, that unemployment has always been a political problem—it is of course an economic reality—in all countries—developed, semi-developed, undeveloped—in the Western world, and in the Eastern world. Barring socialist countries where the nature of economy is such that the unemployment problem is not the kind of the problem or the challenge which is posed there. (Interruptions). Unemployment is not there in the socialist countries. There the nature and dimension of the problem is very limited. The problem of Unemployment in those countries is very different from the problems generally found in other countries. Because, the socialist countries and the communist ideology have a certain economic, political and general attitude towards implementation of this problem so that unemployment does not exist. Social security is there. The problem of unemployment is tackled from those angles. I was talking about other countries where unemployment problem is not so much an economic as a political problem. Even in the most developed countries, the problem of unemployment can become a political headache to the Government of the day. Take Great Britain for instance. Governments have fallen whether they belong to Labour Party or Conservative Party sometimes precisely on this problem, the problem of unemployment being one of the major problems. If the unemployment level

goes up from a particular level beyond a tolerable level, then it will become a political headache. As I said, Governments have fallen and new Governments have been created on this ground.

Take the case of the United States of America. President Franklin Roosevelt in the early thirties promised a new deal, a new programme for more employment, generation of state's resources, deficit financing as was envisaged by economists like, J. M. Keynes. Franklin Roosevelt announced a policy of "New Deal", because the people voted him to power. The Unemployment problem was not completely eradicated. But he was going in that direction. So, the problem of unemployment is there whether it is a developed, semi-developed or undeveloped country. But this is more glaring and more frustrating and more challenging in developing countries. Now, in the context of the Indian situation where we have problems of an enormous size, enormous population and an increasingly growing educated class talented enough to get employment but not lucky enough to get employment, many of these people are now going out to other countries.

Mr. Lakkappa has mentioned in his Bill, I think, as an example, engineers, doctors etc who are now going to various countries—not only in West Asia, but also in Africa, in Europe, in America, in Canada, in Australia and in New Zealand and so many other countries also. In fact, this is what you call brain drain, and undoubtedly it is a problem. This was the position in Britain before the Wilson Government, before he became Prime Minister of U.K. at one time Mr. Harold Wilson also said that if you do not tackle the problem of unemployment and the problem of brain drain, then the people in Britain will vote not through the ballot box; they were already voting through their feet! They were already going away from Britain and finding employment elsewhere. So, it is

really a multi-faceted problem to view from. Again, you may have an employment which is not commensurate with the training that you have got. What is the point, for example, of having employment in a particular situation for which I am not trained? There are certain socialist countries where employment is guaranteed, but it is not guaranteed according to the training and equipment received by the citizen. That also is not a satisfactory solution, although it does go somewhat on the lines which Mr. Lakkappa has suggested.

Coming back to various angles with which I started my speech, I want to say that although this problem of unemployment is a very difficult and a very perplexing one, I do not know why the new Janata Government have not yet been able to formulate a concrete strategy. I hope Shri Ravindra Varma, our distinguished Member and esteemed colleague would tell us in some detail and not just go on either moralising or in a very simple and decorative language say that it is a great problem and Government is seized of the problem and you will see the results in the next couple of years.

We are fed up with this kind of sweet words, as they do not lead us anywhere. I want to take this opportunity of participating in this Bill by inviting the attention of the Government to this great need. Please spell out if you have any programme in effective concrete terms as to what you are going to do with regard to employment opportunities. Are you going to generate more employment? Are you going to arrest the trends of brain-drain? Are you going to usefully employ educated people of this country by retaining them in this country? If you are not going to satisfy these young people they not only are you creating problems for them but also you are creating problems for the Indian polity. An idle mind is a devil's workshop, but if the idle mind is an educated mind,

then it is not merely a devil's workshop but it creates devilish conditions for any party in power. Therefore, I want them to understand the urgency of the matter. I want them to understand the gravity of the matter and I also want them to understand the impatience involved, and if they cannot do these things quickly I do not know what will happen.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not want to ask Mr. Lakkappa as to what his party did when it was in power, because one can ask such questions and do the rhetoric and get away feeling satisfied that one has criticised without making any constructive suggestion. But that does not help solve the situation. But, Sir, I want to ask my friend, Shri Lakkappa, as I ask this question to me, if I were in power and if I am faced with this situation am I really in a position to give unemployment benefit in terms of cash dolls in crores of rupees? The Minister has already said that he will have to add more zeroes to the total amount estimated by Mr. Lakkappa. Supposing our Government is able to afford it, I would say at this stage of India's economic, political and general development it would not be desirable for our economy and our country to go in for these doles. Even in the advanced western countries it took them decades before they came to the conclusion that if unemployment cannot be met then those who are unemployed would be looked after by the State. I want to ask my friend, Shri Lakkappa, have we reached that stage of a welfare state where having crossed through all the phases, we can now say that we have explored all the possibilities, all points of view, all problems, all aspects and now we are convinced that in spite of all efforts, employment is not possible and yet we are economically better off, well developed, therefore the economy can afford this additional burden and so let us go ahead? That is why the framers of our Constitution were wise in putting this matter as one of Directive Principles of State Policy and not putting

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it in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights, because they wanted that the State must move towards the direction of finding employment. And again to quote England, it was Lord Beveridge who wrote in 1944 about full employment. In the Report he wrote, in the work of Second postwar world, Great Britain did not see unemployment doles being given in such measures as is being expected by Mr. Lakkappa. In countries like Sweden and Norway, the Scandinavian countries, these provisions are there and in some other Western countries also these provisions are there I think Mr Lakkappa's intension is that by asking these provisions to be incorporated, he only wants to highlight the problem of unemployment, but by saying so he does not see this point that Government must go on giving money. If he were a Minister ..

18.00 hrs.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: I have put another clause, that is, the moment he gets the job *(Interruptions)*

PROF. P G MAVALANKAR: Sir, let me tell you also that if Mr. Lakkappa were to be a Minister, would he then really seriously consider accepting this proposal? It is one thing to say philosophically and politically on a platform, it is all

right; but if he were to be a Minister, would he do this? Did he really try his best to persuade his own party which was in power for so many years? This is all tall talk with which we are familiar. It is a desirable thing and a good objective. But it is very difficult to realise because the burden is too great. And the last important foot-note is that if a country like ours where hard work is still not very much rewarded, where hard work and continued hard work, efficiency and competence are still at a discount, if you go on telling people you are unemployed, I give you these allowances, go ahead, Sir, I am afraid that a tendency will grow also for some people not to work and get some money from the Government. Sir, Government cannot afford to pay this kind of allowance. If Government has not done many other things first, this case is not really a valuable point, just at this stage. The objective is good, attention has been well drawn, but I do not think the Government will be drawn into this question of giving allowance in the manner which my friend wants to do. That is my contention, that is my appeal

18.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, March 13, 1978/Phalgun 22, 1899 (Saka)