

contention alone. I shall conclude in a minute. I am finding it difficult to read.

"There has been much huffing and puffing but, at least three years have gone by, the Government has not been able to pass the necessary legislation to ride the Forward Contracts (Regulation) Act of some of the obvious loopholes which enable unhealthy speculation in the more important commercial crops. What cannot be cured has to be endured, but need not be encouraged. The Government, unfortunately, has even done that."

You ought to be at least thankful for this article in the *Times of India* dated 9th October, 1971. I would like the hon. Minister, Mr. Ganesh, to read it and try to find out what the people think about it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"This House takes note with great displeasure and concern the galloping and unchecked all-round rise in prices of commodities, especially of things of daily need, and Government's utter failure in controlling the same."

The motion was negatived

12.06 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

श्री बिभूति मिश्र (मोतिहारी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव को सदन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूँ—

"यह सभा सरकार से आग्रह करती है कि वह शिक्षित तथा अशिक्षित लोगों की बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिये तुरन्त प्रभावी उपाय करें।"

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस समय चौथी योजना का निर्माण होने लगा तो उन्होंने यह पता लगाने की कोशिश की कि हमारे देश में कितने पढ़े, कितने के पढ़े, कितने बच्चे-पढ़े लोग बेकार हैं। पड़ोसी योजना, दूसरी योजना और तीसरी

योजना, इन तीनों में तो सरकार ने इस प्रकार के आकड़ें दिये, लेकिन चौथी योजना में सरकार ने कह दिया कि पता लगाना बड़ा मुश्किल है। उस के बाद सरकार ने एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी—दातेवाला साहब की बनाई। दातेवाला साहब ने जो रिपोर्ट दी, वह रिपोर्ट इस समय मेरे पास है, उस में उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे भी कुछ पता नहीं चलता है कि कितने बेरोजगार हैं, कितने अण्डर-एम्प्लॉयेड हैं और कितने फुली अन्प्लॉयेड हैं। उन्होंने सुझाव दिया कि एक और कमेटी बना दी जाय। उसके बाद एक दूसरी कमेटी बनी—भगवती कमेटी—जिस को कहा गया कि एक साल के अन्दर अपनी रिपोर्ट दें। यह कमेटी पिछले दिसम्बर में बनी थी और अब यह दिसम्बर आ गया, आज तक उस की रिपोर्ट नहीं आई है।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी कहते हैं कि यह कमेटीया बनाने का जो काम है, यह ब्यूरोक्रेटिक तरीका है। मंत्री जी जरा इस तरफ ध्यान दें—जो हमारे राष्ट्र के मालिक हैं, जिनके मातहत यह सरकार कार्य करती है, वह कहते हैं—यह मद्रास के "हिन्दू" अखबार की 13 जुलाई, 1970 की कटिंग है—

"Time and again studies have been commissioned to assess its dimension and suggest remedies, but with little tangible results. The latest in the series is the expert panel to be constituted by the Union Cabinet's sub-committee on employment. A committee to constitute a committee is in the true bureaucratic tradition of Indian democracy."

राष्ट्रपति जी कहते हैं कि यह ब्यूरोक्रेटिक ट्रेंड-शन है। आये कहते हैं—

"But can the problem wait until the expert panel has gone through the length and breadth of the country, collected answers to its inevitable questionnaire and formulated its findings, not to mention the time-lag between the submission of its report and the decision of the Government on it?"

अब मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ—अब राष्ट्रपति जी कहते हैं कि कमेटी बनाने की

[श्री विभूति मिश्र]

जल्द नहीं है, यह स्पष्टीकरण तरीका है, जब तक कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आयेगी, तब तक न जाने कितना समय लग जायगा, बेरोजगारी रिपोर्ट आने तक और ज्यादा बढ़ जायगा, तब फिर इस का हिसाब कैसे लगाया जायगा—मुझे दुख है कि इस बात को यह सरकार समझती नहीं है।

दूसरी बात—राष्ट्रपति जी कहते हैं कि इस के लिये रास्ता ढूँढा जाय यानी कमेटी बनाने के बजाय, पहले रास्ता ढूँढा जाय कि बेरोजगारी कैसे दूर होगी। इसके लिए सरकार ने जो तरीके अपनाए हैं और भगवती साहब का क्वेश्चनर भी है जिसमें लिखा है कि कौन-कौन से तरीके हैं जैसे रूरल वर्क्स प्रोग्राम, स्माल फार्मर्स डेवलपमेंट, माजिनल फार्मर्स वर्ग—वर्ग इस तरह के बहुत से काम हैं। इन सब बातों से कितने आदमियों की बेरोजगारी दूर हुई इसका कोई पता नहीं चलता है। मैंने पार्लमेन्ट की लाइब्रेरी से एक कागज लिया है जिसमें कहा गया है :

"The successive Five year Plans have accorded increasing importance to the objective of eradicating unemployment and under employment.

In India's First Five year Plan, non-agricultural employment to the extent of 5.5 million was provided. In the Second Plan, the backlog of unemployment was estimated at 5.3 million, of which 2.8 million was in rural areas and 2.5 million in urban areas. In the same Second Plan the addition to the labour force was estimated at 11.7 million. Thus 17 million persons were in need of employment by the end of the Second Plan while the actual employment that could be created during that Plan period was not more than eight million."

फिर कहते हैं :

"So about nine million unemployed were carried into the Third Plan. In that Plan, the additional labour force potential was fixed at 17 million. Thus 26 million new jobs had to be provided in the Third Plan for wiping out unemployment. As against this 14.5 million new employment opportunities were created between 65-67, but still

leaving a formidable backlog of over 11 million needing employment by the end of the period."

आगे फिर कहते हैं :

"It has been estimated that by the end of the Fourth Plan the number of persons in India needing employment will be to the tune of over 28 millions."

28 मिलियन का मतलब है 2 करोड़ 80 लाख। हमारे देश में इतने लोग बेकार हैं। मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार क्या कार्यवाही कर रही है इस अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट को दूर करने के लिए ?

एक बात मैं और बताना चाहता हूँ। मैंने अभी राष्ट्रपति को कोट किया है। इसी तरह से मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर को भी कोट करके बताना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने क्या कहा है क्योंकि सरकार का सारा काम-काज चलाने को सारी जिम्मेदारी उन्हीं के ऊपर होती है या उनके मंत्रिमंडल के ऊपर होती है। यह 20 दिसम्बर, 1970 का "हिन्दुस्तान स्टैंडर्ड" है जोकि कलकत्ते से निकलता है। इसमें प्राइम मिनिस्टर कहती हैं :

"Mrs. Gandhi has stated that unemployment and disparities in wealth were the two most serious problems facing the country today, reports UNI.

In a message to the national seminar on unemployment being held here tomorrow, Mrs. Gandhi said the two problems were inter-related, and their solution would require a combination of many approaches. Only a major overhaul of the country's economic and educational structure and a reorientation of the goals and methods would enable the nation to find lasting remedies, although a few short term programmes were also necessary."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I do not think anybody disputes that there is serious unemployment in the country. Suggest means how it should be overcome ; we all accept that there is unemployment.

भी विज्ञप्ति लिख : मुझे साबित तो करने दीजिए कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति क्या कहते हैं और हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर क्या कहती हैं। आप सुनिये :

"...unemployment dole, resources mobilisation, job oriented educational policy and constitutional restraints and their remedies."

यह बात प्रधान मंत्री ने कही है। इसको कहे एक साल हो गया और हमारे संविधान में 26वां संशोधन विधेयक भी पास हो गया लेकिन अभी तक इस बात का सुधार नहीं हुआ कि हर आदमी को काम करना होगा, हर आदमी को रोजी मिलेगी। कांस्टीट्यूशन में सरकार को यह सुधार भी करना चाहिए। जब प्रधान मंत्री खुद कहती हैं कि सारी एकनामिक कन्डीशन को ओवरहाल करने की जरूरत है, सारे एजुकेशनल सिस्टम को ठीक करने की जरूरत है तो फिर यह कांस्टीट्यूशन में हेर-फेर करने से ही होगा और इसको करने की जबाबदारी हमारे ऊपर नहीं है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर संविधान में हेर फेर करने के लिए संशोधन लावें तो हम हां कहेंगे। लेकिन हमारी समझ में नहीं आता कि यह 28 मिलियन की जो बेरोजगारी है उसको दूर करने के लिए सरकार ने क्या कार्यवाही की है? बहुत से प्रोग्राम्स बताए गए-एक कृषि प्रोग्राम आया लेकिन मेरे सूबे में तो वह चला नहीं।

दूसरी बात यह है कि रीजनल इम्बैलेंस हो गए। एक किताब जो इन्होंने छाप कर दी है उसमें लिखा है कि बिहार में रीजनल इम्बैलेंस कितना हो गया। इसमें लिखा है :

"In Bihar and Orissa the growth rate continued to be less than one per cent—Bihar 0.9 and Orissa 0.1"

तो यह रीजनल इम्बैलेंस हो गए। आपका कौन सा एकनामिक तरीका है? इसमें एक और स्टैंड का लिखा है लेकिन मैंने दो स्टैंड्स का ही पकड़ चुना। इनकी आगवानी एक-दूसरे के हो गई। अब मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की प्वायिज में डिफिकल्ट है, सरकार

के कायदे कानून में डिफिकल्ट है, कांस्टीट्यूशन डिफिकल्ट है इसलिए इन सभी को सुधारने की जरूरत है। शिक्षा प्रणाली का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है, गांधी जी ने कहा था कि कमाओ भी और पढ़ो भी—बेसिक एजुकेशन में—लेकिन उसमें भी कोई सफलता नहीं मिली क्योंकि वह वनिक्यूलर बेसिस पर था और आज सभी अंग्रेजी पढ़ाना चाहते हैं। इसलिए वह शिक्षा प्रणाली फेल हो गई बरना लड़के काम भी करते यानी रोजी भी कमाते और पढ़ाई भी करते। इसलिए जरूरत इस बात की है कि सरकार एजुकेशन सिस्टम में सुधार करे।

दूसरी बात यह है कि एम्प्लायमेंट के लिए जो एक्ज्यूज है उन्हें सरकार को खोजना चाहिए। जब तक सरकार उनको नहीं खोजेगी तब तक काम चल नहीं सकता है। एक बात मैं और बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि एक रिपोर्ट मेरे पास है जिसमें लिखा है कि दस साल सरकार 77 हजार करोड़ खर्च करे तभी वह लोगों को एम्प्लायमेंट दे सकती है और जो बेकारी है वह दूर हो सकती है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ सरकार इसके लिए क्या कर रही है? या तो सरकार कमेटी बना देती है या भाषण देने के लिए लोगों से कह देती है। लोग भाषण देते हैं। पिछली बार भी यह सबाल हमारे सामने आया था। लेकिन जब तक सरकार इस मामले में सक्रिय कदम नहीं उठाएगी, कांस्टीट्यूशन को नहीं बदलेगी, कांस्टीट्यूशन को बदलने के बाद शिक्षा प्रणाली में हेर-फेर नहीं करेगी तब तक यह बेकारी भी दूर नहीं होगी।

तीसरी बात यह है कि हमारे देश की राष्ट्रीय आय 28 हजार करोड़ है। इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार जब तक यह कदम नहीं उठायेगी कि कितना कम से कम और कितना ज्यादा से ज्यादा फिजी को मिले तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। एक बात मैं कहूँगा जतसंधी भाइयों से कि उन्होंने एक फैसला किया है कि आगवानी में ज्यादा से ज्यादा एक और और का फायदा हो। लेकिन स्वयंसेविका के 25 लाख के साथ

[श्री विमल मिश्र]

भी हमारी पार्टी ने और हमारी सरकार ने यह फैसला नहीं किया कि नितना अन्तर रहेगा एक और पाँच का रहेगा, एक और दस का रहेगा या एक और 15 का रहेगा। यह फैसला अभी तक सरकार ने नहीं किया है। जब तक सरकार यह फैसला नहीं करती है तब तक यह पता नहीं चलता है कि सरकार कितना पैसा सरकारी महकमों पर खर्च करेगी और कितना पैसा बचाकर नेशनल इनकम से इस देश के डेवलपमेंट पर खर्च करेगी? यह बेरोजगारी का सवाल बड़ा पेचीदा सवाल है लेकिन लेबर मिनिस्टर को यहाँ पर भेज दिया गया है अब लेबर मिनिस्टर इसमें क्या जवाब देंगे? लेबर मिनिस्टर कास्टीट्यूशन को बदलने के सम्बन्ध में तो कह नहीं सकते हैं। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने जो कहा है उसको अगर वे काटे तो उनके लिए मुश्किल और अगर उनकी बात को रखते हैं तो सरकार फग जाती है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ इसका जवाब देना लेबर मिनिस्टर की ताकत के बाहर होगा।

दूसरी बात यह है कि शिक्षा संस्थाओं में हम को जो तरमिम करनी है वह हो नहीं रही है। क्या बतलाया जाय कि हम लोग किस विषय में पढ़ गये हैं और हमारी सरकार को इन विषयों को दूर करने के लिये सोचना चाहिये कि वह क्या सक्रिय कदम उठाये। इस के सम्बन्ध में हमारी फोर्ब फाइव इअर प्लान में जो कहा गया है उस को देखिये :

"Special Schemes : Some special scheme has been taken up for creation of additional employment. The important schemes are given below :—"

जो कुछ बतलाया गया है उसकी बहुत लम्बी लिस्ट है और उसको पढ़ने में बहुत समय लगेगा, जो आप हम को नहीं देंगे। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि चौबीस वषरकीय योजना के आखिर में जो 28 मिलियन लोग बेकार हो जायेंगे उनके बारे में सरकार क्या इन्सॉरेंस स्केम रही है?

पिछले सेशन के बाद मैं अपने क्षेत्र से गया था। मेरी डिस्ट्रिक्ट का हेडक्वार्टर मोतिहारी में है। वहाँ पर स्कूल है, कालेज हैं, जिन में दस लाख बच्चे पढ़ते हैं। छोटे बच्चे कितने पढ़ते हैं इसका ठिकाना नहीं है। उन लड़कों से मेरी बान हुई। वह लिन पियाओ और माओ के लिट्टेचर पढ़ते हैं। वह किताबें उनके पास कहाँ से आई, यह तो उन्होंने नहीं बतलाया, लेकिन किताबें उनके पास हैं ज़रूर। मैंने उन से पूछा कि तुम नक्सलाइट किताबें क्यों पढ़ते हो? उन्होंने कहा कि हम क्या करें, हमारे लिये नौकरी का कोई ठिकाना नहीं है। पढ़ने के बाद हम क्या करेंगे? हमारे मा-बाप हमारे ऊपर खर्च करते हैं। सरकार की रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि हर ग्रेजुएट की पढ़ाई पर 2700 रु० सरकार के खर्च होते हैं, मा बाप का जो खर्च होता है वह अलग। हमारे देश में 60,000 इजीनियर बेकार हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में लड़के बेचारे क्या करें? इसी लिये बेचारे नक्सलाइट हो जाते हैं। जो कुछ बगाल में होता है, उसका थोड़ा बहुत असर बिहार में भी होता है, लेकिन सरकार इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं देती।

पाकिस्तान से लड़ कर तो हम जीत जायेंगे, लेकिन हमारे घर में जो बेकारी है, उस से कैसे लड़ेंगे और उस के ऊपर कैसे विजय प्राप्त करेंगे? आज हमारे सामने यह बड़ा भारी सवाल है। हमारे शास्त्रों में लिखा हुआ है कि भूखा आदमी कोई भी पाप कर सकता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार भूखों को पाप से बचाने के लिये और अपनी भूख को स्थिर रखने के लिये तथा देश की ठीक से चलाने के लिये जो जवाबदारी दी गई है उसको पूरा करे। इसके लिये कास्टीट्यूशन में सुधार कर सकते हैं, एक्जेशनल सिस्टम में सुधार कर सकते हैं। आज यह बात नहीं कही जा सकती कि हमारे पास डेटा नहीं है। पक्षी पंच-वार्षिक योजना में डेटा था, दूसरी योजना में डेटा था, लेकिन आज आप कहते हैं कि आपके पास डेटा नहीं है। जब आप इसके

लिए कमेटी बनाने लगे तो राष्ट्रपति ने कहा कि यह ब्यूरोक्रेटिक तरीका है।

मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार कोई सक्रिय कदम उठाये और अविलम्ब बेरोजगारी को दूर करे। वह यह भी तय करे कि हमारे यहां कम से कम और अधिक से अधिक आमदनी का क्या अनुपात रहेगा—1:5 का रहेगा 1:10 का रहेगा या 1:20 का रहेगा। जन संघ ने कहा है कि 1:20 का अनुपात रहना चाहिए, लेकिन सरकार आज 25 वर्ष से इस बारे में सोच रही है। 25 वर्ष तक सोचने के बाद भी उसने इसके लिए कोई कदम नहीं उठाया। इस तरह से क्या होगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Resolution moved :

"This House urges upon the Government to take effective measures immediately to remove unemployment among the educated and uneducated people."

There are two amendments to this Resolution. Are they being moved ?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA (Telli-cherry) : Yes ; Sir. I beg to move :

That in the resolution,—

for "effective" substitute—

"radical economic and practical" (1)

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"and to bring forward a scheme for providing unemployment relief to all those who are at present involuntarily unemployed." (2)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Since this resolution is absolutely non-controversial, it should be accepted immediately by the government, I do not think there is any need for discussion. What does it say ? It speaks of "effective measures immediately to remove unemployment". Government also says the same thing.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is making a speech.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I am not making a speech. My suggestion is that since time

has been curtailed from 2½ hours to 1½ hours and as the two following resolutions by Shri H. N. Mukerjee and Shri R. V. Bade are equally important and should be taken up, the Minister may accept the resolution straightway. Then we are prepared to forego our time. Let the Minister say that he accepts this innocuous resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Resolution says : "This House urges upon the government to take effective measures immediately to remove unemployment among the educated and uneducated people". I think the government is doing all that. The hon. Member only wants the tempo to be increased.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : The better course would be to withdraw it.

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND REHABILITATION (SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR) : Let it be withdrawn.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Would you like to reply at this stage ?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : No. While the Resolution appears innocuous, if we accept it then the implementation part of it must be given serious consideration. The mover of the Resolution, Shri Bibuthi Mishra, has pointed out the difficulties. So, I would like to say that I cannot accept this Resolution in this form.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Then I cannot help a discussion.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) : I will be as brief as I possibly can because the other resolution by Professor Hiren Mukerjee is to be taken up. I am a member of this Unemployment Committee and I must point out the difficulties that we are facing. The Government have taken not less than 13 months to constitute the Committee after they have given an assurance on the floor of the House. Then they have taken about four months to give us office accommodation, and personnel to handle this huge task was not given till last month. This is the importance which they attach to this work ! I hope the hon. Minister appreciates that there is no data of the different programmes they have undertaken.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Personally I maintain, and my party maintained; that unemployment is the creation of the present set-up and its class character. That is why every plan has increased number of unemployed. They taken many job-killing steps, following the pattern of the western capitalist countries which are very much under-populated.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Sir, with your permission, may I point out that he is a Member of the Unemployment Committee. Whatever he has to say he has to submit through the Chairman of the Committee. He is voicing his views here.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : But I have not ceased to be a member of this House.

They have neglected labour-intensive efforts and industries which could have created GNP or basic wealth substantially. They have not taken up intensive rural works programmes to have two or three crops a year. Similarly, they have not taken up rural electrification, rural roads etc. and those fields have been thoroughly neglected. Small-scale, cottage and agro-based industries have been given step-motherly treatment. The result is that we are at the base of the economic level and we have the lowest *per capita* income, even if we compare ourselves with Thailand, Ceylon, UAR and Ghana. Even those countries which are having a higher population growth rate have maintained a higher *per capita* income. This shows how miserably this government have failed in tackling this problem. I again say at the end that problem is the creation of government because of its class character.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am not sure if we have followed a practice by which when a Member of the house is a Member of a Committee he forfeits his right to express his views in this House. I do not know that.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I was referring to its propriety.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I leave it to him, I was referring to the position under the Rules of procedure. Propriety is a matter of conscience of the individual member.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO (Bellary) : Sir, while I am glad that this

Resolution has been moved, the only thing that bothers me is the expression "immediately" in it. If the Government were to accept this resolution, I am absolutely positive, no matter whether Shri Khadilkar sits in that chair or Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu sits in that chair, that there can be no immediate abolition of unemployment in this country.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Kindly do not express an opinion about us.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : The world "immediately may be omitted.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO : If it had been omitted, I would have supported the resolution.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : What he means is either the best man or the worst man.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO : I am glad that the Resolution has been moved, because while the Prime Minister has recognised the problem of unemployment, as Shri Bibhuti Mishra pointed out, as major problem confronting the country, one does get the uneasy feeling that enough is not being done specifically, categorically, conspicuously and unambiguously to deal with it.

I am not concerned with the Da itwala Committee's inability to say that there can be any estimate of unemployment. There is unemployment, under-employment and disguised unemployment. As an economic statistician I can certainly say that one cannot lay a quantitative figure of this. We know, even from the figures on the live register of employment exchanges, that the number of people seeking employment who have registered themselves is four million; of these four million, something like two million are matriculates and above, and of that number about 200,000 are graduates and post-graduates. So that even from the data which is available, let alone the question of rural unemployment and those who have not registered themselves, we are aware that there is a very big employment problem in this country.

I do not want to go into a long rignarole of the various steps. The Planning Commission has outlined a number of steps and the

Government have from time to time outlined various steps. But I would respectfully suggest to them that appointing committees is not going to solve the problem. It is one way, if I may say so, of trying to salve their conscience and giving the country an impression that they are serious about doing something. Just as Government have approached the problem of war with Pakistan with a tremendous amount of energy, drive, planning determination and the will to win, I suggest that the problem of unemployment should also be tackled in the same spirit.

Since I do not want to take much time as there are many speakers, otherwise I can give a long talk on this, I would not do it. I only want to make one concrete suggestion—and I make it very seriously—for the consideration of the hon. Minister and Government why are we not thinking in terms of a crash programme for employment in this country, if we want employment? We want self-employment, more small-scale industries, more labour intensive work, an enlarged market, more demand for goods and more production for meeting the large demand for goods. All that is true, but in order to create a really enlarged market and give opportunity for a tremendous expansion of self-employment as well as employment of the educated people, it seems to me that this country needs a big public works programme.

While my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu referred to the class structure and so on, oddly enough it is a leading member of the class to which he is opposed, Shri J. R. D. Tata, who suggested some time ago that there should be a Rs. 300 crores public works programme not only for one year but for a period of three to four years so that the country will get the necessary infra-structure. Infra-structure does not only mean railway lines or ports, harbours and steel mills; all that is necessary but infra-structure means activating the 540 million of our people into one common market, expression of their needs and offering of facilities for the satisfaction of those needs.

With the nationalisation of banking credit has become much easier and I would, therefore, like to suggest to Government and the hon. Member who represents Government that instead of spending a lot of time in appointing a committee, finding office accommodation for the committee, sending our

questionnaire and getting evidence, witnesses etc.—all that can go on because it will help my students to write their thesis later on—for the time being, immediately the war is over and we come to a successful peace, the first thing they should take up is to think in terms of a crash programme for employment through the medium of public works. This is a well known remedy. We all know that President Roosevelt was confronted with the problem of 13 million unemployed in the United States and he saved his country from a revolution by going in for a very large programme of public works which also later on proved to be most productive in the course of 5-6 years. I would, therefore, suggest that a big programme of road construction, a big programme of housing construction, a big programme of contour bunding and minor irrigation and afforestation—all these are labour intensive programmes—should be undertaken.

I would even go to the length of suggesting that the Cabinet should appoint a special committee for this purpose. The Cabinet has a number of committees. Why does not the Cabinet have a special committee for generation of quick employment facilities? Why don't they make the Minister for Labour and Rehabilitation also a Minister for generating employment?

Let the things be taken into great details just as we take war in detail. We did not think of war on a macro basis. We thought of places and districts; we thought of strategic targets and we coordinated and combined all our armed forces. In a similar kind of way, we require a detailed working on this problem of employment and this detailed working cannot be done unless there is a regular target. Therefore, I would suggest that they should immediately take up this question of public works which will generate employment by providing infra-structure as well as by creating employment in the process of generating infra-structure.

In my opinion—I am only hawarding a figure—we will require something of the order of Rs. 250 crores a year for a period of 3-4 years. That is the minimum. Probably, it will have to be much more. If we can spend so many hundreds of crores on rehabilitation which I do not at all grudge, if we can spend so many hundreds of crores on national integrity which, of course, I do not grudge, I think, the morale of the people, the pre-

[Dr. V. K. R. Varadaraja Rao]

vention of the development of the kind of tendencies to which my hon. friend, Shri Bibhuti Mishra, referred, amongst the younger people the creation of a climate of confidence, a climate of development, requires that employment should now figure very much more in the minds and thinking of the Government than apparently has been the case so far.

I would like to conclude by suggesting that, while I do not think the resolution as it stands can be accepted, and I do not want to suggest that there should be unemployment relief, the Government should go in for a big public works programme. If they do not do it, I am afraid, many of us who are loyal to the party discipline may be constrained to make a representation to the Government, if not to the House, and will be waiting on deputation to the Prime Minister saying, "If you cannot solve the problem of unemployment, then some kind of dole will become necessary." If you want to avoid dole and avoid wasting of money, let us think in terms of a big programme of public works. This is a concrete suggestion I want to make. I hope, when the Minister replies, he will indicate the readiness of the Government to the suggestion and not to go on with these committees. I do not mind if he dissolves all these committees, thereby allowing Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu to speak as much as he wants in this House! Let the Government accept the need for a big programme of public works, set up a special committee of the Cabinet and then draw up a detailed working plan for the purpose of executing such a public works programme.

* SHRI J. M. GOWDER (Nilgiris) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving opportunity to speak on the Resolution moved by Shri Bibhuti Mishra urging upon the Government to take effective measures immediately to remove unemployment among the educated and uneducated people.

Sir, according to the statistics given out by the Government, we find that every year 70 lakhs of educated young people are added to the cadre of unemployed in the country. What constructive schemes have been formulated and implemented by the Government

in the matter of providing employment opportunities to the huge number of unemployed in the country? Any number of Committees, like the Dantwala Committee, Bhagawati Committee and the National Committee on Unemployment have been appointed by the Government to study this question. I can only construe that the Government want to take shelter under these Committees and they are not prepared to take immediate steps to solve this problem. I can frankly say that the appointment of such Committees is an excuse for the Government to postpone taking constructive steps in providing more employment opportunities. I don't think that it is difficult for anyone to understand the intentions of the Government on this grave issue

I have been strengthened in my feeling when I saw the spectacle of the hon. Minister expressing his inability to accept such an innocuous Resolution moved by a Member belonging to the ruling Congress Party. Is the hon. Member who moved this Resolution not a Member of the Congress Party? The Government should not have had any hesitation in accepting this Resolution. The reluctance on the part of the Government to accept this Resolution makes it abundantly clear that the Government want to evade this issue and they are not prepared to tackle the situation forthwith.

The Government may appoint any number of Committees, but I am sure that that will not lead to any solution of the problem. Unless the Government unhesitatingly nationalise all the private sector industries completely, they will not be able to find any solution. Take for example a graduate employed in the Government. He gets a salary of Rs. 300 or Rs. 400 a month. But, in the private sector industry, a similar graduate, under one guise or the other saying that he is a relative of someones in the top management or he is a favourite of somebody in the management, is given Rs. 3000 or Rs. 4000 per month as salary. I say this in particular because in this salary 10 or 15 unemployed graduates could be given employment in the private sector industries if the Government nationalise them. I would like to charge the Government that they are giving all sorts of incentives and encouragements to private

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

sector industries which do not work in national interest. I need not explain that the foremost national interest at the moment is giving employment to the ever increasing number of educated unemployed. The grave unemployment situation prevalent in the country can be solved only when the Government nationalise all the private industries. But, I am afraid that the Congress Government at the Centre have not got the guts to do this. During the recent parliamentary elections, we used to hear the slogan of nationalisation in every nook and corner of the country. The acquisition of a private unit here and the nationalisation of some coal mines in one part of the country are not the real meaning of nationalisation of the productive means of the country for public purposes. The present policy of the Government is neither here nor there. I am not able to appreciate the constraints and restraints shown by the Government in the matter of nationalising big industrial units in the private sector.

I do doubt whether the Government have given serious thought to the genesis of Naxalism in West Bengal. Who are these Naxalites? They are the educated unemployed. Have they become Naxalites overnight? Do they think that it is their inalienable right to destroy men and material in the country? There is no meaning in condemning them for their activities. For how long they will continue to climb the hill of frustration and swim against the heavy currents of poverty and misery? What will they do if they cannot get employment even after years of searching? There is a limit to human patience. They cannot indefinitely endure the unpalatable sight that even the less qualified and illiterate ones get thousands of rupees as salary in the private sector. Naturally, they have taken to violent activities, which in other words you call Naxalism. I would like to warn the Government that this situation, if it is allowed to continue any further, will explode enveloping the whole country in bloody chaos and confusion. I would also like to reiterate that they are not going to solve this grave and dangerous issue by having a plethora of Committees. The Government will have to fortify themselves against the erupting situation by taking concrete steps.

I would say that by having a crash programme with an allocation of Rs. 50 crores for creating employment opportunities in the rural areas of the country the Govern-

ment will not be able to touch even the fringe of the problem. It is like giving sugarcandy to a hungry elephant. The provision of Rs. 25 crores in the year 1971-72 for generating employment potential for the educated unemployed in the country seems to me only symbolic attempt on the part of the Government. I feel that all those things are only on paper and no scheme has become a reality. In reply to a question of Shri H. M. Patel, the hon. Minister of Planning, Shri Mohan Dharia, has talked about so many schemes for this in general terms. He has not replied in specific terms what schemes are under actual implementation. I would only say that the Ministers should not try to absolve themselves of their obligations by giving such evasive replies to important questions. I would only suggest that the Government should pursue the policy of nationalisation in right earnest and with vigour instead of tinkering with the concept of nationalisation. The Committees appointed for this purpose only squander public money and no worthwhile benefits accrue to the people of the country. In any case the Government will never be able to find a solution to this problem simply by appointing committees.

In the end, I begin to get a doubt whether there is another split in the ruling Congress Party when I see the reluctance on the part of the hon. Minister to accept the resolution moved by his own party Member in the House. I would ask that, if this is the trend, is there any distant possibility for the Government to accept a resolution moved by Members like me in the Opposition?

I would only say that the Government should realise the gravity of the situation and take concrete measures to find a solution to the problem of educated unemployed in the country whose number is growing beyond imaginable proportions.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : May I make one submission? We have taken the decision to sit from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. We have not taken the decision that the time of 2½ hours fixed for non-official business will be curtailed to that extent. Once the House has taken the decision to sit for 2½ hours for private Members' business, naturally, all those resolutions on today's Order Paper, including Shri Bade's can be covered, because regarding the subject-matter of Shri Bade's resolution, Gov-

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

ernment have already taken a decision that they will implement it. My hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee's as also Shri Bader's resolution can both be covered today, and for this purpose, I would suggest that the House may sit up to 2 p. m. People are working elsewhere for 24 hours a day, and I think that we can also sit for one more hour today. I only want your opinion, not your ruling on this.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That puts me in some difficulty. According to the rule, 2½ hours are meant for private Member's business, but this is on the basis that the House sits for a full day. Now, the House has taken a decision to sit from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. It is the House which has taken the decision. And it had also taken the decision that private Member's business will be from 11.30 a. m. to 1 p. m.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : This matter was never decided by the Business Advisory Committee.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I think it was announced in the House.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : No, this was not announced in the House. What was announced was only this that the House had taken the decision to sit from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. The suggestion came from Government and the Speaker gave his consent.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Let me place the facts before the House. On December 7, hon. Members were informed by a bulletin that :

"Members are informed that in view of the change in the time of sitting of Lok Sabha, Private Members' business on Fridays will be transacted from 11.30 a. m. to 1 p. m."

So, hon. Members have been informed, and the House has been informed, and no objection has been taken so far to it, and, therefore, it must be taken that it was accepted by the House.

Even so, I would not like to be very rigid in this matter. I would leave it to the good sense of the House. There have been instances when we have sat beyond one O'

clock also, and we have sat for 15 minutes or 20 minutes extra when there has been business to be disposed of. I do not see why any exception should be made in the case of private Members' business, when we do not do so in the case of Government business. Therefore, I would leave it to the good sense of the House.

Hon. Members have heard Shri S. M. Banerjee make an appeal. I am not giving any ruling, but I shall leave it to the House.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : What is this 'No' no' ? In that case, the other resolutions will be blocked. This is awkward, Sir. Otherwise, when Shri Jagjivan Ram makes his statement, we shall also have to say 'No, no', and that would be very awkward. When we can sit here up to 1 p. m. already, can we not for one hour more for Private Members' business ?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupzha) : There are two resolutions more remaining on the agenda.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : But not before the House.

SARI C. M. STEPHEN : That is true, they are not before the House, but they are on the Order Paper.

The decision of the House is that we sit up to one O' clock. Of course, there can be exceptions, only if the importance of the matter before the House is such that the House is convinced that that extraordinary course of sitting beyond the scheduled time is absolutely necessary.

So the question is whether discussion of the next Resolution is a matter of such compelling, urgent and unpostponable importance as to make it necessary for the entire House to take to the recourse of sitting beyond 1 P. M. and inflicting on ourselves, if I may so, the agony of postponing lunch and something else. I feel it is not so compellingly necessary for us to do so. Therefore, I submit we may not be asked to sit beyond the scheduled hour of termination of the sitting so that we can attend to our other programmes as per schedule.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : The other Resolution is about recognition of the GDR and it is important in the sense that it is among the socialist countries that have supported us in the Bangla Desh issue. Let that Resolution at least be introduced and let it come on record.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There are two opinions as to whether the next Resolution also be discussed now. It is not for me to give my opinion. I leave it to the House. If the House objects, I am helpless. We have to adjourn at 1 P. M.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : We are of the opinion that Shri H. N. Mukherjee's Resolution should be taken up and discussed today because it is very important.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobilli) : We have discussed this matter many times. Therefore, to repeat the same thing is not so important.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There is objection ; I am helpless.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar) : He may be allowed to move his Resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It cannot be done under the rule. Unless I dispose of the Resolution before the House, I cannot take up the next.

श्री झूल चन्ध डागा (पाली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बेकारी का रोग ऐसा है जो हमारे समाज की जड़ों को खोखला कर देगा। जैसाकि आपने कहा कि पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई लड़ कर हम विजयी पाएंगे ऐसे ही उससे भी ज्यादा जरूरी यह है कि हम बेकारों के लिए जिनकी संख्या हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत ज्यादा है, कोई न कोई निश्चित उपाय करें। उसके लिए मेरे दो तीन सुझाव हैं, जो आपकी सेवा में रखता हूँ :

"In contrast with this approach, the Education Commission suggested that

under a good arrangement, every graduate should be given along with his degree or diploma an offer of appointment as well. This offer need not be binding, but a compulsion on the state to make such an offer would be the surest guarantee that the output of the educational system is closely linked with employment opportunities. All the evidence from countries that have adopted guaranteed employment such as the UAR suggests that such guarantees merely underwrite the private demand for higher education leading to a massive under-utilisation of graduates in the public sector".

मेरा यह कहना था कि आप प्रोडक्टिव एजुकेशन को चलाइए। यूनिवर्सिटी से निकलने वाले छात्र को डिप्लोमा के साथ ही एम्प्लायमेंट मिलना चाहिए। उसके साथ-साथ उसको एक सर्टिफिकेट एम्प्लायमेंट का मिलना चाहिए कि आपको इस जगह नौकरी दी गई है। नहीं देने से क्या होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के जितने नौजवान हैं उनके मन बोझिल और चिंतित हो रहे हैं और इससे देश को बड़ा नुकसान हो रहा है। अभी जो विभूति मिश्र जी ने संकल्प रखा है, मैं उनकी एक बात से बहुत सहमत हूँ कि आप बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ाते जाएंगे और उनका तत्काल हल नहीं निकालेंगे तो आने वाले जमाने में जो शांतिपूर्ण तरीका हम समझते हैं, उस तरीके से काम नहीं चलेगा और उस तरीके से हम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेंगे। ब्रिटेन में प्रतिदिन न्यूजपेपर्स में यह निकलता है कि इतने आदमी आज एम्प्लाय किए गए और इतने आज अनएम्प्लायड हैं। यह वहां के पेपर्स में रोज निकलता है। लेकिन हमारे यहां यह हालत है कि अभी तक हम लोगों को पूरे आंकड़े भी नहीं मिल रहे हैं। सारे संसार में 6 करोड़ आदमी सालाना बढ़ते हैं और हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर 1 करोड़ 10 लाख आदमी हर साल बढ़ते हैं। हमारी जो फेमिली प्लानिंग है, उसके आधार पर भी हम कुछ इसमें कमी नहीं ला सके। तो शिक्षा के मामले में उन्होंने कहा कि प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के बाद जो हायर सेकेंडरी एजुकेशन हो, उसके बारे में बिलकुल परिवर्तन करना चाहिए और उसके लिए दो

[श्री मूल चन्द झागा]

तीन सुझाव दिए कि शिक्षा पर जितना खर्च होता है, एक ग्रेजुएट को पढ़ाने में जितना खर्च होता है, वह देश के विकास के काम में लगना चाहिए। ..

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon.

Member may continue on the next occasion.

13 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Ten of the
Clock on Monday, December 13, 1971/
Agrahayana 22, 1893 (Saka)*