

[Shri Samar Guha]

hunger strike. They have become so much desperate that unless something is done they will start some kind of agitation which our government may not like. I also do not like that. But I will be one of them in the agitation, not in the name of my party but in the name of the people. I have formed the people's Committee there. So I would again appeal to Dr. Rao that during this year, when there is the crash programme for production of food for which government is spending so much money, you should undertake the execution of this small drainage scheme, which will save people from floods and will give you additional food production.

श्री नवल किशोर शर्मा (दोस्त) : उप-ध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस सीके का फायदा उठा कर अपने प्रान्त की स्थिति की तरफ आप का ध्यान दिलाने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ और उठाना चाहता हूँ। उप-ध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे प्रान्त की बहुत खराब हालत है। वैसे तो सारे देश में इस वक्त अकाल की स्थिति है, लेकिन राजस्थान दुर्भाग्य से एक ऐसा प्रान्त बन गया है जहाँ राजनीतिक, भौगोलिक कारणों से बराबर अकाल पड़ता रहा है। राजस्थान के कुछ हिस्से ऐसे हैं जहाँ पिछले 4-5-7 सालों से अकाल पड़ता रहा है। इस सब का परिणाम यह हुआ है कि इस साल राजस्थान में जो अकाल पड़ा है, उसमें राजस्थान के लोगों का क्या होगा, कितनी युष्कलात उन के सामने पैदा हो गई है, इस का अन्दाजा लगाना मुश्किल हो गया है। राजस्थान के 26 जिलों में से 23 जिलों में अकाल की स्थिति है और हालत यह है कि 26 हजार गांवों में से करीब

26 हजार गांवों में अकाल है, पीने के पानी का अभाव है, चारे का अभाव है, घास का अभाव है। राजस्थान सरकार की स्थिति इतनी खराब है कि उस पर करीब 700 करोड़ रुपये का खर्चा है।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He may continue his speech on Monday.
14.59 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
NINETEENTH REPORT

SHRI J. MEHTA GOWDER (Nilgris): I beg to move:

"That this House do agree with the Nineteenth Report of Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 22nd November, 1972."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Nineteenth Report of Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 22nd November, 1972."

The motion was adopted.

15 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We now take up further consideration of the Resolution moved by Shrimati Maya Ray on the 25th August, 1972. Shrimati Maya Ray to continue her speech.

SHRIMATI MAYA RAY (Raiganj): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, on the last occasion, when I was moving the Resolution, I had spoken of urban unemployment and rural unemployment and also about the fact that the whole concept of employment would have to undergo a change involving changes in our educational system as well as in our social attitudes.

The last point that I wished to make, while moving this Resolution, was that in the field of industry, there must be more imagination. With regard to industries, the industrial growth in our country is approximately 18 per cent—I stand open to correction—this must be increased to 8 per cent. How? Why not concentrate on our export trade so that we too may launch out in a big way in the international world market?

The idea is to have three major free ports on the Eastern coast, in West Bengal, on the Western Coast in Maharashtra and on the Southern coast in Tamil Nadu and set up industries there earmarked for export goods only. Nothing for the home market at all should be produced by these centres.

The investors can be approached, both national and otherwise. If you look around, you will find that, gradually, free ports in the East will peter out and investors from there will look elsewhere and those of us who keep ourselves informed could investigate the possibilities of asking them to invest here. At such free ports, there will be no import or export duty. Strict control may be exercised for the purpose of engaging a hundred per cent Indian employment with Indian technical know-how, as far as possible. The investors may be allowed a reasonable return of the profit to be fixed by Government. The balance of their earnings has to be retained in India and these industries will earn foreign exchange only for India.

The same idea can be stretched to embrace free zones in and around major airports preferably coastal ones. This idea may seem unworkable but it has possibilities, for it will open the doors to massive employment. We have labour and will be able to compete in the world market salary-wise. The only thing is that the idea has to be worked out keeping strictly in our

mind our social philosophy with no erosion in this sphere whatsoever.

We could build up a world market for various Indian goods which will project our workmanship and skill and will provide opportunities for absorbing our labour force.

We have so much talent in our country invention-wise and in all ways; so much potential wealth in the way of man-power. So much enthusiasm in our young men and women to take our rightful place in the economic world. And what better time to strive for this economic freedom but now. The sky is the limit. We want new ideas and fresh energy. We have a dynamic leader, a dynamic leadership. We can do it. We shall do it. I thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Resolution moved:

"This House, while appreciating the efforts of the Central Government to eradicate unemployment, is of the opinion that the Central Government in coordination with the State Governments should work out a time bound, phased programme to solve the massive unemployment problem facing the country and take immediate positive and concrete steps to tackle the same."

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Budwan): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Resolution as it comes from one of the hon. Members of the ruling party acknowledges that the problem of unemployment in this country is a massive one. But it starts with a wrong premise in so far as it purports to mention that real steps have been taken by the Government to eradicate unemployment in the country

Undoubtedly, the situation was reached gigantic proportion and dimensions and what is most pathetic is that except vague promises and platitudes and declarations of policies, nothing has been done by the Government to meet the problem squarely

[Shri Som Nath Chatterjee] and properly. The failure on the part of the Government to tackle this problem is proved by the fact that no real effort has so far been made to ascertain the number of unemployed in the country.

Sir, even yesterday the Minister for Employment was saying that statistics were not available as to the unemployed persons in this country. But, from what little statistics we can get from different sources and also from some of the government publications, the problem appears to be something like this. The number of unemployed persons on the live registers of different Employment Exchanges in this country by the end of September, 1972 was 64.57 lakhs which is an increase of about 25 lakhs from the position that was there at the end of 1970 which showed that the number on the live registers was 40.69 lakhs. At the end of 1971, it was 51 lakhs.

It is well known that all the unemployed people do not go to the Employment Exchanges to have their names registered. The number of only those who took the trouble of going to the Employment Exchanges was 64.57 lakhs by the end of September, 1972, an increase of about 25 lakhs in two years. This is the result of the dynamic leadership that has been shown in this country in the last several years that we are reminded of so many times.

Out of these unemployed persons in the live registers of Employment Exchanges, the number of educated applicants was 22.96 lakhs at the end of December 1971, which is an increase of about five lakhs from the position that was there in December 1970. As on 31st December, 1971—I am quoting from the Ministry's figures—the number of graduates, which include the engineering graduates, medical graduates, science graduates and commerce graduates, was 3,54,460. The number of unemployed persons with post-graduate degrees was 39,081. You will be surprised to know that, throughout the year 1971, only 42,000

graduates got employment out of those who had got their names registered; and 5,205—this is again the Government's figure—out of the persons with post-graduate degrees who had got their names registered with Employment Exchanges could get some jobs.

Sometimes the figures of 'employed persons' are also misleading because, in the absence of a proper definition of what is 'unemployment' and who is an 'unemployed person', even persons who have jobs for two or three months in a year or seasonal jobs or part-time jobs, have been shown to be 'employed persons' for the purpose of inflating the figure of 'employed persons' or reducing the figure of 'unemployed persons'.

According to the Government's statistics again, more than half a million people with First Class degrees in science, engineering, medicine and technology are unemployed in this country at the end of the year 1971.

We have been hearing of dynamism and dynamic leadership! The rate of growth of employment in this country in the public sector in 1970-71 was 3.2 per cent, and in the pampered private sector, the growth of employment potential in 1970-71 was 0.7 per cent; this is the position in this country; the growth rate in the private sector has come down to 0.7 per cent from 2.4 per cent which was the position in 1969.

Only this morning, we saw in the newspaper, the Director of Statistics or some such officer of West Bengal has issued a statement that 2.8 million people are unemployed in my own State, in the State of West Bengal alone. Out of these, hundreds and thousands are educated. Persons who want employment who are eager to work, who are willing to work and who are capable of working, they are not given jobs. They cannot get jobs. We are told of the Haldia Complex.

We are told that by the end of this year there will be jobs for one million people. Our Chief Minister has proved to be a Chief Minister of Promises only, very nice promises on paper. From one million he has come down to 17,000. For 17,000 jobs what is the number of applicants? 12½ lakhs of young people of this country, of my State alone, competing for 17,000 jobs! The only employment which has been given to the young men of my State is that 100 young people have been engaged as sorters to sort out these applications. This is the result of the employment policy and the economic policy of this country. For the last 8-9 months our new Government has come in, in the State of West Bengal, and whatever method they have adopted, this is the position. Out of these promises, tall promises, this is the result which we have got. For 17,000 jobs—it is interesting to know that out of these 17,000 jobs, 10,000 are of Class III and 7000 are of Class IV posts—12½ lakhs of people have filed their applications. We find photographs coming out in the papers of Ministers supervising the sorting out of these applications. This is the type of policy this country is adopting. In this House the Finance Minister of this country said that for fifty vacancies 22,000 applications were made. These are clerks' vacancies. Sir, in that respect, my State is much better.

The wonderful economic policy that is followed in this country is resulting in completely crippling this nation. We are producing more degree-holders every year than we are producing jobs. By the end of 1971 there will be one million degree-holders in this country. Is it not a scheme on this Government which calls itself a civilised Government when 40,000 young people live on selling blood in the large cities of this country, when an engineer is given a job a petrol pump dealer or attendant, when a Graduate is to sit on the pavements of Calcutta as

a shoe-shine boy? This is the state of economy in this country. In front of the West Bengal Assembly in Calcutta we saw that placard, a poster of a young graduate sitting there 'Graduate Shoe-Shine Boy'. We admire him that at least he was making his own effort. But what was this Government doing and what was this country doing for this young man?

So far as the population growth in this country is concerned, it is at the rate of 2.5 per cent. But, according to the Government's own statistics, about the correctness of which we have our own doubts, the employment rate is growing at barely 2 per cent. Therefore, always we have a backlog. The population increase is already outstripping whatever little rate of economic growth there is in the country and whatever little employment opportunities that are there. The population of the major cities of this country is growing at the rate of 5 per cent, but the employment is less than half of that. 50 per cent people of this country are below the poverty line, and what is happening? Because of mal-nutrition, because of this grinding poverty, there is mental retardation and physical incapacity and this country is being converted into a country of cripples and half-cripples. This is the position in this country.

So far as the real problem is concerned, it is an abject failure on the part of the Government to tackle the problem with any sincere or honest and integrated base. It has to be treated on a war footing. No question of giving such promises during the election year and then forget all about it. We would like to know in the last Budget proposals, out of the special provision that was supposed to have been made, how much has been spent and resulted in what employment opportunities being created. We would like to know from the Government how many jobs were expected to be created during the last Fourth Five Year Plan, how many

[Shri Som Nath Chatterjee] were actually created and how far the targets have been reached.

Sir, so far as the policies of this Government are concerned, we have found that they are all only piecemeal measures. Government provides relief only when there is some natural calamity, when there is some flood or drought, etc. Certain *ad hoc* measures are taken. Certain *ad hoc* jobs are doled out. This country is suffering, and suffering for long, under these *ad hoc* measures. The Planning Commission and the Government are suffering from this *ad hocism*, if I may say so. This is the position in the country today.

There is no integrated approach to the various problems facing the country. We do not even know the real employment figure. We have not got any rational policy to give jobs to young people, to engineering graduates, to medical graduates etc. They do not find jobs. We have not offered them employment opportunities. We are just giving them some pittance of a sum. This is due to the wrong policy adopted by the Government. This is the direct result of the policy of drift which rules the country today.

I want to categorical assurance from the Government on the various points. What steps have been taken in the recent past? What is it that is proposed to be done, and what action is proposed to be taken in the near future? What is to be done on the basis of long-term measure? What has been attempted so far? What is expected to be achieved? How far is the problem expected to be accentuated in the near future? On all these questions, I would like them to give proper replies.

We are thankful to Mrs. Maya Ray for having brought up this subject for discussion in this honourable House as this is the burning topic of the day in this country. But, we find hardly any enthusiasm on the part of the Government here to deal with this

important problem. Even the hon. Minister in charge of employment (Shri R. K. Khadilkar) is not present in the House to listen to the debate.

We have been told of crash employment programme. This is also something which is said just to catch the imagination of young people of the country. But you find that here also this thing is never implemented. One of the well-known economists of the country said something ago that the crash employment programme has really 'crashed'.

We would like to know from the Government as to how far their crash employment programmes have really succeeded. This is my first point. Secondly, I would like to know as to how many jobs have really been created. Thirdly, I would like to know, how they have been distributed and whether they are long-term jobs or short-term jobs. Just for the purposes of statistics, they are giving 3 months' jobs, just to show that the crash programme has succeeded. There is hardly any awareness on the part of the Government to utilise the greatest resource which this country has got, namely, to utilise the young educated people. They are the best resources of the country. I would like to ask the Government: How are you going to utilise these resources? What we find is that not only are these resources lost to the country, but those who are able to work,—those who are willing to work, who are able to serve the country, who are willing to serve the country, to the best of their ability,—have not been given the opportunity. Therefore, the young people are all losing faith. They are becoming restive.

The hon. Mover of the Resolution, in her speech on the previous occasion mentioned that we are sitting on a volcano. We are sitting on a precipice. Once this charisma is gone we do not know where the ruling party will land itself, unless these problems are tackled on an urgent footing, on a war-footing.

There is a demand throughout the country and only yesterday this point came up before the House. These young people want to work for their living; they do not want doles. We find that the Government are talking all the time of the youth of the country aligning itself with the ruling party. What are Government going to do for these people? If they are not going to give them jobs, then immediately a policy should be formulated to give them unemployment insurance benefit or some sort of unemployment allowance. We want Government to state their position categorically on this. We demand this, and the young people of this country, the educated unemployed or the other unemployed people of this country are entitled to have this.

We are being told of welfare socialism. I had recently had occasion to go to some countries in Europe, I found that in most of the countries, even in the capitalistic countries, there was provision for unemployment insurance. Let us not talk, therefore, about socialistic countries there is right to work in shined in our constitution. We have got this right shined in the Directive Principles, but unfortunately, it has remained only on paper. In fact, we have lost thought of that principle. It has been used as a political gimmick occasionally when it suits the ruling party. Not only have the unemployed youth the right to work, but let them have some sort of sustenance allowance also. But what are Government doing for them?

Let us not hear of the argument that they have no money. What are they doing with their policies? We would like to know why the employment opportunities are falling short of the targets and the potentials. During the coming week, there has been a call given in West Bengal by most of the youth organisations for having a rally asking for unemployment insurance or unemployment allowance to the unemployed youth.

Our contention is that unless the basic structure of society, the basic approach to the problem and the basic foundation of the present social order are altered and unless the means of production are taken away from private hands and unless the hunt for private profit is removed, there cannot be any lasting or radical solution of the problem. This cannot be denied. They cannot pamper the private industry which is showing a declined rate of growth; they cannot go to the private sector and ask for their help and assistance and think of evolving a joint sector and thereby increase the employment potential in this country. That is impossible. It has never happened. In the socialist countries, it is a fact that now there is full employment. The means of production there are controlled by the state and by the people for the people. But here we have got the wonderful spectacle of Rs. 438 crores taxes remaining as arrears from the private industrialists in this country and they are being given all the facilities, and we hear that there are no jobs for the young and educate people. This country is getting sick of this attitude on the part of the present Government.

Our submission is that not only have they to take radical and fundamental steps but they have to alter their entire approach to the problem. There may be a little long-term project, but we want a short-term project also, and we want immediate returns on this, because the young people of this country will not stand the situation any longer. I find this apprehension, which is a genuine apprehension, in the mind of the hon. Mover of this resolution.

So far as unemployment is concerned, it is crippling both the rural and the urban sector. The rural population in this country is suffering from a heavy toll of unemployment. For this, it is essential that certain immediate steps should be taken like the introduction of multiple crops and the

[Shri Som Nath Chatterjee] distribution of surplus land. We have been hearing of the introduction of a ceiling on urban property. But what about the proper implementation of the land reforms legislation in the various rural areas? That is not being done. Surplus lands are not being distributed to the persons who want to cultivate the land or till the land and produce more. That will immediately result in the greater utilisation of the labour force that is available in this country.

So far as the urban sector is concerned, since I have got very little time at my disposal, I shall not be going into the details. But I would like to place before the House some of the ways in which we think that the problem can be tackled so that the House may take them into consideration. We want that construction activities for laying the infrastructure of roads, canals, schools and health centres should be taken up not as a relief operation but as a basis of long-term investment. As I was saying, this has become a relief operation. When there is a drought, they engage some people, give them GR and some sort of work; a road is begun but left incomplete and when the next rain falls, it reverts to the same position. So such works should not be treated as a relief work but as long-term investment.

Then development of cottage and small-scale industries. This is a fundamental problem which has to be tackled in the way I have suggested. Then growth of ancillary towns where small and medium scale industries can be developed, giving encouragement to employment-oriented cottage industries. In this country, small industries employ only 50 per cent of the labour force while in Japan, which is an advanced small-scale industrial country, the corresponding percentage is 70 of the total number of workers. Therefore, it is essential that small scale industry should be encouraged because they have a greater potential for jobs to unemployed persons. Expansion of

industry through labour saving devices will only result in the unemployment problem assuming gigantic proportions. We have to evolve such policies which will not only maintain the tempo of industrial production—we want better industrial production—but at the same time will not ignore the rural sector, the small-scale industrial sector. Thus we can provide better job opportunities for the people.

—SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI (Gauhati): At the very outset, I would like to express my gratitude to Shrimati Maya Ray for bringing forward this Resolution which has given us an opportunity to discuss this most important problem. I view this problem—I hope every Member will agree with me—as one of greater magnitude than even the external aggressions this country has faced from time to time. In the case of external aggression, this country has shown a grim determination. All countries of the world have come to know that India is a country which can stand external aggression, but so far as tackling this basic problem is concerned, whether we have displayed the same determination is a matter of doubt, and on which there will undoubtedly be differences of opinion.

I do not like to quote statistics. They have been quoted earlier profusely by Shri Somnath Chatterjee while discussing the magnitude of the problem. I feel this problem cannot be judged on the basis of statistics as these may not reveal the real magnitude of it, because one unemployed man brings with him many problems which society has to tackle. One unemployed young man means corresponding lack of initiative and zeal. Because of the enormity of the problem, the youth of today have completely surrendered their zeal, enthusiasm and spirit. Talk to any young man coming out of a college or an institution. You will be able to sense it that they feel that their future is not too rosy. Because of this lack of initiative and sense of insecurity,

there is today a sense of restlessness throughout the country. Right from my State to Andhra Pradesh, there are disturbances of different nature and consequent insecurity. These and other disturbances arise from various issues, some of which are basic. But the one basic issue underlying all these disturbances is the issue of unemployment. If we can have a solution to this problem, most of the problems forcing the country will themselves disappear.

Therefore, it is very essential that this House should ponder seriously—all of us—and make an effort to minimise this problem as far as practicable. From time to time, it has been said that these disturbances are the result of external forces, political forces and so on, but we should not forget that the boys taking in these disturbances are the product of Independent India. If as products of independent India, they think on these lines, it does not speak very well of us. This is a fact which we shall have to admit. Unfortunately in fighting this issue we have not shown grim determination. I was listening to the speech of Mr. Chatterjee; I was disillusioned because he tried to make this problem a political problem. He has analysed the entire issue from a negative aspect only to show as if the Government has failed. How can we solve or fight the problem of unemployment with this attitude? Let us have a positive attitude to this problem. Unless we have a positive attitude democracy and other values for which we stand will be endangered. I entirely agree that there must be long-term and short-term measures to fight out this issue. In the plans that we had there have been some basic mistakes, and they lie in the false sense of priority in the first two Plans. We are rather imitating other countries. The time has come when the planners should judge the problems of this country independently of the problems of other countries and try to tackle them; let us not try to tackle our

problems by imitating the plans of other countries because the problem of this country is completely different in its content and character. I am not an expert economist I am not capable of going into details but as a person who has studied some economics, I feel there is some substance in this point. I shall ask the House to ponder over this question.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SINHA (Muzaffarpur): What the basic mistakes?

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI: The First Plan emphasised industry. Emphasis should be on agriculture.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SINHA: Without industries how can agriculture prosper?

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI: I am stressing this point; there might be disagreement, I may be wrong. I am placing this point before the House for its consideration.

There should be selective education. Mr. Chatterjee said something about this and said that he felt miserable when the hon. Minister said yesterday that he did not know how many unemployed persons are there. If you do not know the number of unemployed people as on date or an assessment of the position for about ten years to come, how are you going to take steps? . . . (Interruptions).

What is important today is that instead of asking boys to go to general education, we should have restrictive education. After all education has a purpose: earn the livelihood. The entire educational system in the country is built upon that purpose and no other purpose. Our educational system is a legacy of the British rule. Unfortunately in spite of our serious efforts we have not been able to make basic changes. If we fail to earn a living after getting into the colleges,

[Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami] It is time that we thought about selective education. We must tell them; you may go to the colleges and have general education but the prospects are bleak. There are avenues in which we can employ people if we give them selective training in technical institutions. Have we made a beginning in that direction? We may not have solved the problem but my basic question is: have we made a beginning? My own feeling is that we have not made a real beginning.

Today, what is necessary is maximum utilisation of industry. To a great extent the ills of this country are that the industries in the public sector—nationalised sector have not been able to give the benefit that they should give to the country. It has become a dumping ground of pets on the one hand and a forum for bargaining on the other between different unions. I ask Mr. Chatterjee and his party this basic question: Could he say, with his hand on his heart, that they have co-operated with the Government in getting the maximum utilisation of the industries? During all these years by creating political turmoils they have not allowed the nationalised industries to give to this country what they could give. Definitely we have not got maximum utilisation from industries. On the whole it has a grave deterrent effect. The people in the street say, socialism does not deliver the goods and all the investment is wasted. This is a very dangerous psychology. I beg of Marxist friends like Mr. Chatterjee who want to nationalise everything, at least for the sake of advancement of your own political philosophy, create an atmosphere in which nationalised industries can give their best to this country.

I feel there should be development of agriculture and there should be speedier and effective programme of setting up small and ancillary industries. Special emphasis should be given to backward regions. I come to

a certain extent from a backward region. My own feeling is, except that this area has been described as a backward region probably to give us some psychological satisfaction, nothing has been done. If we ask for certain industries—which is of basic character we are told there is no infra-structure for setting up an industry. If we say, give us infra-structure, we are told, you do not have industries; you cannot have infra-structure. When I ask for railways, I am told, you do not have any industry; the railway line will not be economic. When I ask for industry, I am told, you do not have any means of communication; you cannot get industry. Will the Deputy Minister explain how to get away from this circle? My state has not been able to get away from this, and it has caused serious restlessness throughout the State.

Let me give some statistics about my own State of Assam. Investment in the central sector projects between 1951 to 1969 in Assam comes to Rs. 40.2 crores, i.e. 1.6 per cent of the corresponding all-India total of Rs. 2450 crores. So, if the youths in my State become restive, don't blame us; blame yourself! I feel there should be a positive policy of creating infra-structure in these regions. Unless this is done, the country is bound to face many new problems.

I will conclude by referring to a local aspect, an aspect over which many members have from time to time expressed their views, viz., giving employment to local people at least for jobs which carry a salary of less than Rs. 500. In the House it is told that there are instructions that posts carrying a salary of less than Rs. 500 should go to the local people. If this policy is not followed all over the country, I have no objection; it can be announced that the policy is not there. But if this policy is there, the Central Government undertakings should be asked by the Government in

all parts of the country to follow this. The head office of all the important Central Government undertakings in Assam are outside my State. People are employed from outside my State and on the next day they are transferred to my State. This denies the right of employment to the local people. This creates complications. I do not say it from a parochial point of view. I would request the House to ponder over it. I do not want to cite instances inside the House. I will supply instances of various cases to the minister: I have with me more than 4 instances as to how the Central Research Laboratory in Jorhat, the genuine aspirations of the local youths were frustrated. I am passing them to the Hon'ble Minister. I hope he would look to it and try to remedy the situation.

I will conclude by quoting a Hindi couplet:

पढ़ना आसानी है समझना मुश्किल,
प्राप पढ़ते रहें समझता रहें ।

From time to time we give great assurances to the youth of the country. It is very easy to give such an assurance. But to those who are to accept these assurances how are they reacting to these. We are only reading. But are the angry young people understanding? Unless something tangible is done, even on this side of the House, we feel we are not heading for very bright days.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): How long will this go on?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is up to the House to decide it. But the scheduled time is 5 O'Clock. We shall consider that when we reach the deadline.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Before you reach the deadline give me half a minute so that I can move my resolution. I am saying this because Shri Piloo Mody wants this to go on for weeks.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let us reach that stage.

श्री नागेश्वर द्विवेदी (मछली शहर) :
माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बेकारी की समस्या बड़े भीषण रूप में सारे देश में छाई हुई है। शिक्षितों और अशिक्षितों दोनों में यह व्यापक रूप से छाई है। लेकिन शिक्षित बेकारों की समस्या एक अशान्ति का वातावरण पैदा किए हुए है। सरकार ने इन बेरोजगारी को मिटाने के लिए अनेक साधन और उद्योग धंधे इत्यादि खोल कर के काम के मौके जुटाने की कोशिश की है। लेकिन बेरोजगार कार्यालयों में जो नाम लिखाये गये हैं उन को देखने से मालूम होता है कि उत्तरोत्तर बेकारों की संख्या बेरोजगारों की संख्या बढ़ती चली जा रही है। मालूम होता है कि हम लोगों ने कहीं बुनियादी भूल की है जिस को बचह से उत्तरोत्तर यह हालत पैदा होती जा रही है कि लोगों में अशान्ति पैदा हो रही है। बहुत से लोग काम धंधे की तलाश में बेकार घूम रहे हैं और उन की बचह से अनैतिकता, और अनाचार के भी पैदा होने की स्थिति आ गई है। सब से पहले तो मैं मानता हूँ कि देश में बुनियादी तौर पर बड़े बड़े उद्योग धंधों की, बड़े बड़े कल कारखानों की, जिनकी नितांत आवश्यकता थी, बुनियाद प्रारम्भ में डाली गई। उन को डालना चाहिए था। उन के लिए कोई बात नहीं। लेकिन खेती की तरफ जितना ध्यान देना चाहिए था उतना ध्यान नहीं दिया गया जिस की वजह से खेती में लगे हुए चाहे वह किसान हों,

[श्री नाराेश्वर द्विवेदी]

चाहे मजदूर हो, वह उस से हटे और सब नौकरी की तलाश में शहरों की तरफ बड़ी तेजी से भाए । परिणाम यह हुआ कि खेती का विकास रुका, खेती का काम रुका । बेकारों की संख्या उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ती गई । यही नहीं, जिन लोगों के पास जीविका के साधन थे और जिन के पास नहीं थे, सब लोगों को सरकारी व्यवस्था के अनुसार शिक्षालयों में जाने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ । शिक्षालयों में जा कर के जिस तरह की शिक्षा पद्धति थी उसके अनुसार अपने उपयोगी ढंग की शिक्षा उन्होंने नहीं प्राप्त की । वहाँ जो शिक्षा दी जा रही थी और मानी हुई बात है कि अधिकांश शिक्षा जो दी जा रही है वह केवल क्लर्क बनाने के लिए दी जा रही है, तो इस से जो लोग शिक्षित हो कर के निकले वे न तो खेती में काम करने लायक रहे न वे उद्योग धंधे बनाने लायक रहे । वे केवल लायक थे । इस हालत में जब वे निकले तो नौकरी की तलाश में जाने लगे और सब की नौकरी नहीं दी जा सकी तो आज वह अज्ञाति का कारण बना है । और आज तो हालत यह हो गई कि जो कृषि के स्नातक बन कर निकलते हैं वे भी कृषि का काम नहीं करते हैं, न कर सकते हैं, वे भी नौकरी की ही तलाश में जाते हैं । इसीनियंत्रण पास करने वाले लोग कोई छोटा मोटा कारखाना खड़ा करने की मन स्थिति में नहीं रहते हैं । वे भी नौकरी की तलाश में रहते हैं । इस बात की बेखती हुए ऐसा लगता है कि हम नें जो प्रयास किया लोगों को शिक्षित बनाने के लिए उसमें कोई बुनियादी भूल की । आज

भी इसको माना जाये कि लोगों की योग्यता और शक्ति देखकर और देश की स्थिति को देख कर इस तरह की शिक्षा दी जाये कि जितने क्लर्कों की जरूरत हो उतने ही लोगों को उस तरफ ले जायें, अन्यथा जिन लोगों को कृषि की शिक्षा दी जाये वह ऐसी शिक्षा दी जाये कि वे कृषि करना पसन्द करें नौकरी करना किसी भी हालत में पसन्द न करें जिन लोगों को औद्योगिक शिक्षा दी जाए वे कल कारखाने लगाना पसन्द करें, उद्योग धंधे लगाना पसन्द करें, नौकरी करना पसन्द न करें । यह कुछ शिक्षा का ही असर है । जब हम सारे देश में निगाह डालते हैं तो हमारी निगाह जाती है पंजाब की तरफ जहाँ लोगों को औद्योगिक शिक्षा दी गई, जहाँ लोग ने शरीर में सीखा, ऐसा मैंने सुना है । आज उस के अनुसार वह नौकरी करना पसन्द नहीं करते हैं । छोटा मोटा धंधा करना पसन्द करते हैं और सारे उस में लगे हुए हैं । लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश मध्य प्रदेश और बिहार के लोग जहाँ शिक्षितों की संख्या ज्यादा है, अच्छे अच्छे विश्वविद्यालय वहाँ अनेक बने, लेकिन वहाँ के लोग नौकरी छोड़ कर के कोई और काम करना पसन्द नहीं करते हैं । छोटी मोटी नौकरी हो, वही पसन्द करते हैं । बी० ए० पास अपरासपीरी के लिए बैठते हैं, बी० ए० पास प्राइमरी स्कूल की अध्यापक की नौकरी के लिए सालभरित रहते हैं । उन के पास खेत रहता है तो भी वह खेती नहीं करना चाहते हैं । घर में उद्योग धंधा ही लेकिन नाबालकवादी की वजह से उस से वह भागते की कोशिश करते हैं । कुछ इस तरह की शिक्षा

ब्रह्मति हो यदि कि भ्रम वह नहीं करना चाहते। केवल कलम चला कर अपना काम चलाना चाहते हैं। नौकरी की वह तलाश करते हैं और वह नहीं मिलती है तो भ्रमति है। आज इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि लोगों को खेती की जो शिक्षा दी जाये वह प्रच्छी तरह से दी जाए और जिन को प्रारम्भ से ही उस में दिलचस्पी है उन्हीं को उस में भेजा जाय। यह नहीं कि केवल समय काटने के लिए वह उस में जाय। जिस तरह से जो लोग डाक्टरी करना चाहते हैं उन्हीं लोगों को आप डाक्टरी की शिक्षा के लिए चुन कर भेजते हैं, जो लोग इंजीनियरिंग के काम में पटु होते हैं उन को ही उस तरह की शिक्षा में चुन कर भेजते हैं, उसी तरह से कृषि में रुचि लेने वालों को ही उस की शिक्षा के लिए भेजिए। जो लोग उद्योग धंधे खड़े करना चाहते हैं उन को उस तरह की शिक्षा में भेजिए। इस तरह से हमारा बहुत बड़ा काम होगा और देश की बेरोजगारी की समस्या हल हो सकती है।

आज यह भी है कि किसी किसी घर में तो कई आदमी रोजगार में हैं और किसी आदमी के पास सामर्थ्य होते हुए भी उस के पास कोई धन्धा नहीं है। बहुत से लोग शारीरिक श्रम करना चाहते हैं, गावों में खाम तौर में हम से देखा कि लोग खेत चाहते हैं, अगर उनको जमीन मिले तो वह उस में कुछ परिश्रम करें, लेकिन उन को खेत नहीं मिलते हैं और नौकरी तो उनके सिन्धे ही ही नहीं। ऐसी हालत में कुछ लोग तो खेती भी करते हैं, नौकरी भी करते हैं, उद्योग धन्धे भी करते हैं, व्यापार भी करते हैं और कुछ लोग ऐसे

हैं कि जिन के पास एक भी चीज नहीं है। इस सम्बन्ध में भी हमें कुछ निर्णय करना होगा। एक घर में तो पुरुष भी नौकरी करता है, स्त्री भी नौकरी करती है, लड़के भी करते हैं, सब के लिए छूट दी गई है और एक घर में कोई भी आदमी नौकरी नहीं पाता है। इस बारे में चाहेआप जितनी उदारता बरतें लेकिन हर आदमी के लिए कोई न कोई उद्योग धन्धा हो, इस का ब्याल होना चाहिए और एक बराबर सब के लिए हाना चाहिए। आज आदमी परिश्रम करना चाहता है। पेट लेकर के पैदा हुआ है। पेट भरना चाहता है। लेकिन उस के पास कोई जीविका का माधन नहीं है। सरकार कोई गारन्टी नहीं दे सकती, कोई ऐसा काम नहीं खोले है जहाँ वह यह कह सके कि कोई आदमी भूखा नहीं मर सकता अगर वह पेट भरना चाहता है तो फना जगह काम खुला हुआ है वहाँ जा कर पेट भर सकता है। ऐसी गारन्टी हम कही नहीं दे पाए हैं चाहे वह शहर हा चाहे गाव हो। यह बड़ा ही दर्भाग्यपूर्ण है। एक तरफ हम कहते हैं देश हमारा एक है लेकिन अपने देश का ही कोई यह देखना है कि हमारे भूखे मरने की नौबत है, हम का कोई काम धन्धा नहीं मिल रहा है, तो वह चाहे कुछ भी कर्म करने के लिय तैयार हा जाता है। बुभुञ्जित कि न करोति पाप वाली बात है, वह उसके लिए तैयार हो जाता है। तो इस पर हम का गहगई में सोचना है कि इस बात को कैसे करें ?

आज काम दिलाने के लिए जिला स्तर पर रोजगार दफ्तर कायम हुए हैं, लेकिन इन रोजगार दफ्तरों का रंग-रंग प्रच्छा नहीं

[श्री नागेश्वर डिबेरी]

है। वहाँ कुछ तो ऐसा है कि अगर कोई भ्राम्ही अपना हिसाब लडा-मिडा लेता है तो उस को नौकरी मिल जाती है। लेकिन ऐसे लोग जिन को वास्तव में नौकरी की जरूरत है और परेशान हो कर अपना नाम लिखाते हैं, उन का नाम लिखा ही रह जाता है; उन को रोजगार नहीं मिल पाता है। जो लोग वहाँ बंटे हैं उन को हम बात की चिन्ता नहीं है कि लोगो को काम मिले, जिन को काम की जरूरत है वे बारबार चक्कर लगाते रहते हैं लेकिन उन को कोई पूछ नही होती है। हम स-बन्ध में जरा सन्का से काम करना चाहिये और रोजगार बनरो का दायरा जिन स्तर से हटा कर ब्याक स्तर तक लावा चाहिये। क्योंकि बेरोजगारी मिके शङ्को तक सीमित नहीं है, गाओ में भी बेकारो और अर्ध बेकारो की सध्या बढा जयादा है। जिन के पास थोडो गी खेती है, वे साल में कुछ महीने खेती पर काम करते हैं, लेकिन बाकी समय में हाथ-पर-हाथ घरे बैठे रहते हैं। एक समय था जब लोग खेती पर अधिक निर्भर थे, जहाँ खेती से फुलत मिनो, छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधे में लग जाते थे। अंग्रेजो राज्य में हमका बिन्दुन सर्वनाश हो गया, लेकिन स्वातन्त्रता के बाद भी हम पर पर्याप्त ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। अगर कहीं छोटा सा कल-कारखाना खुल जाता है तो बडा डिडोरा पीटा जाता है, लेकिन कितने ऐसे छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधे देश में फैले हुए हैं उन के लिए हम कच्चा सामान भी मुहिया नहीं कर पाते हैं। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि वे दूटते जा रहे हैं।

में एक उदाहरण द —लोगोंके धरो में बर्तनो की आवश्यकता होती है, तरह तरह के बर्तन बनते हैं, लेकिन उन बर्तनो को बनाने के लिए लोगो को सुविधा दी जाय, ऐसा नहीं होता है। आज कारीगर बेकार हो गये हैं, खरीदने वाले तो अपनी जरूरत का सामान खरीदने ही है कही कागज के ग्लास बनाने का कारखाना खुल गया है, कही शीशे के ग्लास बनाने का कारखाना खुल गया है, उन का डिडोरा पीटा जा रहा है। इस तरह के कारखानो के खुलने में नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि दिन-प्रति-दिन लोग बेकार होते जा रहे हैं। उन को काम देने के लिए कोई छोटा-मोटा धन्धा खोल कर हम सन्वीर कर लेते हैं, लेकिन कितने लोगो को काम मिल पाता है।

हम लिये जब तक व्यापक रूप से इस का सर्वे नहीं करेंगे काम नहीं चलेगा। हमें दिखना होगा कि हमारे देश के लोगो की आवश्यकतायें क्या हैं, उस की पूर्ति के लिये हमें क्या क्या सामान बनाना चाहिये, क्या क्या कच्चा माल दिया जा सकता है। अगर हम इन लोगो को वह काम दे कर सामान तयार करवायें तो समस्या कुछ हद तक हल हो सकती है।

में एक और उदाहरण दू—हमारे पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में एक बसहर प्राति है, जो जंगलो में रहते थे और जंगलों से पत्ता सा कर पत्तलें बनाते थे। गांधी ने जब भोज प्रावि होते थे तो उन पत्तलो का उपयोग होता था। लेकिन अब वह भी बन्द हो गया है, पत्ता उनको मिलता नहीं है, तथ्य

तरह के कागज के बतान बनाये जाते हैं जिन में भाज आदि होते हैं। जिस का नतीजा यह है कि वे लोग बेकार हो गए हैं। आज हो यह रहा है कि अगर जल में भगियों की जरूरत है तो उन को दफा 109 और 110 में बालान कर के पकड़ कर ले जाते हैं और उन से भगियों का काम लिया जाता है, मजबूरन उन को चोर बनाया जा रहा है। इस तरह में ये छोटे-छोटे धंधे समान हो रहे हैं।

हम को चाहिए कि हम गहराई के साथ इस समस्या पर विचार करें और जो पुराने छोटे-मोटे उद्योग धंधे हैं स्थानीय परिस्थितियों के अनुसार उन को चलवाय, उन में सुधार हो सकता है जो सुधार करने का प्रयत्न करें। जिन चीजों के हमारे यहां उद्योग धंधे नहीं है या जो कठिन काम-साध्य हैं, उन के लिए यदि हम बड़े कल-कारखाने खोलें तो अच्छा है, लेकिन लाखों को बेकार बन कर और कुछ में थोड़े-मोटे उद्योग धंधे डोन कर जिन में थोड़े से लोगों का काम मिले और अधिकतर लोग बेकार हों जायें—यह अच्छी नीति नहीं है। आज जो भ्रष्टाचार बेकारी दण के सामने उभरित है उस को दूर करने के लिये उपेक्षा की इच्छा से नहीं देखना है वास्तव में हम को इसे प्रबल महत्त्व देना है।

आज आप जगह जगह सबको बनवा रहे हैं, नहरे खुदवा रहे हैं ट्यूब-वैल्व बनवा रहे हैं—इस से लोगों को कुछ काम मिल रहा है—यह एक अच्छी प्रवृत्ति है, इस का और अधिक विकास होना चाहिए।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ—अगर बिजली और बड़ी व्यापक मात्रा में सड़के बनवा दी जायें तो हम से लोगों को काम तो मिलेगा ही, लेकिन जिन थोड़े से लोगों के पास साधन है, उन का प्रयत्न ही पर खड़े होने के लिए शक्ति मिलेगी इससे हमारी बेरोजगारी की समस्या को हल करने में काफी सहायता मिलेगी।

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN (Telli chery). I am thankful to Shrimati Maya Ray for bringing this resolution so that we could get an opportunity to speak on this subject. But I do not agree with Shrimati Maya Ray's view that there was a lot of effort on the part of the Government but due to some reason or the other, they could not solve the problem of unemployment. I do not agree with that view. I do not also agree with certain very dangerous views expressed by some of my hon. friends from the side of the ruling Party.

There are various ways in which many people are approaching the problem of unemployment. Firstly certain people, the people belonging to Shiva Sena whose views were expressed by some friends from the other side... (Interruptions) In a way he said that, that preference should be given to the local people in the matter of employment. That was a dangerous slogan raised by the Shiva Sena. And more or less, same is the case with the Mulki Rules and we are faced with a very peculiar situation in Andhra Pradesh. But these are the people who are trying to tell the country and particularly, the young people that there is a set number of employment opportunities and that they should fight for getting a better share in such a way that they should

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan]

get the maximum. I do not think that that will by itself bring any solution to the problem of unemployment. It is much more deeper, and to solve the problem of unemployment, the Government must change its basic economic policy so that we will bring about structural changes in our economy.

When we speak of unemployment, I would like to remind the hon. Minister who was complaining that lack of figures was the difficulty for him to solve the problem of unemployment. That he has stated yesterday. There are certain figures. Here is a small pamphlet 'Fight Unemployment for a new Social Order' in which the figures are taken from the Government sources. I do not claim that it is the complete or the last figure. We began our planning in our country in 1951, 21 years ago, when we had an unemployment of 3.3 million people. That was the final figure and to-day we are planning in a situation where the Central Employment Directorate is saying that the Fourth Five Year Plan will end with 60 million unemployed and 300 million under-employed. This is the figure given by your own Directorate

15.57 hrs.

[SHRI R. D. BHANDARE in the Chair].

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND REHABILITATION (SHRI BALGOVIND VERMA): What I said was..

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA: You will get an opportunity to reply.. (Interruptions) I am not one who believes that you are going to solve the problem tomorrow by a magic wand. I don't believe. The question is: whether you are going to change your policies, the policies which strengthen capitalism in our country....

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur): Monopoly capitalism.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA: Yes, monopoly capitalism. I am not quoting any one. The question in our country to-day is that we have enough

natural resources, we have enough manpower, but we have no policy to tap these in such a way that we achieve social progress. I do not deny the fact that we have produced wealth during the last 25 years, but the entire wealth has gone into the pockets of a few people. That is the problem. And the problem to-day is that to solve the problem of unemployment, even if you produce more wealth, you cannot solve it. That is the sort of experience we have got from many countries. I shall tell you of one fact, although this is known to you. I shall remind you about that. In that great paradise of the free world, United States of America, where affluence is so much, what is the position? The position is that there are 5.5 million unemployed people in that country, in that paradise of capitalism!

16 hrs.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Russia and China?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA: There is no unemployment in Russia and China. You ask your Prime Minister. She knows more than me. There are certain show-pieces of capitalism like West Germany, Japan and the mother of the free world, England. In all these countries we find that there is unemployment and we find that this unemployment figure is increasing also day by day. This is the present position.

From this what is it that we conclude? Sir, I conclude from this that unemployment is the inevitable offspring of the capitalist social order and economic development. What is it that happened in our own country during the last 25 years, Sir? You have planned; you have spent enormous wealth, but what has happened? The path which you have adopted for economic development for this country is the path of capitalist economic development and the path of capitalist economic order, as a result of which we find that 75 monopoly capitalist houses have swallowed all the wealth produced by the common man by his sweat and blood. They are having

the motive of attaining more and more profit. Profit motive is the only motive force of capitalism. Therefore, so long as you follow the path of capitalism, you are only going to develop a society here in this country where unemployment will be felt more and more.

I now come to another aspect of the problem. Mrs. Maya Ray pointed out one thing. She asked whether unemployment is due to population growth. I would not agree with anybody who would argue that unemployment would be due to population growth. There is no race as between employment opportunities and population growth. The race is between the rate of economic growth and unemployment. This is the only race and in our country we have fixed the figure of 5.5 per cent rate of economic growth during this plan period. My hon. friend Shri Somnath Chatterjee rightly asked about the rate of economic growth. You are swinging between one per cent of economic growth to three per cent of economic growth. I want to stress one very important point here and that is, if you want to arrest the growth of unemployment in this country, you must achieve at least a rate of economic growth to the tune of eight per cent or a little more. That is what economists like Dr V.K.R.V Rao are saying.

AN HON. MEMBER: Is he an economist?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: He is an economist.

SHRI—SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: He is in a wrong place.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: How to attain this rate of economic growth?

We find, Sir, that even the approach papers for the Plan do not give us any real hope of achieving this particular rate of economic growth during the next plan. Therefore, how are we going to solve this unemployment

problem? The Government has failed in the past. The Government will fail again miserably even to arrest the growth of unemployment in our country in the coming Plan period. This is the type of economic policy that they are pursuing. If that is the case, then how are we to achieve the rate of economic growth? It is very much related to finding new resources for investment. When we speak of resources for investment, I think the hon. Minister will differ very sharply with me. Government are trying to tax the people. They are trying to pursue a policy of deficit financing and landing themselves in a miserable mess. They are pursuing the capitalist policy of economic development, as a result of which the brutal law of pauperisation of the common people is in operation.

We have almost half the population living below the poverty line. Besides, we have appalling figures of unemployment. You know, Sir, what our hon. President of the country says about unemployment. In a recent speech, he has expressed concern about unemployment, and he says that when this Plan will end, we shall have unemployment and underemployment of 1000 million people in our country. These are the figures given by their own people....

MR. CHAIRMAN: The President is the President of India.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: He is my President also. Let us not quarrel over that. We have a quarrel only as to the sources from which we are going to find new resources for investment.

I would like to ask Government whether they can adopt a bold policy of demonetisation and get Rs. 7000 crores? To that unknown empire of the parallel economy every year, Rs. 1200 crores are being added. Can they break that empire of the block money? Can they break the monopoly houses? Can they break the foreign monopoly economic interests in the

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country? Can they stop the drain on our economy by way of repatriation?

I submit that they must have a new policy, a policy basically different from the one that they are pursuing. Only then will they find new resources for investment. Otherwise, what will happen is this.

In my own State of Kerala where the Congress and the Communist Parties are ruling, we have put forward a programme before the country, a Rs. 186 crore programme to fight unemployment in that State. It is not my programme, but it is a programme approved by the Kerala Assembly unanimously. The Marxists voted for it, the CPI voted for it, and the Congress and everyone else voted for it. It is not a programme to solve unemployment, but it is a programme to check the growth of unemployment there. We asked the Centre whether the Centre was ready to give us Rs. 30 crores, because we were ready to implement that Rs. 186 crore programme to check the growth of unemployment there. The Centre gracefully told us that they did not have money.

**SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN (Kan-
gra):** Why did the State not raise it itself?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: We are raising it. The Central Government could very easily find Rs. 5 crores to be given to the kings and the old maharaja as a relief measure. That is the way they find money. What I am urging is that they must have a different approach to the problem as a whole. Otherwise, it is no use shedding tears that the post Independence generation of young people are getting worried, they have lost their aim, they have lost their direction and they are frustrated. No such crocodile tears are going to solve the problem. If they want to solve the problem they have to implement and bring forward the problems of the economy. They have to implement and bring forward radical land reforms. I know their

difficulties. They have to implement it on a war footing, and they have to distribute the arable fallow land to the landless people.

These are certain measures by which you can partially solve the problem of unemployment. Otherwise, what happened the other day in Bombay might be repeated on a large scale. We read a few days ago in the papers that a few gentlemen led by Bal Thackeray went to the Air India office and beat the official there dealing with personnel matters thinking that by such beating all the non-Maharashtrians would go off and their problem of unemployment will be solved. I hear now this theory that the sons of the soil should be given preference in employment. This has now received official patronage from persons like Shri Kedar Nath Pandey, Chief Minister of Bihar, and people of Mysore. They are all shouting that the sons of the soil should be given preference.

What will happen if this theory is put into practice in Bengal? I know that the Bengalis are in a minority in the City of Calcutta where there are Biharis, Malayalees, people from all parts of the country. Thank God the people of Bengal do not consider Calcutta as their private property.

But I want the hon. Minister, at least to make a positive statement, what their approach is to this sons of the soil theory. Are they going to patronise it? This kind of idea will only bring about the disintegration of the country.

Unemployment is not merely a problem of economic crisis. It is a problem which will have its impact on the social fabric of our society, which will have its political overtones which may even take the future of our country to darkness. You should realise this situation. The youth of the country will not sit idle seeing that the unemployment is growing. On 17 November, the All India Youth Federation sponsored a movement all over the country; 150,000 young people came

out into the streets and courted arrest. We are bringing the young people of this country to this Parliament, not inside Parliament, but near Parliament during the next budget session. Tens of thousands of them will come here not merely to shout slogans but to force the Government to change the policies they are pursuing today. They are ready to fight for a new change to be brought about in the policies of Government. Only by such active steps will the problem be solved; it cannot be solved by merely shedding crocodile tears.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO (Bellary): Mr. Chairman, before I make my observations, I want to say this. I normally never criticise Government, but I would say that when a very important subject like this is under discussion, it would have been a good thing...

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Do not be led away by those members.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: I am not led away by anybody, not even by my own party (*Interruptions*).

On such an occasion, it is matter of regret that Government is so poorly represented. I would like to say this incidentally that when Parliament sets aside some time for non-official Resolutions and when they are discussed, one expects there will be a little more importance attached to the discussion of such Resolutions by the spokesmen of Government. I am very sorry to say this, I have never said this kind of thing before, but I deeply regret the fact that when I look at the Treasury Benches, I find these completely empty when a subject like this is being discussed. ;

I know that unemployment at the moment is still largely, a matter for academic discussion (*Interruptions*). I hardly ever come to the House and make a speech once in a session; I

would beg of my hon. friends to kindly permit me to proceed without friendly or unfriendly interruptions.

I want to say that unemployment has not yet become a matter of what one might call crisis importance, crisis being denoted by morchas, hartals, bundhs, lathi charges, shootings, etc.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have heard the threat now.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: I want to say that unemployment is not merely a matter of statistics of the people who are listed as seeking employment on the employment exchanges. The hon. Deputy Minister knows that these figures have been jumping up consistently and continuously for the last ten years; one need not go into it, whether they represent the full figure of unemployed or not. The fact is that the trend is sharply upwards over the last ten years. I have a feeling that instead of waiting for the unemployment problem to burst itself in the form which could not but command the attention of the Government in this matter we should take up this problem in a much more urgent manner than perhaps we have been doing so far. I know we have appointed committees; there is a good committee working under my friend Mr. Bhagwati. But committees by themselves do not solve problems. I know it cannot be solved in a day; it is a big problem.

I regret the fact that Mr. Khadilkar is not present; he is all the time worried about bonus and industrial disputes. He is the Minister of Labour and Employment. This is a very important matter. Before we let this problem become a crisis problem, at least let there be a clear conspicuous identifiable indication of the fact that not only Members of the ruling party and Members of the Opposition but also the Government as such, is really, continuously and urgently worried about this problem. My fear is if

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it also becomes a crisis problem on the top of linguistic, racial and communal problems, it is going to be very difficult for us to tackle it. Incidentally what are these movements, sons of the soil movement and so on? I deeply appreciate the point made by my hon friend from Kerala. But if you go behind that it is not because they are parochial, but unemployment irks them and people will resort to any cloak which they think legitimate for the purpose of pressing their claims to employment. This is a cardinal, urgent and national problem and I think the House should be grateful to our new colleague, Shrimati Maya Ray for having brought this resolution and given this House an opportunity to discuss it.

I do not want to go into statistics. I am sorry my friend mentioned some figure of 40 or 50 or 60 million unemployed. If there are sixty million unemployed in this country today not only my friends of the CP(I) but CP(M) also both of them will be sitting on the Treasury Benches and we shall be sitting in the Opposition.

(Interruptions) Mr Banerjee is a student of revolutions and so on sixty million unemployed and a society which has got a reasonable amount of stability in its working are inconsistent propositions. My friends I would think strength their case by not quoting this kind of statistics. We know it is very difficult to estimate the total amount of unemployment in the country. The only figures that we have got are the figures listed in the employment exchanges, that is bad enough. I think it has crossed the five million mark. We do not know what is the extent of rural unemployment and some indication might come from the number of people offering themselves for employment under drought schemes. The figure is no where near the mark which we all think is total amount of unemployed in the rural areas. I am not saying there is no unemployment; on the contrary I say

that we do not help the case by giving figures which we all know are not tenable. I think it is enough to say that there is a problem of unemployment, very urgent and serious problem and we should do something about it.

What can we do? The classical remedy is, we must raise the rate of economic growth. I do not think unemployment can be solved merely by having special programmes for dealing with unemployment. I say this as a member of the Congress Party and as an economist. Employment is largely a by-product of development. It is possible to have a choice of techniques and a policy which can increase the employment potential of a given volume of investment. You can invest Rs 100 lakhs and employ 20 people or you can invest Rs 100 lakhs and employ 2000 people. So, it is possible by having a proper policy of building in the employment aspect into the development aspect to increase the employment potential. But to think of special employment programmes is one of the most paradoxical things we have in this country—employing 1 man in a family or 1000 people in a district, etc. I would suggest with great respect and humility to the Planning Commission and members of our Government that we are not presenting a very good picture of ourselves when we say that we are going to solve the unemployment problem by having special programmes of employment. It is far better for us to say, we will deal with the problem of unemployment by looking at the entire investment policy, and the investment and production policy would be such that the quantum of employment that results from a given volume of investment will be the maximum possible. We cannot get away from the fact that ultimately the most important determinant for increasing employment is development. Development means higher rate of economic growth. I do not want to enter into a controversy about capitalism and socialism. We are all socialists now. Even my friend, Mr Pilloo Mody has

got some kind of socialism of his own. If we want to increase employment, we must increase the rate of economic growth. I am glad the Planning Commission in the new approach they are supposed to be presenting—we have not seen it yet; we only get information from the newspapers—they are emphasising the fact that if we want to solve the problem of unemployment, we have to place the main emphasis on increasing the rate of economic growth.

If I talk on how to increase the rate of economic growth, perhaps you will ring the bell several times, which I do not want. Economic growth depends on savings and investment—elementary facts, what my friend calls resources. We have to increase the savings and have a proper policy of investment. Increased resources and proper utilisation of them by a proper investment policy will bring about the desired increase in the rate of economic growth. Our rate of savings is very low compared not only to the socialist countries but even to such a profound paradise of capitalism like Japan. Capitalist and socialist countries have one thing in common i.e. the emphasis they place on the rate of savings. In India the rate of savings hovers between 8 and 11. At this rate, you cannot have more than 3, 4 or 5 per cent rate of growth. If you want 7, 8 or 9 per cent growth rate, we have to think of achieving a rate of savings of 16, 17 or 20 per cent. This cannot be done unless we do either of two things. One is we go the communist way the whole hog with all the threat it involves to our civil liberties and the way of life we have been accustomed to for so many years, for which our founding fathers fought and got independence. I do not think the country is prepared to do that. If that is so, there is no getting away from some kind of a variant of the Gandhian alternative as far as consumption, austerity and other things are concerned. I was delighted to hear the

other day the Railway Minister making a speech somewhere saying that we should have not only a ceiling on urban property but nobody should be allowed to build a house on more than 750 sq. ft. I was a little startled because I thought 750 sq. ft. was a bit too small, but it is not a question of 750 sq. ft. 1000 or 2,000 sq. ft. What is the lead the elite of this country is giving to the people in this regard? I am not talking of the Ministers or the Members of Parliament; I am talking of the Vice-Chancellors, professors, economists, doctors, lawyers, business executives, the elite in this country whose income per month is more than 1,000 rupees. What are we doing in this country to give a lead in the matter of austerity and avoidance of conspicuous consumption? The Government is one of the biggest consumers in this country. In their way of life, in their building programme, in their furnishing programme and other programmes, in what way are they giving attention to the avoidance of conspicuous consumption? I would, therefore, suggest that if within the democratic set up we want to increase our rate of savings substantially, there is no other way of doing it except by the elite going in for, what I could call, conspicuous austerity in the government, in the private sector, not only in politics but also in all sections and classes of society.

Coming to investment, there are two or three principles which I would suggest. Instead of talking of specially employment-oriented programmes, let us take the problem as a choice of techniques. There are different ways in which we can produce the same thing. One thing can be produced in 20 different ways, depending upon the labour involved. Perhaps in the case of steel and a few other items there may be only one choice and there is no escape. But there are many fields of economic activity where there is a choice of techniques. We can have 20 different methods of producing the

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same commodity, which will have different employment content for an investment of Rs 1 lakh. If you look at the statistics published by the Ministry of Industrial Development and see the amount invested per person employed and also the valued added by production for small scale and large-scale industry you will find that the ratio is about 1:10 to 1:30. Therefore, I would suggest that in the new revised industrial policy which they are going to formulate, which we are told would be coming very soon, they should definitely have a clause saying that because of the enormous population problem and the large number of unemployed and the additions that are going to be made to the labour force, they will definitely go in for a policy of choice of technique where they will try to maximum the employment potential for each rupee invested. I cannot go into the details of this because I am not a technical man.

Secondly let us have a policy of quick turnover of capital. I know we must have 20 million tonnes of steel and we want so many other things. But the economic wisdom lies not in saying what we want but in saying what we want today, what we want tomorrow or the day after. The time-phasing of the satisfaction of one's demands is the essence of economic planning. Our capital, which is not much, should have quick turnover. It should give back more quickly. That means that we want less capital intensive industries. Let us not sink our money in ventures which will give dividends after 15 years, however, desirable those ventures may be, because in the meanwhile inflation would grow, money income and expenditure would increase and that will not solve the problem of unemployment.

Therefore one of my suggestions is choice of techniques; and as far as

investment is concerned, let us have less capital intensive projects and acceptance of the principle of quick turnover of the capital. For the next two or three years let us concentrate on production of mass-consumption goods, on small industries, less capital intensive projects and full utilisation of capacity. Let us postpone for the time being putting in a large amount of money on projects which will yield results after 10 or 15 years. We can take them up once we have got control over the economic situation. After two or three years we can have a Mid-Term Appraisal, say, in 1975 or 1976 before our next elections.

Then, when we talk of unemployment, there is rural unemployment and there is urban unemployment. It is my very humble opinion, I say with a great amount of diffidence, that there is a big difference between the problem of rural unemployment and the problem of urban unemployment. Rural unemployment, in my opinion, is essentially a matter of rural low productivity while urban unemployment, in my opinion, is essentially a matter of people not getting jobs. Therefore, the kind of policy that we have for dealing with rural unemployment and the policy that we have for dealing with urban unemployment should not be the same. I have no time to elaborate it. I will be writing on this. In fact, I have written on it. I want to say this that, essentially in the rural areas, if we are able to sink a considerable amount of money by way of infra-structure, by way of water, by way of irrigation, by way of inputs, the problem of unemployment comes down. We can see what the position in Punjab is. Even in dry areas, when there is some irrigation, some water, some new agricultural strategy and so on, we find it is difficult to get labour rather than there is unemployment. We have to recognise this fact. Don't say that we are doing minor irrigation because it will produce employment. It is because

we want to see that agricultural productivity goes up. When the agricultural productivity goes up, automatically, it will have the effect of increasing employment.

Without elaborating further, I would say that for rural unemployment, a massive programme of investment in the rural areas is required. This investment should not be cluttered with ideas of giving one job to one man in each village, of giving one job to one adult in each family and all that. All such—I do not want to use any harsh expression. I will not say, infantile ...

AN HON. MEMBER Why not say so?

DR V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO. I will not like it. But I would say, without bothering about all that, and I would tell you that results would be achieved if you invest a lot of money in rural areas by way of inputs and all that. By doing so, the result that we want will be achieved.

Secondly, about rural unemployment, I want to say something of a land reforms. I find that mostly when people discuss land reforms, it is in terms of merely distribution of surplus land. That surplus is becoming like a grin of the Cheshire cat; it is disappearing everyday and one day, only the grin will be left on the mirror. I think, it is an important fact that agro-economic surveys conducted by agro-economic centres in different parts of the country have shown that there is no connection in agriculture between the size of the holding and the productivity per acre. On the contrary, it has also been shown that small holdings give more productivity per acre and employment per acre than large holdings. Therefore, I would suggest, small holdings are an essential part of the philosophy of maximising employment in the country. The land reforms should be such that they will result in a large

multiplication of small holdings. Otherwise, we are not going to solve the problem of rural unemployment.

Third thing that I would like to suggest is about credit. The other day, I was discussing it with a knowledgeable friend of mine. I must tell you that the cooperative movement does not serve the small holder. The major beneficiaries of the cooperative movement are the medium holders and big holders. There might have been justification for it 10 years ago. Today, with nationalised banking, with the directive given to the nationalised banks to serve the rural sector, and the nationalised banks showing a great deal of initiative in trying to lend their money to rural areas, I would suggest for the consideration of the Minister that our cooperative finance should be reserved only for small holders. All these big fellows can get money from nationalised banks. It is not that they will not get money. They will get money from nationalised banks. Let us confine cooperative finance essentially to small holders. Let us not allow big holders to come in here.

MR CHAIRMAN: He may try to conclude now.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: I am concluding. I do not think I can talk much about educated unemployment, educational system, this and that. I do not think a magic wand will change the educational system and do away with unemployment problem. Many things are required for it. There is no time at my disposal to discuss it. But I would like to suggest one thing. Take for example, the Fifth Plan. Rs. 50,000 crores are going to be invested. I have made a rough calculation. Let us say, Rs. 5,000 are required for employing one person. Actually an amount of Rs. 5,000 is much more than what is required for a small industry and much less than what is required for

[Dr. V. K. R. Varadaraja Rao] a big industry. A big industry requires about Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 13,000 per person, and a small industry requires about Rs. 1500 to Rs. 1800 per person. So, I take the medium figure of Rs. 5,000. If an amount of Rs. 5,000 is required for employing one person, then with an investment of Rs 50,000 crores, which is what is being talked about in the newspapers, we should be able to give employment to 10 crores of people during the course of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Ten crores divided by five comes to two crores. In other words, two crores of people or 20 million people should be given employment every year during the Fifth Five-Year Plan. I would like to know whether, when the paper on Fifth Five-Year Plan I comes before this House for discussion, it will contain the figures of only some specially employment oriented schemes or it will contain a more comprehensive scheme and discuss all Plan projects and the entire volume of investment from the point of view of employment aspect, and whether they will be able to tell us whether the investment of Rs 50,000 crores will result in creating employments for 20 million people every year during the Fifth Five-Year Plan or more or less.

Finally, I would like to make a suggestion which, I think, is constructive. I think, the subject is so important that I do not think we will really be able to finish discussing it in the course of three or four hours; this is something that requires continuous attention. I would like to make a suggestion through the Deputy Minister for the consideration of the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and, if necessary, of the Leader of the Party that we might have one more Consultative Committee in Parliament which should only be concerned with employment. Let us have a Consultative Committee only on employment where each Ministry should be able to tell us how far

their entire outlook, their orientation, investment programme, their policy, is dominated by the employment aspect, where we can cross-examine and find out from the Government what is being done to employment, whether it is increasing or decreasing, etc. I suggest that a Consultative Committee be appointed for the purpose of employment.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur).
At least the Members will be employed

DR V K R. VARADARAJA RAO.
I am sure, Mr. Banerjee will be a member of that Committee. I may not be but he is bound to be there.

I suggest that this Consultative Committee on Employment might take up where we leave. One occasional discussion—because Mrs Maya Ray was lucky enough in the ballot and we get this opportunity for discussion—is not going to solve the problem. There should be a continuous debate, continuous discussion. And I would like to appeal to my friends who are sitting on my right—probably that is the way they really are—that whatever may be their views on other matters, for God's sake, they may not make a party issue out of unemployment. This is a dynamite. This is one thing on which you require a national outlook, a national approach. Otherwise, I do not think, we will be able to solve it. I think, the Consultative Committee on Employment will provide us the forum where we can discuss with Government and other people; there can be a continuous dialogue and programme for maximising employment.

*SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER (Nilgiris): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity of speaking on the Resolution of Shrimati Maya Ray regarding the massive unemployment problem prevalent in the country. Shri V. K. R. V. Rao, who preceded me, appealed to

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

the House that this problem should be treated as a national problem and there should not be partisan approach of political parties in trying to tackle this gigantic problem. I would like to ask him whether he can contradict the fact that the Congress Party has been continuously in power during these two decades and that the Congress Party has ushered the era of planning in our country. If the result of all the Four Five Year Plans formulated by the ruling party is this massive unemployment problem, which has enveloped the entire country, I have no alternative but to charge the ruling party with the failure of its planned efforts. If the ruling party, while drafting the First Five Year Plan, had tried to assess in realistic terms the employment opportunities that would be created at the end of the First Five Year Plan, if the ruling party had tried to ensure that employment opportunities were created to meet the growing population, though the Government might not have been able to eliminate the problem of unemployment at the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan, yet this problem would not have assumed such meaning proportions. But the ruling party had other ideas about planning. Planning became an instrument of electioneering for the ruling party. You will agree with me if I say that the Five Year Plan has always coincided with the General Election. I would unhesitatingly say that the plan document became the election manifesto of the ruling party. That is why the Five Year Plans have not yielding the desired results.

The real problem is not that 6 crores of people are unemployed. I want to know how the Government are going to tackle the problem of educated unemployed. The educated unemployed are not going to be low like the uneducated unemployed. During 1971, 63816 Engineering Graduates and Diploma Holders were on the live Registers of Employment Exchanges, awaiting job opportunities. It is

estimated that at the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan 4,60,000 Engineering Graduates would be coming out of the Colleges. According to a research paper, "Employment Outlook for Engineers, 1969—1979, if the pace of the development in the country is kept up, at the end of the IV Plan employment opportunities for 3,84,000 engineers would be available. That means, 76,000 Engineering Graduates would be unemployed at the end of the Fourth Plan. If this is going to be the situation for the Engineering Graduates, I cannot imagine for a moment the lot of rural unemployed. This clearly shows that sufficient attention has not been given to the question of creating employment opportunities while formulating the Five Year Plan. The Government knew pretty well the output of the Engineering Colleges in the country. I wonder why this had not been kept in mind when the Fourth Five Year Plan was formulated. I am not giving these statistics from my imagination. These are the statistics given in Mid-term Appraisal of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

Let us take the case of Agricultural Graduates. In 1970, 7153 agricultural graduates were on the live Registers of Employment Exchanges awaiting the call. It has been estimated that 14,200 agricultural graduates would remain unemployed at the end of the Fourth Plan. The number of agricultural graduates coming out of the Colleges at the end of the Fourth Plan is estimated to be 35,000 and the State and the Central Governments would be able to provide jobs for only 20,800 agricultural graduates. You know, Sir, that we are an agricultural country and after Four Plans this is going to be lot of agricultural graduates. I do not know how the Government are going to tackle this problem. I do not think that the Government will be able to find a solution to this problem by providing a paltry sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for creating employment opportunities for thousands of agricultural graduates. I feel that the

[Shri J. Matha Gowder]

Government may be faced during the Fifth Plan period with the question of closing down the agricultural colleges in the country in view of the growing number of unemployed agricultural graduates.

Coming now to the question of Doctors, I need not say that there was a time when Doctors were not available in sufficient numbers to attend to the problem of public health in our country. But, what is the position now? It is estimated that at the end of IV Plan 36,000 Doctors would be out of the Medical Colleges and the job opportunities available would be only 26,000. This means that at the end of IV Plan 10,000 Doctors would be out of employment. I want to know whether we have reached the saturation point in providing Doctors for attending to the problem of public health in our country.

In every sector of life, there is unemployment and the ruling party cannot escape from the responsibility of creating this kind of chaotic situation in the country. Sir, in every State in the country there is widespread agitation, sometimes taking violent turn. The basic cause for such an unpleasant situation is unemployment among educated youth. If this situation is allowed to continue, the Government may not have the opportunity to brag about the Green Revolution; instead, they may be confronted with a Red Revolution throughout the country. It is mainly due to deficiencies and drawbacks in the planning of the Government. It is also due to faulty implementation of the plan programmes that has led to the sorry state of affairs in the country. How can we be prevented from blaming the ruling party for creating this mess? I would suggest that the Government, taking cue from the past mistakes and taking stock of the prevailing situation in the country, should not hesitate

to take into their confidence the State Governments as also the Opposition Parties here in formulating the Fifth Plan programmes. Not only pragmatic approach should be taken in drafting the Fifth Plan, but also the machinery for implementing the programmes should be geared up. Then only the country can be saved from the disaster confronting it.

Shri V. K. R. V. Rao referred to the efforts of the Punjab Government in glowing terms and I also wish to pay my humble tribute to the Government of Punjab for making fruitful planning efforts. If you take the question of setting up of industries, you find that most of the industrial estates have been located in urban centres. The rural areas have been completely neglected. How can you ever think of improving the standard of living of the people living in rural areas without trying to establish industrial estates in and around rural centres? I need not take special pains to refer to the so-called Big Houses of Monopolists, about whom frequent reference is made on the floor of this House. It cannot be denied that more and more industrial licences are being given to these big houses, when all the while the Government are talking about curbing the strangle-hold of these monopolists on the economy of our country. The Government and the ruling party day in and day out assure from all platforms in the country that they are determined to usher in an era of economic equality in the country. But, since these monopolists and the big industrial houses are the main source of resources for the ruling party, they are being given all industrial licences even though they are not exploiting in full the installed capacity. I would urge upon the Government that without any compunction they should bring the ceiling on income and then only the question of economic equality will have some meaning. The Government should take steps to see that these 70 big industrial houses are not allowed to expropriate the national wealth. There should be

, complete ban on issuing industrial licences to these big industrial houses. Then only the Government will be in a position to create a climate of confidence among the people of the country.

I am sorry to state that the Government have not stopped with this

16.45 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

I pointed out in my speech on the Bill nationalising the coking coal mines that the mine-owners should not be given any compensation, as they have already exploited the national wealth for decades, but it fell on deaf ears. If these mine-owners are given crores of rupees as compensation from the public exchequer, how can you have enough resources for creating job opportunities in the country? When the foreign companies are nationalised, the Government come forward with the proposal of giving compensation to the owners, knowing full well that for decades they have been repatriating huge profits out of the country. I do not understand the munificence of the Government in this regard. During the recent elections, the poor people of the country gave all their votes to the ruling party, because the ruling party pledged the abolition of Privy Purses of the Princes and Maharajas. What has happened after the elections? The Government sought the approval of this House for giving Rs 10 crores as compensation to the Princes and Maharajas. How do you expect the economy of the country to improve if such bounties from the public exchequer are given to the Princes and Maharajas, to the mine-owners to the foreign investors etc?

The Government may put forth the argument of population explosion for all the ills of the country. Were the Government unaware of this problem when the first two Five Year Plans were formulated and implemented? During the past five years, we see

inensive implementation of the family planning programmes? Could not the Government have started this even in the First Five Year Plan itself? Even now there is no uniform policy for family planning and population control. There is discrimination between religion and religion. Even the religious susceptibilities of the people are being exploited for political ends. That is how the planned efforts of the Government have founded on the rock of inefficiency and tardy implementation.

I am compelled to say that the Government could not achieve of the objectives of planned efforts because the plan programmes have been election-oriented. The benefits of planning that should accrue to the people in general and the economic development of the country have not been the criteria in formulating and implementing the plan programmes. On the other hand, the question of ruling party making political gains and continuance in power has been the foremost consideration of planning efforts. I would refer here that the Government, instead of encouraging more admissions in the Colleges and creating more job opportunities for the future generation, some years back reduced the number of admissions to the Engineering Colleges to arrest the growth of unemployment among the Engineers. There will be no other country in the world, which would have adopted such a retrograde measure. In all other countries of the world, the Governments while formulating the economic policy, keep in forefront the needs of the coming generation. It can only happen in our country that admissions to the Engineering College are restricted to tide over the crisis of unemployment among the Engineers. It may also happen that even the Technical Colleges will be closed during the Fifth Plan period to solve the problem of unemployment among the educated youth.

Before I conclude, I would plead with the Government that they should learn from past experience, they should

[Shri J Matha Gowder]

not go on perpetuating the past mistakes. The planning efforts should be for the prosperity of the country and not for the political expediencies of the ruling party.

With these words I conclude.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER We have exhausted the time fixed for this discussion. Still I have a good number of names before me, nine from the Congress Party and three from the Opposition. Then, the Minister is to reply and the Mover of the Resolution also is to reply.

SHRI SAI PAL KAPUR (Patiala) Time can be extended.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER I would like to have the sense of the House as to what we should do in a situation like this.

SHRI R. V. BADE (Khargone) Time may be extended.

SHRI J MATHA GOWDER Time may be extended.

SHRI N K P SALVE (Betul) This is a very important issue and a very burning topic. We must extend time and we must have adequate debate on this subject.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER Then, we proceed with the discussion.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो दूसरा प्रस्ताव श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता का मानना है, वह भी बहुत जरूरी है।

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER I am taking the sense of the House, because I know that there is another resolution which is to come after this.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री - लेकिन वह भी बहुत जरूरी है। इस तरह से तो उसको स्कोट करके भी कोशिश हो रही है, टाइम बढ़ा कर उसको स्कोट करना चाहते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER I want to scuttle it? Not I, sitting here.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI I am not complaining against you. I would submit that the next resolution may at least be allowed to be moved. You may find out ways to see that it is at least moved.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER That is the hon Member's submission. I want the sense of the House and the pleasure of the House. The hon Member has his point of view. Other hon Members have their points of view. I shall be guided by what the House says in this matter. So, I want the House to guide me. I cannot just overrule the House.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI The next resolution is not less important.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER I quite agree. But the hon Member ought to help me, and the House has to help me.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI It is for you, Sir, to find out other ways to allow it to be moved.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER There is no other way for me except to take the sense of the House. What other course is open to me?

SOME HON MEMBERS Time may be extended.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER I would like the House to decide very clearly as to what we should do. If the House decides to close this discussion, I shall call the hon. Minister now to reply, and then I shall call the Hon Mover of the resolution to reply to the debate. But I would be guided by the sense of the House.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North-East): Normally it is the convention, except in very extraordinary conditions, that the Resolution next

on the list is permitted to be moved. But if on this occasion the majority in this House decides to push out a certain Resolution with a very definite political connotation, it would be a reflection on the majority in the House, on the entire House, which is very undesirable. I would wish the Chair also helps us in this regard. It is very important that the Opposition, particularly in regard to matters of principle, are enabled during the non-official members day to put forward their point of view. If by the majority roller they are going to do damage to this convention, it would be very wrong. Therefore, I would beseech you also to exercise some discretion in the matter and not leave it to the majority which is ready-made.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I think this is a most miserable manner of putting up a case. We are equally interested in the next Resolution and we do not want to scuttle it. But they are interested only politically. We are interested in this debate. This is an important topic, an important matter. We want adequate debate on this we also want to discuss the next Resolution. It is farthest from our intent to scuttle the next Resolution.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी . उस रेजोल्यूशन को मूव करा दिया जाय ऐसा पहले भी हुआ है ।

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay-Central): May I make a suggestion? The half hour discussion may be postponed to another day so that we can have sufficient time today itself.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: With the consent of the member concerned Unless he agrees, it cannot be done

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: He may be consulted when available.

SHRI NARASINGH NARAIN PANDEY (Gorakhpur): That is also very important.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That can only be decided when the time for it comes.

2547 LS-11

Prof. Mukerjee wants me to exercise discretion. In what way? I cannot overrule the desire of the House.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: There is a distinct precedent. The mover of the next Resolution was permitted to move it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No, no. There is no precedent. If such a thing was done, it was in violation of the rules. The rules are very clear on the point; the next Resolution cannot be taken up before the previous one has been disposed of.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): It has been done.

SHRI BALGOVIND VERMA: This is a very important Resolution. This problem is being raised every now and then on the floor of the House in some form or the other. Therefore, I think members should have enough time. I also should have adequate time to reply, to put forward views of the Government. Otherwise, members will not be satisfied.

SHRI PILOO MODY. In any case, the wind has been taken out of Shri Indrajit Gupta's Resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think the sense of the House is that we should proceed with this.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Darbara Singh.

श्री दरबारा सिंह (होशियारपुर) : डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, हमारे सामने वह बहुत महत्व सवाल है, जिसे हमारे एक मेम्बर लाये हैं और उस पर यहाँ बहस चल रही है। हम यह भी नहीं समझते कि दूसरा रेजोल्यूशन इससे कम इम्पोर्टेंट है, लेकिन इस रेजोल्यूशन पर भी प्रैक्टिसर डिस्कशन होगी चाहिये :

[श्री बरबारा सिंह]

मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि जो एक्सटेंशन इसको दी गई है, वह इतनी कम है कि हम उसके सारे इञ्च पर बहस नहीं कर सकते। इस लिए जो निहायत जरूरी मसला है, जिस पर बार बार पार्लियामेंट में सवाल उठते हैं, तो क्यों न इसको पहले एक तरफ़ा तय कर दिया जाय और सरकार की तरफ़ से जो तज़ाबीज है, व सामने आ जाये इसलिये यह बैठक हमें पूरे तौर से कर्नी चाहिये ताकि मामला साफ़ हो जाये। मैं इस बात से मी० आर्००१० की डिस्कशन की अहमियत को कम करण नहीं दे रहा हूँ, उसको लेना चाहिये वह भी अहम रेजोल्यूशन है। जो मारी चीजे अघोरे में है वह रोशनी में आनी चाहिये।

1700 hours

अब आज का जो मजमून है, मैं उसके बारे में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह ममना मिर्फ़ हिन्दुस्तान का ही नहीं है, मारी दुनिया। इस से घिरी हुई है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की अपनी प्राबलमज है। इसको हल करने के लिये वह कहना कि रेजोल्यूशन धायेगा, यह हो जायगा, वह हो जायगा—इन सब बातों की कहने की जरूरत नहीं है, जरूरत हम बात की है कि हम तज़ाबीज दें कि इन तज़ाबीज के तहत हम अग्रे बढ़ सकते हैं—इस तरह का कन्स्ट्रिक्टिव क्रिटिसिज्म होना चाहिये—इसमें दो राय नहीं हैं।

इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं कि बरोजगारी बढ़ी है, बढ़ती जा रही है। इसको रोकने के लिये कौन सी तज़ाबीज अखिलबार करना चाहिये जिससे हमारे देश का जो क्यूअर है वह ठीक हो सके। मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि

यू० एस० ए० से कहते हैं कण्टलिज्म बहुत ज्यादा है, वहाँ भी लाखों की तादाद में लोग बेकार हैं। इसी तरह से यू० के में लोग बेकार हैं, फ्रान्स में भी बेकार हैं। जो दो चार साल पहले एमे लोगो की तादाद थी अब उससे ज्यादा तादाद बढ़ रही है। लेकिन यह हमारे लिए कोई डिफेन्स की बात नहीं है। यह वन्ड वाइड फेनामेनन है। इसमें हमारा जो मुश्किल है उनका हल हमें ढूँढना है। बाहर क्या हालत है उनको हम अपने डिफेन्स में देने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। हिन्दुस्तान में जो स्टूडेंट्स हैं उनका एजिटेशन है, व इसके लिए माग करत हैं। कहीं पर लेबर को स्ट्राइक हो वही पर तानाबन्दी है कहीं पर हड़ताल है। उन मारी बातों के रीजन्स क्या है, उनको अगर हम ढूँढें तो जहा दूसरे बहुत सारे रीजन्स हैं उनमें में एन रीजन यह भी है कि जहा तक एम्प्लायमेंट चांसेज का सवाल है हम उनको बढ़ा नहीं पाए। एम्प्लायमेंट चांसेज को बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। इस लिहाज में मैं बहस करना चाहता हूँ।

यह बात कि स्टैटिस्टिक्स क्या हैं, कितने लोग बेकार हैं जिनको काम नहीं मिल रहा है, इस पर बहस हो सकती है। मैं सरकार से कहूँगा कि जो एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज की फिगर्स हैं उन पर डिपेन्ड न करें। जो लोग जानते हैं, जिनको पता है कि एम्प्लायमेंट के लिए वहा पर हमें अपना नाम अर्ज करवाना है वह वहा पर आते हैं। लेकिन ज्यादा तादाद में लोग बाहर रह जाते हैं। मैं अपना नाम वहाँ पर रजिस्टर नहीं करवा पाते। उन लोगों को ही हमें इसमें सुधार करने की जरूरत है इसी लिहाज से इसका सर्वे स्टेट कैबिल पर किया जाय

चाहिए। यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि पटवारी ने लिख दिया कि इतनी फसल होगी तो उसी के मुताबिक सरकार ने यहां पर आदाद व गुमार दे दिए और कह दिया कि देश में इतने लाख टन अनाज होगा। तो एक बात यह है कि इस लिहाज से मर्कें होना चाहिए, ताकि हमें असलियत का पता चल सके कि कहा कहा कितने अनाज में यह प्राबल्य है हर डिस्ट्रिक्ट में। इस लिहाज से अनाज चाहता हूँ कि जैसा जिनके पास का अनाज है हमें दुख है कि जो अनाज बाहर में अनाज और अनाज से ट्रेनिंग लेकर के आने के बिकार है। उनको भी कही लगाने की जरूरत है। हमारे काम जो निकलने वाले हैं उनमें उनको लगाये। वह टेक्निकल हैड्स हैं वह हमारा बहुत काम कर सकते हैं। इसी तरह से बहुत सारे पाम्ट प्रोजेक्ट्स भी बिकार हैं। हजारों की तादाद में ऐसे आदमी हैं और उन की जा प्रबल्य है वह रोज व राज बंद रही है। मैं मानता हूँ कि टरुने भी रीजन्स हैं। पापुलेशन की प्रोजेक्ट्स ही रूठी है। डॉ० एम० के० मेरे दोस्त ने कहा कि पापुलेशन का प्रबल्य नहीं रखा गया। पापुलेशन का खयाल रखा जाये लेकिन पापुलेशन जो है वह पापुलेशन बनाने पर खयाल नहीं करती—यह भी एक बात है : हमारे देश में ऐसे करंटम और रिवाज हैं डिफरेंट कम्युनिटीज हैं जिनको तोड़ने के लिए आम तौर पर लोग तैयार नहीं और रेजिजन के खयाल से या दूसरे खयाल से आप उन पर हाथ नहीं डालते। तो ऐसी बातें हैं। गरीबों पर तो हाथ डालते हैं लेकिन अमीर जो हैं, जिनकी निजोरियो में कंगेडो स्पया भरा है उनके लिए हम क्या करते हैं ? हम देहात में जाकर नसबन्दी का काम करते हैं लेकिन यहां पर कोई लिहाज नहीं। डॉ० वी० ए० आर० बी० राव ने यहां पर बहुत अच्छी स्पीच की लेकिन मैं उससे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो अरबन पापुलेशन है क्यों उसी के लिए जरूरी है कि बेकारी दूर की जाये ?

80 फीसदी आबादी जो देहातों में रहती है उसके लिए कौन खयाल करेगा ? वहा पर भी बेकारी है। वहा लेबर का बेकारी है। . . (अवधान) . . तो यह कुछ बातें हैं जो मैं आपकी नोटिस में ला रहा हूँ। इन पर आप ध्यान दीजिए। समय की कमी की वजह से मैं मोटी मोटी बातें ही सरकार की नोटिस में लाना चाहता हूँ।

मैं यह अज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारी एकोनमी है वह अफेक्ट हुआ है अल ही हमारे जा एपो प्रोजेक्ट के भाई है अज उम्क न माने क्योंकि वह कहते हैं कि अल देश को बच तक लिए धरे होंगे। लेकिन उम्का असर हमारे मुक्त की एकोनमी पर हुआ है। इम्प्लेजन्स का नाम लिया जाता है तो वह भी कारण है। लेकिन इन बातों के बाद भी हम तरफ जा खयाल रांगव हाना चाहिए था वह कम हुआ है। स्टूडेंट्स एजिटेशन और दूसरी चीजों का नाम लिया जाता है, रेड रेवोल्यूशन के लिए करते हैं, मैं मानता हूँ कि उनमें बेचैनी है, स्टूडेंट्स में बेचैनी है। वह अभी कालेज और यूनिवर्सिटीज में है, वहा से निकल कर बाहर जब वे आयेगे तो अपनी बेकारी दूर करने के लिए कहेंगे कि हमें अब दो तो उम्की दख-भाल और उसका अन्दाज पहले से होना चाहिए।

इन सारी चीजों के सल्यूशन्स हैं। मैं एक-एक करके बताना चाहता हूँ। जितनी भी जाब आप्यूनिटीज है उनको सिन्क्रोनाइज करना चाहिए नेशनल डेवलपमेंट के साथ और प्रोव आप पापुलेशन के साथ। पापुलेशन का रेट जो ज्यादा बढ़ रहा है उसके साथ इसे सिन्क्रो-

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

नाइज करना पड़गा ताकि इवैनपमेंट प्रोब
ज्यादा हो सके। यह दो तरह से हो सकता है।
एक तो शार्ट टर्म तजवीजें हो सकती हैं और
दूसरी लांग टर्म तजवीजें हो सकती हैं। लॉग
टर्म की तजवीजों में बड़ी बड़ी फैक्टरीज,
हेवी इंडस्ट्रीज लगाई जा सकती हैं जिनका
असर 10-15 साल में होगा लेकिन फोरी
लॉग पर असर लाने के लिए एक, दो या तीन
साल की तजवीजों को लेना चाहिए और उनका
मैक्सिमम रिजल्ट लेना चाहिए। इसी तरह से
में अप्रिसे अर्ज करू कि रेट ब्राफ इन्वस्टमेंट
और रेट ब्राफ सेविंग को भी हम उस स्पीड
से नहीं कर पाए जिन स्पीड से करने की जरू-
रत थी। हमारे सामने मश्किलान है, मैं
मानता हू लेकिन इन चीजों को हमें स्पीड
अप करना चाहिए। इसी तरह से हमारे पास
रिसोर्सेज कम हैं। रिसोर्सेज को बढ़ावा देने
के लिए कौन सी तजवीजें हो सकती हैं वह
भी देखना होगा। हमारा रेट ब्राफ इंडस्ट्रियल
प्रोब जो है वह भी मैक्सिमम होना चाहिए।
प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा था कि अगर आपको
प्रोब करनी है ज्यादा तो उसके लिए जो भी
आपके पास साधन हैं, पब्लिक सेक्टर को मज-
बूत करके खपया लेना चाहिए ताकि लोगों
को सारी चीजें मिले। और प्राइवेट सेक्टर जो
है, उसकी जो इमदाद हो रही है उसको भी
हम देखें। नेशनलाइज जब हमें करना है तो
उसमें ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है जोकि हमारे
ह्राब को रोके रखे। हमें करना चाहिए।
इन्वैस्टमेंट की जहा तक बात है, मिल मालिकों
के जो खपया बढ़ाया हुआ है, जो ब्रीक नहीं
है उसकी निकालें। जो रिसोर्सेज हैं उनके
मूलाधिक अगर कोई काम करना चाहते हैं

तो करने दिया जाये। सरकार के हाब तो
बहुत लम्बे हैं।

को आस्पेक्ट्स जो बनाए गए हैं उसमें
देहात के इवैलपमेंट के लिए 6 चीज बहुत
जरूरी हैं जैसा कि डा० राव ने कहा कि
प्राइमरी एजुकेशन जो है, उसका ढांचा
है उसको बदलना पड़ेगा और उसके लिए
टीचर्स ज्यादा तादाद में रखने पड़ेंगे।
इसी तरह से जब तक एलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन नहीं
होना तब तक काम नहीं बनेगा। इरीगेशन
मिनिस्टर साहब—यहा पर होते तो मैं
उनसे कहता कि ग्राम बीम बीम मान की
बड़ी-बड़ी तकीजें हमारे सामने रख रहे हैं वह
हमें न बतायें, हम तो उन तजवीजों को च हने
है जो कि दो चार साल में रिजल्ट देने वाली
हो। इस बात में इसकी तफसील में कुछ
नहीं कहना चाहता, जब अगल सेशन में
उसकी डिमांड प्रायेमी तब बताऊंगा कि
कहा कहा पर क्या खराबी मौजूद है जिसको
दुस्त करने की जरूरत है। शायद उससे
पहले ही मैं उसको दुस्त करने की कोशिश
करें। इसी तरह से रोड कंस्ट्रक्शन भी
एम्प्लायमेंट देता है। लेकिन रोड रोलरस
नहीं हैं, यह कह कर एम्प्लायमेंट सका हुआ
है। फ्रैंच प्रोग्राम के लिए 150 करोड़ खपया
दिया गया। ठीक है, आपने रोदी दी है,
एक खानकान में एक को आपने सी खपये
दिए। बहुत धन्यता किया।

लेकिन मैंने बसनाइये कि
150 करोड़ खपया कौन खा गया? उस
का प्रोडक्टिव पार्ट कहां गया? वह कहां

कंजूम हो गया उस के लिये आप कह देंगे कि सड़कें बनाई गईं, स्कूल बनाये गये, तालाब बन गये, पीने के लिये पानी ो गया। सब कुछ ही गया, लेकिन वह तो आप को नामेल कोस में ही करना था, अगर इस के लिये आप यह रुपया बिदड़ा कर लेते है तो गरीबों के लिये जो 100 पया साल के लिये या छः महीने के लिये दिया जाता है वह खत्म हो जायेगा। अगर आप यह करने कि वहा पर एक एक करोड की छोटी छोटी इडस्ट्री लगाते तो जो गरीब है, हरिजन है, जिन को खाने के लिये नहीं मिलता, पीने के लिये पानी नहीं मिलता, उन के लिये कुछ इन्तजाम हो जाता। अगर पन्चीम जिलो में एक एक करोड रुपयों की इडस्ट्री लगा दी जाती तो उस से काफी लोगों का काम चलता।

मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूं कि आप ने रूरल इंडस्ट्रीज के लिये कुछ नहीं किया। मैं आप को तजवीज देता हूं कि आप क्लस्टर आफ विलेजज के लिये इंडस्ट्रीज कायम कीजिये और उस मे इंडस्ट्रीज के तमाम एस्पेक्ट्स बीजिये ताकि नजदीक मे ही इंडस्ट्रीज कायम हो सके। आप को उन लोगों के लिये बैंक्स से लोन देने चाहिय। मैं मानता हूं कि हम ने बैंक्स को नेशनलाइज कर लिया, लेकिन मुझे कहते हुए दु ख होता कि अभी तक बैंक्स के ऊपर बँडे हुए जो लोग हैं वह पया देने में, एडवान्स करने में इतने कलस हैं, इतनी फार्मैलिज पूरी

कराते हैं कि जो गरीब आदमी है, जो बेकार है और अपना धन्धा करना चाहता है, उस के लिये कोई गुजाइश नहीं है। आप उस से कहते है कि थ्योरिटी लाभो। आखिर वह कहा से थ्योरिटी लाये? वह जो काम करना चाहता है उस के अग्रेन्ट उस को कर्जा मिलना चाहिये। आज जो बड़े कारखानेदार है उन को तो साठे तीन फीसदी पर कर्जा मिल जाता है, लेकिन जो गरीब आदमी है उन को दस और बारह फीसदी पर मिलता है। आप को इस डिस्क्रिमिनेशन को दूर करना चाहिये। आज आप को क्लस्टर आफ विलेजज को ले कर उन के चारों तरफ एन्सिलरी इडस्ट्रीज लगानी चाहिय ताकि उन को घर के पास काम मिल सके।

अभी तक यह हो रहा है कि जो इंडस्ट्रीज का नेशनलाइजेशन हो रहा है वह भरबन एरियाज में हो रहा है। बड़े बड़े शहर बन रहे हैं, बड़े बड़े शहरों के लिये नये नये प्रोग्राम लाये जा रहे हैं ताकि वहां पर हजारों करोड रुपये लगा कर बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज का नेशनलाइजेशन किया जाये। आप को चाहिये कि आप इन चीजों को डिसेंट्रलाइज करें। सेंट्रलाइजेशन से काम नहीं बनेगा। मैं अर्ज कर रहा हूं कि जितनी एजेंसियां हैं उन को बदलना पडेगा। यहा पर रूरल सेक्टर मे कोआपरेटिव का जिक्र किया गया। मेरे दोस्त कहते हैं कि कोआपरेटिव सेक्टर को मजबूत करना पडेगा अगर हमें कुछ काम निकालना है। लेकिन मैं बहुत जोर से कहना

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

चाहता हूँ कि कोम्प्यारेटिव सेक्टर तो सिर्फ़ उन लोगों तक महसूस रहना चाहिये जो आदमी कोम्प्यारेटिव सोसायटी में शामिल होते हैं। छोटे किसान, छोटे दूकानदार, छोटे धन्धे करने वाले जो हैं, उन को लेना चाहिये ताकि सीधे तौर पर जल्दी से हम उन को सारी चीज़ें दे दें। कोम्प्यारेटिव की मार्फत हम बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं। बहुत कुछ रुपया कोम्प्यारेटिव देती है, लेकिन बड़े बड़े लैंडलार्ड और दूसरे बड़े बड़े लोग उस रुपये को जाया कर रहे हैं, बरबाद कर रहे हैं। इस का परकोलेशन इस ढंग से होना चाहिये जिस से गरीब आदमी को, थोड़ी रोटी से गुजारा करने वाले आम आदमी को धन्धा मिल सके और सारा रुपया मिल सके।

आज जो माजिनल फार्मर हैं उन की बहुत बुरी हालत है। उन को रुपया नहीं मिल रहा है। 20, 30 एकड़ रखने वाले को नहीं मिल रहा है, 100 एकड़ रखने वाले को मिल रहा है। कैसे इतनी जमीन रखे हुए हैं वह आज की बात नहीं है, लेकिन लैंड सौलिंग होने के बाद जिस के पास ज्यादा जमीन है वह कर्जा ले सकता है। जिन को मजदूरी कर के रोटी कमाना है, फसल पैदा कर के गुजारा करना है, उन हरिजनों के लिये कर्ज की गुंजाइश नहीं है। यहाँ हम कहते हैं कि जमीन मिलेगी। मैं बापेह तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जमीन हिन्दुस्तान भर में बटो हुई है, वह मिलने वाली नहीं है। उन बेचारों को काम देना चाहिये, इंडस्ट्रियल काम देना चाहिये। आखिर यह जमीन किस ढंग से निकलेगी, मुझे पता नहीं। अगर आप

की सरकार इंटरफिगर न करे तो स्टेट सरकारें किसी तरह से इस को भागे ले जाने वाली नहीं हैं, न कोई जमीन मिलने वाली है, न कोई मकान मिलने वाला है। सेट्रल गवर्नमेंट मकान के लिये पैसा देती है, लेकिन उस का यूटिलाइजेशन कहां होता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किस को जमीन ले कर दी है जहाँ कोई मकान बना सके। वह लोग यों ही धूम रहे हैं। इस में आप ने इतनी कामप्लेक्सिटी क्रिएट कर दी है कि वह लोग अपने पांवों पर खड़े नहीं हो सकते, जब तक सरकार उन की मदद न करे।

आज जो सोशल और एकानामिक प्राब्लेम है उन का हल यह नहीं है कि अरबन एरियाज में कंसेंट्रेशन ग्राफ वेल्थ होता जाये। उस का बटवारा होना चाहिये और बटवारे के जरिये लोगों को बाहर जा कर मदद देनी चाहिये। आज जो रुपये की अनकार दिखाई देती है वह कहीं कहीं ही दिखलाई देती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह लोग देहातों में जा कर काम करें।

ऐग्रीकल्चर के बारे में मैं बहुत नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। थोड़ा ही कहना चाहता हूँ। ऐग्रीकल्चर जो है हम उस में सेल्फ सफिशिएंट कैसे हो उस के बारे में भी नहीं कहता, लेकिन ऐग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर कमजोर इस लिये भी है कि वहाँ पानी नहीं मिलता, इलेक्ट्रिसिटी नहीं मिलती और इनपुट्स इतनी कम तादाद में हैं जिस का ठिकाना नहीं है। वह किस कीमत में मिल रहे हैं यह भागड़े की बात है। यह बीज बापसे बहुत है। लेकिन मैं एक ही बात कह सकता हूँ कि जो कुछ भी है वह इतना कम मिलता है कि वही

लोग ले जाते हैं जिन के पास रुपया है और उस को वह ब्लैक मार्केट में बेचते हैं। अगर इन सारी चीजों की तरफ आप ध्यान दें तो भी फ्रिज आफ दि प्राब्लेम हल होगी।

भ्रागे के लिये मे तजबीज देना चाहता हू कि यह एक सीरियस मॉटर यो ही छोड़ देने की बात नहीं है कि डिस्कशन हो गया। भ्राज इम के बारे में सागे हिन्दुस्तान में बर्खा है। इस को हल करने के लिये हम को सोचना होगा कि हम किस तरह भ्रागे वाले दिनों में अपनी प्लैन में तब्दीली करे और हम लाखों की तादाद में बेकारों को, बेकार पड़े लिखे लोगों को किम हद तक, किम परसेटेज में ऐडजस्ट कर सकेंगे, कितने जाब्ज क्रिएट करेगे। सारी चीज जाब् ओरिएण्टेड होनी चाहिये।

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Moradabad). Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is good on the part of Mrs. Maya Ray to move this Resolution and to streamline the problem of unemployment. She has praised the national leadership for its dynamism. But unfortunately, it is not being used for public good. There is an impression growing in the country that this Parliament has developed into a debating society or some sort of a circus. Any debate, which is conducted in this House, has little meaning to the Government. The Government hardly takes any interest in Parliament. Its Ministers are found absent for all major debates and, therefore, it is all a debate which will have little bearing so far as the common man in the country is concerned.

We as a nation are committed to banish poverty. The Prime Minister has given an assurance that all such steps would be taken that would produce definite results in a period of three years. Poverty is known to be the biggest curse of the modern era. At the moment, we all know that more than 225 million people are living below the poverty line. It was not long ago when Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia presented his three-anna theory in this House. The per capita income in this country is so low that a larger percentage of the population can hardly survive. We also know that more than 40 per cent of rural population in the country do not have more than Rs. 20 as income per head per month. This is the situation.

Under-utilisation of India's surplus labour force is known to be the biggest problem and the massive unemployment that we see today reflects a major failure of Indian planning. After every Plan, we have found that the figures of unemployed are doubled. Though there is a difference of opinion about the figures of unemployed, a very reasonable estimate has been made that, at the moment, we have 20 million unemployed in the country and the figure is likely to rise to 24 millions by 1974.

We also talk about growth of population. The population is growing at the rate of 2.5 per cent. We are now reaching 550 million mark. The family planning programme has proved to be a force. During 1955-60, we have produced 170 million children. Out of that, 90 million children will join the labour force in seventeens. Now you can very well visualise the magnitude of the problem.

Coming to the unemployed engineers, the current figure is about 56,700 in the country, and their number will surely go to 100,000 by the end of the Fourth Plan.

[Shri Virendra Agarwal]

We have also talked about the live registers in Employment Exchanges. This figure has gone up from 2.5 million in 1966 to 5.3 million in 1971.

Now we come to what we have done during the last ten years. Since 1961 in both public and private sectors, the total increase of jobs has amounted only to 2.5 millions. You also know, Sir, that both the sectors cannot provide jobs for more than 300,000 people in a year. This is the total situation of the economy.

It is true that unemployment in the country is a country-wide phenomenon, but it is more acute in certain regions like West Bengal. Government figures differ from those presented by the others; the government figure of unemployed in West Bengal is 2.5 million whereas the others have presented that it is not less than 36 millions. Joblessness is increasing at an annual rate of 100,000 a year in West Bengal alone. The West Bengal Government has recently sponsored a plan, but I really do not know whether it will ever be worked out. In West Bengal today, I feel, the Government is merely paying lip sympathy to the problem of unemployment because we know that it is very much linked up with the problem of law and order in West Bengal.

There is the impression today in the country that Government believes that mere slogans will create jobs. Employment cannot be created in a vacuum. Jobs are essentially a by-product of a vigorous economy. It is time that it is realised that growth, by itself, does not produce social justice. Monopoly, whether it is in private or public, cannot create large jobs. But, Sir, we have been talking of decentralised economy and development of small scale and cottage industries in this country since we attained political freedom. That was the message of Mahatma Gandhi. But we really do not know what exactly has happened during the last 25 years for

development of small scale industries in this country which alone is the lasting solution for the problem of unemployment. The intermediate technology which has been developed in a large number of countries and which has solved the problem should be applied in our country. Ludhiana is an example; Ludhiana is a pointer where intermediate technology has been employed; and it has provided large jobs. In Japan the growth rate is very high; they have applied the intermediate technology; technology is in every house, with the result that they have made every one employed. In this country, I feel that we should learn to employ intermediate technology at a mass level, so that in every house, in rural areas, we have a machine and the rural man can employ the knowhow and finance for developing some sort of small scale industry. Decentralised economic structure is vital for social justice and what we have done during the Past 25 years is an indicator that we have forgotten the message of Mahatma Gandhi though we are very keen to pay lip sympathy to what he preached, we are not prepared to practise.

I will go a little further and say that recently the new Planning Minister has been talking of a new slogan, that is 'Back to Nehru'. Jawaharlal Nehru is emotionally identified with the whole nation; Jawaharlal Nehru is a national hero; he commands tremendous respect. Jawaharlal Nehru is often associated with the concept of planning. But I am sure that if Jawaharlal Nehru had been alive today, he would not have allowed the Government to go back; he would have asked them to go forward rather than go back. To-day, I will say that the entire Plan should lay a total emphasis on creating jobs and also for meeting the consumption needs of the large growing population.

The problem of unemployment is really very serious to-day in rural areas. That is the real problem and

for the rural areas, it has been repeatedly recommended that the Government should sponsor a large rural works programme costing Rs. 11,000 crores which should create jobs for meeting minimum public consumption needs of 24 million families or about 130 million people during the Fifth Plan which should imply the construction of roads, construction of hospitals, schools and housing also and furthermore, utmost importance be given to providing drinking water in rural areas.

A great deal has been talked about the crash programme and I do not have time to dwell on it now. I would like to say that there is no government in the world which has ever provided jobs to all. Whatever you may do, you may extend the public sector, you may nationalise all the industries, but, even then, this Government cannot provide jobs to all. Therefore, the solution lies in producing a scheme of self-employment and that is the only solution. At the moment, I know a large number of unemployed go on looking to the Government for providing them jobs. This sort of attitude on their part is not very helpful...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We are approaching 5.30. We shall have to take up another item.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL: I know there are certain difficulties and, the Government knows it, which do not encourage our youth to engage in self-employment. So, I suggest that the Government should direct all its energies to such avenues so that the Indian youth can engage themselves in such projects which can provide self-employment.

There is a widespread unrest going on. At the moment, there is an impression in this country that there is only one employment exchange and that is the biggest one and that is the Prime Minister of India. The Prime Minister of India to-day is not interested in providing jobs to the

people or unemployed either in the rural or in the urban areas. She is interested in providing jobs to the defeated politicians. That is the trend. That is the outlook of our Government while they have got no policy or scheme for providing jobs either to the rural or the urban unemployed.

With these words, I would request the Government to have an integrated scheme so that we can really develop something specific and concrete in every district where the rural unemployed can get gainful employment.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): The problem of unemployment is a problem which has created not only head-ache to the Government but the Government has to pass through and the country has to pass through critical times. The intensiveness and the extensiveness of this problem can be understood properly if we see as to what extent this problem is assuming disproportionate dimensions. If I am to quote some figures, in 1950 we had on the live registers of the employment exchanges 3,30,743 job-seekers. Then, from year to year the figure has increased. Now, I am coming to the figure of 1966. The Committee on Unemployment has given its interim report on short-term measures for employment and that committee has given certain figures from 1966. But, so far as the register of the employment exchanges is concerned...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandare, you can continue on the next occasion.

17.30 hrs.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

NATIONALISATION OF SUGAR INDUSTRY

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, in your absence there was a suggestion that, in order to give more time to the discussion of this resolution, if you agree, your half-an-hour discussion may be shifted to some other day.