

**SHRI S.C. SAMANTA:** This Bill we brought forward by me and discussed in 1962. Now, after ten years, the Government has considered the matter and is bringing forward a similar Bill before the House. With this assurance, I ask the leave of the House to withdraw the Bill.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The question is "That leave be granted to Shri S. C. Samanta to withdraw his Bill further to amend the Factories Act, 1948."

*The Motion was adopted*

**SHRI S.C. SAMANTA:** Sir I withdraw the Bill.

16.56 hrs.

#### CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL

*(Insertion of new articles 23A, 23B and 23C)*

**PROF. MADHU DANAVATE (Rajapur):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move\*:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India be taken into consideration."

I am placing before the House for consideration the Constitution Amendment Bill which seeks to amend the Constitution by suggesting insertion of new articles 23A, 23B and 23C. The objection of this Bill is to see that certain basic provisions which are missing from the fundamental rights are incorporated there. I would like to see that our Constitution ensures work and adequate means of livelihood for all citizens; secondly, failing such a provision of work and adequate means of livelihood, there should be some sort of unemployment allowance to be given to the unemployed; thirdly, there should be a monetary assistance to those who have completed the age of 60 years or who

are chronically sick or disabled and, lastly there should be free and compulsory education for all children upto the age of 14 years.

I may call the attention of the Honed that when the famous Twenty-fourth Amendment of the Constitution was being accepted by the House, those of us who supported it pointed out that this was only an enabling Bill and that a test of the enabling Bill would be to utilise the powers given to Parliament by the Bill, to introduce certain measures through which more radical means of transformation could be brought about.

There are certain principles which are already enunciated in the Directive Principles of State Policy. Let me point out to you that when certain principles are enunciated only in the Directive Principles of the State Policy, these principles are not justiciable and, therefore, they merely remain vague generalisations and platitudes and they cannot be implemented. If these principles are not implemented in practice, the common man can not go to the court and seek justice. Therefore, through this Constitution Amendment Bill, all that I am proposing is that just as the fundamental right to property is accepted by the Constitution, a more fundamental right, the right to work and adequate means of livelihood, should be accepted by the House.

We in this House have debated time and again that we want to move in the direction of an egalitarian society and slogans have been given that we want to eradicate poverty. But the very test of an egalitarian society will be that, on one side the property-owners, these people, have the right to property and it is being treated as a fundamental right, on the other side every citizen must be able to have and enjoy the right to work and right to

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

adequate means of livelihood. And if these become the part and parcel of Fundamental Rights, then those who remain unemployed will be able to go to the court of law and demand justice, demand employment, and if employment is refused.....  
17.00 hrs.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central) : On a point of order. So far as the objects and aims of the Bill are concerned, I have no quarrel with him but it is a question of the scheme of the Constitution; the article and the Chapter under which the hon. Member has moved his Bill cannot be fitted in. Unless he suggests a separate Chapter for it or suggests an amendment in juxtaposition to article 41, it will not be in the fitness of things because the Bill moved by Prof. Madhu Dandavate will not fit in under this Chapter. The heading of this Chapter is 'Right against Exploitation'- article 23; prohibition of traffic in human-beings and forced labour. How can making provision for the unemployed fit in under 'Right against Exploitation'? Therefore, he may consult a draftsman and incorporate a separate chapter or bring the amendment to article 41.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul): The question raised by Shri Bhandare is a question of drafting. The only objection he raises is to the heading of this particular Chapter, namely, that the particular provision which the hon. Member seek to introduce by way of amendment to the Constitution cannot be brought about because, according to him, the heading is not wide enough to cover that. It is a well accepted canon of construction that once a provision is otherwise legally valid, simply because it does not fit in under a particular heading does not go outside the purview of legality. I do not think, my learned friend finds anything else other than this drafting difficulty. This is purely

a drafting matter. If it is just this little difficulty as to what the heading should be, then the real amendment should be to the heading itself and not that it should be put as a separate chapter. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobilli)  
The basic objective of the mover of this bill is to see that the right which is in Chapter IV under Directive Principles of State Policy which are non-justiciable, is made justiciable by bringing it under Chapter III. There is no point in Mr. Bhandare's suggestion that he should bring it under article 41. So, that point is out.

So far as my friend Mr. Salve's point is concerned, it is not so much the title that matters. Head-notes cannot be taken into consideration. That was a point that was discussed in the Golak Nath case where the question applied was the procedure in the marginal note. Therefore, even therewith also, if we are to bring it under the concept of exploitation, it can easily be stated that all the people who are unemployed can be called people exploited by the society. Therefore, this point of order has no substance.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I hope you have given the ruling that is perfectly in order.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I allow the discussion on the Bill to go on and whatever points the hon. Members wish to make, they can make.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : As I was pointing out to the House, when we consider the 24th Constitution Amendment Bill, it was made explicitly clear by all the supporters of the 24th Constitution Amendment Bill that since this is an enabling Bill, once the Parliament becomes supreme and sovereign and if necessary, even by changing the Fundamental Rights, it should be possible for us at some stage

[Prof Madhu Dandavate]  
to introduce a new Fundamental Rights into our Constitution which are in keeping with the spirit of the new age

The spirit of the new age demands that not only property becomes the right but we feel that right to have adequate means of livelihood must also become a fundamental right and that right, if denied to any citizen, in that case, that right should be enforceable by having to the court and on the basis of this background, I have moved this Bill

Take up the problem of unemployment The problem to-day is assuming grave proportions and we find that even on the basis of whatever statistics that are available, to-day the dimensions of the problem of unemployment are simply stupendous Even the cursory statistics that are available can be classified into three categories. Very often we are told that this is the backlog of unemployment or this is the extent of unemployment But the basis of the statistics of unemployment is very often the registers/registrations that are made at the employment exchanges This does not take into account the concealed unemployment of those who never take care to go to the employment exchange cynically because they have no faith in the employment exchanges They do not register themselves as unemployed.

Again, on the basis of the statistics that are available from the Government, the backlog of unemployment at the end of every five year plan has also been mentioned but that does not take into account the under-employment and also does not take into account especially the concealed unemployment at the rural level But, even if you take these statistics into account, you will find that the problem is simply stupendous

What is the problem as revealed by the registration at the employment exchanges? Even if you take these registrations into

account, in 1968, it was 30,11,642. In 1969 it was 34,23,385 and 1970—40,68,554 and 1971—50,99,999 As I said earlier, this excludes the under employment and also those who do not care to go to the employment exchanges

Again, what is the backlog of unemployment as revealed by the statistics given by the planners? These figures are still staggering At the end of the First Plan, the unemployment mentioned is 5.3 million At the end of the Second Plan, it was 9 million At the end of the Third Plan it was 12 million and at the end of the Fourth Plan, it will be 14 million Sir, again let me repeat that this backlog of unemployment in which the concealed unemployment in the rural areas has been taken into account, but even if we neglect that I think the figures are still staggering and they reveal the depth of the unemployment problem

The budget amounts for creating employment opportunities have, by and large, due to lack of proper orientation and necessary machinery of implementation remained unutilised Among the educated and the uneducated the problem of unemployment is becoming more and more acute

In almost all Welfare States there is a provision for old age allowance, to those who are either sick or disabled, who are not able to undertake any job at all To those who are 60 years old some sort of guarantee of that type must be made. I admit it is not possible for the Government to provide such relief to all cases. But I would like to stress that if job could not be made available, some form of unemployment relief must be made available. Some people may ridicule it as a form of dole I do not think in a Welfare State employment allowance is to be described as a form of dole All the Welfare States have accepted this idea. I don't think ours is a Socialist State. It is far from that But it is in the form of a Welfare State.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) :** It is a Farewell State. school register, constituting 83 per cent of the total population in this age group. I quite concede that in the age group from 6 to 11, the progress is quite considerable.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** It is only Farewell to Socialism. It is in the form of a Welfare State. I do concede on that. In a Welfare State, if large number of citizens remain unemployed, some unemployment compensation or allowance must be made available to them.

It is stated in the Directive Principles of State Policy that upto the age of 14, there will be free, compulsory education. I will quote from the Statistics made available by the Govt. itself. In respect of free and compulsory primary education, whatever has been stated in the Directive Principles of State Policy has remained only vague platitude. So far as concrete realities are concerned, we find that this aspect of the Directive Principles of State Policy has not been realised at all. You will find that upto the age of 6 to 11, there is some considerable progress made and to that extent the Government deserves congratulations. But if you take the age group of 11 to 14, you will find that adequate progress is not there. The figures are very revealing. Let me take few minutes to quote the figures.

1. 1946-47 the total number of students on the rolls of schools in the age group, 6 to 11 years, was 14 million. The total number of persons from this age group constituted 2.5 per cent. That is, out of every 100 school going children, those who attended the school were only 35. In 1950-51, the total number of students on the rolls were 19.15 million, constituting 42.6 per cent of those students from that age group. In 1960-61 the figure was 34.99 millions which comes to 62 per cent of the total number of population in this age group. That is the position. In 1965-66 the figure was 49.72 million, constituting 75.6 per cent of the population. Fortunately the percentage is going up. In 1968-69 the figure was 55.49 million, coming to 77.3 per cent of the total population in this age group. In 1970-71 the figure was 60.11 million, amounting to 79.6 per cent. In 1971-72, the figure was 68 million on the

What has happened in the next age-group, 11 to 14 years? In 1950-51 the number of students on school registers were 3.12 million only. This is 12.7 per cent of the total population of children in this particular age group. This came to 6.7 million in 1960-61, constituting 22.5 per cent. This again came to 10.34 million in 1965-66, constituting 30.3 per cent. The figures for 1968-69 are 12.27 million and you get a percentage of 32.3 per cent. In 1969-70, the figures are 13.36 millions and 34 per cent.

In 1970-71, it was 13.82 million and that comes to only 34 per cent. And the latest figures available are for 1971-72 and they show that the number is 15 million and this constitutes only 37 per cent of the entire population in this particular age group 11-14.

These statistics very clearly reveal quite in contradiction to the earlier statistics, that right from 1950-51 to 1971-72, the total number of students on the lists of the schools ranges from 12.7 to 37 per cent. This means that the majority of the population in this particular age-group which ought to go to the schools is still out of the schools. This means that our ideal of free and compulsory education has merely remained on paper, especially as far as this group is concerned. Therefore, it is very necessary that we try to devise new schemes and we try to have elaborate programmes to reorient our entire educational system and thereby see to it that this particular principal of free and compulsory education up to the age-limit of 11-14 which has remained only on the anvil of the Directive Principles of State Policy comes into reality. If that is not done, in that case, if we put it in Part III of the Constitution, it would be possible for those guardians to whose children education has been denied, to go to a court of law and bring about the enforceability of this particular principle which so far has remained only in the Directive Principles of State Policy.

[Prof Madhu Dandavate]

In this connection, a very significant aspect and a very significant point develops. A lot of controversy is going on about that point among the educationists. You know, Sir, that education at present is only a State subject. If you look at the immensity and the great dimensions of the problem, it is absolutely clear that if we entrust education only to the States as a State subject, it will be beyond the means of the State Government to tackle the problem. But as one who belongs to the field of education, I would also not like that education should become merely a Central subject. Especially in the field of education, overcentralisation will be highly dangerous, and, therefore, as a *via media* I would suggest that education should be in the concurrent list so that both the Centre and the State would be able to apply their mind not only in terms of reorienting the schemes of education but also in generating and mobilising the necessary resources. Therefore, I would suggest that education should become a concurrent subject.

As far as these problems which I have placed before the House are concerned, whether it be the problem of unemployment or the problem of the right to work or the problem of compensation or allowances to those who are unemployed or the right of the children to get free and compulsory education, from all the elaborate statistics that I have placed before the House, it will be very clear that though these provisions have remained in the chapter on Directive Principles of State Policy, they have not been implemented in great measure. Therefore, only if we incorporate them in Part III of the Constitution, there is a possibility of enforcing rights by going to a court of law and there will be some sort of pressure on the Government also at the Central as well as the State levels. But if they are not able to implement these provisions,

in that case, the citizen has the right to go to court, and, there Government are likely to come into difficulty. It is only when there is a threat and there is some authority which is going to supervise the implementation of these provisions that every machinery, whether it be at the Centre or in the States, will try to prop up these provisions and implement the provisions that are already there and thereby it will be possible for us to see that all these provisions which are today existing in the chapter on Directive Principles of State Policy are actually implemented in greater measure.

In conclusion, I would make one reference. As far as traditions are concerned specially in our feudal Indian society, as far as vague generalisations are concerned, I think we in this country are the tallest among the tall. As far as propounding spiritual concepts and ideas are concerned, we are second to none in the world. But when it comes to material implementation of the schemes, I think we lag. There is always a gulf between vague generalisations and concrete implementation. If this gulf between vague platitudes and concrete reality is to be completely removed, it is very necessary that the Bill I have moved should be accepted.

Once in this House I had said just with a sense of humour that someone coming to Delhi asked what is the latitude and longitude of Delhi, just to understand the geographical location of Delhi, and he was immediately told that Delhi recognised no latitude or longitude, it recognised only platitudes. That seems to be the guiding principle of Delhi. I would like that principle to be discarded and that can be done only when there is the sanction of enforceability of these principles in the court of law. With this background, I have placed my Bill before the House.

The background for this has already been prepared in various debates that have taken place. Right from the 24th Constitution Amendment Bill, I think almost the entire House, with a few exceptions who are not prepared to move with the times and act in unison with the new social changes in society, has already welcomed that Constitution Amendment Bill. This Bill is in furtherance of the objective of that Bill. All that I am seeking is that the powers which we have taken unto ourselves in that Constitution Amendment Bill be used through the medium of my Bill. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. We are going to see whether the powers we have taken under the 24th Amendment Bill are going to be used for radical transformation for the good of the people. Only in that context, I have placed this Bill before the House.

I will make only one more reference before I sit down. This is directed to the Minister in charge. Generally when a non-official Bill is moved and debate takes place, everyone says that as 'far as the spirit of the Bill is concerned, we are in full agreement'. But then they say there are difficulties. This is just like the fate of an application made to Government. Government reply saying 'we have received your application; it has been kept in the file. Sympathetic consideration is being given to it and it will be implemented in due course in the proper manner, if possible'. I hope my Bill will not be cynically treated in that spirit. If amendments are necessary to my Bill and if they are consistent with the spirit of the Bill, I am prepared to accept them. Not only that; certain radical amendments to it may enrich my Bill. I will be too glad to radicalise the Bill still further because my attitude has never been that an amendment is something which has always to be defeated.

Therefore, I request the House and the Minister to take proper cognisance of the Bill. At the conclusion of the debate, let the Minister not request me 'While agreeing with the Bill, I request the Mover to withdraw the Bill'. I do not want that ritual to be repeated. I commend the Bill to the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, be taken into consideration".

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore) : I fully agree not only with the spirit but with the contents of the Bill. First, the Mover has dealt with the problem. He has dealt with the problem of unemployment which is agitating minds throughout the country.

The other day, in reply to a question, the same Minister, Shri Varma, placed a statement in the House. It was revealed that in Delhi along more than 85,000 young educated people were unemployed. It is not only the case of Delhi. In all States, particularly the State I come from, the position is the same. In Bengal the unemployment issue has become so serious that the figure of unemployment has risen by 41 per cent in one year. As Prof. Dandavate has very ably described, the vast majority of the unemployed do not care to go to the employment exchanges to register their names.

Nobody cares for it. So, the actual figure of unemployment is not available anywhere to assess it from the situation. You talk about socialism and planned economy and many things, but at this age more than 70,000 engineers are unemployed. This is the situation. I know in West Bengal, the same Congress party is ruling there. They have come to power by other means. I do not mention it. But that is not a fair way of coming to

[Shri Dinesh Bhattacharya]

power. However, what are they trying to do? They are trying to confuse the whole issue and to bring a sort of communal atmosphere so far as the problem of unemployment is concerned. Provincialism and narrow parochialism are being introduced by them. You will be astonished at this. I know how these issues are provoked. The other day, the Ministry from Bihar went to West Bengal and announced—I do not know what was the necessity that in Bihar, if any factory comes up, the Biharis must be taken as workers there. Nowadays, the West Bengal Ministers say that preference should be given to the Bengalis. In reality, neither the Biharis nor the Bengalis are getting any employment. But what are the Congress rulers, the ruling party doing? Tactfully, they are trying to instigate one against the other, and to instigate the unemployed youth against the working people. They are approaching the factories and asking the managers to give them employment. The manager asks, 'Where is the vacancy? When there is a vacancy arising, we will take you.' But they say, 'No, no. Just now we want employment.' The manager asks, 'How can I give you employment?' Then they reply, 'Drive out the persons who are working, let them go away and we will come in and work.' This way, they are creating a bad situation.

Yesterday, there was a demonstration by a large number of factory workers there in Greater Calcutta area. The same slogan was given, namely, the persons who are working and who come from other States should be removed, and the persons who belong to the locality must be given chance. This is the way in which they are trying to deal with unemployment. This is a big hoax and bluff which is being practised by the ruling party. But I say that the younger generation, the youth will understand the issue, and in the mean-

time a sense is growing among the young people that so long as the Congress rulers are there, so long as they are pursuing the same policy of building up capitalism in the country, and so long as they are speaking of socialism only in words but in reality they are only building up capitalism, if this policy is continuing they have no future. They know that the unemployment question will never be solved and it will become more serious. The youth of the country have understood it. Some amount was set apart in the budget the year before last for a crash programme in respect of unemployment. I think that programme has virtually crashed.

I have got personal knowledge of what is happening in West Bengal. You, Sir, come from the neighbouring State and you can visit Calcutta. You will be astonished that boys of 18-20 years are recruited by the Congress Party at the rate of Rs 105 to carry on anti-social work and do all sorts of things. I do not know what is happening in other States. Government must be frank to tell the country that they have no intention of solving the unemployment problem. If they had any intention, they would have adopted some concrete policy.

So Prof. Dundavate says, if you can not provide them employment at least give them some unemployment allowance. In Europe they do. You talk of socialism. In the socialist countries in China or the Soviet Union the right to work is a fundamental right, the State takes the responsibility to provide work, or feed the unemployed. It is not a dole, it is the responsibility of the ruling party and of the State to see that a person is employed and if he is not employed, he should be saved from starvation. His suggestion is simple and must be accepted by the Minister.

The next point is about primary education. The ruling party must hang its head

in shame that when you are going to celebrate the silver jubilee of independence, when you are decorating the Parliament House and the Rashtrapati Bhavan even after spending crores of rupees in the course of four plans, literacy has not reached 29 per cent. He has said that if the Centre takes the responsibility everything will be all right. There are many subjects directly under the Centre.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I have said it should be concurrent.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : Education is a concurrent subject; primary education is of course a State subject. You go to the States; they will say it is the duty of the municipalities and panchayats to do these things. Here, the Education Minister will say that the State should look after this.

So, I do not think, I do not believe if the Centre takes charge, it will be all right. My point is this--if the entire House is seized of the situation that is prevailing both in the sphere of unemployment and in the sphere of the primary education and force upon the Government whether in the State or in the Centre to take some concrete steps and adopt some concrete proposals the ways are there but the intention should be there and the implementation machinery should be there, otherwise it will be nothing. Then there will be no change in the matter.

The last point is regarding the provision at the time of old age and the persons who are not fit. I fully agree with it that the State must take the responsibility. In the European and other socialist countries the States take the responsibility of persons in old age. If the old people have nobody to look after them, the States look after them. So, here in India that provision should be there and it should be a constitutional provision in such a way, and not

a Directive Principle. Whenever you will raise it, the Government will say it is a Directive Principle, not obligatory, not justiciable by the court. So, the way he has brought I should congratulate Shri Dandavate on bringing this amendment to the Constitution and I hope the House will accept it.

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद) .  
महापति महोदय, मुझे भी ताज्जुब होना है कि राजादो के पच्चीस साल के बाद भी हमारे मुल्क में सब लोगों की शिक्षा का इतना नही हुआ है। यह भी ठीक है कि प्रनाम्पलायमेंट बढ़ रही है। लेकिन अगर इस गहरी नजर से देखें, तो मालूम होगा कि जिसकी जिम्मेदारी उस पार्टी पर नहीं है, जो पिछले पच्चीस साल में हुकूमत कर रही है, बल्कि आपोजीशन पर है। (अवधान) अगर किसी जगह पर अंग्रेजी में नाम बर्गरह लिखे जाते हैं, तो एक दल उनको मिटाने लग जाता है। अगर कहीं नाम हिन्दी में लिखे हों, तो एक दूसरी पार्टी उनको मिटाने लग जाती है। हुकूमत को अपनी सारी एनर्जी उन लोगों की रोकथाम के लिये सिर्फ करनी पड़ती है।

अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर) . इसी लिये वह लोगो को रोजगार नही दे पा रही है।

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी अगर किसी बात पर थोड़ी सी नाराजगी हो गई, तो रेलों पर हमला करके करोड़ों रुपये का नुकसान कर दिया जाता है। अगर हमसे लोगों का पैट नहीं भरता है, तो वे दुकानों को आग लगा देते हैं और अगर हमसे भी तमन्नी नही हुई, तो वे मजदूरों से हड़ताल करा देते हैं और कई किस्म के हागड़े खड़े कर देते हैं।

SHRI S. B. GIRI (Warangal) : I raise a point of order. The Bill is for a particular purpose and my friend talks about the burning of the railways. It is not concerned with the Bill.



MR. CHAIRMAN : I think he 's making a point, from where to get funds.

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी सभापति महोदय माननीय सदस्य मेरे सीनियर हैं। मैं उन की बहुत इज्जत करता हूँ। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात का क्या सम्बन्ध है। गवर्नमेंट का पूरा पैसा इन बातों पर खर्च हो रहा है, जिस के लिये प्रोपोजीशन पार्टीज वाले जिम्मेदार हैं। खसूसन पहले की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और प्रभ सी०पी० (एम०), ये दोनों मुल्क का बहुत पैसा बर्बाद कर रहे हैं, इस लिये गवर्नमेंट शिक्षा का काम नहीं कर पाई है।

यह बेग प्रार्थित है। जब भारत आजाद हुआ तब हमने अपने देश में

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी एक चीज मैं कहना चाहता हूँ जिससे गलत गलतफहमी दूर हो जायेगी। यह बिल पास होने के बाद फी एजुकेशन मिलेगी और नव भाषण भी ठीक होगा।

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी गवर्नमेंट का पैसा कैसे खर्च होता जा रहा है, यह मैं कह रहा हूँ। हर रोज थोड़ी महंगाई बढ़ने के बाद ये जी कर पुकार करते हैं कि हड़ताल करो और हड़ताल करवाते हैं। इसलिये गवर्नमेंट का पैसा मारा प्रोपोजीशन वालों के मुकाबले में इन चीजों का राकने में खर्च हो रहा है।

हमारी धान यह है कि हम लोग पैसिली प्लानिंग करना चाहते हैं। मैं मजदूर लीडरों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उन में उनका भी कुछ हिस्सा है या नहीं।

सभापति महोदय : इस बिल का अर्थ यह है कि जो पापुमेजान है उस समय उसके लिये रोजगार और एजुकेशन हो। जो पैसा हमने उनकी बात को अभी छोड़िये।

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी ऐसा है कि जिनने वेलफेयर मिशन है उनके लिये पैसा चाहिये। गवर्नमेंट का जो बजट है उस में तीन बार हजार करोड़ खपया जो खर्च होता है उसकी खर्च वहाँ

होती है। कहां पर कितना पैसा खर्च होगा चाहिये यह सब पार्लियामेंट के सामने और स्टेट मैजिस्ट्रेचर्ज के सामने प्राता है। उसके बावजूद भी यह कहना कि यह सब फी कर दो, एजुकेशन भी और कम्पलसरी कर दो, मोल्ड एज पेंशन दो, प्रान्स्पायमेंट पेंशन दो, मैं—प्रोपोजीशन लीडर्स से और खास करके श्री दहवते जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कितना पैसा हम में खर्च होगा। अगर तीन हजार करोड़ खपया इस में खर्च होता है तो डिफेंस में एक पैसा भी खर्च किये बिना हमको रोजिये। प्ररपताम बन्द कर दीजिये और मारे काम बन्द कर दीजिये। सवाल यह है कि मुल्क हमारा गरीब है, ग्रामदनी कम है हमको बढ़ाने का तरीका हाता चाहिये।

सभापति महोदय : सवाल यह है कि जो प्रान्स्पायमेंट है और इन्ट्रेंस है, इसका रिमूव करन के लिये जो एवार्न्स उक्तान गये है उनके साथ प्राप महमन है या नहीं है? उनमें अगर कोई डिफिकल्टी है ता उसका एवाट्ट आउट करने के लिये तो मिनिस्टर है।

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी यही मैं कह रहा हूँ कि प्रान्स्पायमेंट का खत्म करने के लिये, फेड्डीज बननी चाहिये और जो फेड्डीज हैं उन में लबर को बराबर काम करना चाहिये, उनमें जाना चाहिये लेकिन ये लोग या बर हड़ताल करवाते हैं। अभी बल ही मैंने कहा था कि हमारी स्टील फेड्डीज नेशनलाइज्ड फेड्डीज हैं। राउडकेला में ये लोग हड़ताल करवाते हैं। 2। बराड रूप्ये का स्ट्राइक भी बजह से नुकसान हो गया है। गवर्नमेंट जिनने काम करना चाहती है उन में ये रोडा घटवाते हैं। बिनी फेड्डी को या इन्टीरूजेशन को नेशनलाइज्ड करे तो अगले दिन बहा स्ट्राइक करवा देण हैं। बैंकों का हमने राष्ट्रीयकरण किया तो स्ट्राइक करवा दी। जनरल इनश्युरेस को नेशनलाइज्ड किया तो स्ट्राइक हो गई। प्रोपोजीशन की हिन्दी देखिये। ये लोग हमें गवर्नमेंट के काम में रोड़ घटकाते हैं। होना यह चाहिये कि इलीकशन के बहुत खूब सबूती लड़ना चाहिये। लेकिन इलीकशन हो जाने के

बाद जो पार्टी पावर में आए उसको अपनी पालिसी चलाने का पूरा प्रबन्धन होना चाहिये। लेकिन ये लोग जिस दिन इलेक्शन खत्म होता है उसके दूसरे दिन से गवर्नमेंट बनाने लग जाते हैं गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ। असल में होना यह चाहिये कि छ महीने पहले आप अपना प्रचार शुरू कर दें और पांच छ महीने तक जब तक इलेक्शन पूरा नहीं हो जाता है, प्रचार आप जारी रखें लेकिन उसके बाद जो गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी है, उसको आप चलने दें। अगर उम वक्त गवर्नमेंट कुछ काम नहीं कर रही है तो आप बताइये लेकिन अब तो गवर्नमेंट का काम यह हा गया है कि उनको प्रायः चलना भी पड़ेगा और साथ 2 बीच में जो ये रोड़े झटकायें, लकड़ी लगायें, उनको भी हूर करने हए चलना पड़ेगा। एक सिर्फ - अपने देश में ही-ये दालो काम करने पड़ते हैं। दुसरे मुमालिक में ऐसा नहीं है; वे सिर्फ प्रायः बढ़ते जाते हैं। लेकिन हमारे यहां ये लोग जो रोड़े बीच में रखते हैं उन को हटाने हए प्रायः बढ़ना पड़ रहा है। कई तरह की मूवमेंटम चलती हैं - कभी शिव सैना कभी तैलंगना प्राजा समिति कभी बगाल का बायलस . .

SHRI S. B. GIRI : Sir, I take strong objection to these remarks. Why should we not have the Telengana Praja Samiti. Government is responsible for the Telengana Praja Samiti.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I would request Shri Reddy to speak on the Bill and not on extraneous matters.

श्री एच० रामगोपाल रेड्डी : सभापति जी मेरे कहने का मतलब यही है कि गवर्नमेंट को ठीक तरह से फव्वन करने का मौका में लोग नहीं दे रहे हैं, जिस की वजह से हमारा रिजर्व बेस्ट हो रहा है, धानेवाला पैसा नहीं आ रहा है, क्योंकि ये लोग एजीटेसन एग्जैक्ट से काम करते हैं।

आज हमारे इस पार्लियामेंट में साठे तीन या चार साल बाकी रह गये हैं। अगर हम अपना काम करते हुए यहाँ आ कर देश के हित में बहुत करे तो उस में कोई ध्वंसा नहीं है, लेकिन पब्लिक में आ कर गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ बात करें, लोगों को उकसायें, प्रायः लजबायें, देशों के विषयों गिराने का काम करें तो तरबकी नहीं

सकती। सही तरीके से काम करने में तरबकी हो सकती है, उस में हर प्रादमी को कपडा मिलेगा, नौकरी मिलेगी, पढ़ने लिखने का मौका मिलेगा।

श्री एच० एम० बनर्जी : सभापति महोदय, मैं अपने परम मित्र श्री दण्डवते जी को बधाई देना चाहता कि उन्होंने ऐसा विधेयक आज मदन सामने पेश किया है। बाकी यह बात सही है - अगर आप सविधान की धारणा को देखें, जिसकी की तरफ उन्होंने इशारा किया है और जिस का वे समोधन करना चाहते हैं, उस में "राईट प्राफ़ वर्क है" लेकिन आज काम कहा मिलना है। आजादी के बाद हिन्दुस्तान में दो तरह की तस्वीरें हमारी आंखों के सामने आती हैं। पहली तस्वीर तो यह है कि जो लखपति था, वह कर्मचारी बन गया है, जो कर्मचारी था, वह कर्मचारी बन गया है, जो एक कारखाने का मालिक था - जैसे रेड्डी माहब की एक मशीन फैक्टरी थी या कोई और - वह दस कारखानों का मालिक हो गया है। दूसरी तरफ जिस की 100 रुपया धामवनी थी, बडती टूट महंगाई ने उस की कमर तोड़ दी . . .

श्री मूलकन्द डोगा (पाली) रेड्डी साहब को बंदनाम कर रहे हैं।

श्री एच० एम० बनर्जी : 100 रुपये की कीमत आज 50 रुपये रह गई है। आ आदमी एक मामूली-से छोटे मकान में रहता था, वह महंगाई की वजह से, फाका-कमी की वजह से, फटपाथ पर लेटने लगा है और फुटपाथवाला बिना कफन के मरघट की तरफ जाने लगा है। दो तरह की तस्वीरें हैं - एक तरफ एफ्लुगन्ट सोसायटी है और दूसरी तरफ स्टारबेशन है।

यदि बेकारों को मदद करना चाहते हैं और गरीबी हटाओ के नारे की सही तरीके से प्रमर्सा आना पहचानना चाहते हैं तो मैं समझता हू कि इस बिजु को मानने में बर्मा साहब को कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये। दिक्कत यह है कि प्राब्लियर प्रमप्लायमेंट एलाउस कहा से देंगे, इतना पैसा कैसे दिया जायेगा, इतना पैसा कहा से आयेगा। लेकिन आप किसी भी देश में जाइये, मैं समाजवादी देशों की बात नहीं कर रहा हू, मैं उन देशों की बात कर रहा हू जहाँ एजीवादी निजाम आज भी

[श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी]

कायम है, वहाँ पर भी अनएम्प्लायमेंट डोल के नाम से, कम्प्लेक्सन के नाम से इस तरह का एलाउंस दिया जाता है। जब तक वे लोग बेकार रहते हैं, चाहे इजीनियर हो, डाक्टर हो, साइंटिस्ट हो, या धाटिजन हो, वह जब तक बेकार है उसको इतना पैसा प्रबन्ध दे दिया जाता है कि वह अपने परिवार का तथा अपना गुजारा कर सके और फाकाकरी की नीबत न आये।

हमारे यहाँ बेकारों की संख्या के बारे में अभी प्रोफेसर साहब ने काफी बातें बताई हैं। मैं उन आकड़ों के जान में नहीं फमना चाहता हूँ लेकिन एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ—दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में घोषणा की गई थी कि आठ मिलियन न्यू जाब्स—ग्रन्थी लाख लोगों का नौकरी मिलेगी। इससे बेकारों के दिना में खुशी की लहर दौड़ गई थी, जो एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज के बन्कर लगा कर वापिस आ जाते थे, वे सोचने लगे थे कि अब उनको नौकरी मिल जायेगी। लेकिन क्या हुआ ? ग्रन्थी लाख नौकरियों का एलाउंस किया गया और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना की शुरुआत में एक लाख बीस हजार मांग बेकार थे। मैं उनकी बात कह रहा हूँ जो एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज में रजिस्टर्ड थे।

जितने भी सारे देश में रिक्सा-गुलर्स हैं मैं समझता हूँ वे भी बेकार हैं क्योंकि साइकिल रिक्सा चलाना सेहत के लिये कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। (व्यावधान) वे भी अनएम्प्लायड हैं लेकिन अनरजिस्टर्ड अनएम्प्लायड हैं रजिस्टर्ड अनएम्प्लायड नहीं है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहना हूँ माननीय मंत्री जी से और जो माननीय सदस्य यहाँ पर बैठे हैं उनसे कि इसमें कोई कानूनी अडबन्ध हो या न हो लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ एम्प्लायमेंट के नाते हम इन चीजों को मानें जो कि इसमें रखी गई हैं

“Failing to procure such means as referred to in clause (1), every citizen shall be entitled to an unemployment allowance to be paid by the State.”

आप देखें कि आज जो साइंटिस्ट है या इन्जीनियर्स है उनका पूरा बनवाया जा रहा है। श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम साहब जब यहाँ पर योजना मंत्री थे तो उन्होंने घोषणा की थी कि दो साल में जो यहाँ पर डिप्लोमा होल्डर्स है इजीनियर्स है उनको नौकरी मिल जायेगी। योजना मंत्री जी को तो दूसरी नौकरी मिल गई और अब जो नये मंत्री आये हैं उनकी घोषणा अभी बाकी है। असल में हमें दिक्कत यह है कि तीन मलिया को छोड़कर बाकी मलियों के लिये हमें मासूम नहीं है कि कौन मंत्री रहेंगे कौन नहीं रहेंगे। इससे बड़ी दिक्कत होती है। जिससे बातचीत कीजिये वह कहता है गिश्फालिंग होने वाली है।

समाप्त जी, यह नान आफिशियल बिल जरूर है लेकिन इसकी काफी बड़ी प्रथमियत है। इस मदन में जब हम पर चर्चा शुरू हुई तो मैं चाहता था कि प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर यहाँ मौजूद रहते और प्रगर प्रधान मंत्री जी का पुरत मिल जाती तो वे भी यहाँ आ जाती। बेकारी घटाओ का जो नारा चलाया गया था उसका हमने समर्थन किया था। आज तो हम पर बहस सामान होने वाली है लेकिन भगली बार जब यह आयेगा उस वक्त मैं चाहना हूँ योजना मंत्री यहाँ पर घोषणा कर कि आखिर इस के बारे में जार्ट टर्म और सांग टर्म पालिसी क्या है। इस प्रकार तो जितनी ही बेकारी की चर्चा होती है उसनी ही बेकारी बढ़ती चली जाती है। यह बेकारी नहीं होपदी का चीर है कि जितना ही चीफो उसना ही बढ़ता चला जायेगा। आप देखें कि आज एजूकेटेड अनएम्प्लायमेंट की क्या हालत है ? बिहार, बंगाल और दूसरी जगहों पर नक्सलाइट के नाम पर लड़कों को गोली मार दी जाती है। आप सोचें कि एक लड़का क्या करे ? बी० एच० सी० एम० एस० सी० और इजीनियर होने के बाद एम्प्लायमेंट में वह अपना नाम लिखाता है लेकिन उसको नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। वह उस जब अपने घर वापिस आता है तो अपनी बूढ़ी मां, साँस फलते पिता जी को देखते हैं और अपनी बहन को देखता है जिसके हाथ पैर भी बचह से पीले नहीं हो सकते। उस वक्त उसके सामने

रेल की पटरी का मक्का धाता है। या तो वह रेल की पटरी पर जाकर नेट जाये या फिर इस समाज की पटरी को उखाड़ कर फेंक दे चाहे फिर उसको अपने हाथ में पिस्तौल या छुरा ही क्यों न लेना पड़े। यही कारण है कि हमारे युवक उग्रवादी बनते जा रहे हैं। मैं समझना हूँ ऐसी कार्ड चीज नहीं है जो हो नहीं सकती। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस बिल को धक्की तरह से सोचे और समझे और अगर इसमें कोई समोधन करना चाहती है तो वह भी करे। वरना हम बिल का रेजोल्यूशन गवनेशन मेनिफेस्टो का रेजोल्यूशन ही होगा।

हमारे दारुण रेडडी माहब न कहा है कि बोट में हम बहुमत से जीत कर आये हैं। यह बात सही है। आप देखें कि जनता कर्नाटक पार्टी के पीछे लाठी लें कर दौड़ती है, जैसा किसी साग के पीछे दौड़ती है, चार साल 11 महीने 29 दिन तक दौड़ती है, लेकिन जब पाचवा साल इलेक्शन का धाता है, चुनाव के नारे आये तो वही साग नाम पचमी का देवता बन कर खड़ा हो जाता है और मारा दूध जनतः उसी को गिला देती है। हमें कोई इस बात की शिकायत नहीं है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहना हूँ कि जो नारा आपने दिया है उस को पूरा करे अपने लड़कों के भविष्य के लिये, सारे देश के नीजवानों के भविष्य के लिये। हमारी और आप की जिन्दगी तो पूरी हो चुकी है। क्विस्टेरेटिड चीजे खाने के बाद भी हम जिन्दा हैं यह भगवान की देन है, वरना हम हम तो ऐक्स-टेक्शन में चले रहे हैं : समाजवाद का जो नारा आप ने दिया है उस के मृतान्त्रिक तन्मम चीजों को आप अपने हाथ में लीजिये। जब तक आप पूजीवादी निजाम के पीछे रहेंगे

तब तक बेकारी खत्म नहीं होगी, और टाट बिठला पैदा होते जायेंगे। चाहे बेदरों के साथ या हसदरों के साथ, आप इस पूजीवाद को खत्म कीजिये तभी बेकारी दूर होगी। पूजीवादी समाज में बेकारी खत्म नहीं हुई है कही भी। लोग कहते हैं कि हम में बेकार लोग थे। मैं जानना हूँ कि थे, लेकिन जब से सरकार ने अपने हाथ में सारे कामों को लिया तब से वहा कार्ड भी बेकार नहीं है।

इसलिये इन चीजों को देख कर सहायित के साथ हम बिल पर चर्चा करें, और जिस दिन हम का जवाब देना हो, मैं चाहता हूँ प्रधान मंत्री आये या योजना मंत्री आये ताकि लोगों को विश्वास हो सके कि सरकार इस समस्या को सीरीयसली ले रही है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूँ।

DR G. S. MELKOTE (Hyderabad):  
I congratulate Prof. Mahu Dandavate on bringing forward this Bill....

MR CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member may please continue on the next occasion when it comes before the House.

The House stands adjourned till 11 00 a.m. on Monday, 7th August, 1972

18 00hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, August 7, 1972/Sravana 16 1894 (Saka)