

[Shri S. R. Damani]

one-third less than the rated capacity, how can the plant make any profit?

Let us see the reasons why production is so much less and who is responsible for this. According to the Report, the main trouble is that labour is not cooperating. This is evident from the fact that in Rourkela 1,72,592 man hours have been lost during the year. In Bhilai 31, 885 man-hours were lost. In Durgapur it is shocking and the figure is 3,84,760 man-hours lost. If there is so much loss of production, how can the steel plants make any profit?

Not only during this year, but from the very beginning, from the time the plants came into production, the labour non-cooperation trouble has been continuing. On the one side, our friends in the opposition are criticising the loss on the steel plants, on the other side they are not co-operating in increasing production, but are always trying to create some trouble. The management is losing its energies in solving the labour problems. If one problem is solved, a second one comes up and if that is solved, a third one comes up. This has become continuous and the managements are always busy in solving the labour problems, and as such up till now the steel plants could not achieve their rated capacity. This is a national loss.

There is acute shortage of steel. If the plants had worked to capacity, the country would have produced at least 1.9 million tonnes more of steel. Because of acute shortage, the country had to import Rs. 100 crores of steel.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He can continue on Monday.

15.59 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
SIXTY-FIRST REPORT

SHRI M. G. UIKEY (Mandla) : I beg to move :

"That this House do agree with Sixty-first Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 14th April, 1970."

16 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Sixty-first Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 14th April 1970."

The motion was adopted.

16.01 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE : UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We shall take up Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's Resolution now. We have allotted two hours to this Resolution but we have already taken 2½ hours. Quite a number of Members want to speak and some of them are from parties which have already spoken. I think we should first give a chance to Members from parties which have not spoken. Mr. Abraham is to continue his speech but he is not there.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar) : Our amendments are there ; we want to say a few words on them.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We shall come to that later on. Shri Samar Guha—he is not there. Shri S. C. Jha.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam) : While I accept the importance of this resolution, I may point out that we have exceeded the time allotted for it, namely, two hours ; we have actually taken 2½ hours. If we can conclude the discussion on this resolution, before 4.25 p. m. and allow two hours for the resolution of Mr. P. Ramamurti I think that my resolution which is the third in the order paper will have some chance of being taken up and discussed. Therefore, I want you to allow me at least a minute or two just to move my resolution ; otherwise it is very difficult to come on the order paper again as it will lapse today. The chances of its coming up again are highly improbable.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I shall consider the rules and see if rules permit it.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (मधुबनी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव डा० राम सुभग सिंह जी ने रखा है वैसे तो मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ लेकिन यह पूरा प्रस्ताव नहीं है। इसमें कहा गया है कि चौथी योजना में इसके लिये प्राविजन किया जाना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि केवल मात्र प्लान में प्राविजन कर देने से बेरोजगारी खत्म नहीं हो सकती है। जब तक आप इसकी जड़ पर चोट नहीं लगाते हैं तब तक यह बेरोजगारी की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती है। ऐसा करने के लिये हमें अपने दृष्टिकोण को साफ करना होगा।

कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना के लिये यह जरूरी है कि हमको बुनियादी परिवर्तन लाने होंगे और दृष्टिकोण को साफ करना होगा। दृष्टिकोण को साफ करने का मतलब है कि जो व्यवस्था है उसमें हर नागरिक को जो एबल है जो काम करने के लिये इच्छुक है, उसको राइट आफ वर्क होना चाहिये। प्रस्ताव यही रखा गया है कि चौथी योजना में सूटेबल प्राविजन हो। लेकिन इतना मात्र कर देने से बेरोजगारी खत्म नहीं हो सकती है। इसको खत्म करने के लिये यह लाजिमी है कि हर नागरिक के लिए राइट टू वर्क की गारंटी हो। संविधान में व्यवस्था यह की गई है कि एम्प्लायमेंट के लिये पूरा मौका होना चाहिये और कोई भेदभाव नहीं किया जाना चाहिये, इस मामले में। लेकिन राइट टू वर्क गारंटीड नहीं है। यह तभी हो सकता है जब संविधान की सोलहवीं धारा में संशोधन किया जाए और संशोधन करके राइट टू वर्क की गारंटी कर दी जाए। तभी बेरोजगारी पर कुठाराघात किया जा सकता है और बेरोजगारी के स्रोतों के लिए पहला और बुनियादी कदम उठाया जा सकता है। कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना की दिशा में यह पहला कदम होगा। हम अपने सामने बड़े-

बड़े आदर्श रखते हैं लेकिन वे आदर्श तब तक पूरे नहीं हो सकते जब तक कि संविधान की सोलहवीं धारा में परिवर्तन करने के लिये मेरा विधेयक जो इस सदन में पेश किया गया है, उसको मान नहीं लिया जाता। हर नागरिक को राइट टू वर्क की गारंटी होनी चाहिए।

प्रस्ताव जिस शक्ल में पेश किया गया है उससे बेरोजगारी का खात्मा नहीं हो सकेगा। यह तो टिकरिंग विद दी प्रॉब्लेम है। जिसकी जड़ पर चोट मारने का कोई प्रयास नहीं हो रहा है। सरकार यदि वास्तव में बेरोजगारी का खात्मा करना चाहती है, कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना करना चाहती है तो उसको संविधान में संशोधन कर राइट टू वर्क गारंटी करना चाहिए।

हो सकता है कि ऐसा करने में सरकार असमर्थ हो। हो सकता है कि वह कहे कि हमारे पास रिसोर्सिस नहीं है, पैसे की कमी है और कहां से वह आएगा। यदि उसके द्वारा ऐसा कहा जाता है तो मैं कहूंगा कि चूंकि इस सरकार में दृढ़ संकल्प की कमी है, इसकी स्वाहिंश बुलन्द नहीं है, इस वास्ते वह इस तरह के कदम उठाने से घबरा रही है। लेकिन अगर संविधान में संशोधन करने के लिये कदम नहीं उठाया जाता है तो दूसरा जरूरी कदम यह हो सकता है कि कम से कम हर भारतीय जोकि एबल है, काम करने लायक है, उसको जैसा कि लॉकनाथन कमेटी ने मुझाव दिया है, साल के 365 दिनों में से 200 दिन काम की गारंटी होनी चाहिये, 200 दिन के लिये उसके पास गारंटीड जाब होनी चाहिये। इतना तो कम से कम सरकार कर ही सकती है। लेकिन मैं देख रहा हूँ कि सरकार इस तरह की भी व्यवस्था नहीं कर रही है। चौथी योजना जब हमारे सामने आयेगी तब हम उस पर बहस करेंगे। लेकिन मुझे आशा

[श्री शिवचन्द्र झा]

नहीं है कि उसमें भी इसके मुताल्लिक हम कुछ पाएँगे।

200 दिन के लिये भी यदि सरकार गारंटी नहीं दे सकती है और वह ईमानदार है तो एक सुझाव आपको जयप्रकाश नारायण कमेटी ने दिया था। उसने कहा था कि जो ट्राइबल एरियाज हैं, जो अविकसित क्षेत्र हैं, जहाँ आदिवासी लोग रहते हैं, जो पिछड़े हुए इलाके हैं वहाँ हम फुल एम्प्लायमेंट की नीति चलायें। सरकार चाहे तो इस सुझाव को अमल में ला सकती है। वहाँ फुल एम्प्लायमेंट की नीति अगर चलाई जाती है तो वह एक अच्छी शुरुआत होगी और फुल एम्प्लायमेंट की जो बात है, उसको बल मिलेगा, उसकी रोशनी दूसरी जगह जायेगी और उस अवस्था में धीरे-धीरे हम पूरे रोजगार की अवस्था सारे देश में पैदा कर सकेंगे। लेकिन सरकार के सामने वह नीति भी नहीं है।

चौथा काम यह हो सकता है कि विद्यार्थियों के बीच में एम्प्लायमेंट की शुरुआत की जाए। विद्यार्थियों के बीच शुरुआत का मतलब यह होता है कि जो कैम्पस है, वहाँ एम्प्लायमेंट ब्यूरोज हों। अमरीका पूंजीवादी देश है। वहाँ कैम्पस में एम्प्लायमेंट ब्यूरो है। विद्यार्थी लोग काम करते हैं होस्टल में, कारखानों आदि में, पार्ट टाइम काम करके कमाते भी हैं और पढ़ते भी हैं। कैलिफोर्निया में, बर्कले में मैंने टेबल पर बेंचर का काम किया है पार्ट टाइम जाब किया है। मुझे वहाँ पर गर्मी की छुट्टियों में कारखानों और खेतों में काम करने का मौका मिला, जिससे मैं अपनी पढ़ाई जारी रख सका। सरकार यह व्यवस्था कर सकती थी कि यूनिवर्सिटी कैम्पस में एम्प्लायमेंट ब्यूरो खोला जाये और यूनिवर्सिटी के कामों में, होस्टल में सेन्टेटेरियल वर्क के लिये

विद्यार्थियों को एम्प्लाय किया जाये। इससे विद्यार्थियों में जिम्मेदारी और अनुशासन की भावना आती, उनके असंतोष में कमी होती और यह बेरोजगारी को खत्म करने का एक उपाय होता। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि न तो प्रस्ताव में ऐसा कोई सुझाव दिया गया है और न ही सरकार की ऐसी कोई नीति है। बेरोजगारी की समस्या पूंजीवाद से सम्बन्धित है। जब तक पूंजीवाद है, तब तक बेरोजगारी रहेगी। हम एक प्रस्ताव नहीं, हजारों प्रस्ताव पास कर दें, लेकिन जब तक पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था कायम रहती है, जब तक हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था पूंजीवाद पर आधारित है, जिसमें उत्पादन के साधनों पर कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोगों का कब्जा है और उत्पादन मुनाफाखोरी के लिये होता है, तब तक बेरोजगारी का खात्मा कतई नहीं हो सकता है। पूंजीवाद को खत्म करने से ही बेरोजगारी का खात्मा हो सकता है। जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, अमरीका में विद्यार्थी शिक्षा प्राप्त करते हुए काम भी करते हैं, लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि वहाँ सब लोगों को रोजगार मिला हुआ है। सरकारी आंकड़ों के मुताबिक वहाँ पर चार मिलियन से ज्यादा लोग बेरोजगार हैं। जब मैं वहाँ पढ़ता था, तब भी वहाँ पर लोग बेरोजगार थे। अमरीका, फ्रांस और इंग्लैण्ड जैसे पूंजीवादी देशों में पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था होने के कारण लोगों का जीवन-स्तर ऊँचा होने के बावजूद अब भी वहाँ पर बड़े पैमाने पर बेरोजगारी है।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, बेरोजगारी के खात्मे के लिये यह लाजिमी है कि पूंजीवाद का खात्मा किया जाये। पूंजीवाद के खात्मे का मतलब यह है कि उत्पादन के साधनों पर समाज का कब्जा हो। इस बुनियादी परिवर्तन से ही बेरोजगारी का खात्मा हो सकता है। सरकार की तरफ से बातें तो बहुत की जाती

हैं, लेकिन उसने इस दिशा में कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है।

जहाँ तक इस प्रस्ताव का सम्बन्ध है, यह केवल इतनी दूर तक गया है कि चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में बेरोजगारी की समस्या को हल करने के लिये कुछ व्यवस्था की जाये। इससे यह मसला बुनियादी तौर पर हल नहीं हो सकता है। समाजवाद की केवल लिप-सर्विस से इस समस्या का उन्मूलन नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि **समर्थित इज बेंटर देन नॉबिस**। चूँकि इस प्रस्ताव के द्वारा बेरोजगारी को खत्म करने के पक्ष में वातावरण बनेगा और कुछ कदम उठाये जाने की सम्भावना बढ़ेगी, इसलिये मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We have already spent 2 hours 40 minutes on this resolution. How much more time shall we spend on it?

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : It is an important resolution. It should be extended by 1½ hours at least.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Barh) : This is a very important resolution. President Giri himself has written an article in which he says that the problem covers 10 to 15 million unemployed people. We can leave some time at the end for the next resolution to be moved and discuss it till then.

SHRI SEZHIAN : If Government is coming forward to accept the basic demand in some way we may cutshort the time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Let us decide. When do I call the Minister?

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : At 5 O'clock.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : All right. I will call the Minister at 5 O'clock and after him the mover will reply. Mr. Bhandare.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, so

far as the Resolution is concerned, I must mention two points : one is that the note of the fact of unemployment has already been taken by Government on 28th November, 1969; and the other is that at the time of drafting of the Fourth Five-Year Plan various study groups were appointed and this fact of unemployment had weighed with the members of the study group. I happened to be one of the members of that study group and we have already taken very serious note of it and have made certain suggestions. In view of this, how far and to what extent will it be reasonable to get the Resolution passed? Therefore, I have mentioned these two facts.

When we talk of the question of unemployment, there are two propositions that we must take into consideration : One is under-employment and the other is unemployment. Vast as our country is, huge as even the material available in the country is and backward and underdeveloped as our country is—let the Leader of the Opposition and Professor Ranga note that I do not justify it, because our people are the most sufferers because of under-employment and unemployment. Whenever there is a discussion on the question of unemployment, we always pay more attention to the question of educated unemployed.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : And urban unemployed.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : There is also the question of the uneducated unemployed and the rural unemployed.

Government has made all sorts of studies and has also had the National Employment Service Scheme. Under this scheme we have Employment Exchanges at different places. But what is the position of these employment exchanges? During April to December last year, only 3,26,338 persons could get employment. How many persons have registered their names and whose names are on the live register, is worth noting; the figure is astounding. 34,23,885 are the persons whose names are on the live register.

[Shri R. D. Bhandare]

I need not mention that apathy and disappointment are the two ruling passions of our people. Very few individuals go to the employment exchange for getting their names registered. A number of persons simply do not go to the employment exchange at all. Take the illustration of even educated persons; even they do not go to employment exchanges for getting their names registered. But in spite of this apathy or inactivity or loss of faith because of disappointment and disgruntlement, even the names of those, who took care to go to employment exchanges and whose names are on the live register, are to the extent of 34,23,885. What happens at the employment exchange? Now-a-days, there are so many complaints—I come from Bombay; I know the complaints—that unless you pay something, you simply cannot get placement at all even though your name may be registered there. I hope, the hon. Minister will take very serious note of it. It is not for the first time that I am mentioning it. He is also equally aware of it. But then it is my duty to mention it and emphasize the fact that even at the time when the man is no better than a beggar, he is unemployed, and it is very difficult to maintain himself and his family, he is expected to give bribe to the officer for getting an employment. How could he give a bribe when he is unemployed? I will not dwell on this elaborately. **16.21 hrs.**

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY *in the Chair*]

I would draw your attention mainly to the question of rural unemployment. I need not mention that agriculture is the major industry of this country. Agriculture is a means of living of the majority of people in this country. How this major means of living is distributed is a question worth studying. It has been so often repeated in the House and those who are the leaders of farmers and agriculturists are aware of the fact that 74 per cent of the people living on the agriculture are small farmers and marginal farmers, leaving aside the landless and agricultural labour. Then, when we talk of the small

farmers having not more than 5 acres of land and marginal farmers having not more than 2½ or 3 acres of land, the landless and agricultural labour, we must take note of the fact as to for how many days they get employment during the year. You will be surprised to know that the majority of these persons live a life of unemployment, semi-starvation and starvation. The Government, therefore, shall have to come forward with a proposal to start as many agro-industries as possible so that those who cannot leave their villages and who have small or marginal farms may get an alternative employment.

The industrial policy is based on 3-tier system, individual, cooperation and the public sector. So far as cooperation is concerned, I am, really sorry to mention, in this country, cooperation has also become a monopoly of certain individuals. You go to different places and look at the sugar cooperatives. You go to any place, not only to Maharashtra, you will find the same phenomenon. It has become a monopoly. Therefore, if at all cooperation is to be made successful, the Agro-industry should be so distributed that the agricultural labour and the landless should have some share in it so that they can also have a means of living. This is a concrete suggestion I am making. Otherwise, what will happen is that the tension and this problem of unemployment will continue.

Sir, let me make a mention of the warning given by Dr. Ambedkar, on 25th November, 1949, when the Constitution was framed and presented to the people of India. He said:

“On 26th January, 1950, we shall have political democracy meaning thereby one man, one vote, one value. But there will be social and economic inequality. If we allow the social and economic inequality to continue for long, these underprivileged and down-trodden people will lose their patience and destroy the whole fabric of society.”

And the first symptoms are found to-day because there is tension every where in the country.

With these words, I have done.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : My name is the first.

समापति महोदय : देखिए बहुत से लोग बोलने वाले हैं और 5 बजे मिनिस्टर बोलेंगे ।

श्री समर गुहा : मेरा नाम बुलाया था । मैं उस समय बाहर था, एक मिनट में ही आ गया था...

समापति महोदय : वह मैं नहीं जानता हूँ कि आप बाहर थे या क्या था ? दो तीन आदमी इस बीच बोल सकते हैं, वह बोल लें । आप लोगों से रिक्वेस्ट है कि समय कम होने के कारण थोड़ी सी लिमिट अपने ऊपर रखिए ।

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Barh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the House has been discussing this resolution with great concern. Only a few weeks before the President wrote an article in the newspapers in which he said that the problem of unemployment is anywhere from 10 million to 50 million people. He also said that nearly 100 to 150 million people are semi-employed. For example, the entire agricultural labour is semi-employed. You come from a village and you know that most of this agricultural labour suffer a pitiable plight because they have no other employment opportunities in the villages. We have seen that even when there is no cultivation in the field, that day nothing will be cooked in the house of the agricultural labourer because he has no money. He will have to go to a money-lender for some amount so that he can really give something to his family because he has no sustenance capacity. He gets something for his daily work and that is spent the same day. There is hardly much means available to them in the villages.

It was so surprising that the National Development Council approved the Plan. The budget has been presented and it was discussed. But the most urgent problem facing this country has not been taken care of at all by either the National Development Council or the Government. We have seen that some public sector allotments have been increased.

It is a welcome feature that they have been increased. But what is the problem? The number one problem facing the country is to channelise the man power resources. Actually Dr. Hazare who was appointed by the Prime Minister as one of the Deputy Governors of the Reserve Bank came out with a statement when the banks were nationalised that if the nationalised banks have to give any advantage to this country, then the entire economic structure has to be changed. He said that there should be a complete change in the structure of the Fourth Plan. Even Dr. Galbraith said that the Second Plan and the Third Plan have not helped in removing or reducing the imbalance. Actually, the plans have been instrumental in creating imbalances because they have not been able to take care of the backlog of unemployment which came from the First and Second Plans. And if the same kind of pattern prevails in the Fourth Plan, the backlog of unemployment will be such that it will explode the country. To-day the riots and disturbances in the Universities are primarily due to the reason that the present day education is not conducive for them to have any future for themselves. You had been to your constituency when you contested the Elections in 1967. You must have faced the situation that most of the young men who were Matriculates had become Graduates. They were unemployed for the past one year. Some of them are unemployed for 2 or 3 or 5 years. Whenever you go to the constituency, hundreds of young people come to you asking for jobs. I tell them that even if I were the Prime Minister, it would not have been in my discretion to give jobs to all the people who come in hundreds and thousands. What is the kind of job available to them? Either they like to go and work in some private company or firm or they like to get employment in Government service. But what is the position? Today, we have already reached the saturation point.

If you see the State budgets, if the budget is to the tune of 100 crores, the emoluments, salaries and allowances of the State Government employees itself consumes 65 to 88 crores. What is left is sometimes Rs. 20 crores

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

and sometimes only Rs. 18 crores. What kind of development is possible with this small amount left? This is a completely lopsided budgeting. I don't know how the National Development Council approved this Plan as it is without taking sufficient care about the number one problem that is facing this country. Now I am reminded of Gandhiji more than ever before. His whole idea of decentralised economy was primarily for this reason. He did realise that there is tremendous labour force in the country while we are short of every other material in every other respect. There is more than 14% of the world's population in our country but there is only 2½% of the world's land available in our country. There will always be a big gap between resources that are available in our country and the manpower. But I find there is absolutely no manpower planning in the entire Planning or in the Budget.

Sir, we are talking about brain drain from the rural areas to the urban areas. This is taking place because in the rural areas they don't have anything to reckon with or to give them hopes for a better future and so they migrate to urban area. When they migrate their condition becomes as if they are third class citizens of our country. Today, if you really see the Taj Mahal Hotel a dozen people will spend Rs. 1,000 for the dinner over-night, but in front of the Taj Mahal Hotel, you will see large number of people living in the pavements whose lives, whose existence, are there on the pavement itself. In the city of Bombay there are 5 or 6 lakhs of such people who sleep on the pavements, whose life and whose existence is on the pavement only. On this situation, even Mr. Gunnar Myrdal has said that there should be complete structural change in the plan, an orientation to provide emergency employment opportunities no care has been taken. We from our organisation have suggested that there should be Rs. 250 crores in the plan itself earmarked for emergency employment, for employment opportunities schemes. What are those schemes? Two or three schemes are there which can give heavy employment. I do not say that Bokaro should be shelved.

But I could have understood this, when the problem of employment was serious in this country, a thousand crore worth of Bokaro plant could have been kept in abeyance for three or 4 years and a re-priority should have been geared up in this connection. One is this network of tubewells. Sir, you know, tubewell does not require very much money. If you set up a network of tubewells, you start them in 3 months' time, and get the reward in another 3 months and the next crop can be available to you within 6 months; and your whole project starts giving results within 6 months. It can provide employment opportunities to many.

Then, I come to house building programmes. The rural housing scheme is virtually nil, I should say. Even a small house-building activity, for instance can give employment to 15 individuals in house construction. If you really have a big house-building construction programme you can absorb lakhs and lakhs of unemployed people in the country. I would like give one instance. The Bechtel Corporation were asking for marketing facilities for distribution of fertilisers; it was not supported by us because we thought if they go in the villages they will completely influence our lives and, therefore, we had opposed that scheme of theirs. But I would like to say this, that in that scheme of theirs there was a very realistic analysis of the situation. They had suggested that they would utilise the petrol pumps, for providing servicing in the rural areas. In the State of Bihar, I know—you also come from that State—that in about 100 miles, there is no service station. I am a cultivator and so I have to keep my tractor with me as well as the bullocks.

I cannot depend on tractors for the cultivation because if any small part is out of order, I have to go to Patna or Gorakhpur which is about 100 miles away for servicing or repairing that. I would have thought of doing that in a petrol pump—either in Burmah Shell, Caltex or I.O.C. The Government of India could have made some efforts thereby they could have absorbed diploma-holders as mechanics. They could have

provided some arrangements for the repair of tractors. By this scheme they could have given employment to lakhs of people. Sir, there is unemployment in the country. There are nearly 80,000 engineers and about 2,96,000 other people who are unemployed. That means the total comes to about 4 lakhs of people who are technicians from the engineering colleges or polytechnics who are unemployed. We could have given them employment under this one scheme. They can go for service to the rural areas. And this is a must. In this country out of the tractors available, nearly 50% of them are out of order. And therefore these three schemes should have been given a top priority. And some of the big schemes which may be very essential ones could have been postponed to meet these emergency requirements and we should have organised the planning on the basis of an emergency planning. But it seems there is no concern at all on the part of the Government. They have announced just now three steel plants whereas the most important problem which the Andhra Pradesh, Mysore or any part of India to-day are facing, is the educated unemployment. They have not announced any scheme about them. They have not yet decided to announce any emergency programme for meeting the problem faced by the educated unemployed.

I hope that the Government would accept this Resolution and bring about certain structural changes and convert this Fourth Five Year Plan into an emergency employment planning for three years or four years. There is recession on the one hand and on the other hand there are so many educated unemployed people in the country. Unless something is done in this regard the entire social order will be completely disintegrated. In the coming years we have to be very very careful about this.

SHRI R. BARUA (Jorhat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I take this opportunity to speak a few words about the labour problem. First of all let me say that I have a grievance with this Ministry—the Ministry of Labour—that this is nothing more than a ministry except-

ing to resolve the labour disputes. They have not been entrusted with any other work. Looking the labour problems as a whole, I say that we are always thinking of these problems but there is no positive manpower policy at all in our country. This is a thing which we are facing in the last few years. At least for the first time the Government is talking of the enormity of this problem. We have seen that out of the employment potential, only about 4% of the entire labour force in the country is manned by the matriculates and/or graduates which is so insignificant a fraction. But this is expanded to a large extent in a developing country like India. All the same, the pressure on the expansion of college education comes in everywhere. Why is it so? It is because the people want to be graduates by their efforts so that they can find a better place in the market. Equating general education to technical education is very good. But there is no policy whatsoever in the country in spite of the recommendations made by the Kothari Commission. And no serious effort has been made in order to find out our requirements as also the manner in which we should proceed. This is with regard to the educated unemployed people.

What is the position about the vast majority of people who are unemployed or underemployed—I mean the rural masses? As my hon. friend Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha rightly pointed out, that is enormous and no attention has been paid to that aspect of the matter.

Now they are left at the mercy of the people in the villages who can employ them and it is always an employer's market. The result is that the labour force in the rural areas, whether educated or uneducated, whether skilled or unskilled, is completely at the mercy of these people. The result is that things have gone to such an extent that at any time there can be an explosion which will devour all of us. Probably we are ignoring that aspect of the thing.

We are talking of Naxalite activities. We are talking of their rural base. How is it that they get a base in the rural areas? Because

[Shri R. Barua]

there has been complete neglect of the entire area.

Secondly, with regard to planning, we have taken up big schemes but we have not taken care of absorbing these people. In our country, mobility of labour is not as we find in the modern advanced countries of the west. Therefore, our primary attention should have been devoted to seeing that this unemployed force is employed, and to that extent, there should have been sufficient plant and funds for agro-industries and industries which cater to the needs of the people there and the country at large. That we have not done. Even the scheme referred to by Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha in regard to tubewell, for instance, was never seriously taken note of. That would not only have given employment but it would also have developed the economy of the rural areas and as a result the unemployment problem would not have become that serious.

According to present estimates, at the end of the Fourth Plan, we would have a backlog of 14 million. I do not put much trust in this figure, because it must be much higher. It may, as the President said, be between 10 and 50 million. Whatever it is, I hope that Government will see that the Labour Ministry is seized of this. They should study the problem in depth and must be entrusted with determining manpower policy. Then alone shall we be in a position to see that our unemployment problem is tackled at least to some extent.

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) :
सभापति जी, यह सरकार इस समस्या को कितनी शैबिली और कँजुअली ट्रीट कर रही है उसका इस बात से प्रमाण मिलता है कि आज तक सरकार को यह आंकड़े भी मालूम नहीं हैं कि हमारे देश में कितने लोग बेरोजगार हैं, कितने गांव में और कितने शहरों में हैं। इसके सही आंकड़े तक भी सरकार ने मालूम करने की कोशिश नहीं की। हालांकि संविधान के जो डायरेक्टिव प्रिन्सिपल्स हैं, अनुच्छेद 39 और 41, उनमें स्पष्ट लिखा हुआ है कि हर एक

आदमी को ऐडोकेट मीन्स आफ लाइवली हुड देने का सरकार प्रयास करे। मैं अनुच्छेद आपको पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ :

“The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing—

‘that the citizens, men and women equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood’.”

उसमें यह भी लिखा हुआ है कि :

“The State shall make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment.”

तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आज तक आपने इस बात का सर्वे किया है कि देश में कितने आदमी एम्प्लायड हैं, कितने अनएम्प्लायड हैं, कितने अपडर-एम्प्लायड हैं। गांव में कितने हैं और शहर में कितने हैं। आज तक यह सरकार इस इशू को, जो सबसे गम्भीर है, कँजुअली और शैबिली ट्रीट करती जा रही है। यह मेरा पहला चार्ज है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि यह सरकार क्या कहती है इसको आप देखें। हमारे देश की जो अवस्था है वह ठीक नहीं है। सरकार कहती है कि एक स्कीम बनायी है उसमें पांच हजार लोग एम्प्लायड हो जायेंगे, या इतना पैसा खर्च किया इसमें 5,000 लोग एम्प्लाय हो जायेंगे। इधर-उधर थोड़े टचेज करके इस समस्या को टालती रहती है। यह इतनी गम्भीर समस्या है, जहाँ पर 35 मिलियन लोग बेकार हों वहाँ छोटे मोटे ऐडजस्टमेंट से यह समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है। जरूरत इस बात की है कि एक रिवॉल्यूशनरी लीडरशिप हो हमारे देश में जिसका एक डाइनेमिक एप्रोच हो। जब तक यह नहीं हांगा तक तब इधर-उधर टचेज देने से या ऐडजस्टमेंट करने से कोई काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

हालत यह है कि चौथी योजना समाप्त होने के बाद, आज जितने लोग बेकार हैं उससे करीब दुगने लोग बेकार हो जायेंगे। आप स्टेटस को भी मेन्टेन नहीं कर पायेंगे। फिर आपकी योजना से क्या लाभ लोगों का होने वाला है? सरकार एक खेल खेलती है। लोगों का नशा पिलाने के लिये कि आइ० सी० एस० की प्रिविलेज हटा देनी है, राजाओं का प्रिवी पर्यं दूर करना है। इससे कोई बेकारी की समस्या दूर होने वाली है। लोगों में साइकोलाजिकल ऐटमासफियर बना कर कि सरकार बड़ी प्रोग्रेसिव है घोखे में रखना चाहती है। ठीक है आप साइकोलाजिकल ऐटमासफियर बनायें, लेकिन जो सही समस्या है, अपनी ऐनर्जी जब तक आप उसमें नहीं लगायेंगे तब तक भस्मासुर का तरह से उसका हाथ आपके सर पर ही आपने वाला है और आप साफ हो जायेंगे।

आज हमारे देश की हालत क्या है? अभी मंत्री जी ने कहा कि हमारे देश में बिजली बहुत हो गयी है। ठीक है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में बिजली का पर कैपिटा प्रोडक्शन 85 किलोवाट है 1967 में, जब कि इटली में 1850 किलोवाट पर कैपिटा है। लगभग 25 गुना ज्यादा। इसी तरह से 1964-65 में दूध का पर कैपिटा कनजम्पशन हमारे यहां 117 ग्राम होता था, जब कि 1956-57 में उससे ज्यादा था, और आयरलैंड में 730 ग्राम पर कैपिटा है। कैलोरीज का एवरेज पर कैपिटा कनजम्पशन 1964-65 में 1970 था जब कि फ्रांस में 2300 कैलोरीज है। इसका मतलब यह है कि हम अन्डर फीड हैं।

सभापति जी, आपने कल अखबार में पढ़ा होगा कि साउथ में एक महिला ने खुद अपनी और अपने तीन बच्चों के साथ जहर खा करके आत्म हत्या कर ली क्योंकि उसके पास साधन नहीं था। इस प्रकार के किस्से रोज हमारे

देश में होते हैं। इसके बाद भी यह सरकार जागती नहीं है। क्यों? इसका कारण यह है कि एक बार अपनी कुर्सी पर बैठ कर मेनोवॉरिंग करती है यह सरकार। इससे देश की समस्या हल होने वाला नहीं है। देश में जो ला एंड आर्डर बिगड़ रहा है, अनुशासन-हीनता जो आ रही है और दुनिया में जो हमारी इमेज गिरती जा रही है इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि हमारे देश में बेरोजगारी है, यहां की आर्थिक अवस्था ठीक नहीं है। जब तक मौलिक रूप से इस पर चोट नहीं पड़ेगी, इसको रोकने के लिये थोड़ा बहुत काम करने से यह समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है। आपने इस समस्या के अन्दर ब्रैक थ्रू किया है कि नहीं? थोड़ा बहुत हो गया, लेकिन बिल्कुल नहीं हुआ। अगर कांग्रेस का मंत्रिमंडल नहीं होता, अगर आई० सी० एस० को आप यहां बैठाते तब भी शायद कुछ तो होता। मैं कहता हूं कि किसी की बदौलत कुछ तो होने वाला था। मुझे याद है कि जब मैं चौथी जमात में पढ़ता था तब अंग्रेजों ने भी कुछ किया था। अंग्रेज हुकूमत की बरकात क्या हैं? रेल चलाई, स्कूल खोले। लेकिन उन्होंने कुछ तो किया, मगर आपने कितना किया? कितनी समस्यायें हैं और कितना किया है? मैं चार्ज करता हूं इस गवर्नमेंट को कि जितने की जरूरत है उसका बहुत थोड़ा हिस्सा उसने किया है। वजह यह है कि उसकी अप्रोच गलत है। हमारे माननीय दोस्त ने पूछा कि कैसे होगा? सरकार क्या करती है? यह सरकार केवल डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन पर जोर देती जा रही है कि नेशनलाइजेशन कर के यह दे दो वह दे दो। मैं मानता हूं कि डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन मुख्य अंग है एकानमी का। लेकिन अगर प्रोडक्शन नहीं है, पैदावार नहीं है तो क्या आप गरीबी का डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन करेंगे? आप 75 बिग बिजिनेस हाउसेज की सारी वेल्थ बांट दीजिये लोगों में तो हर आदमी के हिस्से में 50 रु० आयेगा। क्या उससे उनकी

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]
सारी उन्नत गुजर जायेगी ?

मेरा कहना यह है कि सबसे मुख्य समस्या यह है कि आप प्रोडक्शन बढ़ायें। जब आप का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगा तब आप की सेविंग बढ़ेगी। हमारे देश में पिछले पन्द्रह सालों से इसी तरह से सेविंग चली आ रही है, रेट आफ ग्रोथ भी वही है। कभी आधा परसेंट बढ़ जाता है और कभी आधा परसेंट कम हो जाता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि जब तक 1974 तक रेट आफ ग्रोथ 10 परसेंट नहीं होता तब तक अनएम्प्लायमेंट फिगर में जो स्टेस को है वह भी नहीं रख पायेंगे। आप का रेट आफ ग्रोथ तब ज्यादा होगा जब आप इन्वेस्टमेंट ज्यादा करेंगे और सेविंग ज्यादा होगी। अभी तक जितनी एडीशनल इनकम होती है उसका कुल 20 परसेंट सेविंग आप करते हैं। आप की योजना इस प्रकार की बने कि 40 परसेंट सेविंग हो और रेट आफ ग्रोथ 1974 तक बढ़कर 10 परसेंट आ जाये। उसके बाद आप काफी मात्रा में इस देश में लोगों को काम दे सकते हैं।

आखीर में मैं दो एक बातों की तरफ इशारा करूंगा। जो हमारा 7 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम है आप उसको ले तो दो सालों के अन्दर आप अनएम्प्लायमेंट में स्टेस को पैदा कर लेंगे और उसके बाद जो आप का बैंक लाग होता है वह कम होना शुरू होगा। पहले तो आप यहां पर जितनी फारेन कंसर्न्स हैं, टी गार्डेन हैं, फारेन आयल कम्पनी हैं, उनको फौरन अपने हाथ में ले लें, फिर जितने नान डेवेलप-मेंटल ऐक्टिविटीज हैं उनको 10 परसेंट कम कीजिये, जो लम्बरी गुड्स हैं यहां पर उनको हेवीली टैक्स कीजिये, पब्लिक अण्डरटैकिंग्स को एफिशिएंट बनाइये, फिर अनयूटिलाइज्ड कैपिटली को पूरा कीजिये। उसके बाद जो एक्ससेस कंजमन है एक अदायगी को उसको कम कीजिये। किसी आदमी को 24 हजार

₹० साल से ज्यादा खर्च करने की इजाजत नहीं होनी चाहिये, ताकि सेविंग ज्यादा हो। सेविंग के लिये आप उसको उत्साह दीजिये, इन्सेन्टिव दीजिये। एक चीज यह भी होनी चाहिये कि जिसकी आमदनी एग्रीकल्चर से 25 हजार ₹० साल से ज्यादा हो उस पर आप 5 परसेंट टैक्स लगाइये। जो आप के इम्पोर्ट लाइसेंसज हैं उन में से स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को छोड़ कर उन्हें आक्शन कीजिये। इस तरह से किया जाय तो सरकार को 1500 करोड़ रुपये ज्यादा की आमदनी होगी। इन 1500 करोड़ रुपयों में से 1200 करोड़ रुपये गांवों में लगाइये, प्रोडक्शन के लिये लगाइये। छोटे-छोटे किसानों को बीज दीजिये, खाद दीजिये। अभी हमारी पर-एकड इल्ड दुनिया के दूसरे देशों की लोएस्ट में से है।

हम यहां ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन की बात करते हैं। अगर 1200 करोड़ रुपया ज्यादा गांवों में डाला गया तो मैं कह सकता हूँ कि तीन साल के अन्दर हमारे देश में ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन आयेगा, लेकिन अगर यह सरकार सोचती रहेगी तो ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन की जगह रेड रेवोल्यूशन आयेगा। आप याद रखिये कि आज आप के दोस्त कोई भी हों, लेकिन कल वही दोस्त आप का गला दबा कर बैठेंगे और कहेंगे कि उतर जाओ कुर्सी पर से नहीं तो कल कर दिये जाओगे। यह दोस्त आप के टेम्पोरेरी दोस्त हैं। मैं आप से जो मांग करता हूँ उसको पूरा कीजिये। यह आप के दोस्त जिस देश में गये हैं हमेशा उन्होंने ऐसा ही किया है। पहले उन्होंने लोगों को आगे बढ़ाया उस के बाद उठाकर फेंका है। इस लिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि सरकार मेरी बातों पर विचार करे और सही मानों में इस बारे में कुछ करे। तभी कुछ हो सकेगा।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, a section of students have started raising slogans that they want jobs and

not degrees at a recent convocation. This should be taken as the red signal for an ignition, to show the extent that the unemployment situation has reached today. The unemployment situation cannot be discussed in isolation of the objectives and structure of planning. The architects of planning by their defects, and in the objectives and also in the planning and structure, have created a Frankenstein of unemployment.

I am quoting the figures given by the President himself. He says:

"After the three Plans, the estimate of the unemployed varied from 10 million to 50 million and of under-employed, from 100 million to 170 million. The number of educated unemployed rose by 13 per cent during the first half of 1969. According to the figures of Employment Exchanges, there were 8.75 lakh matriculates, 1.85 lakhs graduates and 53,118 engineers in June, 1969. The total number of job-seekers in November, 1969 were 34 lakhs as against 30.5 lakhs in November, 1968. In West Bengal, Kerala and Maharashtra, 30 per cent of the people are unemployed."

These are the figures quoted by the President himself. This shows the immensity of the problem. In the brochure published by the Planning Commission, they have said that after the end of the Fourth Plan, there will still remain a backlog of 19 million unemployed in our country. I do not want to quote more figures.

What had been the defect in our country? Our Government is taking the name of Gandhiji. In a way, they have made him not the living symbol of the country but something else. When Gandhiji—I was not a Gandhian—was raising the question of the *charkha* economy, my friend has very rightly pointed out that he did not want to take the country back to the bullock-age. He meant that compared to the countries like USSR, and America, our problem of employment was completely different.

The problems of Russia and America are almost the same. Except ownership, their

pattern of industry, their pattern of economy and their pattern of planning are absolutely the same. What is their problem? Their problem is: they have more land; less agriculturists. They have more jobs; less workers. It is just the reverse of what our position is. Here, what did our planners do? They started planning not with the labour intensive objective but with capital-intensive objective. The result is what we see in the Fourth Plan period.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I want at least 10 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: But you never consider our difficulty. Please be very brief.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Again, I would quote what the President has said. He said:

"In 1938, together with Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Viswesvarayya, it was my unique privilege to convene the National Planning Committee under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. One of the principal recommendations of this Planning Forum of India's National Planning Committee related to the total programme of manpower utilisation for the benefit of all sections of the people."

I am very glad that at least the President has mentioned the name of the father of planning in India, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He again reiterated this in 1944 in the Tokyo University speech when he said that the programme of Indian Planning was defence intensive, and secondly, he said that our objective of planning should be based on employment. That is not done. I have already said that in isolation if we try to devise any means to solve the unemployment problem, it will be absolutely wrong. Unless the Government is prepared to change drastically the objective of our planning and also the structure of our planning, there cannot be any way like a magic by which you can solve the problem of unemployment. We know that Mr. Kidwai, in the face of opposition from

[Shri Samar Guha]

many, decontrolled food and succeeded. Such courage is required today for drastically changing the objective and structure of our planning.

17 hrs.

I will conclude by giving three constructive suggestions. After changing drastically the objective of planning, capital-intensive planning should be limited to spheres like defence, mining and oil exploration. The rest of the investment should be made in small-scale sector, for developing agro-industries and other ancillary industries. Only if that is done there is a possibility of tackling our massive unemployment problem.

Another suggestion I would give is this. The President himself has said that there are 53,000 unemployed engineers. It was announced the other day that by giving IOC pumps, 1000 engineers can be employed. Government can solve this problem only if they decide that they will not import any technical know-how and technicians from outside. Look at Bokaro. 6000 Russian technicians have been imported. In Goa Fertiliser plant, technicians from outside have been imported. Today morning, I asked a question about export of iron ore and manganese ore. Engineers from Japan are being imported for this purpose. If the Government put a ban on import of technicians from outside and for our industrial development if Indian engineers are utilised instead of foreign engineers, they can solve the problem of unemployment of our engineers.

A few days ago, our Irrigation Minister and also Finance Minister said that a substantial amount will be released from PL 480 funds for rural electrification. If that is really done, if rural electrification is done on an extensive scale all over the country, agriculture, small-scale industries, village industries and many other things can be developed. Emphasis, should therefore be laid on this.

Thirdly, instead of diversifying the talking of the problem of unemployment by different ministries, there should be one single Ministry—Ministry of Employment—which will concentrate all its attention and energy for

coordinating the employment potentialities. That should be done if they really want to tackle the unemployment problem.

श्री राजदेव सिंह (जौनपुर) : सभापति महोदय, इसमें दो राय नहीं हैं कि हमारे देश में बेकारी बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर है। लेकिन सदन के भीतर जब बेकारी की चर्चा होती है तो सिर्फ एक वर्ग की बेकारी की ही चर्चा होती है और वर्ग है अमोर परिवारों का, बाहरी लोगों का। उनके पढ़लिखे लोगों को जब नौकरी नहीं मिल पाती है तो उन्हीं की चर्चा यहां होती है। लेकिन उससे कहीं अधिक गुना संख्या में बेकारी गांवों में है। वहां गरीब लोग रहते हैं। जिलों में जो सदर मुकाम होते हैं वहीं पर एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज के दफ्तर होते हैं। इन लोगों के नाम वहां दर्ज नहीं होते हैं। बहुत से गांवों के पढ़े लिखे लोग हमारे पास नौकरी के लिए आते हैं। जब हम लोग उनसे सवाल पूछते हैं कि एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज में नाम रजिस्टर कराया है या नहीं कराया तो पचास प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे होते हैं या इससे भी ज्यादा परसेंट लोग ऐसे होते हैं जो कहते हैं कि एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज के दफ्तर का हमें मालूम ही नहीं है। इस तरह से इन एक्सचेंजिज के रजिस्ट्रेशन पर बेकारों की जो संख्या दर्ज रहती है वह बहुत कम रहती है। वहां जो अनुमान बेकारों की संख्या के बारे में है मेरा अपना ख्याल यह है कि उससे दस गुना अधिक बेकारों की संख्या होगी। साथ ही साथ हम गांवों में जो बेकार लोग हैं उनकी तरफ नहीं देखते हैं, सिर्फ शहरी बेकारों की तरफ ही देखते हैं। गांवों में अगर एक परिवार के पास दो बीघे खेत है और उसमें चार नौजवान लड़के हैं तो उनमें से तीन को बेकार माना जा सकता है और अगर उन तीन को नौकरी मिले तो वे नौकरी करने के लिए तैयार हो जाते हैं। लेकिन उनको नौकरी मिलती नहीं है।

अब सवाल पैदा होता है कि यह समस्या

हल कैसे होगी ? बहुत पहले गवर्नमेंट ने तय किया था कि हम कोओप्रेटिव फार्मिंग करेंगे । अगर इसको किया जाए तो कुछ हद तक जो बेकारी गांवों में है वह दूर हो सकती है । साथ ही साथ गांव में हमारी कोशिश होनी चाहिये कि काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज खुलें । ऐसा अगर हो जाए तो कुछ बेकारों को वे भी खपा लेंगी । पूरे देश का कंस्ट्रक्शन इस तरह से हो कि हर दस गांव के पीछे जो बड़े बाजार हैं, उन बाजारों में स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज कायम हों । ऐसा अगर किया गया तो उससे भी इस समस्या को हल करने में मदद मिल सकती है । इसके अलावा जो जिले का हैडक्वार्टर है, वहां सीरीज आफ स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज कायम हों । इस तरह से अगर किया गया तो बेकारी की समस्या को कुछ हद तक आप दूर कर सकेंगे ।

कोओप्रेटिव्स का एक ऐसा प्रासेस है कि उसमें हम काफी पढ़े लिखे लोगों को खपा सकते हैं । हमारे पास बहुत से कार्यक्रम हैं । मैं चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट ईमानदारी के साथ, नेकनीयती के साथ उन कार्यक्रमों को ले कर चले, उनको लागू करे ताकि यह जो बेकारी की समस्या है यह दूर हो ।

मेरा यह भी आपसे अनुरोध है कि शहरी बेकारों की तरफ ही न हम देखें बल्कि गांवों में जो बड़ी तादाद में बेकार लोग बैठे हुए हैं, उनकी तरफ भी हम देखें, उनकी समस्या की ओर भी हम ध्यान दें ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Minister

SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi) : rose—

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record until I permit it... (Interruption)**. There is no time ; we have exceeded the time ... (Interruption)**. The House has exceeded the time.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT AND REHABILITATION (SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to the hon. Leader of the Opposition who has brought this Resolution before the House within a very short time from 28th November when this House had an opportunity to discuss this important question.

Sir, even then and again now I would say that Government gives the highest consideration and importance to this question. It is known to everybody that it is not a question of finding facts. There are no disputes on the facts. There is no question of controversy or differences between Government and other hon. Members on this question of unemployment in our country.

Sir, the hon. Member—Leader of the Opposition, has rightly said that in the three plans successively—first, second and third—we have increasing figures of backlog of unemployment as are reflected by the increase on the live registers. I agree. But I would humbly say that I do not agree with the hon. Leader of the Opposition and the hon. Members who say that Government has no national policy for employment.

Between 1951 and 1966 the labour force that came into the market was 38 million whereas we created jobs for 31.5 million. In the three Plans as a result of sustained efforts we have been able to create opportunities for employment. We have been able to place many of those who were on our live register. But at present it is difficult for us to say about the exact figure of unemployment.

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta and other friends charged the Government for not being able to give the precise figures. As is known, the Planning Commission was giving the figure of the backlog at the end of every Plan but this was being questioned by hon. Members in the House and outside. So, the Planning Commission itself and we ourselves thought as to how to get exactly and precisely the

**Not recorded.

[Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad]

backlog figure. Because we had difficulty about the exact definition of employment, under employment, unemployment and such things, we appointed a committee under Professor Dantwala to advise us in this regard. Though this committee has not submitted its report, we have got the summary of their report.

According to the Committee, the character of our economy and consequently that of the labour force is such and so heterogeneous that it is not possible to justify aggregation into single dimensional magnitude. Therefore we have got this difficulty now though the live registers are there and they reflect unemployment to the extent the job seekers are registered with the employment exchanges. The limitations of the employment exchange data are there. There are persons who are employed but still register themselves for better jobs. Therefore, with these limitations, the live register reflects to a certain extent the unemployment situation in the country.

It is true that we have the figures in these employment exchanges going up; also of the educated unemployed. We are trying to keep a close watch over the situation and are taking necessary measures to increase employment opportunities. The hon. Leader of the Opposition has not only raised this question but, I must say, has also suggested certain measures as other Members have also done.

As was stated by Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta and Shrimati Sinha, we must have in this country emphasis on small-scale industries; we must have repair facilities for agricultural equipment that is being largely used in the countryside; we must have emphasis on co-operatives. I must say that all this is the second part of the Resolution of the hon. Leader of the Opposition, namely, that the Government should allocate resources for these things so as to increase employment opportunities. I will say that that is what we are doing at present; we are increasing substantially.....*(Interruption)*

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: You are not

doing that. What is the allocation in the Plan?

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD: If the hon. Member, instead of opening his mouth, will open his ears, I will quote the figures of what we are doing. We have now the Fourth Plan almost finalised and have increased the allocation by about Rs. 480 crores. I would now like to quote how we propose to increase the outlay on such sectors of our economy that will give increased employment, as the hon. Leader of the Opposition and other Members suggested.

For agriculture and allied sectors previously we had planned to spend Rs. 2,217.5 crores. As a result of some more resources in our hands and as a result of nationalisation of banking in the revised Fourth Plan we are going to spend Rs. 2,719.6 crores on this. That is, we have increased this by almost Rs. 500 crores. Similarly, for irrigation and flood control our original estimate was Rs. 963 crores. We are going to spend now Rs. 1,097 crores. For power it was Rs. 2,084 crores; now we have got Rs. 2,455 crores. It is the positive step to control the labour force coming in the market. On family planning we were to spend Rs. 300 crores; now we are going to spend Rs. 315 crores; we have increased it by Rs. 15 crores in the new Fourth Plan. Similarly, water supply, irrigation, housing and urban development, all these sectors, are the sectors which are labour intensive.

Then, the hon. Member, Shri Samar Guha, said, we should spend on defence—that is all right—we should spend on industrial minerals and we should also spend on such sectors of industry which are labour intensive. I would like to say that we are now spending on such sectors of economy which are labour intensive. So, we are already taking action on those lines. As I have quoted from the figures in the revised Fourth Plan, the Government are now laying emphasis on those sectors of economy which are labour intensive. Therefore, what the hon. Members suggested, to spend more on agriculture, irrigation and

power, small-scale industries, etc., we are doing that because we know and we appreciate that in this country, labour force is growing very fast. Not only that. We have got more labour force and we cannot, as is done outside, mechanise the processes in this country and, therefore, we have to spend more on such sectors which are labour intensive. We are doing that.

Another important point that was raised was that we should spend more on rural electrification. We agree, in the Second Plan, we had a very small number of villages, 25,600 villages electrified and then we had 69,000 villages and, in the Fourth Plan, we propose to spend Rs. 313 crores. We are also trying to have the Rural Electrification Corporation where we propose to spend Rs. 150 crores. Therefore, we are taking all those measures that the hon. Members have suggested and what the Leader of the Opposition has said in the latter part of his resolution that the Government should make a suitable provision in the Fourth Plan.

I would like to say that, at present, we are laying emphasis on labour intensive schemes, like, roads, minor irrigation, soil conservation, rural electrification, village and small-scale industries, housing and urban development. The increasing tempo of agricultural development by introducing multiple crops, the use of high-yielding varieties, expansion of minor and major irrigation, increasing use of fertiliser and manure and substantial flow of credit through financial institutions will give impetus for creating more opportunities for employment and, thereby, creating more opportunities of employment in the rural areas as suggested by Shri Bhandare and others. We want the development of agro-based industries and we hope that the employment opportunities will grow at a faster rate. Therefore, all these things plus accelerated growth in manufacturing industries and encouragement to ancillaries, will give more employment opportunities to the people.

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : आज जितने अन-

एम्प्लायड आदमी हैं, क्या चौथे प्लान के समाप्त होने के बाद वे कुछ कम होंगे या बढ़ेंगे; अगर कम होंगे, या कम से कम उतने ही रहेंगे, तो ठीक है, लेकिन अगर बढ़ जायेंगे तो फिर इनका क्या फायदा है ?

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : Sir, while replying to the points raised by various hon. Members, I stated with the major points raised by the Leader of the Opposition and then I came to the points raised by Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta. When I gave all those figures, he was not present in the House. I am sorry, when I was replying to his point, he was not here in the House. Now, he is raising the same question. I hope, he will see the record. But for his information, I would say that the Dantwala Committee, the experts and the Members inside the House and outside have said about the back-log in the three Plans and the employment opportunities created and, as I said at the very outset, in the three Plans we have had more labour force than the employment opportunities that we could create. At this point of time, I cannot, categorically, say what will be the position at the end of the Fourth Plan. I hope the hon. Member would like to know the figures. We all agree and there is no difference. We will have more people in the labour market because of the fast rate of growth in the population. There will be much more willing hands to take opportunities for job. What we should do is to allocate the Fourth Plan in such a way that there will be more opportunities. I am giving the positive side whereas he is trying to corner me as to what would be the number of people unemployed at the end of the Fourth Plan. I say what positive steps Government are taking. I can give facts and figures and if he finds no use for them, I am helpless.

Therefore, from time to time we are taking steps in these directions. We have also taken a number of steps. For example, the most important point that was raised was about engineers who are unemployed in the country, While the Education Ministry has taken certain measures about this, it so happened

[Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad]

that we have got in the country a large number of engineers and diploma-holders. We estimated in the Third Five Year Plan we would require at the rate of 25,000 engineers and 50,000 diploma-holders and we would create employment opportunities for them. But it is known that at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan came a catastrophe in this country. We had two aggressions—the Chinese and the Pakistani aggression. We had also two serious and severe droughts consecutively with the result that our economy could not progress as much as we anticipated. Therefore, whereas the opportunities created for the engineers were there, we had no economy to sustain them. Therefore this difficulty. Now, the point is compared to last year the economy is picking up. There is a ray of hope. We have 1.9% increase employment compared to the previous year. So we would not say that we have no difficulty. I am putting all the facts and figures very clearly and I must say that the only point on which we differ is when the hon. Member said that there is no national employment policy, when the hon. Member said that nothing has been done and when the hon. Member said that nothing is being done. We say that the patient needs treatment and we are trying to get the medicine whereas they say you cannot treat the patient. They are very pessimistic. But I am not so pessimistic, I am an optimist that this country with this Fourth Five Year Plan and more and more allocation will be able to sustain the growing labour force and will be able to give more employment opportunities. As I said, our Fourth Five Year Plan which has an outlay of Rs. 24,000 crores is giving Rs. 485 crores more on this and it is being spent more on the public sector with a view to have a labour-intensive economy. Therefore, the increased outlay will be in a position to help us very much.

The first part of the resolution of the hon. Leader of the Opposition asks us to take note of the situation of unemployment in the country. That, I would humbly say, was taken note of today and also on the 28th November when Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu moved

a resolution and asked us to have a committee of experts, we agreed...

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : You have still not appointed the Committee.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : I agree that we have not been able to appoint that Committee. The only point was that within six weeks of our promising in the House I finalised everything.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : Then what happened ?

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : I would expect Mr. Gupta who made an ultra-socialistic pronouncement in the House while opposing the nationalisation of banks, to hear me also....

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : On a point of clarification, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is not yielding.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : I am replying to Mr. Ramamurti's point. I say it is true I could not do so. What happened is this. In this question, whatever policy on employment we may formulate, it is the State Governments who have to carry out and implement these things. Therefore, I have finalised the terms and I have referred it to all the State Governments. I have given them last date also. It is only in the hands of the State Governments. I hope I will be able to announce the set up of the Committee very soon....

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : It should be a Committee of Members of Parliament plus some economic experts ; it should not be entirely an official committee—that is not the idea.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : I have not said that. The hon. Member may read his speech and then my reply. He asked about Committee of Experts. In my reply I have agreed to Committee of Experts. Mr. Vasudevan Nair was in the Chair and he asked : Also, Members of Parliament ? I said, Yes, also Members of Parliament. So, I

stand by that. In the course of time we will be able to set up that Committee and therefore the first part of the Resolution of the hon. Member has been conceded by me. We have taken note of that and we are taking further action.

As far as the second part of the Resolution is concerned, Mr. Chairman, this is about the allocation in the Fourth Five-year Plan. I have detailed the allocations in the Fourth Five-year Plan and I have said that we are increasing our allocations in the Fourth Five-year Plan on such sectors of economy which will give more opportunities for employment. In the light of this I hope the hon. Member will give the Government a chance to implement these things. As soon as the report of the committee is submitted we will be in a better position to take remedial measures.

Although I have not been able to reply to all the points raised, I hope I have covered all the major points. I hope the hon. Leader of the Opposition will give us a chance to implement the policy and withdraw his Resolution.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: The hon. Minister said, the matter is referred to the various States. We do not know how long the States will take over it; may be, some of the States may not take it as serious point; they may not reply at all. This is the condition under which we are living. Therefore, will you give specific time-limit before which if the State Government does not send a reply, the Government of India on its own volition will set up that Committee consisting of Members of Parliament and certain economic experts, to go into that question? Will you give that assurance?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta.

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त : सभापति महोदय, मैं मंत्री महोदय से इतना ही पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मेरा एक संशोधन था, वह शायद उन्होंने पढ़ा ही नहीं है। संशोधन यह है कि सरकार एक 7 साल में वेस्ट प्रोग्राम बनाए और सात

साल के बाद हर एक व्यक्ति को गारंटी दे एम्प्लायमेंट की, उसके बारे में मंत्री महोदय ने कुछ नहीं कहा। अब आप 20 साल से भी कुछ कर रहे हैं, आगे भी करते जाएंगे, यह तो हमने कहा हो नहीं कि आप कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं। लेकिन क्या साल के बाद आप इस बात की गारंटी देने के लिये तैयार हैं कि हर एक आदमी को नौकरी मिलेगी और नहीं मिलेगी तो आप उसे कम्पेन्सेट करेंगे ?

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : सभापति महोदय मैं सात साल की बात नहीं मानता हूँ। इस देश में बेरोजगारी का प्रश्न इतना गम्भीर हो रहा है कि सात साल तक हम जोएँ इस प्रश्न को लेकर, यह हम नहीं मानते हैं, हम तो इसके पहले ही इसका फैसला करना चाहते हैं, हमारी तमन्ना तो यह है।

So far as Mr. P. Ramamurti's question is concerned, we have asked the State Governments. I may say, whether they reply or not, I would be in a position to set up the Committee before the next session of Parliament starts. It is only about 6 to 8 weeks. That is all.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Ram Subbag Singh.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar): I am glad the hon. Minister has realised the gravity of the problem and has suggested certain measures to solve the problem.

But he was very emphatic in regard to this national policy for employment. I hope he will realise this and if he examines it more carefully, he will find that there is no policy at all.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : There is policy for unemployment.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: There is policy for unemployment and there is no policy for employment. In a socialist State one must have a clear-cut policy; in regard

[Dr. Ram Subhag Singh]

to the employment, whoever is able-bodied and has hands to work, he should be given an opportunity to work according to his capacity. But that situation has not yet been created in India. Therefore, there is a need to create that situation. You may have your own time-limit say, for two years, four years, five years or ten years. But the policy should be so projected that any body who comes out of a college or an engineering institute or any uneducated youth who is a major and who intends to work must have an opportunity to work. There should also be norms in regard to salary or wages. At present there is no norm in regard to determining the salary of employees either in the private sector or in the public sector or in government because the Pay Commission, from time to time, determines the service conditions as also the pay-scales. And nobody can confidently say that when he intends to work he will get a job wherever that may be and there he can do his work. But he should get a wage or salary commensurate with the work or the energy that he will put in. There is a total bankruptcy in these two fields. And nobody is confident to say that he will be able to get a job and nobody is also confident to-day to say that he will get the salary according to the labour that he is going to put in. On these grounds, there is no policy at all. And therefore, I would still like to impress upon him that Parliament as a whole must formulate a policy in regard to providing employment to everybody.

As regards the engineering students, you are good enough to make a mention that by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan, the job opportunities that are likely to be created with the implementation of the Fourth Five Year Plan are going to be of the order of about a lakh for engineering graduates. If this is going to be the figure, only God alone will help us.

For instance the hon. Minister did make a mention in regard to irrigation projects—probably about minor irrigation project. It is good that he is applying his mind on this. But if you calculate it, the people who are

going to register their names and who are going to work in the villages also for which the job opportunities are going to be created, they are not going to meet that number. Therefore the backlog is going on increasing. And it will increase even after the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

So, despite this industrial recession or agricultural improvement, all the able-bodied people are not going to get work. This must not be minimised. We can all think over the problem and how best to solve it. Because of spread of education now there is a trend to restrict the admission. In Delhi nobody can get admission if he is just a third-class. In the engineering colleges or institutes, admissions have been restricted. This is your own policy because the human power is big in India. How are we going to utilise this man-power? And how are you going to create a good atmosphere in this country? A mention was made also about the frustrated youths. That type of opportunity must not be allowed to be created. Family planning is no solution to the problem at all. But you did make a mention in this connection. I suppose you are not going to highlight that. If you want to create employment opportunities by following the family planning programme or by restricting admissions to the engineering colleges or medical colleges, I am afraid that is not going to be a solution to this major problem that is obtaining in this country.

Therefore, I would like to suggest that they should first have a programme formulated. A minor should not be asked to work but whoever attains majority should be provided work and the moment a matriculate or graduate comes out of school or college and he intends to work, he should be provided work and salary also. You may scale down the salaries. If people are getting Rs. 5,000, Rs. 10,000, Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 500 and Government's budget is not a position to meet the demand or hunger of the youths in the country, the salaries should be scaled down. Or they can start issuing coupons for 10, 15 or 20 per cent of the salaries or wages. But even now Government go on employing superannuated people because that is their policy.

Those who are their favourites continue even after they are 65. ICS and other persons in the employment of Government continue in this way. This is a wrong policy. Previously, people who reached the age of 55 were retired. Why do not Government adopt that rule to assist in the solution of the unemployment problem which is becoming more and more acute today? Or retire them at 50 and ask them to go and work elsewhere in other jobs.

Then as regards preserving dignity of labour, nothing has been done. I do not deny that we were also a party to that. In the implementation of the plans and during the Plan holiday, dignity of labour had been completely given the go-bye. This must also be borne in mind. At least during the implementation of the Fourth Plan, those who do manual work in villages etc. should not be considered to be second-class citizens. Those who work in Government may, according to Government's standard, be doing good work. But those who speak in Parliament or do clerical or administrative work are not doing productive work, but the people who work in the fields and factories or do animal husbandry are. Or take again those who construct roads, buildings etc. Or take cottage industries. Cottage industries have been completely neglected these days. Some body mentioned Gandhiji's plan. That is the real way of going about the problems in the country. Agro-industrial complexes must be created everywhere.

The Minister mentioned about the expert committee. They may suggest certain solutions. But the Dantwala Committee has not recommended any radical solution to the problem.

Therefore, I feel that experts may be associated with the committee, but it should be a parliamentary committee presided over by an MP and not a departmental committee.

The Minister talked about the State Governments. They come very little into the picture; because they have to run their economy as advised by the Centre in accordance with the

outline of the Fourth Plan or any plan, therefore, their employment programmes are also moulded in that direction. They cannot go beyond that. Therefore, they may consult the State Governments, but the ultimate picture must emerge from here. They must suggest a remedy for ending unemployment of the educated and uneducated as well as all others who are willing to work.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Is anyone withdrawing his amendment?

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD: Nobody is here to press them.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Let there be a voice vote.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I put Amendment Nos. 1 to 4 to the House.

Amendment Nos. 1 to 4 were put and negatived

MR. CHAIRMAN: Has the Mover the permission of the House to withdraw his Resolution?

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: I object to this. We do not want to give permission. I do not expect the Leader of the Opposition to withdraw the Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"This House expresses its grave concern at the fast deteriorating employment situation in the country both amongst the educated and uneducated sections of the society and calls upon the Government to make suitable provision in the Fourth Five Year Plan to relieve the grave unemployment problem in the country."

The motion was negatived