

shara. That is not too high. Do not make it Rs. 30,000. I say Rs. 50,000 is a reasonable limit when you are not exempting the residential houses. What is this Rs. 50,000? I do not think it is fair for me, if I am not going to be governed by that, to say: reduce the 50,000 and make it Rs. 20,000. That will be spitting others without doing any good to us. What I am suggesting is: raise the exemption limit to Rs. 1,50,000, or vary the rates and make them in the second part more equitable and more just.

Shri C. D. Pande: I wish to support the amendment moved by Mr. Sarmah. (*Interruptions*). Since the very inception of this Estate Duty Bill.....

Shri S. S. More: May I ask one question which is in the interest of the economy of time of this House? Congress Members have been supporting and making speeches. But when a whip is issued, as a matter of fact, they go back, with the result that the time of the House is wasted. We are spending Rs. 80 per minute.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The Chair has nothing to do with this.

Shri C. D. Pande: I was saying that since the very inception of this Estate Duty Bill there was an opinion—and that was a very sound opinion—that instead of death duty, there should be inheritance tax or succession tax. That means, instead of computing tax on what a man has left, there should be a better method of computing tax on what one has received from the deceased.

You will observe that now in the case of *Mitakshara* school this has been practically put into action indirectly. In the case of *Mitakshara*, the tax, as it will be levied, will work out as if it is an inheritance tax, whereas in the case of the *Dayabhaga* school it will work out as if it is a death duty. The difference is that in the case of a man belonging to the *Mitakshara* law, his share will be according to the number of sons. That means, if the property is worth rupees

three lakhs and there are three sons, each son will be worth about rupees one lakh. If there are four sons, then the share will be Rs. 75,000. In this way, this is, in fact, in an indirect form, an inheritance tax, whereas in the case of *Dayabhaga* it is, pure and simple, death duty.

I will explain by illustration as Mr. Chatterjee has done. If a man leaves—according to the *Dayabhaga* system—Rs. 75,000 and three sons, the inheritance of each son is only Rs. 25,000—within the limit which you can tolerate according to Gadgil school of economic ideas. That man should have at least Rs. 50,000 which can be tolerated. If a man leaves Rs. 80,000 and has got three sons, then one son gets only Rs. 26,000 and yet he has to pay the tax; whereas under *Mitakshara*, even if a man has got Rs. three lakhs and three or four sons, he pays almost nothing. Therefore, the discrimination is so invidious and so obvious that those who belong to the *Dayabhaga* school feel more mortified when they hear that so much advantage is given to those belonging to the *Mitakshara* school.

Mr. Chairman: I think the hon. Member will need some more time.

Shri C. D. Pande: Yes, I will continue later.

Mr. Chairman: He may continue in the afternoon. We will now proceed with the resolution of Shri Gopalan.

RESOLUTION RE UNEMPLOYMENT —Contd.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Cannanore): The other day I was speaking about the growing unemployment in our country. Our hon. Finance Minister has given an amendment to that resolution. I am not going to speak about the merits of the resolution. But I want to point out that the Finance Minister in that amendment has shown that there is growing unemployment in our country. I am glad that the Finance Minister has at last admitted that there is growing unemployment.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): Why at last?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I do not want to enter into a controversy now. Anyhow I am glad that the Finance Minister has said that there is unemployment and that it is growing. I want only to show that the growth of unemployment is not as we think it to be. From the reports in newspapers we can see during the last one week how thousands of people have been thrown out of their offices, out of their jobs. This figure does not include those who are not organised and those who are working in the rural areas. When I was last in Calcutta I was approached by the *Times of India* employees who were thrown out, about a thousand of them. There were also some Government officers, about 80, who had been given notice in Tripura that they have to quit office after three months. So, I want only to show that there are certain aspects of the question of unemployment which we are not able to see because there are no figures about them—those about rural unemployment in the countryside. I do not want to go into the basic causes of unemployment and the solution of that. We have been discussing the Five Year Plan. We had pointed out the Plan can only be a failure because the basic cause of unemployment and the remedy are not there in the Plan. We decided that as far as rural unemployment is concerned, if there is no distribution of land and if those landless peasants and poor peasants do not get land, then, certainly, the problem of rural unemployment cannot be solved.

The next point that we pointed out is that without development of industry, without confiscation of the British capital and also giving protection to the national industry, certainly, full employment cannot come and the question of unemployment cannot be solved in that way. As far as these two points are concerned I do not want to deal with those basic points because the object of my resolution is that some immediate relief must be given to the unemployed and what the

measures of immediate relief are. So, I want to concentrate on those basic points.

The first point that I have to bring forward is that something must be done immediately to relieve unemployment. For that at least a sum of rupees 50 crores must be set apart so that in the rural areas where the people are on the verge of starvation due to unemployment, free kitchens may be opened. And, as far as the towns are concerned, where there are those who are retrenched and are thrown out of job, some help in the form of cash may be given to both skilled and unskilled workers. I read in the papers that the Prime Minister has said that the system of giving unemployment relief, these doles—I do not say so—is a wrong policy. I only want to appeal to the Government and say that it is the duty of the Government to see that those who are unemployed are employed. We do not say that this can be done within a day or two or within one or two years. We had the Five Year Plan and we have all understood the result of the Plan, during the first three years. There are no figures about unemployment and we do not understand how far the Government has been able to solve it. What we have to do is that the young men who are unemployed, both educated and uneducated, and who are on the verge of death and starvation must be saved. What I want to place before Government is the fact that there is a battle in the countryside and in the towns among the educated as well as the uneducated unemployed, a battle for life. They want to live, they want to work, they want to be useful to the country and they want to be useful to the nation. It is not that they are not ready to work. There is another point brought but that the educated unemployed are not ready for manual work, as if those who are ready for manual work are employed today. There are several lakhs of people today who had been working for so many years and who are thrown out of employment. So the question does not arise whether

the people are ready to work or not. Certainly, everybody is ready to work. So, immediate relief for those who are in danger of life, for those who are on the verge of starvation and death due to so many causes caused by unemployment should be given by the Government. Therefore, the first remedy that I place before the Government is that the Government should immediately set apart at least as a token grant a sum of Rs. 50 crores and this should be used firstly in the rural areas for free kitchens and in the cities to give small cash both to skilled and unskilled workers.

The next thing that I want to place before the Government is that the Government must issue an Ordinance or pass legislation by which retrenchment as well as closure of factories and other things must be stopped. There are already persons who are not employed. We have seen that during the last one year several factories had been closed. I have already referred to the cottage industries and the handlooms and Government has also said that lakhs of people in the handlooms and the cottage industries are unemployed. So, it is the duty of the Government to see that the workers are not left at the mercy of the employers. Not only in the private sector, but also in Government services there are thousands of people who are retrenched. I understand that in some places where those persons had to be retrenched and where there was scope for them to be absorbed in some other places in Government service, even that has not been considered by the Government. So the question is to save those who have already been in service either under Government or in factories for the past so many years and who are now thrown out of employment. This can be done only if Government pass legislation or an Ordinance to stop retrenchment. If there is any possibility of the closure of factories, the Government should first of all go into the issue and see whether there is any reason for retrenchment and if it has to be done then, certainly, the

workers should be given unemployment allowance. Because every person who has had some job for so many years, if he is thrown out of it after so many years, will find it difficult to get a job and his position is far worse than that of those who are not already employed. Government has also to see that if any help has to be given, it should be given immediately so that the factories may not be closed and the workers are not thrown out of employment.

The third thing that I have to place before the Government is that an immediate cut of 30 per cent. should be made in the prices of food and cloth. In addition to the unemployed in the country, there are also those who are under-employed. As far as the prices of consumer goods, especially food and cloth are concerned, there is an increase in the prices and if there is a reduction of at least 30 per cent, that will surely give some relief.

The fourth point that I bring to their notice is that as far as the handlooms and cottage industries are concerned, there is accumulation of stocks today and the reason why the factories are closed is that there is accumulation. So, the Government should buy up in bulk all the stocks in the handlooms and the powerlooms and they should have their own agencies to sell them. They should also see that cheap credit is given to the operators of these factories. Development of cottage and handloom industries is one of the items in the Eleven Point Programme of Government. But there are already lakhs of people who are unemployed. Government is not able to put the Plan into operation, because the cottage industries are lying idle on account of accumulation of stocks. The owners of these industries are not able to find a market for their produce. There is no market because the purchasing power of the people is limited. It is the duty of the Government to purchase the stocks or find a market for them. In the meantime, Government should give cheap credits to the operators of these handloom and cottage

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

industries so that they may be revived so as to afford employment to a number of people who are now idle.

My next suggestion is that Government should immediately undertake a national housing programme and also other programmes of irrigation, and road and rail development. This is important in two ways. It will solve the unemployment problem to a certain extent. There are many places in the interior of India where there are no roads at all. The other day I had been to Tripura. I found that there is no land communication, either rail or road, from one place to another. The only means of communication from one division to another is by air. Similarly there are several places in our vast country which are connected neither by road nor by rail. So, a big national housing programme, as also road and railway construction would be an immediate solution to the question of unemployment.

It has already been stated here that as far as the educated unemployed are concerned. Government is also thinking of having an educational programme. But how far it is going to solve the problem of educated unemployed I am not sure. The need of the country according to the programme is so many lakhs of teachers. The hon. Finance Minister replied this morning in answer to a question that there are some schools which are closed. If some immediate steps are taken to reopen these rural schools, it will go to some extent in affording employment to the educated persons.

The next point that I have to suggest is that Government must stop the import and also cancel orders with foreign countries for all such goods as are being manufactured in India in order to help the national industries to maintain and increase production and provide employment to more persons. From the reports of evidence given before the Stores Purchase Committee we find that Government is today spending crores and crores of rupees on purchase of things from

foreign countries which are available here, or which though not at present available can easily be produced locally. If the policy of stopping foreign imports is enforced immediately, it will lead to the development of our national industries and provide employment to a number of our people.

I have only mentioned some points. The time at my disposal does not permit me to go into the details, which I shall do at a later stage. But what I wish to impress on Government is that the problem of unemployment is growing. There has been a Plan, but the Plan has not succeeded. That Plan has failed and today the situation in the country is such that immediate relief to the people is necessary. We know that the reports which appear in the papers are not believed by our Ministers. But they know the real situation in the country: there is acute famine and unemployment, and added to that there is every day retrenchment, persons being thrown out of their jobs, not knowing what to do.

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The measures I have suggested will never be a permanent solution to the unemployment problem; they are only palliatives, affording immediate relief. If Government are serious about solving rural unemployment, they have to take away the land from the landlords and, even if it be half a *bigha* or one *bigha*, distribute it among the landless peasants. In that case the poor peasant will have something to depend on. The other solution is industrialisation on a large scale, confiscate the British capital and encourage production by national industries. If we stop competition from foreign capital our national industries are bound to develop.

In regard to the question of unemployment relief, it has been said that it would be degrading, it would be undignified for people to ask for 'doles'. Certainly it is not so. A man asks for some relief, because it is the duty of the Government to give

him some job. It has been said by our Prime Minister himself that a Government that is not ready to give some job or some unemployment relief to the people of the country is a Government that is unfit to govern the country. The people are crying: we are ready to work; give us any work that you want us to do: not only can we do some service to the country, but let us also live. If they ask for some unemployment relief it is not because they do not want to do any work; it is because they are not given any work and they do not want to die. As far as immediate relief is concerned, it is not a degradation. Certainly it is degradation to see that foreign capitalists are taking crores and crores of rupees from our country. Every day reports are appearing in the papers that people are dying, that they are committing suicide and there is acute famine in the country—that is degradation. To help people who are ready to work, to give them some temporary relief to keep them alive so as to be useful to the country when jobs can be given to them, is the elementary duty of the Government. I would, therefore, request the Finance Minister as well as the Government to deal with this problem of immediate relief to the unemployed quickly. Or else only two things can happen. A large section of the people in our country, educated as well as uneducated unemployed will lose their lives. They will die and Government will be responsible for finishing the people. In such a contingency, people may finish the Government. Either the Government will be finished, or the people will be finished. That is the only consequence that will follow if Government does not respond to the call for immediate relief that is necessary to the people.

Mr. Chairman: Resolution moved:

“This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to arrest the growth of unemployment in the country and to provide relief for the unemployed.”

To this resolution I have received a number of amendments.

Hon. Members who wish to move their amendments may do so.

Dr. M. M. Das (Burdwan—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

“This House is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to ascertain the causes of unemployment in the country and to find out suitable measures for the removal of those causes.”

Shri S. N. Das (Darbhanga Central): beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

“In view of the directive principles of State Policy with regard to securing the right to work and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, this House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to carry out an all India survey of employment as well as of unemployment with a view to find out the extent and nature of unemployment in the various sectors of society, the causes of growing unemployment in the country and to suggest ways and means if necessary by suitable legislation or changing the pattern of economic organisation so that every able-bodied person may get work, a living wage and conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of living and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities.

This House is further of opinion that pending a fuller survey prompt measures like promotion of cottage industries and opening of other avenues of employment be taken up immediately as a short term remedy.”

Prof. S. N. Mishra (Darbhanga North): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to appoint a Commission to examine and report on the nature, extent and causes of the growth of unemployment in the country and to make recommendations to the Planning Commission with regard to extensions and alterations in the First Five Year Plan in such appropriate directions as may lead to an increase in the volume of employment that may be adequate for the unemployed who are capable of and available for work."

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): I wish to move my amendment No. 16 in List 4.

Mr. Chairman: So far as that amendment is concerned, it says:

"That in view of the steady increase in unemployment, which has now reached an unprecedented figure, this House is of opinion that the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate and that urgent, drastic steps be taken to reduce expenditure by Government...etc."

I would refer the hon. Member particularly to the words "that the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate". If we look to the main resolution, the resolution of course is very broad and it comprises of so many things—"This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to arrest the growth of unemployment in the country and to provide relief for the unemployed". It includes everything, it includes the Five Year Plan. But what Mr. Anthony proposes in his amendment is: "In view of the steady increase in unemployment..... the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate and that urgent, drastic steps be taken to reduce expenditure by Government.....etc". I

will say that the emphasis in his amendment is perhaps not so much on the questions there—in the main resolution—but on the point that the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate. I think he should rather take another occasion to speak about the inadequacy of the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan. The emphasis should not be on that. I am inclined to think that this restricts it rather unnecessarily.

Shri Frank Anthony: My amendment is not confined only to the Five Year Plan. It is three-fold in character. It implies that the Five Year Plan has failed to relieve unemployment, and if I speak I should suggest certain measures to be taken in addition to the Five Year Plan. The second part is that Government should adopt a policy of drastic retrenchment.

Mr. Chairman: I am not referring to the other part. The only thing which restricts it is the wording that "the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate". It may be one of the factors that has led to unemployment; he can advance that as an argument.

Shri Frank Anthony: There is the positive aspect that since it has proved inadequate other steps are necessary, and that is the aspect I wish to emphasise.

Mr. Chairman: So far as the other aspect is concerned it is in order. But so far as this reference to this particular thing is concerned, namely "that the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate". I think that is rather inconsistent with the resolution, and if he is prepared to move his amendment minus these words he may move. Because we are not now discussing the Five Year Plan. (*Interruption*). I would like to hear in full the hon. Member who has given notice of the amendment. I would like the hon. Member to make it clear as to how this portion of his amendment wherein he says that "the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate" is con-

sistent and within the scope of the main resolution that has been moved, which is that "this House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken to arrest the growth of unemployment in the country and to provide relief for the unemployed". That immediate steps be taken to arrest the growth of unemployment in the country, is the first part; that relief be provided for the unemployed, is the second part; these are the two things with which the resolution concerns itself. Questions as to what are the results of the Five Year Plan or any other acts by the Government or the people—these are other matters. We should concentrate on these two things contained in the resolution. Therefore, this reference to the Five Year Plan does not fit in with the resolution. I would like him to make it clear.

Shri Frank Anthony: I do not wish to enlarge on my argument. This is the very core of the problem. I shall attempt to show in my own way that the Five Year Plan has fallen down because it is a long-term policy and it has failed to relieve unemployment, and I shall suggest certain short-term measures in addition to the Five Year Plan. It goes to the very core of the unemployment problem.

Mr. Chairman: This portion, that the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate, may be one of the reasons and he is perfectly entitled to advance it as an argument.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Sir, I do not know whether you are going to give a ruling. While you are going to give your ruling, will you kindly look at my amendment because that also contains a reference to the Five Year Plan?

Mr. Chairman: I think there is this distinction between the two. On account of unemployment it is one thing for somebody to say that the Plan should be revised, but what the hon. Member means, as I understand it is that "in view of the steady in-

crease in unemployment, which has now reached an unprecedented figure"—of course all that is all right—but further on it says that "the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate". It is one thing to claim a revision of the Plan and another if you want to say that the Plan has proved inadequate and you want to discuss it.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: As far as I can see, the hon. Member is concerned only with the diagnosis and not the prognosis. In other words he diagnoses the nature of the malady according to his own point of view but has failed to suggest a remedy.

Shri Frank Anthony: I have plenty to suggest if I get the chance.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Not according to the wording of his amendment. It is not for me to say it is in order or out of order. But I go further and suggest a remedy in my amendment. That remedy may not be identical with the remedy suggested by the hon. Member. It depends on the analysis one makes of the unemployment situation in the country. This plea that the Plan deals with long-term plans and not short-term plans has no significance. Because the Plan extends to the next three years only, and nobody has ever asserted that the Plan contains only three-year measures and not two-year measures. It contains all kinds of schemes. Whatever scheme one produces, it must be part of the Plan, even including, for argument's sake, a scheme as a background either for subsidising or giving doles or unemployment relief. All are part of the economic and productive development of the country. I do not think anything is excluded from the scope of the resolution.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): All that can be said against the amendment is *non sequitur*. But I do not think it vitiates the amendment. That the first part and the second part have really no connection

[Shri F. T. Krishnamachari]

with each other should not vitiate it. But otherwise, intrinsically, I do not think there is anything against it.

Mr. Chairman: Well, I will take the whole amendment of the hon. Member Mr. Anthony as tabled.

Shri Frank Anthony: I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"That in view of the steady increase in unemployment, which has now reached an unprecedented figure, this House is of opinion that the policy indicated in the Five Year Plan has proved inadequate and that urgent, drastic steps be taken to reduce expenditure by Government and all amounts thus saved be used for assisting the unemployed and creating further employment and that steps be also taken to strengthen and improve employment exchanges."

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): I beg to move.

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"In view of the fact that the problem of unemployment has been assuming very grave proportions in the country and particularly in the rural areas and causing serious hardship and misery to the middle classes, landless labour in rural areas and the workers in cities and towns, this House is of opinion that the Government do take immediate steps to arrest the growth of unemployment in the country and to provide immediate relief and employment to the unemployed. This House further recommends to the Government to undertake, *inter alia* the following measures with a view to tackle effectively the problem:

(a) that the necessary machinery be set up for collecting data regarding the unemployment of

[SHRI FATASKAR in the Chair]

educated classes and uneducated toilers in the rural and urban areas;

(b) that compulsory measures for limiting the growth of population be devised and undertaken;

(c) that large and protective works of irrigation and other works of construction be strated to utilize the large reserve of unemployed people;

(d) that co-operative societies be formed for the purpose of undertaking small industries including cottage industries in rural areas and for the distribution of the products of such industries;

(e) that with a view to give protection and increase the demand for the product of indigenous industries, the import of all consumers goods be immediately stopped;

(f) that ceiling of the highest pay in the country for both Government and private employees be fixed at rupees one thousand per month and the excess above the said ceiling level be utilised for unemployment benefit;

(g) that the age of retirement be reduced to the age of fifty three and the age of entrance be suitably lowered;

(h) that in giving employment youngmen of requisite qualifications of poor families be given preference.

(i) that available lands above the maximum holding prescribed in several States, or lands in the possession of non-cultivating owners be taken over by Government and distributed among landless labourers for cultivation in a co-operative manner."

Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that Planning Commission should study

and examine the question of unemployment in the various States and should at an early date propose measures to be adopted by the Union Government and the various State Governments concerned to solve this important problem and to arrest its growth."

Shri Radha Raman (Delhi City): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that the problem of unemployment be approached in a more scientific and effective manner and a Committee be appointed to go into this question and formulate plans for its final solution."

Shri Bansal (Jhajjar-Rewari): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"Having considered the situation arising out of growing unemployment in the country this House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken by the Government to review and strengthen the Five Year Plan with a view to ensure that a fuller use is made of the man-power resources available in the country for achieving the goal of raising the standard of life of the people."

Shri Muniswamy (Tindivanam): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"That in view of the grave situation of the Unemployment Problem in the country and the serious consequences that might arise out of it, immediate steps should be taken to hold conferences and meetings at important centres of the country under the guidance of the Government to explain to the public in detail the various steps that are under the contemplation of the Government to arrest the growth of unemployment in the country seeking the

co-operation of the local self Governments and other public organisations in various States and to provide relief for the unemployed."

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is greatly concerned over the growing unemployment in the country and is of opinion that, with a view to increasing employment opportunities in the country, Government should take steps to revise the Five Year Plan suitably and to adopt immediately such measures as are necessary for the purpose."

Shri Punnoose (Alleppey): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that the following immediate steps be taken to arrest the growth of unemployment in the country and to provide relief for the unemployed, namely:

- (1) an amount of not less than rupees fifty crores be set apart for giving relief to the unemployed and their families.
- (2) retrenchment of workers and suspension of production in any factory be prohibited by law.
- (3) a reduction of thirty per cent. be made in the price of food grains.
- (4) measures be taken to protect Indian industries from foreign competition.
- (5) eviction of peasants from land be prohibited and rent for land be controlled by law."

Shri Heda (Nizamabad): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,

- (i) for the words "immediate steps be taken to arrest" the words "a Com-

[Shri Heda]

mission be appointed to examine" be substituted;

(ii) after the word "growth" the words "and extent" be inserted; and

(iii) for the words "to provide relief for" the words "to suggest measures to provide gainful occupations to" be substituted.

Dr. Ram Subbag Singh (Shahabad South): I beg to move:

(i) That in the resolution, the words "and to provide relief for the unemployed" be omitted.

(ii) That in the resolution, for the words "and to provide relief for the unemployment" the words "by introducing parity in wages and giving adequate incentives to people to take up to cottage industries" be substituted.

Shri K. P. Tripathi (Darrang): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, for the words "and to provide relief for the unemployed" the following be substituted:

"particularly by adopting the following measures:

1. rationalisation involving retrenchment, without chance of immediate absorption, or diversion be stopped,

2. idle capacity of factories be utilised and expanded to absorb more hands,

3. production capacity of Government Defence and other factories lying unused be converted and if necessary expanded, by countermanding private and Government procurement orders abroad where suitable,

4. One month's leave with wages after every eleven months of work be granted to every worker thus expanding the existing employment by eight per cent,

5. school teachers' salaries be re-valued, attracting intermediates for primary, and graduates for middle and high school jobs.

6. every factory or industrial unit or establishment be compelled to train one or more apprentices, the number being determined by the size of the undertaking, the privileges enjoyed from the Government, the nature and extent of the monopoly and profits etc.,

7. marketing agencies for every industry, small cottage or large be promoted with adequate credit facilities,

8. productive firmament of the country be mapped out to discover gaps where credit facilities do not exist, e.g. small agriculture and cottage industries, and provision be made therefor,

9. all foreign recruitment excepting those of technical nature in private and public sectors to stop,

10. as many technical, vocational, or professional schools in every State as there are professions, vocations, or technical jobs, should be opened,

11. wage and bonus structure which restrict production to be revised; and

12. the present state policy of promoting production against a manipulated supply and demand market to be replaced by that of promoting production against a protected, assured and expanding purchasing power, brought about by—

(a) closing all loopholes through which industries and employing agencies create temporary unemployment to unburden their losses on society, that present employment may be maintained undiminished.

(b) gradually expanding and protecting employment market all the way,

(c) protecting this internal economy from adverse effects of external fluctuations (particularly our exports) by timely intervention by nationalising the losing trade, and for this purpose to assume two commodities at the same time so that the profits of the profitable one may counterbalance the losses of the other; and

(d) providing for fractional unemployment by unemployment insurance, and retirement by retirement provident fund or pension as an obligation on all employers."

Shri S. C. Singhal (Aligarh Distt.): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, for the words "and to provide relief for the unemployed" the following be substituted:

"and recommends to the Government to adopt the following measures which will reduce unemployment—

(1) the export should be encouraged even by giving subsidies if necessary.

(2) the uneconomic units of industries which are lying idle should be made to work by granting cheap credits and other facilities and by taking possession of them if necessary.

(3) immediate steps be taken to start the implementation of industrial parts of the Five Year Plan and the other parts of the Plan the implementation of which have not yet commenced.

(4) steps should be taken to supply cheap electricity at least in urban area for running small and big industries.

(5) more intensive drive should be made to increase the agricultural production for food and raw materials by providing the peasants water, manure and other facilities; and

(6) other ameliorative works should be started."

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Distt.—South): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, for the words "and to provide relief for the unemployed" the words "and for that purpose review the Five Year Plan and achieve maximum employment consistent with the necessary development in the near future" be substituted.

Shri R. D. Misra (Bulandshahr Distt.): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, for the words "and to provide relief for the unemployed" the following be substituted:

"and the following steps be taken at once to provide relief for the unemployed—

(1) that instructions be issued to all Government departments to purchase *khadi* from *Khadi Bhandars* for curtains, dust-ers, bed sheets, napkins, towels etc;

(2) that Government servants excluding military and police be instructed to attend their official duties in *khadi* dress and they should be persuaded to give preference to the products of cottage and small scale industries in their purchases; and

(3) that market agencies for every cottage and small scale industries be promoted with adequate credit facilities."

Shri Jhulan Sinha (Saran North): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"by *inter alia* more fully enlarging the scope of village industries and restricting that of the mill industries".

Shri Kelappan (Ponnani): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"(a) by fostering small scale and cottage industries.

(b) by eliminating competition in the home market between small scale and large scale industries.

(c) by stoppage of imports which compete with indigenous products.

(d) by undertaking construction work with a view to providing employment for as large a number as possible.

[Shri Kelappan]

- (e) by constituting a land army of unemployed persons on village level to reclaim and cultivate cultivable waste, and
- (f) by recruiting unemployed educated young men and women for the removal of illiteracy and for other items of social service."

Shri Sinhasan Singh (Gorakhpur Dist.—South): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"and in furtherance thereof the recommendations of the Planning Commission regarding giving preference to cottage industries over mills be given effect to immediately."

Shri U. C. Patnaik (Ghumsur): I beg to move:

(i) That for the original resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that in view of the gravity of the problem of unemployment, urgent steps be systematically taken to implement the Directive Principles of State Policy assured by the Constitution in this regard, *inter alia* by—

- (a) collecting scientifically, from time to time, particulars of the unemployed persons, appropriately classified according to their suitability for different avocations, and
- (b) ensuring inter-departmental co-operation in utilising the unemployed man-power for all round production and for absorption in nation-building and defence services."

(ii) That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"*inter alia* by utilising the defence machinery in a suitable manner for the purpose of expanding the

scope for employment in diverse spheres."

(iii) That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"*inter alia* by reorganising the Ordnance factories as well as the military engineers and other defence services in such manner as to provide for maximum employment."

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"and that,—

- (a) a sum of rupees fifty crores be set apart for immediate relief work,
- (b) the food grain prices be reduced so as to enable people with low purchasing power to have their necessities obtained,
- (c) immediate steps be taken to form co-operative agricultural colonies on cultivable waste-lands,
- (d) the products of cottage industries be purchased by the State and Central Governments for the use of their offices,
- (e) all evictions of landless labour from lands on which they are at present working be stopped by issuing an Ordinance,
- (f) retrenchment in the private and public sectors of industry be stopped, and
- (g) the import of consumer goods be well regulated."

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri (Berhampore): I beg to move.

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"by the immediate introduction of the following measures, namely:

- (a) imposition of a property and capital levy on all property having the capitalised value of rupees one lakh and above and utilisation of the funds obtained thereby for financing capital expenditure for new industrial and business projects to be opened for providing new avenues of employment to people who are now without any work;
- (b) taking over by the State of all units of production in which full installed capacity remains unutilised without any valid ground and employment therein of people without work;
- (c) immediate taking over by the State of all land over the ceiling of maximum holdings and the redistribution of this surplus land among peasants with uneconomic holdings and landless labourers for cultivation on a co-operative basis;
- (d) expansion of key industries like steel production by installing two additional plants over and above the one already recommended by the Planning Commission;
- (e) overhauling of the stores purchase policy of the Government in all its various branches and departments and introducing of legislative measures for according compulsory preference for articles that are manufactured in India to be purchased in Government stores as well as in the stores of all private business establishments including foreign and European owned business establishments;
- (f) compulsory registration of all persons who were employed in any establishment employing one or more than one person at any time continuously for two months and pro-

vision of unemployment doles for all such persons at the cost of Government for a limited period at least and wherever possible at the cost of large capitalist employers."

Shri Vittal Rao (Khammam): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end :

"and that the President be advised by the Government to issue an Ordinance forthwith prohibiting retrenchment in all the Industrial undertakings and mines employing more than hundred workers."

Sardar A. S. Saigal: I beg to move:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end :

"and that in addition to the Civilian Departments which should be utilised for solving the problem of unemployment, the various branches of the defence machinery should also be fully utilised for giving maximum employment to the unemployed."

Kuamri Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum): I beg to move:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end :

"and that a survey be made of unemployed labour with special reference to unemployed women"

Mr. Chairman: All these amendments are now before the House

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I think the problem that has been raised is problem number one of the country at the present moment. I am glad that our Government has also taken up this problem and is giving it a treatment of priority number one. I confess that after having heard the hon. the Mover of the resolution I am left with a sense of disappointment so far as the analysis of the problem is concerned. The remedies that he has suggested are also oft-repeated remedies. In one sense they—hon. friends

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of the Communist group—have been very perfectly performing the task of a toy train completing the usual circuit and going away with a sense of complacency. But I feel that we must go into a thorough analysis of this problem. When on the first day—probably you were present at that time—I made a suggestion that the Government should first make a comprehensive statement on the situation and then there should be a full-dress debate, it was sought to be misconstrued. With due respect to some of the esteemed journals, I want to contradict the impression that they might have created, Sir, we who are members of the Congress party give it the highest priority and probably the House is aware that day in and day out.....

Shri B. S. Murthy: The hon. Member is trying to contradict some of the statements made in the Press. Is it in order?

Prof. S. N. Mishra: Something appeared in the Press and also the hon. Mover of the resolution had said in the very beginning that the Congress Party was trying to block the resolution.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I even now say that.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: It is up to you to say that, but what I had meant to suggest at that time was that in the absence of a comprehensive statement by the Government containing full facts and figures, the result of the approach which the hon. the Mover or any other Member would bring to bear upon the subject would be completely wayward. Since we have not the complete statement on the situation giving all facts and facets of the situation which probably the Government alone could produce, we find that the discussion is going to be rather loose. Sir, I was going to say that not only we in the Congress Party have been discussing this problem day in and day out but our Prime Minister had pointed out four

or five months back that unemployment "cuts the throat and stabs in the back". I am one of those in the party to which I belong, who sometimes feel that the reverberating words of the Prime Minister get throttled or somewhat subdued into the pathetic peep-peep of a penny whistle as a result of the ineffective machinery of implementation. But so far as this problem is concerned, I find that the whole attention of the Government is devoted to it and the Planning Commission is completely seized of this problem and fully attuned to the task. So I want to congratulate the Government for having taken up this problem in all seriousness.

But what I am going to say about the resolution that has been moved is that it does not go very far. There may be some general sentiments of the hon. Mover of the resolution with which we are in perfect accord but the resolution does not go far enough in the sense that he wants only the arresting of the growth of the problem and not the eradication of it. When I read the resolution and the amendment moved by the hon. Finance Minister together I thought that the amendment went further than the resolution.

Then, although the hon. Mover of the resolution pointed out during the course of his speech that besides the problem of unemployment there was also the problem of under-employment, this resolution does not comprehensively deal with all those aspects.

Secondly, so far as my knowledge of the English language goes, the word "arrest" is also not a very happy word. Perhaps "arrest" would indicate that you want to freeze it at the point at which the attention is being sought to be drawn. You do not want to deal with the chronic aspect of it. There has been increase in the problem; you want to freeze that increase at a particular point of time. In that sense also, I think, there is some incompleteness in the views expressed in this resolution.

So far as the operative part of the resolution is concerned, it is also not very helpful. I think greater attention should have been laid on giving more employment and opportunities to the people. That would have been a better approach to the problem. But these aspects do not find a place in the resolution. So, while we may say that we are in general agreement with the sense expressed by him, we cannot go the whole hog with it. In my opinion a Commission should be appointed to go thoroughly into this matter, and therefore, the amendment which I have placed before the House wants that the Government should take immediate steps to appoint a Commission. It is also essential for formulating a sound and scientific employment policy.

Sir, you are aware that whenever we are seized of any important problem, we are always told that we have not got the relevant scientific data before us. That has been my grievance also against the Planning Commission and the Government. Although the Planning Commission was appointed two or three years back—and you know the first term of reference was that the Planning Commission should make an assessment of the capital, technical, human and material resources of the country—I do not think that even a hundredth part of the job has been so far completed. So, when we deal with the problem of land or the problem of unemployment, we are always handicapped by the lack of scientific data. Consequently, I have suggested in my amendment that to know the exact quantum, the exact causes, the extent, the nature and the forms of unemployment, a Commission should be appointed. I am sure nothing would stand in the way of the Government acceding to this request. In 1934-35, you may recall, almost all the State Governments had appointed Committees to investigate into the matter, and in the United Provinces, as great a personality as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was the Chairman of that Committee. So, my submission is that Gov-

ernment should concede to the demand for the appointment of a Commission. But this is not to say that the action that could be taken at the present moment—the First Aid measure that could be provided—should be postponed till the Commission formulates its conclusions. That is not my intention. Only in the interests of scientific and sound formulation of policy, I have suggested in my amendment that there should be some such thing like the appointment of a Commission. It may even be in the form of the appointment of a sub-committee by the Planning Commission itself, but we must be satisfied that the Government are seized of the problem in a scientific manner. Unless this is done, I do not think that we are going to solve the problem of unemployment in its long term aspects.

Then, I think I should go into a somewhat technical aspect of the problem which will reveal to us the exact nature of it. I think on the basis of the 1951 census, we can have certain facts and figures before us, so that we may know how the problem has been making its impact upon the body politic or what the exact state of things is. Let us look at the occupational pattern of the 1951 census.

Shri Punnoose: Is there no time-limit?

Mr. Chairman: There is time-limit. The hon. Member began at 11-20. There will be no discrimination between one Member and another.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: May I submit, Sir, that when the hon. Mover of the resolution took about 50 minutes, we on this side of the House feel that there should be some sort of a full reply to some of the points raised by the Mover. I should also request you to see, Sir, that we should be given full opportunity.

Mr. Chairman: So far as the Mover of the resolution is concerned, the rule itself gives him more time. So far as the other Members are concern-

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ed, it is much better they confine themselves to say, 15 minutes, each. I have got before me a large number of amendments. I cannot vary the rule in respect of any particular individual. I will apply it to all the Members alike so that there will be more Members to speak on the resolution.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I was just analysing the occupational pattern as revealed in the 1951 census. In that you will find that the number of the total occupied population in 1951 comes to 1,450 lakhs. Of this, two-thirds are in a way self-employed. That is, about 1,000 lakhs are self-employed. Now, the next aspect of it is, we have only 450 lakhs of people who can be said to be employed. That is, only in regard to these 450 lakhs of persons we can have certain definitions of employment or unemployment. Let us not talk vaguely about the whole subject, but let us be very clear about it. It is only in respect of these 450 lakhs of persons—so far as occupational pattern is concerned—about whom there can be a certain definition of employment.

Regarding self-employment, we cannot say much. There might be a certain amount of unemployment, or more appropriately disguised unemployment, or you might call it something else, but there cannot be said to exist what we technically call unemployment. Let us see what are the constituents of the employed population first. But I think since the time is very short, I would not better go into it. I would only say that there are certain sectors in which much cannot be done, and I would come to them later.

But how to characterize the whole problem of unemployment in our country? Are we going to characterize it in the usual manner in which industrially advanced countries do it? In my opinion, a certain element of the Indian problem can be said to be technological, and I think that is a large element in the situation. This

is a continuing problem in our country since the impact of science and the impact of industrial advancement in the West was felt here, and this is a problem with which the Government should deal adequately. I am of the view that the Planning Commission's Report is being rather inadequately implemented so far as the small-scale and cottage industries are concerned. There is the suggestion of the 'Common Production Programme', but my grievance is that this idea of 'Common Production Programme' is not fully implemented nor its logical implications fully developed. We have got to see how this 'Common Production Programme' fructifies, but in the course of the last two and a half years, this idea has not taken any shape.

Secondly, the problem has, in my opinion, been slightly cyclical in the sense that while in some industries you find full production going on, in certain other industries, the production has gone down even below the level that obtained two years back. So, a very thin element of the situation may be taken to be cyclical.

In the third sense—and probably that is the most important also—this problem is a problem of under-development of the country, the backwardness of the country. That is the essential aspect of it. We in this country do not have enough capital resources, do not have enough horsepower at the human elbow for increased productivity judiciously conforming to the 'Common Production Programme'. That shows the under-developed nature of the economy not offering scope for expanding employment opportunities.

Then the fourth aspect that has spot-lighted the whole problem is the educational nature of it. We are continually up against the problem of the educated unemployed, and coming as I do from a State in which recently about 500 vacancies were notified and about 65,000 applications were received, I am rather more acutely

aware of it than many hon. Members here.

Since some of my time was taken away in the interruptions, Sir, I would like to be given five more minutes.

Mr. Chairman: Yes.

Prof. S. N. Mishra: I was saying that this problem of educated unemployed has assumed the acutest form at the present moment. It is this problem which has brought the whole problem to the forefront. But let us not be mistaken that it is only the problem of the educated unemployed that we have to deal with. The malaise is rather fundamental and affecting a vaster section of the population than meets the eye. We have got to go to the very root of it and not only deal with the symptoms of the problem in the shape of the educated unemployed or any other. This problem of the educated unemployed is, indeed, urgent and it arises from our educational system which was meant for a police State. We want the products of this education to be absorbed in our irrigation projects, agricultural programmes and in our factories. That educational system was meant for a merchant economy. But, we want for our planned economy a different sort of educational system. That is the essence of the matter. We think that we should take this aspect into account and deal with this problem of educated unemployed as effectively and radically as possible.

I am sorry I could not go into the other aspects of the problem because you, Sir, have severely limited the time.

श्री पी० राजभोज (झोलापुर
—रहित—अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : मैं अपना
अमेन्डमेंट नम्बर २६ सूच करना चाहता हूँ ।

Mr. Chairman: He may do so.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I beg to move:
That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"and that the employment figure of the people belonging to

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Scheduled Class being considerably low, preference must be given to the Scheduled Class community in all State owned and controlled industries."

Mr. Chairman: Amendment moved:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

"and that the employment figure of the people belonging to Scheduled Class being considerably low, preference must be given to the Scheduled Class community in all State owned and controlled industries."

Acharya Kripalani (Bhagalpur cum Purnea): It is admitted that the problem of unemployment, both individually and socially, creates a tragic situation in the country. I am sure a householder would rather like a death in the family than unemployment. Because, unemployment for him would be living death of the family which will make him always live in terror. We are therefore surprised that some young men on the opposite side should try their level best to see that there is no discussion of this problem.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri A. M. Thomas: You are mistaken.

Some Hon. Members: We want a discussion.

Shri Bhagwat Jha (Purnea cum Santal Parganas): We protest against this remark.

Acharya Kripalani: I should not have been surprised if the Company of the Forty had tried to obstruct the discussion.....

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Chairman: What is it that the hon. Member was saying?

Acharya Kripalani: I said that if the Ministers had created trouble, I

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could have understood because they in a sense rightly consider themselves as responsible for it.

An Hon. Member: What is this Company of the Forty?

Shri Frank Anthony: Not Ali Baba.

Mr. Chairman: Without these side remarks, he can straightway go to the subject. Side remarks provoke other remarks.

Acharya Kripalani: I made no remarks. There may be more than forty; whatever the number may be, the number is always increasing and so one cannot keep always an account of all that.

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour): A solution to the unemployment problem.

Shri Frank Anthony: Solving unemployment in the House.

Acharya Kripalani: I need not go into the figures of unemployment because it is admitted fortunately even by the Treasury Benches. I think I am entitled to go into the genesis of this growing unemployment. It has not appeared all of a sudden. It has been going on ever since foreign rule was established here. I am only sorry to say that we accelerated the rate of unemployment by our policies. As soon as we came in power, we dispensed with *Swadeshi*. We thought that in a free India, there was no need for *swadeshi*. Speaking to a very high authority about four years ago, I brought to his notice that the Congress leaders and Congress Governments have killed the spirit of *swadeshi*. You will be surprised to know the answer that he gave. He said: now in a free India, what is the need for *swadeshi*; we have our own Government and we can regulate our imports and exports.

Some Hon. Members: Who said so?

Acharya Kripalani: Please do not ask names. It will be very dangerous

for you to ask names and for me to give names.

Dr. Suresh Chandra (Aurangabad): Please tell us.

Acharya Kripalani: I tell you, it will be very dangerous because he was one of the highest.

Dr. Suresh Chandra: Does not matter; don't fear.

Acharya Kripalani: He gave the reason. Why don't you hear the reason instead of asking for the name? The reason is quite valid in the sense in which he gave it. It was this: now we have our own Government and we can regulate our exports and imports. He took for granted that every Government is patriotic. He also took for granted that the agents of every Government know their business or know the business of the country. We know what has been done: when trade is regulated by permits—whether the permits have gone to encourage *swadeshi* or to discourage *swadeshi*. This is a thing which, I think, no Congressman can deny. Many times we have introduced into this country not only things which we can manufacture ourselves, but things which we can do without, and things that were harmful. If we had done without them, we would have lived a happier and healthier life. We were responsible for taking away the spirit of *swadeshi*. Because, what the people themselves cannot do, the Government cannot do for them, Government's policies are changing; but if there is a psychological urge in the people that they must purchase *swadeshi* articles at any cost, they will do it more effectively than any Government can do it. I only wanted to indicate to you the philosophy on which the Government was acting. I say that that philosophy was misconceived; I might even say that it was a mischievous philosophy. It killed the spirit of *swadeshi* which we had sedulously fostered for about 70 years.

As soon as our Government came into power, the small industries that had been started in war time were swept away by the encouragement of big industry; because it was the firm policy of our Government that only through industrialisation in the sense in which European and American countries are industrialised lay the salvation of India. This was a false philosophy. The population of the European countries is nothing in comparison with the population of India. Russia is about seven times as big as India. The population per square mile is eight. America is 3½ times as big as India and the population per square mile is 50. Our population per square mile is 350. To think that a backward country, whose economy had been ruined for about a couple of centuries could, at once, by the method of discredited capitalism, revive its industry and social and economic life, I think, was misconceived. That it was misconceived is clear from the fact that for the first time when we came into power, we enunciated this proposition. Before we came into power our proposition was that we must encourage cottage industries, provide as much employment for the people as possible. Before we came into power, we said "Not production only, but also consumption." We said that the land was divided and there would be land reforms. We took so much time in bringing about those land reforms, a section of those reforms, that whatever good was to be achieved from them was lost to us.

Not only this. We encouraged big industry, we encouraged foreign capital also. We went on increasing. Whenever there is independence, the tendency in other countries is to eliminate as much of foreign interests as possible. I think the foreign interests that are entrenched in our industry and in our commerce today are even greater than when we were under foreign rule. We are not free economically. So far as our industry, our commerce and finance are concerned, we are yet a colonial country.

Eighty per cent. of the tea gardens belong to Englishmen. Our banking and insurance is mostly in the hands of the foreigners, and what does the foreigner do? All the money in the banks is ours, but whenever a foreign firm goes to the bank, they get accommodation. Our Indian firms do not get accommodation, or even if they get, it is only big firms that get it, and when they get it, the terms are more exacting than when the money is advanced by these foreign banks to foreign companies.

When we have killed this spirit of *swadeshi*, when we have opened the floodgates of foreign goods in India, we found that our coffers were depleted. We had Sterling balances. They were almost lost. Then it occurred to us that we must raise the slogan of more production. The slogan was "Produce or perish". It was often said in this House "Produce or perish". So, we began production. There was a Five Year Plan. What has been the result? The result is not "Produce or perish", but produce and perish. It is admitted now that while for two years and a half the Plan has been going on, at least there are 15½ lakhs of unemployed added to the old figure. And it is a strange phenomenon. While the Plan is going on, unemployment is increasing. We are familiar in modern times with planned economy, but I have never seen a country in which, while a plan is going on, unemployment is increasing apace. I have heard that while plans are going on, people are not unemployed, but people have to work overtime. In Russia, they have what they call "shock workers". In the European countries, in Germany, East or West, if you go, not only people have full employment, but people have to overwork, because they are putting into execution a plan.

Then there is another phenomenon which is very strange. Here we say there is over-production and there is curtailment of employment, that there is no purchasing power that goods do not get sold, and yet there is

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the strange phenomenon that prices go on rising. Prices go on rising, there is over-production and there is not enough purchasing power. When this generally happens, there must be something wrong, and that wrong is this, that this Five Year Plan was conceived on the basis of private large-scale production. I am not talking to you as a politician. I will give you the opinion of impartial economists. Prof. Wadia and Mr. K. T. Merchant say:

"The Commission rejects full employment as the immediate objective of planning for India."

Then, they quote the Commission:

"A high level of employment is desirable but if it requires sacrificing indefinitely the fruits of technical progress, the loss to the community over a period may be much greater than the gain'. The Commission at the same time admits that unemployment is the most serious corrosive factor in economic life and its social cost is larger than the economic cost. If the social cost is larger, one need not be afraid of sacrificing the fruits of technical progress. It is the planning within the capitalist structure, with the fear of fall in profits, and not full employment that deprives the community of the fruits of technical progress."

This is what the economists say. So, it is this bungling through the seven years that has produced this tragic situation today. What is the remedy?

Mr. Chairman: Will the hon. Member take some more time, about five minutes?

Some Hon. Members: Give him ten minutes.

Acharya Kripalani: As you please.

What is the remedy? I humbly say, not as a party man—I have never acted as a party man in all these

concerns—that the Congress people and our Ministers also should give their serious attention to this. It is impossible that you can revive the economy of India on a capitalist basis. That basis is not working even in capitalist countries. They have to socialise progressively. And they live upon war economy. We do not live upon war economy. Many of them have colonies where they can throw their goods. We have no colonies, and I hope we have no intention of creating colonies. In this country, with this population, this capitalist economy will not work. You cannot have what you call a "Welfare State" if you have a capitalist economy. You must change the very basis of your economy, and I humbly submit that it cannot but be socialised economy. The Americans have tried in colonial countries to introduce capitalist economy. They have failed. But I must say that wherever socialised economy has been tried, there has been a great deal of success, and there has been progress.

All right, you say that your basis is not socialism but a mixed economy. All right, if mixed economy, even in a mixed economy, you must separate the different departments. You cannot have a mixed economy like a *khichdi* in which *dal*, *chawal* and ghee and everything is combined together. Here you have a *khichdi* made out of it. If you want to have really.....

An Hon Member: Gruel!

Acharya Kripalani: And that also not cooked well!

Shri Frank Anthony: There are too many cooks.

Acharya Kripalani: It is true there are too many cooks.

If you want to have a mixed economy, at least separate the departments. Supposing you have nationalised transport. Now, in Delhi, there is no amount of need for transport. There is a bottleneck to transport,

but supposing you grant also licences to private companies to run buses, your buses—the nationalised buses—will immediately stop. They would have no custom. So, you keep your section of economy protected. You do not allow competition there. I submit that there is a section of decentralised economy. Please do not allow competition there. Keep it as a sector which can develop freely and can go ahead, then give the capitalist sector also a section of the economy and say: "Here you develop yourself", so that they may not be apprehensive. Today, the capitalists are also apprehensive. One does not know when there will be nationalisation, or when *dhotis* and *sarees* in the South will not be made in the mills and will be made by handlooms. Sometimes our Ministers have belated inspiration. As long as Rajaji was here, as the Commerce and Industry Minister.....

Some Hon. Members: Home Minister.

Acharya Kripalani: You are born late, my dear friend. You may have the advantage of youth, but not of knowledge

Shri Frank Anthony: Or of experience.

Acharya Kripalani: When he was here, it did not occur to him that the handloom industry needed protection. Only when he went to his own Tamil Nad, he rose to the occasion. Another Tamil friend of his who was his esteemed successor, was too afraid to take any radical steps. Our Prime Minister is radical, but his Cabinet is slow-moving.....

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: You are making up for it.

Acharya Kripalani: Not only do you speak so slowly that I never hear what you say, but the Cabinet is unbalanced. If we want to have a mixed economy, then I say we must have a balanced economy. We must separate the two departments that come in. This is the very ABC which you

have to do, if you are really serious about the business.

As for the remedies, I will not give them myself, but I will give them from the experts, from the only expert under the Five Year Plan. Of course, our Finance Minister is an expert in his own way, but in the Planning Commission, they have got only one expert, Mr. Nanda. Speaking at Ahmedabad, he adumbrated a new plan to tackle the growing unemployment in the country. He enunciated a four-point programme. The first point was:

"The Government will encourage and inaugurate such undertakings like cottage industries, as would absorb more manpower."

Evidently, the Five Year Plan did not absorb more manpower. It was always thinking of producing more and producing more, and the people began producing babies, having no other method of production. We cannot blame them. There was no capital for them.

The second point was:

"All future governmental activities will aim at being labour-intensive and not capital-intensive."

And the author of the Five Year Plan continues:

"Adequate steps will be taken to absorb urban unemployed men in craft industries concerned with the production of goods of common utility."

I must say that our Government have often patronised these cottage industry products. I think there is some emporium here also in Delhi. But these emporia are in the hands of fashionable ladies, and what is produced is for export to fashionable people abroad. This is not encouraging cottage industry, because fashions in foreign countries are always changing. If you have to encourage a village industry, then village industries must produce things of utility re-

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quired in the villages. You must not allow them to produce goods which should be exported to foreign countries.

The fourth point is:

"Proper insistence will be laid on basic education and manual labour will be a feature of every educational institution."

12 Noon

Gandhiji had kept a system of education, on which he tried experiments, and successfully too. That experiment was there before the country. But our authorities, as in everything else, so in education also, were concerned with maintaining the *status quo*. And not only that, our education policy has been 'Don-Quixotic'—I use the word purposely and deliberately. It is a strange engineering that we find in the educational field. As soon as they came into power, they appointed a high power commission which sat for many days, and which consisted of many educationists, to whom it would have been profitable, if they had been re-educated in the ways of *Swaraj*. But what did these educationists do? They took up the question of college and university education first. They prepared a big report, a big tome, and their recommendations have not been adopted as yet. The Education Department woke after some five years and thought that this higher or university education rested upon the base of secondary education. So they appointed a commission for going into the question of secondary education. When they have done that, they will ultimately find out that the foundation was there on primary education. This is the queer engineering that they have adopted. They are trying to build from top to the bottom. I want the Congressmen to take these words from me. They must not suppose that I am speaking like this, because I am in the Opposition. I would have spoken like

this, even if I had been a learned professor—I do not know what he professes—on that side.

Let us face facts. This is our country. This is not the country of Congressmen. It is our country. We are not here only to oppose; we are here to find out ways and means of fighting this unemployment. I would say, whatever the Finance Minister may do, however conservative his finances may be, one of these days, if you are a Finance Minister, you will have to nationalise banks and insurance, if you want to do anything for the country. I would also tell the Commerce and Industry Minister that it is no use defending these foreign concerns. They are giving dividends of 200 and 300 per cent. and yet they do not give you even the figures you had asked for. It is such a disgrace that when the Government of India ask the foreign firms, to give the figures relating to their high-paid officers, they say, no, go to hell; and here the Government come to us for passing a legislation. I say such a thing can never happen in any free country. The foreigners come here and enjoy the cream of our substance, and they tell us that they are not going to give us the figures. And our Minister comes here and says, what shall I do. With what face does he come and ask us to pass the legislation? I do not understand. A foreigner who refuses to give these figures should be given one thud by the Government, and should be kicked out, if this was really a free land. But I am afraid this is not a free land. These and many other things can be done.

Shri Bansal: As the previous speaker from this side of the House has said, I would like to consider this problem as India's problem number one and therefore I think that it will be a tragedy if we approach this great problem in a controversial manner. After all, what are we faced with? I am sorry that

in all these speeches that have been delivered so far, a serious attempt has not been made to find out what the problem is. In my opinion the hard core of the problem is our backward economy. In a country where two-thirds of the people depend on agriculture, with holdings which are uneconomical, it is bound to happen that there will be a huge chunk of unemployment. I have looked into the figures and find that out of the total population of able bodied persons who could work, two-thirds are self-employed, or styled as self-employed, and only one-third are those who are classed as employed. Out of these two-thirds, that is, roughly ten crores, about two crores are engaged in small businesses, professions and other jobs. But an equal number comprises of landless labourers with the result that we find on land a pressure of these ten crores of people who have to stay on land. If you look into the figures of other countries, you find that this proportion is quite in the different direction. In Canada, which is an agricultural country, persons who are self-employed number ten lakhs while those who are employed 28 lakhs, while the figures for our country are: those who are self-employed: about ten crores, and those who are employed: only 4.5 crores. In Mexico the figures are 12 lakhs and 30 lakhs, for U.S.A. the figures are: 100 lakhs and 380 lakhs respectively.

This poses the question whether the problem of unemployment about which we are talking is confined only to this sector of the people who are classified as 'employed' or does it go to that sector also which is styled as 'self-employed'. In my opinion, the real core of the problem is that all those people who are styled to be self-employed are really not employed fully and a huge proportion of them is either partly employed or unemployed, with the result that a great pressure is coming from this sector to the sector which is styled as the employed sector. The consequence of this is that although there may be no visible unemployment at

times, the potential unemployment is there, and it is here that our Planning Commission failed to gauge the problem correctly.

Before I proceed further, I would just like to refer to a set of figures of our employment pattern from a different point of view. I have before me figures of *per capita* income and percentage of population in primary, secondary and tertiary occupations. From this I find that India and China are on the lowest rung as far as *per capita* income is concerned. But they are highest as far as total population in primary occupations is concerned. Again, they are lowest as far as the secondary and tertiary occupations are concerned. What does it show? This clearly proves that the problem in our country is that of maldistribution of population, a huge percentage of which has to subsist on land. Added to this is the problem of about 18 lakhs of working population—added to the unemployed and potential unemployed every year. Now, where is this 18 lakhs of working population going to be employed? Unless we face this problem in this perspective, I am sure the remedies that have been suggested by the previous speakers will not touch the fringe of the problem. If we are going to tackle this problem in a bold manner with a view to solve the real unemployment problem, we have not only to take care of these 18 lakhs of working population which are added to our working population every year, but we will have to think in terms of taking away a percentage of our working population from land. I tentatively suggest that roughly seven lakhs of people will have to be taken away from land every year. This means that we will have to provide in the non-agricultural sector for about 25 lakhs of working people every year. How can we do it? This is the problem, in my opinion, to which all of us must bend our energies in a patriotic and in a non-controversial manner. Because unless we do it, I am sure we will be facing a great upheaval in the country.

[Shri Bansal]

In my humble opinion, out of these 25 lakhs of working population which will have to be taken care of every year, at least 2½ lakhs must get employed in the large industrial sector, whether it is private or public, because I calculate that these 2½ lakhs of people who will be employed in the non-agricultural—that is, large-scale industrial—sector, will create employment and occupational opportunities in other sectors. What should be the exact percentage, no one can say. But I would suggest very humbly to the Finance Minister and to the Planning Commission that they should investigate this problem with all thoroughness. We have enough theoretical material available on this. I am sure every one here is acquainted with Leontief's method of input-output analysis. If we conduct some survey on that basis, we will be able to find out as to what percentage of this increase in population every year should be applied to a particular sector of industry or trade or occupations so that a chain effect is created to produce employment to mop up the remaining 90 per cent, that is, about 22½ lakhs of people every year in the non-industrial sector. This is the sector of small-and cottage-scale industries, professions, small businesses and so many other fields. In order to achieve the objective of finding employment in this sector the Planning Commission's approach to the development programme and the approach of this House to the unemployment problem will have to be radically changed.

It seems from some speeches, that we are treating the problem of unemployment as entirely divorced from the problem of development. Theoretically, it is quite possible to provide employment to all the people by dividing the present jobs among those people also who are unemployed at present. But what will it lead to? It is bound to lead to a lowering of the standard of living. We must be quite clear about this in our mind when we are thinking of solving the unemployment and develop-

mental problems. Are we going to treat the problem of unemployment as a separate problem altogether? Or, are we going to treat it as a part of the developmental problem? We have all along been clamouring that our country is undeveloped and that our standard of living is low. I remember, when the Five Year Plan was being discussed on the floor of this House, my friends from the opposite side were saying that this target of increase in the standard of living by 20 per cent. after 10 or 20 years was not enough; they wanted that the standard of living of the people should be raised within 10 years by as much as 100 per cent. Now, if we are going to achieve that, we must be clear in our minds that we can do so only by increasing the productive and capital stock of the country, and not by distributing the present employment among the people who are unemployed. Because the sure result of that is going to be a general lowering of the standard of living of the people as a whole, and I am sure no one will countenance that.

In order to achieve this high rate of employment in the private and public sector, Government and the Planning Commission will have to consider, as to what steps they will have to take. In my opinion they will have to adopt a bolder approach to the targets which they laid down in the Five Year Plan. These targets can be increased by ordinary mathematical formulae but that will not help. What has got to be done is that in the public sector expenditure has to be incurred at those points which will create a general chain reaction of employment opportunities in other and subsidiary sectors. What are these sectors?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has got only two minutes more.

Shri Bansal: Sir, I will finish within two minutes.

I am sure the first task which the Planning Commission must apply it-

self to is to find out which are the sectors where they must use their developmental expenditure. It has been said again and again, how is it that all of a sudden this unemployment problem has come to the fore. As the hon. Shri Kripalani said, this problem has been with us all the time but it has been only slightly disguised due to the post-war boom and the Plan which came into effect 2½ years back. But, I am sorry to say that the Plan has also been falling behind and that is one of the contributory causes of the present unemployment situation which we are seeing today. Another cause of this unemployment that we are seeing today is the rigid cost structure of industry which is again the result of high prices prevailing after the post-war boom.

In order, therefore, that we tackle this problem both in the private and in the public sector, I do not see any remedy excepting to raise the tempo of the Plan, the tempo of investment, particularly in those sectors where it will have the effect of giving a momentum to our economy. Short-term measures have been suggested by a number of speakers. But, in my humble opinion, short-term measures are not going to be the real remedy of the problem. Anyhow we should not adopt measures in a huff which might lead to a further worsening of the situation.

Shri Mulchand Dube (Farrukhabad Distt.—North) *rose*—

Mr. Chairman: If the hon. Member wants to move an amendment, I will permit him to move it. I will not allow him to speak.

Shri Mulchand Dube: I beg to move:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

“This House is further of opinion that the problem of unemployment cannot be solved by big industry either in the public or private sector and that the following steps may be taken

immediately to tackle the problem—

- (a) to have a survey made of all the small scale industries in existence in the Indian Union by calling upon if necessary members of both Houses of Parliament to furnish particulars of all small scale industries existing in their constituencies so as to enable the Government to collect statistics of such industries as may be considered proper for development; and
- (b) to make arrangements for the marketing of their products in this country and foreign countries by calling upon the Commercial Attaches attached to the various Embassies and Legations to study the needs of the people of those countries and give suggestions in the matter of the marketability of the products of our small scale industries in those countries.”

Mr. Chairman: Amendment moved:

That in the resolution, the following be added at the end:

“This House is further of opinion that the problem of unemployment cannot be solved by big industry either in the public or private sector and that the following steps may be taken immediately to tackle the problem—

- (a) to have a survey made of all the small scale industries in existence in the Indian Union by calling upon if necessary members of both Houses of Parliament to furnish particulars of all small scale industries existing in their constituencies so as to enable the Government to collect statistics of such industries as may be considered proper for development; and

[Mr. Chairman]

- (b) to make arrangements for the marketing of their products in this country and foreign countries by calling upon the Commercial Attaches attached to the various Embassies and Legations to study the needs of the people of those countries and give suggestions in the matter of the marketability of the products of our small scale industries in those countries."

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat): I intervene in this debate at this stage with a limited objective—not with a view to define the employment policy by dealing with the remedy but with a view to define the employment situation and the nature of the problem that exists today at this juncture. Because I think that it will be better for dealing with the employment policy and the remedies if we know the situation and the factual basis that obtains today. This is the purpose for which I am intervening in this debate just now.

Unfortunately, I suffer from one handicap and that is that in spite of the recent talks over this problem, we have no precise information, no statistics with which we can track down accurately the problem. The only information and statistics that we have are those provided by the Employment Exchanges and those deal mostly with the urban sector. Government is aware of this handicap and recently it has started getting or collecting very comprehensive information. The National Sample Survey is undertaking an enquiry into the unemployment situation in Calcutta. The schedules have been prepared and the enquiry will commence shortly. Data from about 4000 households selected at random will be obtained. The field work will take about three months and the report on the enquiry should be

ready in another three months. Apart from this, the National Sample Survey proposes to undertake a survey of employment trends in towns of more than 50,000 population selected at a random basis. Similarly, an enquiry into the rural unemployment in Travancore-Cochin is being contemplated and the scope and procedure of this enquiry are being finalised.

Shri A. M. Thomas: Just a word, Sir; this survey is being contemplated but the answer given to questions during the last one month is that it is still under consideration.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: So, at present we have only the information given by the Employment Exchanges and my analysis of the situation is based on the information given by the Employment Exchanges. As the whole thing is factual, with your permission, I would like to quote extensively from a note prepared for this purpose:

"An examination of the statistics collected through the Live Registers of the Employment Exchanges shows that the number of persons registered has increased nearly 50 per cent. between January 1952 and July 1953, that is, from 322,000 to 493,000, but the number of vacancies notified and the number of placings have diminished steadily over the past year. Vacancies notified on behalf of Government agencies have remained more or less steady and have, in some fields, even increased but the vacancies notified by the private sectors have fallen sharply. Taking the public and the private sectors together, the placings which were on an average round 34,000 per month in 1952, have fallen now to nearly half of that figure."

Now, coming to the occupational and regional aspects of the problem, the situation is like this:

"The unemployment problem in the urban areas so far as one can judge from the statistics collected by the Employment Exchanges has also certain occupational and regional characteristics. For instance, the decline in unemployment does not seem to have seriously affected highly skilled personnel but the effect on personnel seeking clerical and white-collar jobs and on semi-skilled workers has been quite considerable. In respect of semi-skilled and unskilled workers the position has become more difficult for the past 8 or 9 months, but the situation in respect of white-collar employment has been worsening continuously for over a year. Of the increase of about 45,000 in the number of applicants for clerical posts in the Employment Exchanges between January 1952 and May, 1953, 14,000 has been in Madras, about 10,000 in Uttar Pradesh and 5000 in each of the regions, Bombay and West Bengal. The pattern is somewhat different in the case of applicants for domestic service and other unskilled work. Of the increase of nearly 115,000 in the number of such applicants in the Live Register of the Employment Exchanges, between January 1952 and May 1953, the four States mentioned above account for less than one half.

Similarly the problem is acute in the lower income brackets of the services. One of the reasons for the problem being more acute among semi-skilled and unskilled workers and amongst those in search of clerical posts is that the decrease in the employment opportunities has been mostly in the category of posts carrying emoluments of Rs. 60 per month and less. In 1950, about 45,000 persons were placed on employment by Exchanges in jobs carrying emoluments of Rs. 30 per month and less; the number fell to about

44,000 in 1951 and to less than 16,000 in 1952, and in the first quarter of 1953, it was only about 2300. In the category of posts carrying emoluments between Rs. 30 and 60 per month, the placings in 1950 amounted to 244,000 and this went up to 305,000 in 1951; but again it fell sharply to 210,000 in 1952, and the placings in the first quarter of 1953 amounted to less than 30,000. The picture is markedly different in respect of jobs carrying Rs. 60 and Rs. 100 per month. As compared to a little over 36,000 placings in 1950, they have been over 57,000 in 1951 and 107,000 in 1952, and 20,000 in the first quarter of 1953."

Now, coming to unemployment among the educated, it may be inferred from the above that the problem of unemployment in the urban areas is one which has affected mainly the educated persons seeking lower paid clerical posts and semi-skilled and unskilled labour. In magnitude, the problem is most serious in the case of unskilled labour. Of the total number of persons on the Live Registers of the Employment Exchanges, unskilled persons account for over 2.3 lakhs which is about 50 per cent. of the total. In comparison the educated unemployed are smaller in number, even though the coverage on the Exchanges in respect of this category is likely to be more complete than for unskilled labour. In all, there are about 118,000 matriculates and graduates on the Live Register of the Employment Exchanges. Of these 118,000 nearly 80 per cent. are matriculates and about ten per cent. are persons who have passed the intermediate examination. These data indicate that while the problem of employment of educated in the country is serious, unemployment among semi-skilled and unskilled labour has to receive equal if not more importance in framing a programme to meet the problem. This is something which has to be kept in view in devising measures to meet the present situation.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

Coming to the unemployed skilled labour, though the increase in unemployment in the urban areas is more evident among applicants for clerical, semi-skilled and unskilled labour, the Live Registers of the Employment Exchanges carry also a large number of skilled technical personnel. At the end of 30th April 1953, there were over 11,000 fitters and mechanics seeking employment through the Exchanges, 10,000 railway, road, transport and airways workers, about 6,000 wood workers, over 6,000 machinshop and electrical workers and more than 2,000 building and road workers. Some of the unemployment among the skilled workers may be of a frictional nature and it is also probable that a good number of the persons on the Live Registers of the Employment Exchanges under these categories are not unemployed but are in search of better and more remunerative employment. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that, at present, the unemployed in the urban areas include also a fair number of skilled personnel, who, within the framework of a developing economy should really have no difficulty in being absorbed.

Coming to the more important sector, namely, the industrial sector as a whole, as mentioned earlier, there has been no diminution in factory employment, but there has been distress in particular industries and among the uneconomic units which have not been able to adjust their costs in the face of the price recession. In the textile industry, which is a good example of the two conflicting tendencies, the total number of workers in May 1952 showed an improvement of 16,000 as compared to previous year; the figure on 1st July 1953 stands at nearly 819,000 which is a further improvement of 12,000 in the industry as a whole. But side by side there have been difficulties in individual units within the industry and, at present, there are 24 mills which have closed down totally or partially.

The jute industry presents another type of problem. Exports of jute account for 90 per cent. of the total production in this industry. In the face of growing competition from jute mills in Europe and falling prices, the jute industry in the country.....

Shri Bhagwat Jha: If the Government is particular about acquainting us with these facts they should have circulated a note. Reading at Toofan Express speed, it is impossible for us to follow.

Shri B. R. Bhagat:.....which has been operating with very old machinery and is in need of modernisation and replacement on a large scale, has had to restrict its output. As a result, employment in the industry has come down by about 20,000 in the course of the last year.

Reliable information on the latest employment position is not available in respect of the other industries; but it would appear that labour has been thrown out of employment in fairly large numbers in the mica and shellac industries—both of which are dependent on export demand—and in coal mining. The precise causes of unemployment in the latter are being enquired into. Among the other industries which have recorded declines in the last six months, the most important are automobiles, structural engineering, agricultural machinery, industrial machinery and foundries and cement. Apart from the fact that the increase in the unemployed in these cases is numerically not very large, it is also possible that some of the decline in recent months is attributable to seasonal factors. Employment in the automobile industry has been affected by certain measures which the Government have announced in order to develop manufacturing of automobiles within the country. While the demand for the products of the structural engineering and industrial and agricultural machinery indus-

tries has continued to be slack, there have been some signs recently of revival in the demand for diesel engines and also in regard to wood screws, machine screws, wire-netting, carding engines, as well as the electrical and mechanical industries. Regarding the cement industry, it would appear that there has been a decline in employment only when compared to an earlier period when new quarries were being opened by the industry.

Coming to the employment position in the technical and managerial posts in industry, the Associated Chambers of Commerce have furnished some statistics regarding employment position in their member firms which are of some interest.

Shri Sinhasan Singh: Would it not be better, if all this is circulated to us?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member is giving information which will be useful to the House, let him proceed.

Shri Frank Anthony: Can any Member keep his eyes glued to a piece of paper and read it? Over and over again we are told that no Member can read in the House.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: I have taken the permission of the Chair.

Mr. Chairman: He is giving information about certain facts and figures and I do not think there is any objection to his reading that.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: Persons employed in technical posts in these firms increased from 11,825 in January 1952 to 12,973 in January 1953 and to 13,105 in July 1953. In the managerial posts, the number has increased in the same periods from 13,332 to 14,510 and then to 14,766 respectively. In both cases the increase in employment of Indian nationals has been somewhat larger as there has been some diminution in the number of non-Indians employed.

Now, on the basis of the information available, it can be stated precisely that unemployment has in-

creased even while employment is increasing—mainly because employment opportunities do not keep pace with the annual additions to the labour force as a result of the increase in population. The present unemployment problem is more due to the insufficient rate of expansion than to the actual decline in employment.

Viewing urban unemployment as a whole on the basis of available data, it would appear therefore that:

- (1) the problem is most acute in respect of persons seeking clerical posts and among semi-skilled and unskilled labour;
- (2) the diminution in opportunities for these sections of the labour force has been largely in respect of posts carrying Rs. 60 per month and below;
- (3) the number of educated unemployed does not in itself seem unmanageable but the problem is serious when viewed in the light of recent trends in the output of matriculates and non-professional graduates;
- (4) there is evidence of diminution in employment opportunities among the higher levels of technical and managerial personnel but there are a fairly large number of unemployed at the lower level among skilled workers of certain categories; and
- (5) while employment has fallen in particular sections of industry, factory employment in the country as a whole has not declined to any noticeable extent.

As regards the rural sector, there the problem is mainly of an endemic character. It is a fact most patently known that, neither enough land nor capital equipment for the employment of man power exists today. But there the adjustment takes place through cutting down productivity per man.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

not by throwing out of surplus labour as in industrial units. This process has been going on and we have witnessed the falling *per capita* income and not discharge of labour. That problem cannot technically be called unemployment problem. The problem is more of "economic distress" than of unemployment. I give this definition because it requires different remedies. Basically our problem viewed in the short term aspect, is that of urban unemployment and we should face the situation as it arises.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Ramachandra Reddi.

Shri S. S. More: Sir, I would like to know on what basis speakers are selected.

Mr. Chairman: They catch my eye, that is the only principle.

Shri S. S. More: Some of us have moved amendments and expect a chance.

Mr. Chairman: They will get a chance.

Shri A. M. Thomas: On a point of information, is the debate likely to end at 1-15?

Mr. Chairman: I cannot say just now; I shall decide at 1-15.

Shri Ramachandra Reddi (Nellore): It is good on the part of the Government to have come forward this morning with a detailed statement about the unemployment question. It only indicates that the gravity of the problem has been noticed by the Government and they are trying to find out certain methods by which the problem can be solved.

It is very clear from the statement that much attention has not been paid to rural unemployment which seems to be the crux of the problem. I would therefore deal only with that aspect of the unemployment question and try to make a few suggestions which may be of some use.

There is no use giving theoretical expression to the unemployment question, not only in the House but everywhere else. The importance of the problem has been understood and noticed, and every one is anxious to find out some method of solving this problem.

It is also welcome to notice that the hon. Finance Minister himself has given notice of an amendment. It shows to what extent the Government is anxious to find out ways and means of solving this question.

As I have already mentioned, the entire problem has to be first studied at the rural stage. As there is unemployment and under-employment in the rural areas much of the rural population is migrating to urban areas, and when they do not find enough employment in the urban areas they are migrating to other countries also. When people are educated in the rural areas they find they have no employment and so the educated few are also migrating to urban areas. It will be very useful to examine the position of rural unemployment and try to solve it.

According to the Five Year Plan there is an extent of 98 million acres of land which is cultivable but not brought under cultivation. It is very curious to note that the Government has not made any serious attempt to distribute this land or to use this land. Some time back the hon. Finance Minister told us that the land laughs at the person who owns the land but who does not use it. I can only expand that analogy and say that though there is enough land to go round, Government, the owner of the land today, does not find its way to distribute it and make it useful. If these 98 million acres of cultivable land can be distributed among the landless in each village, to the extent it is available around each village, it will go a great way to help not only production of food or any other commodity but also to solve the unemployment problem in that

area. In fact if a man is given four to five acres of cultivable land, of course free of cost, he will utilise it and produce something and live upon that. To that extent there is a larger amount of social security in that area, and in the rural areas.

Land reclamation has been thought of, but it is not being followed with the amount of enthusiasm and speed that it deserves. Every one thinks of the industrialisation of the country without recognising the difficulties thereof. No doubt industrialisation has to progress at a greater speed, but the more we produce the greater is the difficulty of disposing of the goods produced.

For instance, take the textile industry. We have been told that as many as twenty-four mills have closed down for the simple reason that they are not economic in production. If the handloom industry, which is perhaps the biggest cottage industry in this country, has to be developed, it is not merely by an expression of sympathy to the handloom weavers that we can help them but by giving them all the assistance that the Government can give. No doubt due to the recent change in the ideas of the Government, that the handloom industry must be encouraged to a larger extent, probably there will be some encouragement in that direction. But how to sell the handloom goods? There is already a slump. If the handloom industry is going to be developed, and the *kadhar* side also, the large slump that is already noticeable will only be increased.

It is necessary that the handloom industry should be improved and subsidised in such a manner that the handloom weaver will make a living and the consumer who uses the handloom products will also have better opportunities of using the cloth if it is sold at a lower price.

For that purpose, since cotton is going up in price, there must be subsidising of the cotton grower as well as the manufacturer of the handloom cloth. It is not sufficient if

you simply concentrate upon other minor cottage industries which might not go a long way to decrease the unemployment in rural areas.

It is therefore seriously suggested that each State Government should be immediately consulted as to the possibilities of development and utilisation of the land in their respective States, and they should be asked to take decisions as to the best way of distributing the lands, to make them productive as well as useful for solving the unemployment problem.

There are no doubt certain difficulties in the development of these lands, but the Government will have to give aid by providing immediate facilities for irrigation wherever it is possible, and also subsidise the cultivators to some extent so that they might go on with their operations without much difficulty.

Government alone might not be able to give all the help that is necessary directly. There are co-operative institutions which can help these cultivators either on a co-operative system or in the shape of individual help given to those persons.

It is therefore necessary that the entire matter should be tackled at the village level rather than at the urban level. As it is, as unemployment is growing in the villages these people are migrating to the urban areas and adding their voice of discontent in the urban areas. Naturally, when they are forced to go back to their villages, this voice of dissatisfaction is being carried back to the villages. Therefore, I say that this matter is to be tackled at the rural level itself, especially in the agricultural sector.

I do not want to take more time of the House because there are so many hon. Members anxious to speak. I wanted to deal with this aspect only of the unemployment question and I hope the Government will come forward to instruct the State Governments to find out ways of distributing the available cultivable land free of cost to the landless

[Shri Ramachandra Reddi]

agricultural labour and see that the unemployment question in that sector is partly solved.

श्री एस० एन० रास : सभापति जी, जिस सवाल पर आज संसद् में बहस चल रही है मेरे ह्याल में उस से बड़ कर के महत्वपूर्ण सवाल आज हिन्दुस्तान में दूसरा कोई नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान की जो मौजूदा अर्थ नीति है, मेरा ह्याल है कि इस बीमारी की जड़ उसी अर्थ नीति में है। चार वर्षों से जब संसद् में हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने बजट पेश किया है, उन सभी भाषणों के पढ़ने से ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि हिन्दुस्तान की बेकारी की समस्या इतनी बड़ी समस्या है कि जिस को सरकार निकट भविष्य में गम्भीरतापूर्वक नहीं ले सकती है। पंच वर्षीय योजना को बनाने के लिये जो कमीशन बैठा उस कमीशन ने जो अपना रिपोर्ट पब्लिकेशन किया, उस के पढ़ने से मालूम होता है कि बेकारी की समस्या हिन्दुस्तान में कुछ भी नहीं है। जब संसद् में और संसद् के बाहर बड़े बड़े वक्ताओं ने और बड़े बड़े पत्रकारों ने इस पर बहुत जोर दिया तब इस बार जब अन्तिम रूप में पंच वर्षीय योजना हमारे सामने आई है तो बेकारी की समस्या पर थोड़ा ध्यान दिया गया है, ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है। कहा जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों लोगों को अगर हम काम दे देंगे तो देश में उपभोग का इतना सामान नहीं है कि जो हम उन को दे सकें। और उसका नतीजा बतलाया जाता है कि देश में बहुत मुद्रास्फीति हो जायगा और इनफ्लेशन हो जायगा, बात सही है, लेकिन जिस विधान को हम ने अपने सामने रक्खा है, विधान में जो डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल आफ स्टेट पॉलिसी बनाये हैं उस में हम ने इस बात का आश्वासन दिया है, इस बात की हम ने प्रतिज्ञा की है कि देश के किसी भी सक्षम आदमी को जो काम करने

लायक हो, काम देंगे और ऐसी नीति को अखित्यार करेंगे कि जिस नीति अखित्यार करने से हर एक का स्टैण्डर्ड ऊंचा बढ़े, लेकिन आज हमारे बड़े बड़े अर्थ शास्त्र के जानने वाले और इस संसद् के बहुत से सदस्य भी कहते हैं कि बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान विकास की समस्या के साथ होना चाहिए। बात तो सही है कि बिना विकास के बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है, लेकिन यह भी मानना पड़ेगा कि समाज के अन्दर एक वर्ग आराम से बड़े महलों में रहे और इस देश के अर्थ शास्त्री लोग करोड़ों भूखे और नंगे आदमियों को कहें कि अगर तुम को हम काम दे देंगे तो देश के अन्दर इनफ्लेशन हो जायगा, चीजों के दाम बहुत बढ़ जायेंगे, यह उपदेश चलने वाला नहीं है। इसलिये मैं इस बात के लिए हर्ष जाहिर करता हूँ कि आज हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने इस समस्या के महत्व को महसूस किया है और पंचवर्षीय योजना के बनाने वाले जो हमारे प्लानिंग कमीशन के माननीय सदस्य हैं, उन के कानों में यह एक आवाज पड़ने लगी है कि अगर हम जल्द से जल्द देश में बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान नहीं करेंगे, तो देश के अन्दर में एक बहुत भारी तूफान आ जायगा। और देर आये दुस्त आये "better late than never" मैं इस बात को कहकर सन्तोष मानता हूँ। बसत कम है, इसलिए मैं इसकी विवेचना में नहीं जाना चाहता, विवेचना सही है, निदान सही है, मानी हुई बात है कि देश के कई करोड़ लोग ऐसे हैं जिन को कुछ भी काम नहीं मिलता है, या थोड़ा और अपर्याप्त काम मिलने के कारण अधिक समय बेकार रहते हैं, बहुत से लोग ऐसे हैं जो साल में चार, छह महीने काम करते हैं, और बाकी समय बेकार रहते हैं। समस्या

क्या है, जैसा कि हमारे पूर्व के नेता आचार्य कृपलानी जी ने कहा है कि इस देश की अर्थ नीति के जो निर्माण करने वाले लोग हैं, उन लोगों के या तो सोचने में सफाई नहीं है, या उनका दिमाग साफ नहीं है कि किस रास्ते से हिन्दुस्तान की जो गम्भीर समस्या है, बेकारी और गरीबी की, उस को हम किस तरह से हल कर सकते हैं? अथवा जिस तरह से हम को स्वराज्य हुआ है, उस में स्थापित स्थायी को कायम रख के हम इस समस्या का समाधान करना चाहेंगे, तो समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। अभी तक हमारी सरकार ने जब जब हम ने बजट के समय में वित्त मंत्री के भाषण को पढ़ा, हम ने पाया कि हर समय आपकी पूंजीपतियों को खुश करने की चेष्टा रही ताकि देश में कैपिटल फ्लारमेशन हो सके, कमी टैक्स बढ़ाये गये, और कमी घटाये गये, क्योंकि अगर हम टैक्स ज्यादा बढ़ायेंगे तो कैपिटल फ्लारमेशन नहीं होगा, और जब कैपिटल फ्लारमेशन नहीं होगा, तो उद्योग धंधे नहीं चलेंगे, और उस अवस्था में देश में बेकारी बढ़ेगी, पश्चिम के देश वालों ने भी इस तरह की जो पद्धति है, इस तरह की जो अर्थ नीति है, उस को चला कर के देख लिया है और जब कि तमाम उपनिवेश हिन्दुस्तान जैसे बड़े देश पूंजीवादी देशों के हाथ में थे, तब भी पूंजीपति वर्ग इस बेकारी को समस्या का समाधान नहीं कर सका, आज के दिन तो हमारा भारत देश न तो पूंजी में इतना बड़ा है और न हमारे देश में इतने उपनिवेश हैं और न कारखाने मिलने वाले हैं, न हम किसी देश पर चढ़ाई कर के उसे अपने अधिकार में रखने की नीयत रखते हैं, केवल विकास पर जोर दे कर के आप बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान करना चाहें तो मैं आप से कहूंगा कि आप को सफलता नहीं मिलने वाली है, हमें तो अपने देश की अर्थ नीति में इस

प्रकार सुधार और परिवर्तन करना है ताकि अधिक से अधिक लोगों को काम मिले और अधिक से अधिक लोगों को काम मिलने के साथ साथ हम आर्थिक विकास को भी चलाने की कोशिश करें। मैं समझता हूँ कि मिक्सड एकोनामी की जो स्कीम हमने अपने मुल्क में रखी है, यह मिक्सड एकोनामी की अर्थ नीति पूरी सफल होने वाली नहीं है, अभी तक पांच वर्षों में जो हम ने इस के कार्य को देखा है उस से इस बेकारी की समस्या का और अन्य दूसरी आर्थिक समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हो सका है। अब वक्त आ गया है जब आप को अपने देश के लाखों गांवों में जो रहने वाले लोग अर्द्धबेकार हैं, उन की तरफ और हिन्दुस्तान के स्कूल और कालिजेज से जो निकले हुए लोग हैं जिन्हें आप बेकार कहते हैं, पर जो आप के बनाये हुए हैं, उन का ध्यान रखें। दूसरे उन मजदूर लोगों का ख्याल रखें जो किसी दस्तकारी अथवा उद्योग धंधे में लगे हुए हैं, उन में फैलती हुई बेकारी को रोकिये। अगर आप उन की बातों को ध्यान में रख कर अपनी नीति और योजना में फिर से सुधार नहीं करेंगे तो समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। दूसरी बात मैं आप से यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि आज देश में मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगों की आवाज है, जिस समाज से पढ़े लिखे लोग आते हैं, उस समाज की आवाज आज काफी बुलन्द है और अगर हम ने इन पढ़े लिखे लोगों को उत्पादन के काम में नहीं लगाया, तो मुझे भय है कि देश के अन्दर एक ऐसी हवा एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा हो जायगा जिसमें किसी तरह की रचना अथवा किसी तरह की समस्या को हल करने का काम नहीं कर सकते। मुझे दुःख के साथ यह कहना पड़ता है कि आज हमारे मुल्क में ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि अधिक से अधिक उत्पादन हम करें, ताकि हमारे

[श्री एस० एन० दास]

मुल्क में अधिक से अधिक उनका उपभोग हो और अधिक से अधिक लोगों को हम काम दे सकेंगे। देश में हम देखते हैं कि एक तरफ हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ता है, तो दूसरी तरफ बेकारी बढ़ती है। टेक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री में देखिये, जैसे जैसे इस उद्योग को रेशनेलाइज करते जाते हैं वैसे वैसे उसका उत्पादन बढ़ता जाता है। साथ ही ऐसा करने से उस उद्योग में लगे लोगों की तादाद घटती जाती है। जिस तरह से उत्पादन बढ़ा है, उसी के अनुपात में बेकारी भी बढ़ी है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आज जिस समस्या का हम समाधान करना चाहते हैं वह सब से पहला सवाल न होकर सब से पीछे का सवाल है, क्योंकि स्कूल, कालिज में हज़ारों रुपये खर्च करने के बाद बी० ए० और एम० ए० हो जाते हैं, वह हमारी समाज के किसी काम के नहीं हैं, सिवाय क्लर्की अथवा केरानी का छोटा मोटा काम करने के अलावा किसी दूसरे काम के नहीं होते हैं, वैसे तो इन लोगों का सवाल सब से पीछे आना चाहिए, लेकिन राजनीति यह कहती है कि जो लोग आवाज वाले हैं, पढ़ लिख कर शहरों में, गांवों में जा कर इस तरह की हवा पैदा करते हैं जिस से समाज में उथलपुथल होती है और उथलपुथल होने की वजह से समाज की रचना का काम नहीं हो सकता है, और इस हेतु मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में ८० हज़ार आदमियों को काम देने के लिये एक योजना सभी राज्यों को भेजी है, मैं इस के लिए उन का अभिनन्दन करता हूँ और ऐसा इसलिये करता हूँ कि अगर हम बेकार लोगों को ठीक से काम में नहीं लगायेंगे, तो जो बेकार रहते हैं उन के दिमाग में एक भूत रहता है और जिस के दिमाग में बेकारी

का भूत सवार रहता है वह सिर्फ़ अपने स्वार्थ को छोड़ कुछ देखता नहीं है और फलस्वरूप देश के अन्दर एक ऐसी हवा पैदा करता है जिस से देश में शान्ति नहीं रह सकती और बेकारी के फैलने से देश में अमन चैन के लिए खतरा पैदा हो जाता है।

अगर अमन और चैन को खतरा हो जायेगा तो फिर हम मुल्क का कोई काम नहीं कर सकेंगे। इस लिये यह सब से महत्व की चीज है। बारह, तेरह वर्ष तक स्कूल और कालेज में पढ़ने के बाद ऐसे लोग पैदा होते हैं जो समाज के किसी काम के नहीं होते हैं सिवा इस के कि वह क्लर्की करें, किरानी का काम करें। हालांकि वह मैट्रिक या बी० ए० पास होते हैं लेकिन अगर उन को एक चिट्ठी लिखने को दे दी जाय तो भी वह गलती करते हैं। इस लिये इस क्षेत्र के बेकार लोगों को जल्द से जल्द काम देना राष्ट्र का पहला कर्तव्य है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहता हूँ कि संसद में या संसद के बाहर जब कभी बेकारी का सवाल उठाया जाता है तो बेकार उन्हीं लोगों को कहा जाता है जोकि नौकरी खोजते हैं और कहा जाता है कि उन को काम नहीं मिलता। लेकिन बहुत से छोटे छोटे किसान होते हैं जिन के पास बहुत थोड़ी सी जमीन होती है। वर्ष में कठिनाई से दो या तीन महीने वे लोग काम करते हैं। बाकी समय में बेकार रहते हैं, अथभूखे रहते हैं और पहिनने को कपड़ा तक नहीं पाते हैं। ऐसे लोगों के सवाल पर बहुत कम विचार किया जाता है। चाहे सरकारी क्षेत्र हो चाहे और कहीं, कहीं पर उन की अवस्था पर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। अखबारों के अन्दर भी उन्हीं लोगों के विषय में छपता है जोकि पढ़े लिखे होते हैं, मैट्रिक या बी० ए०

पास होते हैं। संसद में भी ज्यादातर उन्हीं लोगों की बात होती है। हम लोग जिस श्रेणी के हैं उस श्रेणी को तकलीफ तो है लेकिन उस श्रेणी के मुकाबले में कम है जो गिरी हुई है, भूखी है, नंगी है। आज हम यहां पर देश का प्रतिनिधित्व करने की बात कहते हैं लेकिन दरअसल हम उन के सच्चे प्रतिनिधि नहीं हैं। अगर हम उन के सच्चे प्रतिनिधि होते तो उन के दुःख और दर्द को दूर करने की सब से पहले कोशिश करते। देश में उपयोग के सामान कम हैं पर बहुत ऐसे लोग हैं जो बड़े बड़े आलीशान मकानों में रहते हैं, अच्छे से अच्छा भोजन करते हैं, अच्छे से अच्छा वस्त्र पहिनते हैं लेकिन हालांकि हम ने विधान जिस समय बनाया था उस समय यह कहा था कि हम सब लोगों को काम देंगे, अब तक ऐसा कोई काम नहीं किया गया है जिस से मालूम हो सके कि उन गरीबों के लिये कुछ त्याग किया गया है। हम लोग हाल में एक लेक्चर सुनने गये थे, उस में एक साहब ने कहा था कि जब तक देश के अन्दर त्याग की भावना नहीं होगी, जब तक कुछ तकलीफ बर्दाश्त करने के लिये हम तैयार नहीं होंगे तब तक हम अपने निर्माण का काम नहीं कर सकते। बात सही है, लेकिन त्याग कौन करे? त्याग करेगा वह जिस के पास होगा। पर जिस के पास है वह आज त्याग करने के लिये तैयार नहीं है और जिस के पास नहीं है उस को लेक्चर देते हैं कि त्याग करो। वह त्याग क्या करेगा जिस के पास खाने के लिये भी नहीं है। इस लिये जो सामान गरीबों के इस्तेमाल का नहीं है और धनी लोग केवल अपने ऐश व आराम के लिये व्यवहार करते हैं, ऐसी सभी चीजों का आयात बिल्कुल रोक देना चाहिये। सबसे पहला काम यह होना चाहिये। जब हमारे देश में लोग भूख मरते हैं तो हम को देश में इन चीजों को बाहर से मंगाने की क्या जरूरत

है? हमें ऐसी चीजों की ज्यादा जरूरत है जो समाज के काम में आ सकें न कि लोगों के ऐश व आराम में। एक तरफ तो आप डेवेलपमेंट करने के लिये लेक्चर दें और दूसरी तरफ करोड़ों आदमी बेकार रह कर भूखों रहें यह चलने वाला नहीं है। डेवेलपमेंट (विकास) और एम्प्लायमेंट (सभी को काम देना) दोनों को साथ साथ ले चलना होगा। इस लिये देश में इस समय बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों के आराम और विलासिता की चीजों के आयात को बन्द करना होगा और गरीबों के उपभोग की चीजों को बनाने का देश में इन्तजाम करना होगा। ऐसे उद्योग धंधों को जल्द आगे बढ़ाना होगा जिस से बेकार और अर्द्ध-बेकार किसानों और व्यवसायियों को काम मिल सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने संशोधन को पेश करता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि बिना बेकारी और अर्द्धबेकारी की पूरी इन्क्वायरी किये हुए अगर हम काम करेंगे, तो काम ठीक से नहीं होगा। जब तक हमारे सामने सब करने के बाद सारे आंकड़े न होंगे, जब तक हमें सारी स्थिति का ज्ञान न होगा तब तक हमारी समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हो सकता। इस लिये मैं ने अपने संशोधन में इस बात को पेश किया है कि जल्द से जल्द सरकार आल इंडिया बेसिस पर बेकारी का सर्वे करे और इस की जांच पड़ताल करने के बाद जल्द से जल्द अपनी नीति निर्धारित करे जिस से जल्द से जल्द लोगों को काम मिले और देश की गरीब जनता का स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग बढ़े।

1 P.M.

Shri Frank Anthony: My resolution seeks to draw attention to....

An Hon. Member: Amendment.

Shri Frank Anthony: I beg your pardon. My amendment seeks to

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draw attention first to the inadequacy of the measures adopted by the Five Year Plan, the need for drastic steps to reduce Government expenditure, and finally creation of improved Employment Exchanges.

As has already been emphasized, the problem is not only an urgent one, but a very difficult one, and I endorse the approach of Acharya Kripalani that we should look at it in a national way. It is not a problem which we should seek to exploit on a political platform, nor a problem from which we should seek to gain some partisan advantage. I do not agree that the problem is due to one party or to any party. The problem is not only chronic, but an endemic one, and unlike my Communist friends I do not think that there is any easy or clear-cut solution. There is no easy nostrum to this chronic problem.

The Planning Commission has specified certain targets, and the Parliamentary Secretary has mentioned certain figures. As far as I could make out, the Plan envisaged employment in the urban areas to the extent of five lakhs per year. And as far as I could also make out, in the two years that have elapsed, in the urban areas we should have secured at least ten lakhs of employment but the figures released by the Directorate of Resettlement and Employment suggest that not even half that number has been employed in the urban areas. And I have here the figures released by the Directorate-General in April which show that the register of unemployed persons in April reached the unprecedented figure of five lakhs. I agree with the Parliamentary Secretary to the Finance Minister that the problem is essentially an urban one, but as he has admitted, our statistics are notoriously unreliable, very inaccurate.....

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Incomplete.

Shri Frank Anthony:.....very incomplete, because those who know

suggest or maintain that for one person who registers at an Employment Exchange, ten persons make no use whatsoever of Employment Exchanges. This gives us some idea of the staggering enormity of the unemployment in urban areas. So far as the rural areas are concerned, we have no Employment Exchanges, and because of that we cannot even gauge partially the extent of the unemployment in the rural areas.

I have seen what I feel amount to claims by the Government that the quantum of employment is not shrinking but the additional unemployment is due to the fact that so many more people reached the employment age each year. I feel that this is a thesis that I am unable to accept. My own feeling is that the quantum of employment is also shrinking. Everywhere, it is the same story of retrenchment, and still further retrenchment. I saw a statement that at least 25,000 persons have been retrenched in the Assam tea gardens. The INTUC went to the extent of saying that at least 60,000 people had been unemployed in the tea gardens. Fifteen thousand people, I am told, have been retrenched in the jute industry. Many thousands have been retrenched in the coal fields. Here I have heard assertions by businessmen that unemployment in the coal fields is essentially a man-made problem, that the unemployment there has been created because of transport bottlenecks.

Then, we have the increasing retrenchment by Government. With derationing in the various States, the Civil Supplies Departments have retrenched mercilessly. The Ordnance factories have embarked on a programme of retrenchment. The Calcutta Port Commissioners have retrenched. Recently, the Vizagapatam Shipyard discharged 800 people, and as the Parliamentary Secretary has told us, the position in the commercial houses is, if any thing, even worse.

He has admitted that the targets in the Plan have already been falsified, and that in the two or two and a half years that the Plan has run, it has fallen down. And I say this with all respect—I have a very great respect for the Finance Minister—that some of us have begun to think that there is something wrong with the financial policies of the Government. I concede that he is an expert. I am very overawed by experts, but I am always heartened by the definition that an expert is a person who learns more and more about less and less. Sometimes experts tend to run away from reality. I feel, and I say so with all due respect, that there is something radically wrong with our financial policy.

Recently the Planning Commission issued an eleven-point programme. I am not questioning the motives of the planners. They are as sincere people as you possibly can find anywhere in the country. But what I am questioning is the correctness of their approach, and the correctness of their assessment. I say with all humility that in my opinion, for what it is worth, the cardinal defect of the Plan and this eleven-point programme is the same, *viz.*, there is undue emphasis on long-term measures. There is an almost exclusive emphasis on the multi-purpose schemes. I admit that multi-purpose schemes make very fine talking points. It titillates demagogic palates to talk of the millions of acres which we are going to irrigate, and the millions of tons of food that we are going to produce, but the stark fact remains that your starving and semi-starving people cannot eat your multi-purpose schemes. What is more important is that their souls are not going to be sustained by the mirage of what may or may not happen in the next ten years. It is all very well for politicians and demagogues to go round the country asking people to produce more. It may be very good economic philosophy; it may even be very good political philosophy, when you ask them to produce more, but your starving people cannot eat philosophy. And that is my complaint with the policy

of the Government. There is a cardinal defect in their entire approach, and their emphasis. I admit that in the final analysis, there must be a long-term solution, but this growing unemployment is an immediate and urgent problem which can be solved only if there is a scheme, or at least a scheme with partially increased emphasis on short-term measures. I seem to have gathered the impression that the Planning Commission has deprecated building activities. In my opinion, building activities represent one of the greatest givers of employment. I do not understand why the Planning Commission should have deprecated building activities.

What about your transport industry? Your transport industry today is absolutely in the doldrums. Here again I join issue with my hon. friend and say your transport industry is in the doldrums, because of the mistaken taxes that you had imposed on it; the various excise duties and other various high taxes that have been imposed have destroyed your transport industry. There are two facets to the transport industry, being in this chronic condition. The first is that—and it is based on some knowledge of the railways also—your railways are going to prove to be an increasingly broken reed, not only because of internal inefficiency, but because the amount that you have earmarked for the railways is a hopelessly, miserably inadequate amount. That amount is never going to enable your railways to cope even partially with the growing needs of your growing industry. What is going to happen in that case? On the other hand, already there are complaints from the business community that because of your transport bottlenecks, the industry is not only inhibited, but it is being crippled. There are these two facets to this problem. If you remove your man-made brakes, people who ought to know say that immediately you will be able to put on the roads a hundred or two hundred thousands of lorries, and immediately you will have the spectacular advantage in the

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matter of employment as well, for you will be able to employ anything between a lakh and four lakhs of people; you will also have the advantage that your increasingly broken reed of the railways will be fortified, and thereby you will be able to sustain your growing industry by having a revitalised transport industry.

The Planning Commission has underlined technical education. I agree with the underlining, but there is some lack of coordination here. I was looking at the figures released by the Employment Directorate. Even today you find people—doctors, engineers, all your skilled people—joining in an increasing number the army of our unemployed. They are joining in an increasing number in utter demoralisation the ranks of the unemployed. Already you have this increased unemployment among your technical personnel. What you require today—I do not say, 'Do not underline your technical education'—is an immediate short-term scheme, an organisation of coordination, to see that your technically qualified people are put in where they are needed. We admit that there is a woeful lack of technically qualified people in the country. Only yesterday a B-licence pilot came to me and said, 'There are 130 B-licence pilots who are being demoralised, men who are unemployed'. Their fathers have spent on their education any thing from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000. We have a tremendous inadequacy of pilots. Yet there are 130 unemployed B-licence pilots looking out for some kind of job to do.

I submit that the most important thing to do—either you do it within the Plan or you do it outside the Plan—is that you must have more public works. The figures released by the Employment Directorate show that more than half of our unemployed people are unskilled. How are you going to employ them unless you expand your programme? I say that your programme of public works is not adequate. Either within the Plan or outside it, you must have more public

works. In order to do it, you will have to find, in my opinion—it may be an inadequate figure—at least 100 crores of rupees. Now, there are two ways, I suggest, of your being able to find it. First, drastic economy. Prune all unnecessary wasteful governmental expenditure. You are wasting crores and crores of rupees. And then I would advise the Finance Minister very ardently to woo his latest love, that is, deficit financing. You must find 100 crores of rupees, and in order to do that, Government will have to show a little more strength, a little more courage. This is my fear: the Government is either too complacent or it has not got that sense of urgency, or, in the final analysis, it lacks the courage to take drastic measures which will partially face up to the problem. As Mr. Gopalan has put it in his rather inimitable way, either you continue to kill the people or the people will kill you. There is no qualification to that issue.

A drastic problem necessarily postulates a drastic remedy. With all earnestness, I suggest that Government can fight it in many ways. I say this: that if you are really alive to this problem, really sincere in your desire to achieve something—I do not say you are not sincere in your sympathy for the problem—these are some of the suggestions I have to make. You may not agree with me. You may ridicule these suggestions. But I say: abolish all your Part C States and all the costly and unnecessary paraphernalia. Then stop playing politics by forming these deficit linguistic States, wasting crores and crores of the country's money. Stop all your faddists and cranks in your different States. We see the phenomenon of puritanical perverts wasting crores and crores of the Government's money—the taxpayers' money—in chasing chimeras like prohibition. Is this the time to worry about what people are going to drink? If you wish to worry about what they drink, then do some thing about the filthy, turgid stagnant pools from which

the villagers have to drink. But do not work about elixirs and health giving drinks like good whisky and beer. (*Interruptions.*)

Then another suggestion of mine is, abolish your governorships. These are very convenient—I am sorry the Leader of the House is not here—very convenient political sops. Today in the context of the country, your governorships are unsightly anachronisms. Do away with them. But, I know that you will not be able to do that easily. This is a convenient way of serving decrepit members of the ruling party, members of the ruling party who have failed in Cabinet appointments. But, I say this is an unsightly anachronism.

I want you to abolish all Upper Houses. These are luxuries which the country cannot afford.

Then, I say this—I say it with all respect—cut down the number of your Ministers and Deputy Ministers.

Sir, if I can have five minutes more, I will finish.

Mr. Chairman: Yes.

Shri Frank Anthony: I say, cut down the number of your Ministers and Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries. Today all of us would fail in a *viva voce* examination if we in the front Benches are asked how many Members are there on the Treasury Benches. We do not know the number and every day it is increasing. It may be 40 or 41. I heard somebody talking about Ali Baba and his 40 men. I respectfully submit that the Viceroy's Executive Council with seven members did at least equally well.

An Hon. Member: Not well.

Shri Frank Anthony: Well, you may think so. This gives rise to criticism. (*Interruption.*) My hon. friend has given me another idea; he suggests that Government is today concerned more with unemployment in the Legislatures than outside. Perhaps that is

a criticism which the Minister may not be able to contend with.

Then, let us have a drastic cut in salaries. I do not know who referred to the Pay Commission. It submitted its report not two years ago but seven years ago. I was on it. Even we suggested that there must be drastic pruning at the top. You have not had the courage to carry that out. It was said that the highest salary should not be more than Rs. 2,000. Even that you are not prepared to undertake.

Then we must do something about this Kashmir problem. I know that it is a difficult and a delicate problem. Any reference to it seems to be taboo. But today Kashmir is a running sore on the body politic of India. It is bleeding the country white; we cannot continue the Kashmir problem.

An Hon. Member: What is the relevancy?

Shri Frank Anthony: Don't be afraid. Why should you? You may be afraid but I am not. It is bleeding India financially.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may go on with his list of suggestions.

Some Hon. Members: Let him speak, Sir.

Shri Frank Anthony: I will resume on the next day, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: I have already given him some extra five minutes because I thought it interesting to have his suggestions.

Shri Frank Anthony: I will finish it, Sir. I say, you must face up to this Kashmir problem. We are pouring out the treasure of this country. The Prime Minister is apparently committed to a plebiscite. But let us think over it. Let us not say that because some people are reluctant or disinclined to join us, we should continue to pour out the country's treasure over them. If they do not want to join us let them say so. If they join us let us hug them to our bosoms. We cannot mortgage the

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future of this country indefinitely by trying to conciliate people who probably are disinclined to come to us. We must stop this outpouring not only in men, but what is more important of money.

There is the question of prices, which is perhaps my most important point. You cannot consider the problem of unemployment unless you consider with it the inextricable problem of the question of prices. And, it is here that I join particular issue with the Finance Minister. I do not know what his price policy is. But I am speaking objectively as a layman and I say this. To my mind the Government does not seem to have a price policy. It seems to be a matter of drift. I am judging it by the results. The only consequence has been that your price policy, if any, has resulted in a savage inflationary spiral which keeps on ascending. What I am afraid of is this. In the international sphere, the prices have shown a general decline of ten per cent. but in India, your prices have gone up, on the other hand, by ten per cent. your food-grain index has gone up by 15 to 20 per cent.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Since when have the international prices shown a falling trend?

Shri Frank Anthony: I was reading the figures up to June: during the last year.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Only last year and not during the last four or five years?

Shri Frank Anthony: I have not studied the figures for the last four or five years: only for the last year.

As against that decline in international prices, in India there has been a rise and that is what I feel to be the cardinal difficulty. Whether Government admits it or not, it appears to be committed to a policy of

inflation. Whether Government admits it or not, it has got this sort of high-cost economy. You will have to do some rethinking about your multi-purpose schemes. Some of your multi-purpose schemes will have to be weighed in the balance whether the long-term benefits of your multi-purpose schemes are compensated for by the short-term impetus to inflation. You will have to consider whether a scheme like the Hirakud scheme or two schemes have to be put in cold storage, because today they are giving an additional impetus to inflation.

I have great respect for our Finance Minister. I do not think he would do anything deliberately wicked, but his policy of withdrawing the food subsidy was a wicked act. By saving Rs. 15 crores you have made the food of the people dearer; you have added so much more agony to the already existing torture among the people of this country. You will have to consider restoring this food subsidy. Your whole economy—you may call it whatever you like—is to my mind a 'high cost economy'. Because of your excise duties most articles for internal consumption have become expensive. That is what is happening. You have destroyed not only people in the lowest-wage groups; you have destroyed the middle classes because of your high cost economy. Even ordinary items have become inaccessible to them. You have crushed the middle classes out of existence. You have destroyed their capacity to give employment. They were among the biggest givers of employment. Normally a middle class person engaged servants; he even ran a car. But today, he cannot do that, because your duties have made everything expensive for him. Your high export duties are crippling your export trade. My own feeling is that if you go on making everything expensive both for internal consumption and export, you will make hay of your balance of payment position.

Finally, may I say this? I feel Government owes a duty to the country to stop all retrenchment, particularly in Government departments. One last word, Sir. There has been much criticism of employment Exchanges, not only on the ground of incompetence, but also on the ground of dishonesty. I see no reason for doing away with them. They are very necessary. If there is any corruption look into it, do away with corruption. But the need today is to strengthen your whole system of Employment Exchanges.

The House then adjourned till Four Clock.

The House reassembled at Four of the of the Clock.

[SHRI FATASKAR in the Chair]

ESTATE DUTY BILL.—Contd.

Shri C. D. Pande: A great deal of stress has been laid on the argument that because personal law is involved in the *Mitakshara* and *Dayabhaga* controversy Government feel their inability to make a uniform legislation for all the people. To my mind this argument has hardly any force. Is the personal law so sacrosanct as to stand in the way of justice to about ten crores of people in this land? We have seen how property which was supposed to be sacrosanct is no more sacrosanct. Even in the case of the sacred ties of marriage, supposed to be very sacrosanct, there are legislations in various States that bigamy is a penal offence. Hindus had that right to marry more than one wife, but some States have curbed that personal law. Personal law did not stand in the way of that legislation. We are on the threshold of another law that is given the right of property to our daughters. Under our personal law there is no right of property to our daughters. But we are going to curb that barbarous personal law.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Why do you use the word barbarous?

Shri C. D. Pande: What I wanted to say was that even though it was sacrosanct we have violated that sacrosanctity. I go a step further. No piece of social legislation is possible without interfering with personal law, because personal law comes in at every step of good legislation. Therefore, the appeal to personal law and the argument that because personal law is interfered with it is impossible to make a uniform law between *Mitakshara* and *Dayabhaga*, has no force whatsoever.

Do you think that this is the first time that a Parliament is making a legislation of this kind? There are forty-three countries on the globe which have passed this kind of legislation in various periods of history. Nowhere, not even in Pakistan, where there are—in East Bengal—Hindus and Muslims, have the Legislatures made any distinction between the people professing different personal laws. The Pakistan Legislature has never made a distinction between Hindus and Muslims. Personal law never came into the way of making uniform laws. In England there are Jews, Protestants, Catholics, Indians, Parsis. Do you think it ever occurred to an Indian in England that he should claim any differentiation in legislation because he belongs to the *Mitakshara* system? It was said that the father of the Maharaja of Bikaner had a house in France. Did the French Government enquire whether he belonged to the *Mitakshara* or the *Dayabhaga* school? It means that no country in the world has taken personal law into consideration in the matter of legislation. And we have violated, interfered with and disregarded personal law in various legislations in Mr. Gadgil's own State of Bombay, where the personal law of Hindus to marry more than one wife has been abrogated and is no more. You can marry only one wife in Bombay State. You did not go there to say "How can you interfere with the personal law of Hindus?". Therefore, I say that the argument about personal law is no argument whatsoever.