14.33 hrs.

RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO ENQUIRE INTO THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM—*Contd.*

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now resume further discussion of the resolution moved by Shri Diwan Chand Sharma on the 27th September, 1958:—

> "This House is of opinion that a Committee be appointed to estimate the incidence of unemployment in this country and to suggest ways and means of dealing with it."

Out of 3 hours allotted for the discussion of the resolution, 35 minutes have already been taken up and 2 hours and 25 minutes are left for its further discussion today.

Shri Braj Raj Singh was on his legs, but there are some amendments that have not been moved on that day.

Shri Bibhuti Mishra (Bagaha): I beg to move:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted, namely:

> "This House is of opinion that the incidence of unemployment in the country is very high and urges upon the Government to take, without delay, active steps to solve this problem."

Shri Panigrahi (Puri): I beg to move:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted, namely:

> "That this House requests the Government to appoint a Committee with a view to make a full appraisal of the unemployment situation prevailing in the country and place such appraisal report before the House for considera-

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I beg to move:

That after the words "that a committee" the following be inserted, namely:

> "consisting of eight members—four from Lok Sabha and three from Rajya Sabha and with the Planning Minister as Chairman."

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): I beg to move:

That after the word "unemployment" the words "and underemployment" be inserted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Braj Raj Singh. Since there are so many amendments and hon. Members who wish to speak, the hon. Member will take as short a time as possible. Now all these amendments are before the House.

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह: (फ़िरोज़ाबाद) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक बेकारी की समस्या का सवाल है वह दिनों दिन बढ़ती जा रही है। इसका सबसे बड़ा सबूत वे आंकड़ हैं जो सरकार के द्वारा स्थापित काम दिलाऊ दफ्तरों से प्रकाशित होते रहते हैं। लेकिन सरकार द्वारा स्थापित काम दिलाऊ दफ्तरों के आंकड़ों से ही हमको देश की बेकारी की समस्या का पूरा आभास नहीं मिल सकता क्योंकि सारे बेकार लोग अपना नाम यहां रजिस्टर नहीं करवाते। लेकिन फिर भी अगर हम इन दफ्तरों द्वारा प्रकाशित आंकड़ों का अध्ययन करें तो हम देखेंगे कि सन् १९४८ में इन दफ्तरों में ३,२८,७१९ लोगों ने अपने नाम रजिस्टर करवाये थे, जबकि सन् १९५५ में यह संख्या बढ़ कर ६,९१,९५८ हो गयी, फिर सन् १९५७ की मई में यह संख्या ७,८२,९३३ हो जाती है और मई १९५८ में हम देखते हैं कि यह संख्या ९,६३,३४५ हो जाती है। इससे पता चलता है कि हर साल दो तीन लाख बेकार लोग बढ़ जाते हैं। यह बात ध्यान में रखने की है कि जो लोग इन

उनमे गावो के बेकार शामिल नही हैं । हम सभी जानते हैं कि हमारी कृषि व्यवस्था ऐसी है कि जिसमें किसान साल मे एक तिहाई समय बेकार रहते है । गावो मे ऐसे बहुत से लोग हैं जिन्हे अंडर एम्प्लाइड कहा जा सकता है क्योंकि उनको पूरे साल काम नही मिलता । इसी तरह से शहरों मे जो मजदूर कारखानो मे काम करते हैं वे भी काफी समय ताला बन्दी आदि के कारण बेकार रहते हैं । हमारे मुल्क मे इन सब बेकारो के आकडो को इकट्ठा करने का कोई प्रबन्ध नही है, लेकिन अगर हम इन सारे आकडो को एकत्र कर सके तो हम देखेंगे कि बेकारो की बहुत बडी सख्या हमारे देश में है । लेकिन अगर हम अन्दाजा लगाये तो यह सख्या करोडो तक पहुचेगी और यदि इतने लोग हमारे देश मे बेकार हैं तो हम किस तरह से कह सकते हैं कि हमारा देश समाजवादी समाज व्यवस्था की ओर बढ रहा है । ऐसी अवस्था मे हम किस तरह से अपने यहा समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना कर सकते है जिसमे हर एक व्यक्ति के लिए काम हो, खाना हो, कपडा हो, शिक्षा हो, और चिकित्सा हो तथा स्वास्थ्य सुधार की सुविधाये मिल सके ।

तो यह एक ऐसी समस्या है कि जिसकी तरफ सरकार का ध्यान जल्दी ही जाना चाहिए और सरकार को यह कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि यह समस्या किसी तरह हल हो । पहले पचवर्षीय आयोजन मे इस समस्या की ओर विशेष ध्यान नही दिया गया । दूसरे पचवर्षीय आयोजन मे सरकार ने इस समस्या की ओर कुछ ध्यान दिया है लेकिन आज हमे अफसोस के साथ यह कहना पडता है कि दूसरे पचवर्षीय आयोजन मे जितने व्यक्तियो को काम दिलाने की व्यवस्था आरम्भ मे की गयी थी आज हम देखते हैं कि हम उतने व्यक्तियो को काम नही दिला सकते । प्रारम्भ मे आठ नौ मिलियन लोगो को काम दिलाने की व्यवस्था थी लेकिन अभी पिछली मई मे सरकार की तरफ से अध्ययन रखा गया जिससे पता चलता है कि ६० लाख के अधिक लोगो को हमारी दूसरी पचवर्षीय योजना के दौरान काम नही मिल सकता । तो हमे देखना होगा कि कहा गलती है कि हमारे यहा रोजगार के अवसर नही बढ रहे हैं। मुझे तो लगता है कि इसमे कोई मौलिक गलती है जिसकी वजह से काम मिलने के अवसर नही बढ रहे हैं । उदाहरण के लिये हमारी सरकार का कुछ ऐसा दृष्टिकोण है कि देश मे काम दिलाने के लिए इस तरह से पूजी लगायी जाये कि १०, १५ या २० हजार रुपया लगाने पर एक आदमी को काम मिल सके । पर होना यह चाहिए कि १००, २०० या ज्यादा से ज्यादा एक हजार रुपये की पूजी लगाने पर एक आदमी को काम मिलना चाहिए । अगर हम ऐसी व्यवस्था करेंगे तो अधिक से अधिक व्यक्तियों को काम दिला सकेंगे ।

खादी और ग्रामोद्योग कमीशन कायम किया गया । उसके लिए पार्लियामेंट ने एक एक्ट भी बनाया । लेकिन उस एक्ट द्वारा जिन चीजो के उत्थान की हमने व्यवस्था की है उन चीजो का उतना उत्थान हो रहा है । मधुमक्खी पालन, मछली पालन और दूसरे ऐसे छोटे छोट उद्योग हैं कि जिनमें बिना कोई पूजी लगाये लोगो को काम मिल सकता है, उनको पैसा मिल सकता है और उनका जीवन निर्वाह हो सकता है । मैं जानना चाहूगा कि इस तरफ सरकार ने कितना ध्यान दिया है । खादी विस्तार की तरफ ही सरकार का कितना ध्यान है । छोटे उद्योग धन्धे बढाने की तरफ सरकार का कितना ध्यान है । सरकार का ध्यान बडे उद्योगो को बढाने की तरफ अधिक है जहा १५ या २० हजार रुपये की पूजी लगाने के बाद एक व्यक्ति को काम मिल सकता है । हमको यह भी ध्यान मे रखना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान मे प्रति वर्ष ५० लाख नये मुह बढ जाते हैं और अब तो शायद इससे भी ज्यादा बढते होगे । १५ या २० साल बाद इन पैदा होने वाले लोगो को काम देने की

[श्री ब्रज राज सिंह]

समस्या पैदा होगी। तो यह चक्र बराबर इसी तरह चलता रहेगा और लोगो को काम दिलाने की व्यवस्था बराबर करते रहना होगा। इस काम के लिए हमको अपनी अर्थ व्यवस्था मे मौलिक परिवर्तन करने होगे जिससे इन लोगो को काम मिल सके। इस तरफ सरकार का जितना ध्यान होना चाहिए उतना नही है। इसके लिए सरकार को कोशिश करनी चाहिए। अभी भी हमारे देश मे करोडो एकड परती जमीन पडी हुई है। उसको तोडा जा सकता है। ऐसा करने से जहा एक तरफ लोगो को काम मिलेगा वहा दूसरी तरफ हमारे देश की खाद्य समस्या भी हल होगी। आज हमे खाद्यान्न बाहर से मगाने पर विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करनी पड रही है। वह भी बन्द हो जायेगी। वह देश जिसमे किसी समय दूध और घी की नदिया बहती थी आज उसे बाहर से खाद्यान्न मगाना पड रहा है। यह कितनी भयावह स्थिति है। इस स्थिति पर काबू पाने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि हमारे मुल्क मे जो परती जमीन पडी हुई है उसे तोडने का एक सुनियोजित कार्यक्रम बनाया जाये। इस तरफ सरकार का कोई ध्यान नही है। सरकार ने मेट्रल ट्रेक्टर आरगनाइजेशन कायम किया है लेकिन ट्रेक्टर से जमीन तोडने मे वह सारी जमीन नही टूट सकती जो कि परती पडी है। उसके लिए हमारा सुझाव है कि सरकार दस लाख लोगो की एक भूमि सेना बनाये जिसका काम यह होगा कि वह परती जमीन को तोडे, और यह जमीन तोडी जा सकती है। मै ने अपने क्षेत्र मे देखा है कि जमुना और चम्बल की खादर मे किसानो ने बरसात के दिनो मे मेडे बना बनाकर इस प्रकार की जमीन को तोडने की कोशिश की है और पाच छ साल में एक परिवार बीस, पच्चीस या तीस बीघा जमीन तोड सका है। इस काम मे ट्रेक्टर की कोई जरूरत नही है। मेंडें बनाकर कटाव रोक कर इस जमीन को तोडा जा सकता है। किन्तु इस तरफ सरकार का ध्यान नही है। सरकार एक दस लाख लोगों की भूमि सेना बनाकर इस प्रकार की खादरो की जमीनो को खेती योग्य बना सकती है। इस काम में ट्रेक्टर की कोई जरूरत नही होगी। इससे एक तरफ हमारे देश के दस लाख लोगो को काम में लगाया जा सकेगा और दूसरी तरफ हमारी खाद्य समस्या भी हल हो सकेगी। मै चाहता हू कि सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ जाय।

हमारे सविधान मे यह व्यवस्था है कि यह राज्य का कर्त्तव्य है कि वह १४ साल तक की उम्र के तमाम बच्चो को अनिवार्य प्राथमिक शिक्षा दे। लकिन हम देखते है कि हमारे शिक्षा मत्री ने बताया कि वह दूसरी योजना के अन्त तक किसी हद तक यह काम कर सकते है और तीसरी योजना के अन्त तक भी सारे १४ साल के बच्चो की शिक्षा की व्यवस्था नही कर सकते। शायद इसके लिए सन् १९९० तक जाना होगा। एक तरफ तो यह अवस्था है और दूसरी तरफ शिक्षित बेकारो की सख्या बढती जाती है। इसके लिए मेरा यह सुझाव है कि सरकार को दस लाख लोगो की एक शिक्षा सेना बनानी चाहिए जो कि १४ वर्ष तक के बालको को शिक्षा दे। अगर एक एक शिक्षक बीस या पच्चीस बच्चो को भी शिक्षित कर सका तो हम इस प्रकार ढाई करोड या दो करोड बच्चो को शिक्षा दे सकेंगे और इस तरह से दस लाख शिक्षित व्यक्तियो को काम भी दे सकेंगे। एसा करके हम सविधान में जो डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल है उसके अनुसार भी काम कर सकेंगे। इस काम में कोई बहुत बडा खर्चा भी नही है। अगर आप इन शिक्षा सेना के लोगो को सौ रुपया माहवारी न दे सकें तो पचास रुपया माहवारी ही दें जो कि आम तौर पर प्राइमरी स्कूलो के अध्यापको को मिलता है। इसी तरह से भूमि सेना वालो को भी आप पचास रुपया माहवार दें। तो इस प्रकार हम सौ

सवा सौ करोड़ रुपया खर्च करके देश की बड़ी भारी समस्या को हल कर सकते हैं। इस प्रकार हम बीस लाख लोगों को काम दे सकते हैं और दूसरी तरफ हमारी शिक्षा की और खाद्य की समस्या भी हल हो सकती है।

इसी तरह से छोटे उद्योगों—इंजीनियरिंग उद्योगों का सवाल है। हमारे काम-दिलाऊ दफ्तर में जो आंकड़े प्रकाशित होते हैं, उन से प्रकट होता है कि मई, १९५८ में पच्चीस, तीस फ़ीसदी लोग ऐसे थे, जो कि क्लैरिकल काम—लिखा-पढ़ी का काम, मुन्शीगीरी का काम चाहते थे और सिर्फ़ आठ फ़ीसदी लोग टैक्निकल काम चाहते थे। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि देश में एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया जाय, ऐसे हालात पैदा किए जायें कि लोगों की प्रवृत्ति टैक्निकल कामों की तरफ़ अधिक हो। इस के लिए यह जरूरी है कि देश में टैक्निकल शिक्षा का विस्तार हो और वह तभी हो सकता है कि शिक्षा का माध्यम बदला जाय और टैक्निकल शिक्षा की तरफ़ ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाय।

अन्त में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि बेकारी के बारे में सरकार को बहुत ही गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करने की जरूरत है। ऐसा तब तक नहीं किया जा सकता है, जब तक कि इस सम्बन्ध में एक कमेटी न बना दी जाये। कमेटी संसद् के मेम्बरों की हो, तो बहुत अच्छा हो। उस कमेटी में विशेषज्ञ भी रखे जायें। वह कमेटी इस समस्या का गहराई में जा कर अध्ययन करे, सारे मुल्क में घूमे और फिर अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश करे, तो यह समस्या हल हो सकेगी।

Shri Panigrahi: When we are discussing this resolution, it is rather regrettable that Government or the Planning Commission have not been in a position to let us know the exact situation of unemployment prevailing in this country today after eight years of national plans.

When the appraisal of planning was put before this House by the Minister of Labour, he said:

> "As regards employment, the data available for judging past trends as well as estimating the likely trends hereafter are still far from adequate. ..The investment effort in the economy is still not up to the mark for ensuring employment sufficient to absorb the annual additions to the labour force".

Again, in the *Reappraisal of the Second Five Year Plan* it was said:

> "The problem of unemployment has been recently further accentuated by the difficulty of securing raw materials and imported components for machinery."

Then, when there were second thoughts on planning, the original allocation of Rs. 913 crores for irrigation and power projects which provide employment to the people in large numbers was reduced to Rs. 832 crores. The target for additional acreage to be brought under cultivation was reduced from 12 million to 10·4 million acres. In the case of road transport, the original allocation was Rs. 246, but now it has been reduced to Rs. 219 crores.

Again, during these years, 136 manganese mines have closed down. Many small-scale engineering units have also closed down because of lack of raw materials. Large-scale retrenchments are going on in textile mills and in different other projects. Really speaking, the exact position of employment in the country today has not been properly assessed, either by the Planning Government or by Government.

I can say boldly that Government are not in a position, and even the Minister when he is going to reply to the debate, is not in a position, to tell us categorically the number of people

[Shri Panigrahi]

who have been provided with employment during the First Plan, and the number of people who have been provided with employment during these three years of the Second Plan period.

I would, however, say that the Planning Commission did make some efforts to assess the situation, but that was long before, in 1955. The Planning Commission set up a study group to assess the extent of unemployment among the educated people, and they have said that if Government want to eradicate unemployment among the educated, then 20 lakhs of jobs for the educated have to be provided in the Second Five Year Plan. I would like to know from the Minister the total number of people who have been provided with jobs during the Second Plan up till now, so far as the educated unemployed are concerned.

The Ministry of Labour also have conducted some studies in the pattern of graduate unemployment in this country. On 15th May, 1957, they calculated, the number of graduate unemployed in this country was 26,297, but in May, 1958, in answer to one of the questions, the hon. Minister has said that the figure has gone up to 32,000 so far as graduates are concerned.

There are also other surveys which have been made by eminent economists who are studying this problem of unemployment in this country. According to them, in the year 1953, the total number of unemployed in this country was 47·13 million, and they have calculated the figure sectorwise. In the sector of agriculture, the figure came to 42·30 million. In plantation and mining, it came to 0·08 million. In the cottage and small-scale industries sector, it was 2·33 million. In the large-scale industry sector, it was 0·24 million. In the sector of commerce, it was 1.40 million, in the sector of intellectual and soft-handed workers, it was 0·22 million, and in domestic and unskilled and other services, it was 0·56 million. All this makes a total of 47·13 million in 1953. It has been calculated that every year, 2 million people are coming to the labour force of this country. If we calculate according to this basis, from the year 1953 up to 1958, it comes to another 16 million. Altogether the grand total comes to 63·13 million people unemployed in this country after 8 years of national plans.

Now, the question is what we can do to solve this problem. It is really urgent—I would tell the Minister that it is not a question of any party involved here—that a committee should be appointed It may be an expert committee of the department itself or it may consist of some planning experts. They should really assess the extent and nature of unemployment prevailing in this country today and tell us what is the number of people who were really provided employment in the First Plan period and the Second Plan period.

In the *Statesman* there was recently an article on this subject. They have said that the problem of unemployment in the country has aggravated. They have said that the number of people registered in the Employment Exchanges has come to 1 million. I would, therefore, humbly submit the following six suggestions which may be taken into consideration. I think at present Government can take a bold step to ban all kinds of retrenchment in whatever industry it is taking place. Secondly, there should be distribution of land. Though directly it has nothing to do with the Ministry of Labour, thousands and lakhs of people are coming out of the villages to seek employment in industries situated in towns. If the Ministry wants to solve the problem of unemployment, they should provide for those who are ousted from land. Therefore, land distribution is intimately connected with the provision of employment to the people.

Thirdly, in the sector of cottage and small scale industries, Government should take a really bold step. With the way the Plan is being appraised and re-appraised, we apprehend that ultimately even the little money that has been allotted to the small scale industries sector may again be reduced. It will affect employment in that sector. Fourthly, Government should take measures to stop eviction from land. It is because more and more people are being evicted from land and they are coming to the towns to seek employment in industries that the problem has been aggravated. Fifthly, a spirit of self-help must be inculcated in the minds of villagers so that they can depend more and more for their consumer goods and necessaries on goods manufactured in the villages or rural areas. This will develop a spirit of swadeshism and self-help. Sixthly, there must, for the present, be unemployment relief given to those who are really unemployed who are being retrenched. They are seeking employment, but they do not get it.

So far as the agricultural sector is concerned, a large number of people are unemployed or under-employed during the off season. The Committee on Land Reforms appointed by the AICC which went into the question have found out the position regarding seasonal unemployment prevailing in agriculture today in the country. They have calculated that an average peasant in India remains idle for six months in a year. More than 80 per cent of the total population of India live in villages. So how is it that we can help them, if they are idle for six months in a year. We can only help them if industries in the small scale sector are established in villages. When electrification of villages is being undertaken, I think industries can also be started there in right earnest.

With regard to the promises of the Government, I would like to mention two points. They said that by 1955-56, Government would provide additional jobs to the extent of 52,84,000, and in the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan, they promised to provide by 1961 another 7·9 million jobs in the industrial sector (a total of 8·15 million additional jobs). We would like to know from the hon. Minister whether these targets have been fulfilled; if not, to what extent, they have been fulfilled. Is he also in a position to let us know what will be the exact position of employment in the country during the rest two years of the Plan.

With these few words, I would request Government to appoint a committee to go into this question and put their appraisal of the employment situation in the country before us so that we can really assess the situation as it is today regarding employment in this country.

श्री मू० चं० जैन (कैथल) : माननीय डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन के मूवर, श्री शर्मा, को मुबारकबाद देता हूं, जिन्होंने यह रेजोल्यूशन इस हाउस में पेश कर के देश की एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या की तरफ़ हाउस की और सरकार की तवज्जह दिलाई है। मुझ से पहले इस प्रस्ताव पर कई तकरीरें हो चुकी हैं। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हमारे देश में अन-एम्पलायमेंट की कई किस्में हैं। हमारे यहां एजुकेटिड अन-एम्पलायमेंट—तालीमयाफ्ता नौजवानों की बेरोजगारी—के साथ ही साथ गैर-तालीमयाफ्ता लोगों की बरोजगारी भी मौजूद है। उन के अलावा हमारे देश में लैंडलैस लेबरर्ज और अनस्किल्ड वर्कर्ज को भी काम दिलाने का सवाल है। जब इस सवाल पर गौर किया जाता है कि किस तरह से इन मुख्तलिफ़ किस्म के बरोजगार लोगों को काम दिलाया जाय, तो और भी कई मसले हमारे सामने खड़े हो जाते हैं।

जहां तक तालीमयाफ्ता बेरोजगारों का सवाल है, मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हमारे मौजूदा तरीका-ए-तालीम की हमेशा

[श्री मू० चं० जैन]

नुक्ता-चीनी की जाती है और नुक्ता-चीनी करने में छोटे छोटे सरकारी मुलाजमीन से लेकर राष्ट्रपति और प्राइम मिनिस्टर तक शामिल होते हैं। लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि जो तरीका-ए-तालीम अंग्रेज के जमाने में रायज था, आजादी मिलने के दस साल बाद तक वही तरीका कमो-बेश चल रहा है, जिस का नतीजा यह है कि अगर एक किसान का लड़का मैट्रिक पास कर लेता है, तो उस की तवज्जह अपने बाप-दादा के पेशे-खेती की तरफ़ नही रहती। इसी तरह एक दुकानदार का लड़का अगर मैट्रिक पास कर लेता है—एफ० ए० और बी० ए० तो दूर की बात है—तो वह दुकान पर अपने मां-बाप का हाथ न बटा कर मुंशी या कलर्क की नौकरी की तलाश करता है। इसी तरह लेबरर का तो कहना ही क्या है। हमारा तरीका-ए-तालीम ऐसा होना चाहिए कि तालीम हासिल करने के बाद कोई बेहतर रोजगार मिलने से पहले कम से कम अपने आबाई रोजगार के सुधार की तरफ़ ध्यान हो, लेकिन हमरा तरीका-ए-तालीम इतना नाकिस है कि तालीम हासिल करने के बाद लड़कों को अपने मा-बाप के रोजगार से नफ़रत हो जाती है।

इस बहस के मौके पर हमारे डिप्टी लेबर मिनिस्टर तो तशरीफ रखते हैं, लेकिन यह प्रस्ताव इतना अहम है कि मुनासिब होता अगर तालीम के मिनिस्टर और कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के मिनिस्टर भी यहा मौजूद रहते और इस सिलसिले में मेम्बरान के सजेस्शन्ज को सुनते।

श्री स० म० बनर्जी : वे इस को जरूरी नही समझते।

श्री मू० चं० जैन : हा, ऐसा ही मालूम होता है।

मौजूदा तरीका-ए-तालीम के बारे में हम लोग अखबारों में पढ़ते हैं। राष्ट्रपति और प्राइम मिनिस्टर तक उस के नकायस की तरफ़ तवज्जह दिलाते हैं, लेकिन यह कितनी हैरानी की बात है कि सब ताकत होते हुए भी इस बारे में कुछ नही किया जा सकता है।

जहा तक अनएजुकेटिड अन-एम्पलायमेंट का ताल्लुक है, मुझ से पहले बोलने वाले भाई ने कुछ फ़िगर्ज दी है। वे ठीक हैं, लेकिन मैं यह सवाल पूछना चाहता हू कि लैंडलैस लेबर के लिए हम ने क्या किया है, अनस्किल्ड वर्कर्ज को राहत पहुचाने के लिए हम ने क्या कदम उठाए हैं। हम इस देश में सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न आफ़ सोसायटी कायम करने का दावा करते हैं, लेकिन आप सुन कर हैरान होंगे कि कम्यूनिटी प्राजेक्ट का महकमा हर एक ब्लाक में पाच बरस मे बारह लाख रुपए खर्च करता है, लेकिन देहात के पूअरेस्ट सैक्शन के लिए बराहे-रास्त कुछ भी खर्च नही किया जाता है। अब उन के लिए ६०, ६४ हजार रुपया खर्च हो रहा है, लेकिन उस को इस तरीके से खर्च किया जाता है कि उन लोगो को कोई डायरैक्ट फायदा नही हो सकता है। एक्सपर्टस कमेटी ने इस बारे मे यह राय दी है कि कम्यूनिटी डेवलेपमेंट का देहात पर कोई असर नही है, अमीर और ग़रीब लोगो मे जो फ़र्क पहले था, वह और बढ़ गया है, लैंडलैस लेबरर्ज और अनस्किल्ड वर्कर्ज को इस प्रोयाम से बराहे-रास्त कोई फ़ायदा नही पहुच रहा है। मैं जानता हूं कि इस बात का ताल्लुक कम्यूनिटी डेवेलपमेंट से है, लेकिन बेरोजगारी की समस्या से इस का ताल्लुक इस तरह है कि पिछले आठ दस साल से हमारा जो तरीका रहा है, उस से हमारी जनता के पूअरेस्ट सैक्शन को कोई फायदा नही पहुचता है। इस का जवाब इस हाउस मे यह दिया जा सकता है कि ग़रीब लोगों को इंडस्ट्रियल डेवेलपमेंट के लिए कर्जे दिए जाते हैं, ग्रान्ट्स दी जाती हैं। मैं यह बताना चाहता हूं कि वह रुपया थोड़े

को-आपरेटिव सोसायटी बना कर दिया जाय और चाहे किसी और तरीके से दिया जाय, वह सिर्फ उन्हीं लोगों को मिलता है, जिन के पास पहले से साधन हैं, पहले से सीन्स हैं, और जो अफसरान तक पहुंच सकते हैं। जहां तक गरीब लोगों का ताल्लुक है, इस किस्म के तरीके बने हुए हैं कि सिक्योरिटीज दी जावें, इस लिए जिन लोगों के पास न जमीन है और न कोई पूंजी है, वे कैसे सिक्योरिटी दे सकते हैं? नतीजा यह है कि उन लोगों को कर्ज नहीं मिल सकते हैं। पिछले दस बरस में हमारा डेवेलपमेंट किस तरीके से चल रहा है, देहात पर उस का क्या असर रहा है, हम सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न का समाज कायम करने में आगे बढ रहे हैं या पीछे हट रहे हैं, इन सवालात की गहराई से जांच-पड़ताल करने के लिए जब तक सरकार की तरफ से एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी नहीं मुकर्रर की जायगी, जिस में पार्लियामेंट के भी मेम्बर हों, तब तक मुझे यह मसला हल होने की सूरत नजर नहीं आती है।

13 hrs.

आज हम देखते हैं कि देश में इतनी जमीन की भूख है इतनी लैंड हंगर है। यह ठीक है कि मजदूरों की भलाई के लिए कानून बनाए गए हैं, लेकिन इस सिलसिले में वही हालत है कि मर्ज बढ़ता गया, ज्यों ज्यों दवा की। ऐसा नजर आता है कि कानूनों के बनते ही पचास साठ फी सदी टेनाट्स हर एक स्टेट में बेदखल हो गए, उजड़ गए। सवाल यह है कि यह लैंड हंगर क्यों है। इस लिए है कि लोगों के पास कोई रोजगार नहीं है। अनस्किल्ड लेबरर को कोई काम करना नहीं आता है। पिछले दस वर्षों में हम ने उस को किसी काम के लायक नहीं बनाया। रोजगार देने के अलावा उसकी लैंड हंगर का कैसे हटाया जा सकता है? अगर कोई फैमिली जमीन के अलावा किसी और साधन के सहारे, अस्सी रुपए कमा सके—मैं एक छोटा सा स्टैंडर्ड बता रहा हूं—तो फिर उस का ध्यान जमीन की तरफ नहीं जायगा। लेकिन पिछले दस बरसों में हम ने क्या किया है? जहां तक बड़े बड़े कारखानों में काम करने वाले लेबरर्ज और रैशनलाइजेशन वगैरह का सवाल है उस में मैं इस वक्त नहीं जाना चाहता हूं।

इस के अलावा हर साल बढ़ती हुई आबादी का भी सवाल है। हर वर्ष पचास लाख बच्चे पैदा होते हैं। क्या आज से अठारह बीस वर्ष के बाद वे बेरोजगारों की फेहरिस्त में शामिल नहीं हो जायेंगे? जो लोग पन्द्रह बीस वर्ष पहले पैदा हुए, वे आज बेरोजगारों की लिस्ट में हैं। यह प्रासेस तो कान्टीन्यूअस है और वह पहले से शुरू है। हम ने इस प्लान में दस मिलियन बेरोजगारों के लिए रोजगार मुहैया करना है। वह भी हम नहीं दे सकते हैं। शायद एक दो मिलियन तादाद और कम हो गई है। पांच वर्ष में तो दस मिलियन आबादी वैसे ही बढ जाती है। यह तस्वीर भयानक शक्ल अख्तियार करती जाती है। सरकार वक्त से आगे। उस को जागना तो पड़ेगा ही, यह मेरा विश्वास है, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूं कि वह वक्त से जागे और अगर वह वक्त में जागेगी, तो हमारे देश के लिए भी अच्छा होगा और सरकार के लिए भी अच्छा होगा।

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by my learned friend, Prof D C Sharma, with my amendments Twelfth February, 1956, was the happiest day for those unemployed who were breaking their heads against the walls of the Employment Exchange. On this day, there was an announcement that 8 million new jobs will be provided in the Second Five Year Plan Really, Sir, we were all happy and we thought that the miseries of some millions of people will come to an end But, in the same year, on the 15th September, 1956, 8000 Defence employees were retrenched and it was said that there was no work for them.

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

Then came retrenchment in the Damodar Valley Corporation and it was said that there were no jobs for them at present and they will be given alternative jobs. Still we see those people shouting slogans, breaking their heads against the walls of the Employment Exchanges and trying to get some job. We were told in this House and outside also that every sincere effort was being made to provide them with employment. I do not deny that some of them have been provided employment.

What is the condition today? When I read the words 'Employment Exchange' I sometimes feel, why not change the name. If there is no employment, what is to be exchanged? The name should have been changed by this time. We are told today that the Labour Minister is going to give us some information about the potentialities of employment in the Second Five Year Plan. May I assure the House and my hon. friends that he is not going to give us anything because on 20th November, 1958, in reply to my Unstarred Question which was:

> "Will the Minister of Labour and Employment be pleased to state the number of persons likely to be employed during 1959-60 period of the Second Five Year Plan?"

and the reply by the Deputy Minister Shri Abid Ali was:

> "Information is not available."

So, you can imagine, if the information was not available till the 20th November, 1958, how can that information be available on the 21st November, 1958? So, nothing is available even today and I am sure whatever we will be told will be based on some wrong information or some statistics. I know there are three types of lies: lies, damned lies and statistics. I do not know what will become of this.

My submission is this. Previously, there were 8 million new jobs. Then, the number was reduced to 6·5 lakhs. Now, we do not know what is being done. May I, for the information of the House, quote certain figures which I got from the book *Employment News*? The total registered unemployed—I am talking of the registered unemployed because all the rickshaw-wallas in the country are unregistered unemployed—in July 1957 was 8,15,716. In June 1958, it was 10,10,573 and in July 1958, 10,83,126.

In the cotton textile industry which is one of the biggest industries of the country, there is shrinkage of employment. In July 1957, the total number of employees was 9,48,139; in May 1958, 9,95,582; in June 1958, 9,06,578. It is very well-known to this House and the hon. Minister that after the announcement that 8 million new jobs will be provided, closure started, and nearly 26 textile mills in the country have been closed and, with all the concessions at the command of Government for the employers, I do not think hardly even a mill has been opened. The Labour Ministry has become a concealed spectator of this. They cannot do anything. And, I should say, if I may be permitted to use that expression, their position is just that of a helpless widow in an orthodox Hindu family, cursing everybody; they cannot do anything. They can neither ask the Commerce and Industry Ministry to come forward with a plan to open these mills; they cannot possibly ask the employers to do anything. They are simply watching the situation as the unemployed workers.

In Kanpur 10,000 men have been thrown on the streets. With their family members, the total comes to nearly 40 or 50 thousands. They have sold their ornaments and all their belongings; they are marching towards death. With all our national flag in the country, with our democratic traditions, with our promised way of socialism, they are allowed to march towards death. I belong to Kanpur.

That is why I purposely mention this. It is known to the Labour and Planning Minister and all the other Ministers too. Even the Prime Minister knows it very well. I have mentioned the cotton text industry. Even in the coal mines, we are told that unempolyment is on the increase. For the information of the House, I may say that in June 1957 on an average about 89,28,388 were employed but in February, 1958 the number was 87,83,802. This is the position.

My friend Shri Panigrahi mentioned enough about the educated unemployed. My information is that is more than three lakhs. This educated unemployed numbers that much; it includes many graduate and M. As. and others, who have registered themselves in the employment exchange and they are not getting any employment. We were told here and there was also an announcement in the newspapers that 60,000 new jobs will be found for the educated unemployed in the form of appointment of teachers. I do not know what has happened to that and how many people have been appointed.

So, if there is retrenchment and the closure continues the number of unemployed will shoot up like this, with all our pronouncements m the past set naught, people will have no faith or confidence in the Second Plan. That will be the greatest set back because our Prime Minister has said that it is not the resources or other things but it is the good-will of the people which will account for the successful implementation of the Second Plan. Are we not losing the good-will of the people by this sore of retrenchment in various industries. May I ask the hon. Minister to throw some light—not the sort of light thrown while replying to my unstarred question—as to what will happen.

I support the suggestion of my hon. friend, Shri Panigrahi. In this very House, probably in 1953, Shri A. K. Gopalan moved a non-official resolution demanding a sum of Rs. 50 crores for the unemployed people in the form of relief.

Now, people will say: where are the resources? My reply is: cut the extravagance. In this very month, the high explosives factory was opened at Bhumia, near Ranchi. My information is that Rs. 32 lakhs were spent merely on the inaugural ceremony. The Grand Hotel of Calcutta was given a contract for catering to the tune of Rs. 3·5 lakhs and it was calculated at the rate of Rs. 134 per man per day. I may be wrong; it may be Rs. 133 per head per day. The Rashtrapati or the Prime Minister of a poor country goes there and they do not know what happens there. When we are spending Rs. 32 lakhs on these inaugural functions, we cannot talk of austerity to the people and ask them to sacrifice. They will not sacrifice. The unemployed people will definitely some day stand together and rally round our flag and party and it will be very bitter for the other party—the ruling party. All these six suggestions should be accepted; unemployment relief should be immediately given and Rs. 50 crores must be found by curtailing the extravagant expenditure which we indulge in.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो रेजोल्यूशन श्री दी० चं० शर्मा जी ने मूव किया है, इस में मैंने एक एमेंडमेंट भी दिया है । मैं समझता हूं कि यह जो बेकारी की समस्या है? यह विकट रूप धारण किये हुए है और इस समस्या को तब मैंने और भी अच्छी तरह से समझा जब मैं २ अक्तूबर से ८ अक्तूबर तक कांग्रेस के काम से पदयात्रा पर गया था । इस पदयात्रा के बाद मैंने प्रधान मन्त्री जी को एक पत्र लिखा जिसमें मैंने उनसे प्रार्थना की कि इस बेकारी की समस्या को हल करने के लिए अविलम्ब कदम उठाये जाने चाहियें । मेरा अपना विचार है कि इस बेकारी की समस्या को हल अगर कोई पार्टी कर सकती है तो वह कांग्रस पार्टी ही है और अगर इसके लिए कोई पार्टी जिम्मेवारी ले सकती है तो वह भी कांग्रेस पार्टी ही है । मैं यह भी समझता हूं कि कांग्रेस पार्टी इस समस्या को हल करने

[श्री विभूति मिश्र]

के लिए सरतोड़ कोशिश भी कर रही है। लेकिन इतनी कोशिश के बावजूद भी अभी सफलता नहीं मिली है।

मैं बतलाना चाहता हूं कि यह जो बेकारी की समस्या है यह उसी तरह से हल हो सकती है जिस तरह से हम कांग्रेस वालों ने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी थी। उस वक्त जिस सादगी के साथ हम रहे, अगर उसी सादगी के साथ आज भी हम रहें तो यह समस्या बहुत जल्दी हल हो सकती है। जब हम आजादी के लिए अंग्रेजों के साथ लड़े थे तो भी हम ने सादगी का रास्ता अपनाया था और आज भी जरूरत इस बात की है कि सादगी का ही रास्ता अपनाया जाये। आज जब हम गवर्नमेंट में हैं और हमारे लोग गवर्नमेंट में हैं, उनको चाहिए कि वे सादगी का जीवन बितायें। अगर उन्होंने ऐसा किया तो यह समस्या जल्दी हल हो सकती है।

मैंने प्रधान मंत्री जी को यह भी लिखा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में किसी की भी तनख्वाह १,००० से अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिए। मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि जिस तरह से सबसिस्टेंस एलाउंस ले कर हम ने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी थी उसी तरह से आज जब हम गवर्नमेंट में हैं, तो सबसिस्टेंस एलाउंस ले कर ही हम इस बेकारी की जो समस्या है इसको भी हल कर सकते हैं।

प्लानिंग कमिशन ने कहा है कि ६३ लाख बेकार तो शहरों में हैं और ९० लाख बेकार देहातों में हैं। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं क २२ प्रतिशत लोगों के पास जमीन नहीं है। चाहता हूं कि इन लोगों में जो बेकारी व्याप्त है इसको हल करने के लिए सब से पहले कदम उठाये जायें। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो किताब लिखी है उसको मैंने पढ़ा है। मैं समझता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री इस समस्या को हल कर सकते हैं। मेरा अपना विचार है कि हम लोग उतना ही एलाउंस लें जितने से हमारी जीविका चल सके। जब हम ऐसा करेंगे तो दूसरे सरकारी अफसरों पर भी इसका असर पड़ेगा और वे भी अपनी तनख्वाहें कम करेंगे। साथ साथ जो बड़े बड़े पूंजिपति हैं, जो अपने जीवन पर अधिक खर्चा करते हैं, वे अपने खर्चे को कम करेंगे। साथ ही साथ जो बड़ी बड़ी जमीन रखने वाले हैं, उनसे जमीन ले कर के जब तक हम गरीबों में नहीं बांटेंगे, तब तक यह समस्या हल नहीं हो सकेगी और तब हमारा गुजारा नहीं हो सकेगा।

मैंने अपनी पदयात्रा में देखा है कि इस बेकारी की समस्या के मकाबले में और सभी समस्यायें गौण हैं। इस वास्ते इसका हल होना आवश्यक है। हमारा जो उत्पादन है वह भी बढ़ाना आवश्यक है। आजकल एक एकड़ भूमि में पौन पांच मन हम पैदा करते हैं। हमारे पास खेती लायक ३०० मिलियन एकड़ भूमि है। अगर हम खेती की पैदावार पर एकड़ बढ़ायें तो भी इस समस्या को हल करने में बड़ी मदद मिल सकती है। साथ ही साथ जो हम बच्चे पैदा कर रहे हैं, वे भी हमें कम पैदा करने चाहियें। आजकल देखा जा रहा है कि हर साल ५० लाख आदमी पैदा हो रहे हैं। हमको ध्यान देना चाहिये कि अधिक बच्चे पैदा न हों। हमको उतने ही बच्चे पैदा करने चाहियें जितनों को हम खिला सकें। जब हम उनको खिला ही नहीं सकते हैं तो अधिक बच्चे हमको पैदा नहीं करने चाहियें। इस वास्ते मैं समझता हूं कि सरकार को अपने कामों में सादगी लानी चाहिए।

महात्मा गांधी के बारे में प्यारे लाल जी जो किताब लिखी है, उसको मैंने पढ़ा है। उसमें भी उन्होंने सादगी बरतने पर जोर दिया है। आजकल देखा जाता है कि मनिस्टर मोटर कारों के बगैर चल ही नहीं सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि मोटरों का उपयोग बड़ा ही रेस्ट्रिक्टिड होना चाहिए। बहुत कम मात्रा में हमको मोटरों का उपयोग करना चाहिए। आजकल देखा जाता है कि अक्सर एक मील पर ही किसी

मिनिस्टर का घर है तो भी वह पैदल नहीं आता है, मोटर में आता है। यह जो मोटर का इस्तेमाल है यह कम होना चाहिए। मोटर में जो पैट्रोल है यह कहां से आता है, यह मिडिल ईस्ट से आता है। आज हम ५०,००० टन चीनी बाहर साढ़े दस रुपया मन के हिसाब से बेच रहे हैं। यह हम इसलिए कर रहे है कि हमें फारेन एक्सचेंज चाहिए लेकिन दूसरी तरफ हम पैट्रोल मंगवाने पर रुपयाने खर्च कर रहे है जिस को हम पैट्रोल का खर्च कम करके बचा सकते हैं। प्यारेलाल जी ने भी लिखा है पैट्रोल का खर्च कम होना चाहिए। साथ ही साथ मोटरों का जो उपयोग है वह भी कम होना चाहिए। मैं सरकार से कहता हूं कि वह अपने घर को सब से पहले ठीक करे और एक भी पैसा फालतू खर्च न करे।

मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि महात्मा गांधी नवाखली गये थे। बीच में कहीं उनका पत्थय का साबुन छूट गया। जब तक वह साबुन वापिस नहीं आया उन्होंने साबुन का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया। एक बार उनकी पैंसिल खो गई और जब तक उनकी पैंसिल वापिस नहीं आई उन्होंने दूसरी पैंसिल का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया। आपको भी चाहिए कि आप खर्चे में कमी करें और कहीं पर भी फालतू खर्च न करें। हमको देखना यह है कि हम किस तरह से छोटे लोगों का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा कर सकते है, किस तरह से उनको खुशहाल कर सकते हैं और जब तक वे खुशहाल नहीं होंगे तब तक कुछ भी होने वाला नहीं है। पाणिग्रही जी ने अपना भाषण दिया, लेकिन अपने भाषण में उन्होंने कहीं नहीं कहा क हमारा भी एलाउंस कम होना चाहिए। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि जो पार्लियामेंट के मैम्बर हैं उनको भी सबसिस्टेंस एलाउंस मिलना चाहिए ताकि मुल्क आगे बढ़ सके। (*Interruptions*)

श्री स० म० बनर्जी : आप कितना एलाउंस लेते हैं ?

श्री विभूति मिश्र : सन १९२० से लेकर आजादी मिलने तक हम लोग जेल में जाते रहे हैं और जो उबर आ कर बैठ गये हैं, मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने क्या कुर्बानी की है ? मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि हमारे जो कम्युनिस्ट भाई हैं वे भी आज जो बेकारी की समस्या है उसको हल करना नहीं चाहते हैं क्योंकि इनका भी खर्च बहुत अधिक है। इनके भी जो लीडर हैं वे कभी बगैर मोटर के नहीं आते हैं। इनकी जो पार्टी है उसका भी बहुत खर्चा है।

मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि वह खर्चे को कम करें। हमारे यहां बड़े बड़े लोग हैं और बड़े बड़े महकमे भी हैं। उन सब में खर्चा कम होना चाहिए। हमें गांधी जी के जीवन से शिक्षा लेनी चाहिए। गांधी जी कहा करते थे कि हमारे यहां काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज होनी चाहिए। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज होनी चाहिए। मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे यहां बड़ी बड़ी भी और छोटी छोटी भी, दोनों किस्म की इंडस्ट्रीज होनी चाहियें। हम दोनों प्रकार की इंडस्ट्रीज को बढ़ावा दें।

आज अम्बर चर्खे की बहुत चर्चा है। यह कहा जाता है कि अगर अम्बर चर्खे का कोई आठ घंटे तक इस्तेमाल करे तो एक रुपया कमा सकता है। इसकी आज बहुत मांग है, इसको भी पूरा किया जाना चाहिए।

आज हम देखते हैं कि करोड़ों लोग ही स्कूलों और कालेजों में पढ़ते हैं। आज कोई चार करोड़ के करीब लोग पढ़ रहे हैं। १९५४-५५ में उनकी संख्या ३ करोड़ १२ लाख ६६ हजार ९२३ थी। कितने ही इनमें से बीच में ही छोड़ जाते है, कितने ही मिडिल पास करके छोड़ जाते हैं और कितने ही बी० ए० और एम० ए० पास करके हर साल बेकार फिरते हैं। सरकार को अविलम्ब इनको रोजगार देने का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए।

श्री दी० चं० शर्मा जी ने कहा है कि सर्वे होना चाहिए और इसके लिए कमेटी

[श्री विभूति मिश्र]

बननी चाहिए । मैं कहता हूं कि कमेटी बनते बनते दो बरस लग जायेंगे । हमें मालूम है कि बेकारी है और इस बेकारी की समस्या को हल करने के लिए हमारी सरकार को कुछ न कुछ इंतिजाम करना चाहिए । अगर हम वे इस समस्या को अविलम्ब हल नहीं किया तो यह हमारे लिए बहुत घातक सिद्ध होगा । इस अवस्था को अगर कोई पार्टी हल कर सकती है तो वह गांधी जी द्वारा बनाई गई पार्टी ही हल कर सकती है और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री नेहरू जी ही हल कर सकते हैं । और कोई इसको हल नहीं कर सकता है । (*Interruptions*) आज जो मेरे विरोधी भाई इस तरह की बातें कर रहे हैं उनके बारे में मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि १९४२ में जब मैं जेल से छूटा था हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों ने वहां पर एक मेरे साहब हुआ करते थे उनसे कहा कि इसको फिर दुबारा जल्दी से जेल भिजवा दीजिये ।

मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आज चार तरह की बेकारी है । एक बेकारी शिक्षितों में है, दूसरी अशिक्षितों में है, तीसरी अर्द्ध बेकारी है और चौथी डिसगाइज्ड बेकारी है। डिसगाइज्ड बेकारी से मेरा मतलब है उस बेकारी से जिस में कि किसी को २०–२५ रुपये महीना ही मिलता है और उसका गुजारा नहीं हो सकता है । तो इन सभी प्रकार की बेकारियों को दूर करना हमारा फर्ज है । मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार जल्दी इस समस्या को हल करने के लिए कदम उठाये और पहले अपना खर्च कम करके आगे बढ़े । जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा, हम कोई प्रगति नहीं कर सकेंगे ।

अन्त में मैं श्री दी० चं० शर्मा जी को बधाई देता हूं कि उन्होंने इस समस्या की ओर इस सदन का ध्यान दिला कर बड़ा उपकार किया है ।

Shri Mahanty (Dhenkanal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the House will remain grateful to Shri D. C. Sharma for having spotlighted the attention of the House as well as the Government on this problem of vital importance. After having said that, I must request him to consider a very important aspect of this question. There is no dearth of statistical material in this country to assess the incidence of unemployment obtaining both in the rural and industrial sectors as well as in the urban sector. There is also no dearth of recommendations to mitigate the incidence of unemployment. But what is lacking, Sir, is the intention, the determination of Government to implement those recommendations which they themselves have formulated.

Therefore, my first submission to this House would be, the first positive step towards mitigating unemployment in this country would be to render first the members of the Planning Commission and the Ministers attached with it unemployed. Then alone they will realise how morally degrading unemployment is, how socially humiliating unemployment is and how psychologically frustrating unemployment is. So long as they do not take into account what unemployment means, this country will have more Plans, more formulations and, possibly, more milky-mouth talks; but the unemployment will be rising and rising. I do not say this in any sense of frivolity, I am saying this in almost all seriousness. They do not know what unemployment is. Therefore, today they can afford to talk in this kind of platitudinous way.

In the year 1951 the Agricultural Enquiry Committee had pointed out the extent of unemployment in the rural sector as over 2 millions. The National Sample Survey have claimed in their report that the unemployment figures that prevails in the live registers are at least one-fourth of the real amount of unemployment that they find in this country. The other day we found that in the 234 Employment Exchanges in this country there

are about one million people in search of employment on their live registers, but according to the National Sample Survey the amount will be four times. Therefore, there is no need for appointing a committee to go into this question and assess the extent of unemployment, nor is there any need to appoint a committee to recommend the ways and means.

I would ask the hon. Labour Minister or the Minister of Planning to let the House know as to what has happened about the implementation of the 11-Point Programme that the Government had drawn up at the end of the First Five Year Plan period. We know that the Government have no answer to offer except to give us some kind of vague things. Rs. 200 crores were sanctioned towards the close of the Five Year Plan to tackle this question. A 11-Point Programme was drawn up. That programme still remains a programme, and today the unemployment is increasing spirally.

Sir, it has been said: "What can we do; our population is increasing at the rate of 5 millions every year". Out of that increase in population about two million people are joining the work force who are in need of employment. Therefore, the only solution to that will be, if the Government are not considering it very seriously, to kill those persons. The growth of population is a fact, and that fact cannot be evaded. The responsibility of providing those persons with employment cannot be escaped. Therefore, let us not be told, when the hon. Minister gives his reply, that the population is increasing If the population is increasing, then you do something else.

An Hon. Member: What?

Shri Mahanty: Kill them, if you like. So long as you are here to rule, so long as you are going to realise taxes from them, so long as you go about tom-toming about your welfare State or—I do not know what is the latest fad; it is no more the socialist pattern, it is something else—....

An Hon. Member: Commonwealth.

Shri Mahanty: Yes. So long as you go about tom-toming those things, it is your responsibility to see that those millions are provided with jobs.

There are three aspects of this problem. The first is the educated unemployment, about which the Government seem to be much worried because they are the most vocal section, and for their own political objectives they try always to see that this educated unemployment is removed first. That is not found in India alone. In other countries also as in Communist China and the rest, the whole of their attention is directed towards relieving the unemployment situation in the urban sector.

To tackle this question is surely not the job of the Labour Minister. I quite concede that, because so long as we do not re-orientate our educational policy—

Shri Tangamani: The Labour Minister has left the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is only preparing himself for the reply.

Shri Mahanty: So long as we do not reorientate our educational policy, there will be no solution to this question. For instance, we found from the employment registers maintained in Employment Exchanges, only eight per cent applicants were in need of some assistance and this eight 8 per cent people are either skilled or semi-skilled. Whereas only eight per cent skilled or semi-skilled people are in need of any assistance for employment we found that 55 per cent of people were in need of assistance, and those are people who have no technical education whatsoever. We find here that these people constituting 55 per cent, after having spent several years at the universities, are now frantically in search of employment and for them no employment whatsoever is available, whereas we find in this country a dearth for technical personnel. It

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is really criminal on the part of the Government to have ignored this question and have gone on increasing the number of unemployed in this country. So, no amount of the present employment relief or no amount of sacrificing our own daily allowances is going to solve the problem. This kind of primitive and unscientific approach to the solution of this question should be eschewed if we are going to tackle this question.

Secondly, unemployment in the industrial sector is really something which really baffles our imagination, especially when this kind of unemployment in the industrial sector will grow up and rise. When we have planned our first Plan and thought that the second Plan could open out new employment potentials, here is a matter for which also no need of expert investigation or no kind of expert investigation is necessary. We are told that 25 textile mills have been closed down. Out of these, only two textile mills have been opened up recently. If we take into account the labour potential which has been lost by all these textile mills, then certainly we will get the answer. It really pains me to see this. Even though the Government are faced with the situation, they have taken no step whatsoever to open all these textile mills.

When we come to the rural sector, the problem of unemployment there is no better. The real issue is how to remove or how to change the occupational pattern and structure in the country side by setting up more small-scale and cottage industries which are known as 'agri-co' industries in the rural sector, so that these industries can absorb a large chunk of the unemployed persons in the rural sector. For this, it requires a co-ordinated effort which we find in the Government of India and the Planning Commission significantly lacking.

Before I conclude I would like to draw the attention of the House to another fact of some seriousness an importance. It is this. Employme Exchanges are maintaining live regi ters, but there are Government D partments which are employing the favourities without referring to th Employment Exchanges whether the could supply these persons or not.

The Parliamentary Secretary to th Minister of Labour and Employme and Planning (Shri L. N. Mishra): is not possible.

Shri Mahanty: Whether it is poss ble or not, it is for him to answe In Rourkela, an Employment Exchang is functioning, and in its live regist there are as many as 36,000 perso have been enrolled. I would like t know from the Government whethe they have consulted the Exchang and if so in how many cases the have consulted the Employment Ex change in appointing these person Even though the Government's polic stands, namely, that displaced perso will be given the first preference, eve though the displaced persons hav been enrolled on the live registers the Employment Exchanges, eve though their number totals up t 13,000, it is really painful for me t inform the House that only 70 out them have been employed. The re have been employed without referenc to the Employment Exchanges. There fore, these Employment Exchange are another hoax. Hence, I mo humbly submit that all these fac should be taken into consideratio and there should be some kind co-ordinated effort to tackle th menace, without talking in a platitudi nous way or without throwing ove our faces all the incidence of increa in population that we are having this country.

Shri Rajendra Singh (Chapra): M Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the mover the resolution has characterized h resolution as being one which essentially a human problem. H says that the resolution is essentiall human and a human approach ha

to be made to this problem of finding employment for our unemployed countrymen. This human problem as time passes on, acquires and if I may say so, has already acquired beastly proportions and magnitude. Every day that passes, we find that things are moving from bad to worse. Unless a superhuman stroke of imagination is applied to this problem, I am afraid, no matter how keenly and passionately we debate this issue in this House, this problem is not going to find solution in right way and to an appreciable extent.

When we had the sunshine of Independence and sovereignty, we hoped that the idle hands would come out from devitalising grooves and would be made to work for some purposive end. Ten years of the Congress dispensation have seen that things instead of getting better, are moving towards a disastrous situation. My friend Shri Banerjee has said that when in 1956 an annoucement was made that eight million people would be provided with jobs, a sense of confidence and hope was created in the country. But what do we find today? The Plan has run into trouble, and is faltering and I am afraid any day an announcement might be made that the Plan as such has floundered. My friend Shri Banerjee has forgotten that just after 1956, the country was to have its second general election. It is evident that, that announcement to absorb and find employment for eight million people was made with a view and an eye on the general elections. Now, whatever be the sector, whether it is the Railways or the industries or it be the Government, whether on the construction side or on the side of agriculture or in the sector of consumer goods, whatever you take, in every single sector, you find that the employment potentiality has shrunk. I know the railways. It was estimated that in the railway over two lakhs of new additional employment would be created. But in the railway, as far as I am aware—and I am sure my information is very nearly correct—that even though there is need to absorb or to appoint new hands, the railway has refused to take additional hands. Even there, some old employees have been retrenched on flimsy and notorious grounds. My hon. friend talked about the situations that are obtaining in textiles. I know something about jute. In the jute industry 3 lakhs of people had been working. But, during the course of these two years, one lakh people have been retrenched. So far as the major industries of the country are concerned, whether jute or textiles or railways, the employment potential is shrinking. That is the situation.

As regards educated unemployment, the less said the better. When we go to the cities or the countryside we find lots of youngmen seeking employment. There is a sense of despondency, frustration and desperation in them. That is the overall picture. And if this picture is allowed to continue unaltered and nothing is done to improve the situation, our country would be heading towards envitable danger Further the unemployment situation in the country creates a sense of not only misery but also hatred against those who are employed. So the unemployed are a great living source of danger to those who are employed. So, if the stability of democracy is to be maintained, the least that we can do here today is to find out some means to make a determined approach towards the solution of this prime problem. With these few words I support the resolution of Shri D. C. Sharma.

Shri Khadilkar: I presume the object of the mover of the Resolution is to bring to the notice of the House, of the Planning Commission as well as of the people at large the magnitude of the problem of unemployment in the present time. Perhaps some of the Members know that Gandhiji repeatedly stated that the problem of unemployment is the problem of problems. He repeated it again and again. When such an important problem is being discussed, I must point out that unfortunately the Planning

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Minister is not in the House. I expected the Planning Minister to be present here to reply, because in the present stage of our development it is not simply a problem of labour or how to tackle labour disputes, but it is essentially a problem of planning, and planning in an under-developed country is not so simple that it can be taken partially light-heartedly, as sometimes imagined by our people.

With these introductory remarks I would like to present the picture in all its dimensions. Everyone has given some figures here and there. Now let the House have a true picture of the position today. Unless we know the magnitude of the problem, I do not think a solution or at least an attempt to tackle it in some measure will bear any fruit. What is the position today? According to a semi-Government publication which I am quoting, the total labour force in our country is 15·40 crores. During the Second Plan period every year about two million people would come of age and will be added to the labour force. That means, that during these five years another one crore of people will be added to this force. So, that must be borne in mind.

Then, what is the nature of unemployment? There are different categories. There is unemployment which is registered, unemployment which is unregistered, under-employment and what is called "concealed unemployment". I will give you a few figures for all these categories put together in order to spotlight the attention of the House on the magnitude of this problem. Now, according to the publication I have referred to, out of the estimated 5·3 million unemployed, half of them are in the cities. That is important. So, in a city out of ten one is unemployed. According to this semi-Government or semi-Planning Commission publication I am quoting, apart from unemployment if we take into account under-employment also, out of five men in a city one man is unemployed or under-employed. This is the picture of our urban life, and that is growing very fast.

So far as the rural life is concerned, I would quote only a few figures. The estimates put rural unemployment at 2·8 million. Among the agricultural labourers the unemployment is as high as 16 per cent. This is the prime problem in a nut-shell. Then, disguised unemployment in rural areas runs as high as 15·5 million persons. Putting it in another way, one-fourth or one-third of India's agricultural labourers are surplus to the needs of present production.

There is another aspect, and that is the aspect of educated unemployed. That must also be taken into consideration, because, as my hon. friend has said, they are very vocal and they are likely to prove dangerous in creating some kind of unrest in the cities if their energies are not constructively utilised. Regarding educated unemployed, of course, there are sample surveys. But there are two estimates. If we go through the figures of registered unemployed, we find that the figure is rising year by year. Now the employment exchanges are situated at such places where normally a conscious half-educated worker goes and registers himself. There is no consciousness of unemployment all over the country as it should be. Therefore, if I were to take the figures for 1958, the registered unemployed are 16 lakhs, a rise of 19 per cent. over 1957. These are the official figures that I am giving.

I have placed the picture of the unemployment problem in an objective manner. What I feel is that in an under-developed country when certain effort is made to industrialise it, in a transitional period some sort of disorganisation is bound to take place and there will be more seekers of employment. We see nowadays that many people from rural areas go to the cities, because they are not sure of getting employment in the rural

areas. And this urbanisation of population is taking place at a much higher speed than the Planning Commission plans to provide jobs for them. This is the central problem of the Indian economy at the present moment. How to tackle this is the question. In reply to a question the Planning Minister said while giving the resources: these are the big human resources which we cannot tackle at the present moment, because to give them employment means more investment, and we have no resources. But at the same time while presenting the correct picture of Indian economy to our own people what is the day to day position? What is the Plan? How can we succeed in providing more employment to people who are seeking employment? This is one aspect and that is also a paradox. In some sectors where we need technicians and people with better qualifications, there is always a scarcity and we are in need of them. Unfortunately, the Planning Commission and the hon Planning Minister have not taken the country or this House into confidence regarding this problem.

I admit that the Government has made some efforts to provide partial employment by means of Ambar Charkha and other things but they are all transitional measures They are not of a durable or permanent character. They cannot form a part of our economy and within the capitalist framework. We are trying to develop our country in a particular way, i.e., in a democratic way and we are prepared to show to the world that by democratic planning this problem is not kept in an aggravating manner as it is at present but slowly there is some reduction.

Unfortunately, what we find today is that as small factories are coming up round about—at least an attempt is being made—at the same time more and more unemployed people are seeking jobs. As one hon. Member put it, it is not simply a problem of providing them with bread. It is a social problem. It is a human problem and unless you tackle it in a proper manner at this juncture, I am afraid it is going to affect the whole course of our development. It must be borne in mind.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Khadilkar: Therefore in conclusion what I would like to submit is—let there be a commission; a commission can find facts—that a commission can do nothing more. There were commissions and we have some data prepared by the Planning Commission. The real issue is how to tackle the problem. To my mind, ordinary things are being neglected. I will give you one instance and then finish

Just now my hon. friend quoted that about 25 mills are closed. I know that in centres like Sholapur and Bombay if one mill is closed not only the labourers are affected, particularly in rural areas, but if there are one thousand employees in a mill 5,000 people who are indirectly dependent on the mill are affected by its closure either because of mismanagement or because of private handling or because of a sort of outdated machinery. I admit that these factories cannot run economically in the sense that private capitalists would not like to handle them. But are we going to keep these machines and men idle in the rural and the urban sectors? The law should be that no machine or man will remain idle and that whatever production is possible will be taken out of it. This is the beginning or what I say the ABC of planning.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I thought it was the end.

Shri Khadilkar: Unfortunately these lessons are not taken to heart and therefore the magnitude of the problem is getting more disquisting.

Shri Tangamani: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my amendment to the Resolution moved by Shri D. C. Sharma is:

> "That after the word 'unemployment' the words 'and under-employment' be inserted."

The purpose for bringing forward this amendment I shall explain briefly.

I must first of all thank the hon. Mover of the Resolution for having brought this at this most crucial moment. I should think that the Government would take greater interest in this Resolution. A similar Resolu- was moved in the First Lok Sabha when Shri A. K. Gopalan focussed the attention of the House and also the public on the grave problem of unemployment and demanded that Rs. 50 crores must be set apart as unemployment relief. I would request not only the hon. Deputy Minister for Labour and Employment but also those hon. Ministers who are in charge of providing employment to various people, *i.e.*, the hon. Ministers of Railways, Transport and Communications, Works, Housing and Supply, Finance as also the hon. Minister of Community Development to take seriously the various viewpoints expressed by hon. Members of this House.

Already enough has been said about rural employment. So far as under-employment is concerned, it is very much visible in the rural parts. Most of agriculture labour is unemployed for six months in a year where they get single crop and in places where they get double crop at least for one-third of the year they are without employment. The other types of unemployment are cases of casual labour, contract labour, laf-off due to electricity cut and closures, seasonal factories like sugar, cotton ginning, rice milling etc. and of workers when they are employed in construction work.

I can develop this point but without doing this what I would like to say is that a time has come when this question of contract labour and the question of leaving many things to the contractors must also be put an end to. It was mentioned in the latest AICC meeting, I believe, or in one of the public utterances in Bhopal by the hon. Prime Minister that the contractors are more interested in themselves than in the projects. So, contract labour also leads to unemployment.

In Government departments we find certain type of employees known as the non-departmental staff. There are NDTOs in the Posts and Telegraphs Department. There are also the NMRs or the non-muster rolls in the Electricity Department. These are all many types of employees who contribute to this under-employment.

There is also disguised unemployment to which a reference was made by the previous speaker. It is a phenomenon of apparent employment without addition to total output. This is much more visible in a country like India where we have got the joint family system.

So, there is the threefold problem, *viz.*, the problem of unemployment of rural population, the problem of unemployment of urban population and the unemployment of the uneducated. Many suggestions were offered and figures were quoted. I would like to mention not many figures but one figure I will mention.

> "Though no reliable statistical data regarding the extent of unemployment is available, a study of the figures supplied by the Employment Exchanges reveals that unemployment is on the increase. Whereas at the end of 1951, the number of applicants on the live registers of Employment Exchanges was 328,719, it increased to 691,958

by the end of 1955, stood at 782,933 at the end of May 1957 and was 963,345 at the end of May 1958."

So, it is more or less in arithmetical progression. Since 1951 the number of Employment Exchanges for unemployed has more or less trebled.

The employment potential in the Second Plan period has been mentioned as 8 million. Now we have been through almost half-way or more than half-way. I would like to know from the hon. Deputy Minister for Labour whether at least 4 million people have been provided with employment. Has he got figures to show whether employment has been created or more unemployment is the result?

There is another point which is pertinent. Instead of creating employment for the people let us not create unemployment for the already employed. Such a thing is happening. There is a closure. Such things happen when there is a peculiar policy of the Government. I know in the South so far as handloom workers are concerned more than 2 million people are employed in the handloom industry both in Andhra Pradesh and Madras States. The policy of the Government is not to help them in a concrete and positive way by giving them extension of rebate or by enhancement of rebate and by other methods. Then there is a chance of unemployment of those already employed.

You know what happened when prohibition was introduced. It is a very good thing, but as a result of prohibition more than thousands of employees, who were making their livelihood as toddy tappers, have been thrown out of employment. Instead of creating employment let not the policy of the Government be towards creating unemployment. A learned Professor of Economics says:

> "It is well to bear in mind that the greater part of the country's real capital structure consists of objects that require local labour and local materials for their production or construction. Things like buildings, roads, dams, water works..... are in the aggregate far more important than the imported machinery and equipment which usually baulks so large in the imagination of the public."

16 hrs.

Cottage industry was one such thing. Yesterday, there was one Starred Question by me, Question No. 107 about the various employment potential both in the States of U.P. and Madras. I wanted to find out whether the allocation of Rs. 14·25 crores towards the development of cottage industries for Madras State will be increased. On the other hand, very promptly came the reply that there is a danger of the total allocation of Rs. 200 crores being reduced. If this is the sort of policy which the Government is going to adopt, I am afraid this will be an aggravation of the unemployment problem. Many remedies have been suggested. I would like to say this. It is easy to say that we want to raise the morality of the population. To set 5 per cent of the population on the road to morality and allow a considerable proportion of the other 95 per cent to suffer the mortification of unemployment is a phenomenon, which no Government wedded to the policy of maximising the national welfare can tolerate with equanimity. I am referring to prohibition and such other measures which we have adopted. I submit that certain radical measures will have to be taken if we are going to solve this problem seriously.

Let the Government say categorically today that there will be no retrenchment. Even on the question of retrenchment, the hon. Deputy Minister knows that the workers had to fight and ultimately when retrenchment was inevitable, they pressed forward in the Standing Labour Committee in 1953, I believe in Delhi, and it was conceded that whenever there is retrenchment, there must be proper and adequate

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compensation, and an amendment was introduced in the Industrial Disputes Act Even on the question of closures, we are not very definite We are not in a position to ban closures We are not in a position to ban retrenchment An important point which I would like to press and impress upon the Government is, although we are not in a position to create new employment potential, although we are not able to reach that ideal figure of 8 million by the end of the Second Plan period, let us not see that persons who are already employed are thrown out One such legislation is necessary that there will be no closures, that there is a ban of closures and there is a ban on retrenchment

It is about time that the declared policy of land reform, particularly of giving land to the landless labourers is speeded up There are certain States where this idea is taken up and measures are being speeded up There are also other States Now, I was surprised to find that—Planning Commission has considered this question of land reform—suggestions of the Land Reform Panel which were accepted by the Government and which were the sheet anchor of the Second Plan are being given the go by A fifteen-man committee is appointed by the A I C C to see how best really to sabotage that land reform policy I do not know whether the Government is going to reverse its policy on the question of unemployment and also about the question of distribution of land I submit that this issue must be taken up seriously by the different Ministries that I have mentioned

श्री जगदीश अवस्थी (बिल्हौर)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन के समक्ष इस प्रस्ताव को रख कर प्रोफेसर शर्मा ने देश की सब से बड़ी ज्वलन्त समस्या—बेकारी—की तरफ ध्यान आकर्षित करने की कोशिश की है। हमारे देश में जहां एक ओर खाद्य की समस्या प्रमुख है, वहां दूसरी ओर उस के साथ-साथ बेकारी की समस्या भी बड़ी ही भयावह बनी हुई है। यह एक ऐसी समस्या है, जो कि सारे समाज में और सारे देश में एक संक्रामक रोग की तरह फैलती जा रही है। अगर हम ध्यानपूर्वक देखें, तो हम को अपने देश और समाज में तीन किस्म के बेकार लोग मिलेंगे। एक तो अशिक्षित बेकार हैं, जो गावों और शहरों में रहते हैं। दूसरे वे हैं, जो शिक्षित बेकार कहलाते हैं, जो कि कालेजों से डिग्री ले कर निकलते हैं और जिन को काम नहीं मिलता है। उन लोगों को भी बेकार कहा जा सकता है, जो कि सरकार के विभिन्न विभागों में या अन्य संस्थानों में कार्य करते हैं लेकिन उन को इतना वेतन नहीं मिलता है, जिस से कि वे अपना उदरपोषण कर सकें और अपने परिवार का भरण-पोषण कर सकें। एक प्रकार से इन तीसरी श्रेणी के लोगों को अर्ध-बेकार कहा जा सकता है। बेकारी की यह समस्या इतनी भयावह होती जा रही है कि इस का हल न तो सरकार की तरफ से और न समाज की तरफ से दृष्टिगोचर होता है। देश में प्रथम पंच वर्षीय योजना बनाई गई और वह इस लिए बनाई गई कि देश में जो अन्न कम पैदा होता है, उस में वृद्धि की जाय देश में जो बेकारी फैली हुई है उस को कम किया जाय और बेकार लोगों को काम दिया जाय। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि आयोजना की प्रगति के साथ ही साथ यह समस्या भी बढ़ती जाती है। हम ने अपनी प्रथम आयोजना के सब चरण समाप्त कर दिये हैं और दूसरी आयोजना के दूसरे चरण में हम चल रहे हैं। सवाल यह है कि आखिरकार यह योजना है किस के लिए। सरकार और आयोजना आयोग रात-दिन इस बात की दुहाई देते हैं कि हम ने बेकारों को काम देने के लिए दफ्तर खोल रखे हैं, उन को हम काम देना चाहते हैं, लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि बेकारों को काम देने की जितनी भी योजनायें सरकार और आयोजना आयोग बनाते हैं, वे सब कागज पर रखी रह जाती हैं। अगर सरकार ध्यानपूर्वक देखे, तो आज समस्या केवल यह नहीं है कि बेकारों को काम देना है। कहां तक सरकार और समाज काम देगा? एक ओर तो आप लोगों को काम देना चाहते हैं दूसरी ओर

बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है। इस लिए इस समस्या को हमें दो रूपों में देखना पड़ेगा। पहले तो हम उन लोगों को काम दें, जो इस वक्त बेकार हैं, या अर्ध-बेकार हैं, चाहे वे शिक्षित हों, अशिक्षित हों, गांवों में रहते हों या शहरों में। उस के साथ ही साथ हमें यह भी ध्यान रखना होगा कि आगे बेकारी बढ़ने न पाये। वर्ना इस समस्या को हल करना कठिन होगा और वह बढ़ती जायेगी।

आज शिक्षित बेकारों की अवस्था देख कर बड़ा दुख होता है। सरकार ने लोगों के लिए एम्पलायमेंट एक्सचेंज खोल रखे हैं और लोग नौकरी के लिए वहां जाते हैं। हमारे पास उन के सम्बन्ध में शिकायतें आती हैं कि उन दफ़्तरों की बहुत बुरी हालत है, वहां पर भ्रष्टाचार और पक्षपात फैला हुआ है, इत्यादि। सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि सरकार देश के समक्ष बेकारों के आंकड़े रखती है। लेकिन स्थिति यह है कि वे आंकड़े केवल उन लोगों के ही हैं, जो इन दफ्तरों में अपना नाम रजिस्टर कराने जाते हैं। लाखों लोग वहां अपना नाम रजिस्टर कराने नहीं जाते हैं, वे भी बेकार हैं, लेकिन उन के आंकड़े हमारे सामने नहीं आते हैं। शिक्षित बेकारों की बुरी अवस्था का मुख्य कारण हमारी वर्तमान शिक्षा प्रणाली है। वह इतनी दूषित और निकम्मी है कि आज लाखों की तादाद में जो विद्यार्थी शिक्षा प्राप्त कर के कालेजों से निकलते हैं, उन को काम देना सरकार के लिए असम्भव है। आज सौ में से नब्बे नहीं बल्कि पचानबे विद्यार्थियों का एक ही मकसद है कि शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के बाद सरकार के किसी विभाग या किसी संस्थान में नौकरी मिल जाय। इस का कारण यह है कि हम लोग उन को अंग्रेजों के समय से चली आ रही परम्परा के अनुसार पंद्रह बीस साल तक मेज कुर्सी पर बिठा कर निकम्मा बना देते हैं, जिसका परिणाम यह होता है कि वे सिवाय कलम का धनी बनने के, सिवाय कलम घिसने के और किसी काम के योग्य नहीं रहते। अगर कोई विद्यार्थी शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के बाद अपना

काम करना चाहता है, कोई धन्धा खोलना चाहता है, तो सरकार की तरफ़ से उस को कोई सुविधा नहीं मिलती है, कोई प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिलता है।

इस प्रकार हमें एक ऐसी समस्या का सामना करना पड़ रहा है, जिस में एक ओर तो केवल सात आठ परसेंट लोग पढ़े-लिखे हैं और बाकी अशिक्षित हैं और सारे देश में अशिक्षा और अज्ञान का प्रसार है और दूसरी ओर जो शिक्षित हैं, वे भी बेकार फिर रहे हैं। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि देश में एक अन्धकार सा छाया हुआ है। हमें यह भी स्मरण रखना चाहिए कि जिस मुल्क में नौजवानों में—चाहे वे शिक्षित हों या अशिक्षित—निराशा फैल जाती है, उस में न तो जनतन्त्रवाद और न ही कोई और 'वाद' चल सकता है। आज हमारे देश में नौजवान निराश होते जा रहे हैं, उन को दृष्टिगोचर नहीं हो रहा है कि क्या करना है, हमारे लिए क्या प्लान है। जैसा कि मैं ने पहले कहा है, मोटा प्रश्न यह है कि आयोजना किस के लिए है, उस का उद्देश्य क्या है। जो स्थिति हमारे सामने है, उस से तो यही प्रकट होता है कि वर्तमान आयोजना केवल कुछ व्यक्तियों के हित के लिए है और अगर वह सामान्य जनता के हित के लिए होती, तो निश्चित रूप से इन सात सालों में बेकारी की समस्या और अन्य समस्याओं का कुछ हल निकलता। हमारी योजना बड़ी विलक्षण है कि ज्यों-ज्यों वह आगे बढ़ती है, त्यों-त्यों खाद्य समस्या, बेकारी की समस्या और दूसरी समस्यायें भी बढ़ती जाती हैं। जितना आप दबा करते हैं, उतना ही मर्ज बढ़ता जाता है। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि शासन और आयोजना आयोग गम्भीरता-पूर्वक इस बात पर विचार करे कि बेकारी की समस्या का क्या हल होना चाहिए। इस समस्या का हल बिल्कुल युद्ध-स्तर पर—'वार लेवल' पर—होना चाहिए। जिस प्रकार युद्ध के समय देश अपना बाकी काम-काज बन्द कर देते हैं और उन के सामने एक ही

[श्री जगदीश अवस्थी]

आवश्यकता रहती है कि अपने देश की रक्षा करनी है, उसी प्रकार खाद्य समस्या और बेकारी की समस्या का हल होना चाहिए।

मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि और देशों की तरह यहां भी बेकार लोगों को सुझावजा और भत्ता देने की व्यवस्था की जाय, क्योंकि जब बेकारों को रुपया देना पड़ेगा, तो सरकार इस ओर चेतेगी। सरकार का एक अजीब नियम है कि उस के सामने जनता के हित का जो भी प्रस्ताव रखा जाता है, उस की ओर से जवाब दिया जाता है कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। इस लिए जब लाखों रुपये सरकार की जेब से बेकार लोगों के पास जायेंगे, तो उसको इस समस्या की तरफ़ ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। ऐसी कई स्कीमों पर लाखों रुपये खर्च किये जा रहे हैं, जिन का कोई उपयोग नहीं है। अगर वह रुपया भत्ते के रूप में बेकारों की जेब में जाय, तो यह बेहतर है।

शर्मा जी ने इस सम्बन्ध में कमेटी एपायट करने का जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, उस में तो कोई विशेष बात नहीं है। समस्या बहुत साफ़ है, जो कि समाज को मालूम है और सरकार को भी मालूम है। इस समस्या का हल होना चाहिए। जो लोग इस समय कालेजों में पढ़ रहे हैं, उन की एजूकेशन को बन्द कर दिया जाय और जो बेकार लोग हैं, उन को काम पर लगाया जाय। ऐसी योजना बनाई जानी चाहिए कि शिक्षित बेकार लोगों को काम पर लगाया जा सके। ऐसी योजना से कोई लाभ नहीं होने वाला है, जिस में एक ओर आप बेकारी की समस्या हल करते हैं और दूसरी ओर वह बढ़ती जाती है। मैं चाहूंगा कि शासन इस प्रश्न पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करे और इस को हल करने के उपाय सोचे, क्योंकि आखिरकार इस समस्या का हल शासन को ही करना होगा, और किसी को नहीं।

श्री वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बात से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि देश में बेकारी बढ़ रही है। पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के चलते हुए बेकारी का बढ़ना सचमुच में बड़ी चिन्ता की बात है। संसार के किसी देश में ऐसा नहीं हुआ कि निर्माण की योजना चलती हो और बेकारी बढ़ती हो। दूसरी योजना के अन्तर्गत पहले अस्सी लाख लोगों को काम देने का अनुमान किया गया था। उस में भी इस बात को योजना आयोग ने स्वीकार किया था कि इन पांच वर्षों में नब्बे लाख नये बेकार तैयार हो जायेंगे। और अब वह ८० लाख का आंकड़ा घटा कर ६० लाख का कर दिया गया है। वह भी पूरा होगा या नहीं इसमें भी मुझे सन्देह है।

हम विचार करें कि योजनाओं के चलते हुए आखिर यह बेकारी क्यों बढ़ रही है। योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत हम उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। उस बढ़े हुए उत्पादन के लिये हमें देश के भीतर बाजार चाहिये। धीरे-धीरे यह स्पष्ट होता जा रहा है कि आप माल का निर्यात कर के देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को बहुत दूर तक विकसित नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि दुनिया के बाजार में हमें कठोर प्रतियोगिता का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। स्पष्ट है कि बढ़े हुए उत्पादन के लिये हमें अपने देश के भीतर बाजार चाहिये। इस का मतलब यह है कि हमें लोगों की क्रय शक्ति बढ़ानी पड़ेगी। पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत उत्पादन की वृद्धि और आम आदमी की क्रय-शक्ति बढ़ाना, मैं समझता हूं ये दोनों एक दूसरे के पूरक हैं। लेकिन आज स्थिति ऐसी हो रही है कि हम उत्पादन की वृद्धि पर तो जोर देते जा रहे हैं लेकिन आम आदमी की क्रय-शक्ति घट रही है और जिस का सब से बड़ा कारण यह है कि देश में करोड़ों व्यक्ति ऐसे हैं जिन के पास काम नहीं है और लाखों व्यक्ति ऐसे हैं कि जिन के पास करने के लिये काम तो है मगर उस काम का इतना पारिश्रमिक नहीं मिलता जिस से वे अपना जीवन ठीक तरह से बिता सकें।

यदि हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था विकसित हो और बढ़े हुए उत्पादन के लिये हम अपने देश में बाजार कायम करें तो हमें लोगों को काम देना होगा और काम अगर हम न नहीं दिया तो हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था स्थायी आधारों पर प्रतिष्ठित नहीं हो सकती ।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि काम कैसे दिया जाय । मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार अपनी औद्योगिक नीति में परिवर्तन करे । यह ठीक है कि एक हजार वर्षों की पराधीनता के कारण हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था में विकृतियां उत्पन्न हो गई हैं और उन्हें हम शीघ्र समाप्त करना चाहते हैं । हमारी औद्योगिक नीति ऐसी होनी चाहिये जिस में इस बात पर बल दिया जाय कि हमारे देश में अधिक से अधिक व्यक्तियों को काम पर लगाया जाय । हमारे देश में आदमी ज्यादा हैं और भूमि कम । दुनिया के और देशों में जमीन अधिक होगी, जनसंख्या कम होगी । हमारे यहां उलटी बात है । मनुष्य अधिक हैं और जमीन कम है । काम करने वाले हाथ अधिक हैं और काम कम है । अगर करोड़ों नौजवानों को हमें काम देना है और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री भी कहते भी हैं कि आराम हराम है, तो हमें कोई और ही पालिसी अपनानी होगी । जो बेकार बैठे हैं, एम्पलायमेंट एक्सचेंजिज के सामने लम्बी लम्बी लाइनें लगा कर या जो दिल्ली के स्टेशन के बाहर एक बिस्तर को उठाने के लिये चील कौवों की तरह से झपटते हैं, उन के सामने अगर नारा लगाया जाय कि आराम हराम है तो इस से बड़ा मजाक और क्या हो सकता है ? देश के करोड़ों नौजवान आज काम चाहते हैं, मगर सरकार काम नहीं दे सकती है । काम नहीं दे सकती है का यह मतलब नहीं है कि वह देना नहीं चाहती है । मगर जिस तरह से देना चाहती है वह तरीका गलत है । हमारी योजनाओं में बड़े बड़े उद्योगों पर अधिक बल दिया जा रहा है जिन में मशीनों से काम होता है । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि मशीनों का बहिष्कार कर दिया जाय । मगर अधिक काम अगर लोगों को दिया जा सकता है तो दिया जाना चाहिये । मनुष्य भूखा है तो मशीनों से काम लेना ठीक नहीं है । मुझे चीन जाने का मौका नहीं मिला । मगर मेरे दोस्त जो वहां हो आये हैं उन का कहना है कि वहां भी बड़े-बड़े बांधों का निर्माण हो रहा है मगर बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनों के बगैर । लाखों चीनी चींटियों की तरह उन बांधों को बनाने में लगे हुए हैं, पारिश्रमिक कम होगा, जिसे पूंजीपति देश 'फोर्स्ड लेबर' कहते हों, लेकिन हमें उस भ्रम में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये । तो अगर आप विकास योजनाओं के द्वारा ही काम दे सकते हैं तो मैं समझता हूं कि योजनाओं को आप थोड़ा धीमें भी चलावें तो उस में कुछ बिगड़ने वाला नहीं है । आखिर योजनायें किस के लिये हैं, बड़े-बड़े बांधों का निर्माण किस के लिये किया जा रहा है ? मनुष्यों के लिये ही तो किया जा रहा है । जिस मनुष्य के लिये यह किया जा रहा है उसी मनुष्य को काम चाहिये । कर्म करने का अधिकार मनुष्य का जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है । यह कर्म भूमि है । हम यहां कर्म करने के लिये पैदा हुए हैं और मेरा निवेदन है कि यह कर्म करने का अधिकार हमारे मूलभूत अधिकारों में शामिल किया जाना चाहिये । आज हमें बात करने का अधिकार है, लिखने का अधिकार है, चुनाव लड़ने का अधिकार है, मगर काम करने का अधिकार नहीं है ।

श्री स० म० बनर्जी : मरने का अधिकार है ।

श्री बाजपेयी : आजीविका का अधिकार नहीं । मैं चाहता हूं कि कर्म के अधिकार को भी सरकार को संविधान के मूलभूत अधिकारों में शामिल कर लेना चाहिये और अपने उत्तरदायित्व को समझना चाहिये कि हर एक व्यक्ति को काम दे । काम कैसे दे, इस के बारे में मैं ने आप के सामने एक सुझाव रखा है । मैं चाहता हूं कि औद्योगिक

[श्री वाजपेयी]

नीति में परिवर्तन किया जाय, छोटे-छोटे उद्योगों पर बल दिया जाय ।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति में भी संशोधन होना चाहिये । जो भी यूनिवर्सिटी की टकसाल में से ढल कर निकलते हैं वे बेकारी के बाजार में पहुंच जाते हैं । श्रम की प्रतिष्ठा नहीं है । कोई हाथ से काम नहीं करना चाहता । विदेशी शासकों ने यह शिक्षा पद्धति क्लर्क तैयार करने के लिये चलाई थी । वे चले गये और उन के साथ उन की शिक्षा पद्धति भी जानी चाहिये । ऐसी शिक्षा पद्धति जो श्रम की प्रतिष्ठा करे, जो हमें हाथ से काम करने की शिक्षा दे, जिस से हमारा शिक्षित वर्ग दफ्तरों की ओर न जा कर गांवों की ओर जाये, चलाई जानी चाहिये । आज स्थिति यह है कि गांव उजड़ रहे हैं और शहरों में आबादी बढ़ रही है। गांवों में रहने के लिये लोग नहीं हैं और शहरों में लोगों के रहने के लिये मकान नहीं हैं। हमारी औद्योगिक नीति ऐसी है कि जो लोगों की क्रय शक्ति नहीं बढ़ाती । इस के परिणामस्वरूप बाजार में कपड़ा पड़ा रहता है और मिलें बन्द होती जाती हैं। बाजार में नंगे आदमी भी हैं और कपड़ा भी है । नंगों को कपड़ा चाहिये मगर कपड़े के दुकानदार को ऐसा नंगा चाहिये जिस की जेब में पैसा हो । मगर पैसा नहीं है क्योंकि काम नहीं है और शासन काम नहीं दे पा रहा है । एक बड़ी संकट की स्थिति हमारे सामने खड़ी हो गई है। यह किसी पार्टी का प्रश्न नहीं है । बेकारों को उत्तेजित कर के राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की कोशिश की जाय, यह भी सवाल नहीं है । मगर शासन अपनी औद्योगिक नीति में, अपनी शिक्षा सम्बन्धी नीति में आमूल परिवर्तन करे तो यह समस्या हल हो सकती है । शासन को चाहिये कि वह काम के अधिकार को मूलभूत अधिकारों में शामिल कर, उसे स्वीकार कर इस लक्ष्य की ओर कदम बढ़ाये, तभी बेकारी की समस्या का निराकरण सम्भव है ।

मैं समझता हूं कि यह काम एक समिति बना देने से ही पूरा नहीं हो सकता है यद्यपि मैं उस समिति के निर्माण का विरोधी नहीं हूं।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (अम्बाला) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव श्री दी० चं० शर्मा ने इस सदन के सामने पेश किया है और जिस में वह एक समिति का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं, उस का समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ी हुई हूं ।

चूंकि समय कम है और बहुत सी बातों की तरफ माननीय सदस्यों ने इस सदन का ध्यान दिला भी दिया है, इसलिये उन के बारे में कुछ न कह कर एक ही विषय की ओर मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूं । कई माननीय सदस्यो ने कहा कि हजारो, लाखों और करोड़ों लोग ऐसे हैं जोकि एम्पलायमेंट चाहते हैं और उन को एम्पलायमेंट दिया जाना चाहिये । लेकिन मैं आप को बतलाना चाहती हूं कि लोगों को नौकरियां देने की बजाय ऐसी भी कोशिश होती है कि जो नौकरियों में लगे हुए हैं या काम में लगे हुए हैं, उन को भी बेरोजगार कर दिया जाय। अभी यहां पर 'रिट्रेंचमेंट' की बात की गई है और कहा गया है कि 'रिट्रेंचमेंट' के बाद उन लोगों को जोकि नौकरी से अलग कर दिये जाते हैं, नौकरी पर लगाने की कोशिश नहीं की जाती है । मैं एक दूसरा ही मसला आप के सामने रखना चाहती हूं । हमारे लेबर मिनिस्टर साहब जोकि ऐम्प्लायमेंट के भी इन्चार्ज हैं यहां से हिन्दुस्तान के कोने-कोने में सर्कुलर भेजते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी भी साइकल रिक्शायें चलती हैं, उन का चलना फौरन बन्द कर दिया जाय । मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहती हूं

कि हिन्दुस्तान में साइकल रिक्शा चलाने से रद्दी काम और कोई दूसरा नही है । इन को चलाने से इन्सान की जिन्दगी आधी रह जाती है । लेकिन ये लोग खुशी से रिक्शा नही चलाते हैं । आज इन को कहा जाता है कि वे स्कूटर चलाये, मोटरे चलाये और वे चाहते भी है कि वे साइकल रिक्शा न चलायें और उन के जो बच्चे हैं वे हवाई जहाज चलाये । लेकिन रिक्शाओ को बन्द कर के क्या आप ने कोई प्लान बनाया है, कोई नक्शा अपने सामने रखा है कि कौन सा काम उन को आप देंगे और अगर आप कोई काम उन को नही देंगे तो क्या आप ने कभी सोचा है कि उन की फैमिलीज का क्या बनेगा जो उन्ही की मेहनत पर निर्भर करती है ? अगर उन को दूसरा काम देने का फैसला हो जाता और उस के बाद इन को बन्द करने का हुक्म निकलता तब तो बात समझ में आ सकती थी वर्ना नही । हमारे लेबर मिनिस्टर साहब समझते हैं कि उन के कहने के मुताबिक अगर इन लोगो को नये लाइसेंस नही दिये गये तो उन का जो फर्ज है वह पूरा हो जायेगा । ये लोग जा कर कुए में गिरे, धक्के खाये, भूखे मरे, उन को उन के रहम पर छोडना ठीक नही है । क्या यह देखना कि व कोई काम करे, आप का फर्ज नही है ? वह समझते हैं कि हम आखे बन्द कर ले तो उन के रोजगार का मसला भी हल हो जायेगा ।

मैं अदब के साथ मन्त्री महोदय से अर्ज करना चाहती हू कि हम यहा पर जहा एम्पलायमेंट की बात करते हैं तो उस के साथ ही साथ हम यह भी प्लान किया करे कि उन को हम कौन सा काम देना चाहते है ।

अभी हमारी नीति की बात की गई और कहा गया कि हमारी उद्योग नीति ऐसी है जिस को कि प्रोत्साहन नही मिलता और मैं भी इस बात का समर्थन करती हूं । आखिर जो हमारी उद्योग नीति है वह पार्लियामेंट द्वारा पास किया गया एक कानून होती है, एक पालिसी होती है जोकि यहा पर तय की जाती है उस नीति को चाहे आप काग्रेस गवर्नमेंट की समझिये या हुकूमत की समझिये और उस नीति के ऊपर पार्लियामेंट अपनी छाप लगाती है और उस के बाद वह तमाम हिन्दुस्तान की पालिसी बन जाती है परन्तु वह रोजगार देने के लिये कहा तक अमल में आती है और चलती है इस की ओर मन्त्री महोदय को विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना चाहिये । हमारी पालिसी में है कि हम कोआपरेटिव्ज बनाना चाहते ह । मैं सदन का और अधिक समय न लेते हुए मन्त्री महोदय से चाहती हू कि वे इस तरफ भी तवज्जह दिया करे कि अगर कोई बेरोजगार लोगो की कोआपरेटिव बनती है तो उस को गवर्नमेंट से एनकरेजमेंट, प्रोत्साहन मिलता है कि नही और यह कि ठेकेदारो के मुकाबले उन के साथ कैसा सलूक होता है । जब तक गवर्नमेंट और हमारे मन्त्री महोदय इस की ओर अपनी तवज्जह नही देगे तब तक हमारे यहा से यह अनएम्पलायमेंट का क्वैश्चन दूर नही हो सकता ।

श्री दी० च० शर्मा ने सदन के सामने जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया है मैं उस का समर्थन करती हू और साथ ही यह भी कहना चाहती हू कि खाली कमिशन बनाना और एनक्वायरी करना ही काफी नही है बल्कि उस को बाकायदा मुस्तकिल तौर पर कायम रहना चाहिये और जो रोजगार इन चीजो म जाय और इस चीज को देखा करे कि कहा हम न तरक्की की और कहा हम न पीछे की ओर कदम किया ।

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Thiruvella): Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, our aim is and ought to be the complete elimination of unemployment. But, to be frank, I am quite sure this Government is not able to do that. We are not going to eliminate unemployment altogether. Fortunately, the Government did not have any such claims

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

too. But, they pretended and the Planning Commission promised that we will be able to create 8 million jobs more during the Second Five Year Plan. And, what has happened to that?

I need not dilate on that because the facts and figures were given in this House by several speakers before me. Really, the situation is deteriorating; and I would ask the hon. Minister to give us facts and figures to prove that it is not so. I need not cite instances to illustrate my statement. Anyone who has got eyes and ears and anyone who looks around can feel the seriousness of the situation. In a particular railway workshop at Jagadri, for a job of Rs. 30 or Rs. 40, when there was an occasion for absorbing 3 or 4 people, there were 8,000 applications. If that was so, you can imagine the seriousness of the situation. So, I need not dilate on that.

My point is that we should approach this question from a long-term point of view as well as an interim point of view and we should take certain interim measures to face the serious situation I have submitted my amendment to that effect.

I am afraid Prof. Sharma's resolution presupposes that a committee can give recommendations for dealing with the entire situation. As I said in the beginning, I have no such hopes in the present economy, with the present policies adopted by Government and the Planning Commission and with the present approach to the problem—production is mainly for profit—you can never solve this problem of unemployment completely.

But, how can we tackle this question in a temporary way? Can we solve it with certain interim measures? I hope we can solve it to a certain extent; at least we can arrest the deteriorating situation.

There is a tendency now seen especially in the Treasury Benches, when questions are answered in this House, to say that we are facing a lot of difficulties because of competition from China in the South East Asian market. The unemployment situation in the textile front is very serious. According to the estimate of certain trade unions, in April 1958 nearly 40,000 out of the 2½ lakhs of textile workers were going without work. You can imagine how serious the situation is. The Minister would say that the export market is shrinking. China is there for every ill of ours and so you can point out the competition from another country and escape from the responsibility. But let us look at that problem from a different angle. What is the *per capita* consumption of textiles in our country? At the most it is only the pre-war level. Unless we step up internal consumption, we will not be able to sovle the problem of employment; we cannot entirely depend upon foreign markets. I need not go further into that problem now.

As far as interim steps are concerned, I agree with Shri Tangamani and Shri Panigrahi. Government should take the suggestions very seriously. One is about land distribution. We should take immediate steps to distribute the waste lands in our country. Government lands are there in Andhra. Shri Vittal Rao can give us figures about Andhra; there are other Members and they can give us these figures. In fact, in Kerala, where we have only 14,000 sq. miles and a population of 1.5 crores, nearly seven lakhs of waste lands had already begun to be distributed in the countryside. Secondly, Shri Tangamani's suggestion should be taken up seriously; we should ban all closures. No factory or mill should be closed and if a private owner finds it difficult to carry on, the Government should take it over; even in such cases, they should not be allowed to close it down. My amend-

ment is to the effect that a Committee should go into this problem and suggest such interim measures. I could not understand the speech of Shri Vajpayee but I am told he was commending the Chinese methods.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has to conclude now.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: My suggestion is that a committee should go to China. We are sending so many delegations. Our Minister of Co-operation was also there. Let this delegation go there and try to find out what they are doing to solve this problem.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister.

Pandit D. N. Tiwari (Kesaria): Sir, I had moved an amendment and I request I may be given five minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry; if he was not here, what could I have done? I was looking towards that side but he remained absent.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: For sometime, I was not here.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The other resolution is sought to be rushed out altogether.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: It can be done in one minute.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Would one minute be sufficient for him?

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: It is for the introduction of the Resolution. I will take not more than five minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are none now; there is hardly any time.

16·34 hrs.

The Deputy Minister of Labour (Shri Abid Ali): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Resolution and the amendments reveal the anxiety of the House to ensure that effective action is taken to step up employment opportunities in several fields. That is also the major objective of our Plan. The hon. Members are also eager to know from time to time the results of such efforts so that the defects may be removed and the handicaps may be overcome through common efforts.

The hon. Mover of the Resolution referred to the problem of unemployment being tackled on a national basis and on an all-party basis. He drew a comparison with the food problem. There are various aspects to the twin problem of employment and unemployment. The first step, however, before these various aspects are tackled, is to have a measure of the nature and extent of their incidence. An examination of the facts brought out by such an assessment would give an indication, to some extent, of the type of remedial action against unemployment that may be possible within the resources at our command.

Some of these facts have already been mentioned during the debate, such as the progressive uprooting of village craftsmen from their traditional occupation as a result of industrialisation, the new developments that are taking place all over the countryside, the spread of education, and the new ideas and the freedom that go with it regarding the choice of occupations. A reference has also been made to the question of landless labourers, which is a problem of no small magnitude in agricultural economy; and the over-powering desire for the majority of educated persons to seek what they consider prestige occupations, which are not necessarily more remunerative or more suited to the aptitude and capacity of the individuals concerned. Super-imposed on this is the movement of employment seekers from villages to towns. This and other social and economic factors render any consideration of the problem of unemployment exceedingly complex.

We should also remember here that we are dealing with a labour force of about 150 million people who, as has

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been stated by the mover of the Resolution, are having rising expectations.

We have also to consider the extent of employment opportunities resulting from the Plan. Some hon. Members have doubted whether we have any reliable figures. It is true that data to the extent of complete reliability is not available.

An Hon. Member: There is no doubt about it.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: When will it be available?

16.38 hrs.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA *in the Chair*]

Shri Abid Ali: Two million more employment opportunities have been created during the first two years of the Plan. We expect that a million more persons will be employed during the current period. Of course, very strenuous efforts have been made to achieve the objective of 6·5 million more employment opportunities to be created during the Second Plan period.

Sir, some of the speeches were useful, constructive and helpful, but there were also some speeches which were such that I was feeling whether they were being delivered here in Lok Sabha or were rather election speeches in public meetings. One hon. Member from U.P. said that no employment seeker can get his name registered in Employment Exchanges unless he pays money to the clerk concerned. I am very much interested in this point. I would humbly request my hon. friend opposite to kindly help us to find out where such a thing is prevalent. I am requesting him to be helpful, and I want to assure him and other hon. Members that whenever these things—this is very serious, but what I am saying applies to even minor defects—come to their notice, they need not wait for any debate, Question Hour or a Budget Discussion, but they can bring those defects to our notice immediately. We ourselves very much care to see that these things are eradicated. In case he is not able to prove this, then, in all fairness, I am sure he would himself volunteer to withdraw these allegations.

After long years of slavery, it is not possible within eleven years to fulfil all that has been mentioned by the hon. Members opposite. This child of a few years, a child which is only 11 years old, cannot fulfil all your expectations. On the other hand, the child demands much more help in every respect; the elders, the parents should come to its help so that it could grow as a healthy child, be properly educated, qualified, etc., and then it would be able to serve.

Now, the time is not for criticising but to be helpful. Not one constructive suggestion has been made by the hon. Members who have been more vocal. (*Interruptions*) I said, those "who have been more vocal". They said that employment opportunities are shrinking. It may be in some places there may be retrenchments; Damodar Valley has been mentioned. It is true. The dam is constructed; the electric installations have been installed. But should these 10,000 workers who were employed for that purpose be allowed to continue, and they should be asked to work there for what purpose?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Common pool.

Shri Abid Ali: There has been a common pool. I am trying to convince him if he is not aware of it. We have created a common pool for them and a substantial number of workers who were willing to be helped have been helped. They have been employed elsewhere. Those people from the

defence establishments who became superfluous had to be retrenched. It was not possible to allow them to continue working where there was no work. So, they had to be retrenched. The Employment Exchange was helpful to them. They were given preference. (*Interruptions*)

16.42 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

What is the use of the continuing commentary? I did not utter a word when the hon. Member was speaking. He should control himself. I did not utter a word and he goes on interrupting.

Mr. Speaker: That is a continuous problem!

Shri Abid Ali: A suggestion was made that Gram Udyog should not be forgotten. We did not forget it. There are so many things—Ambar Charkha, small scale industries, etc., that are being taken care of. It is not only the big projects that are thought of but the others also. Both of them should simultaneously grow and substantially as well.

श्री त० ब० विट्ठल राव : पानी पियो साहब ।

श्री आबिद अली : तुम तो पानी के बगैर जिन्दा रहते हो भाई । मुबारिक हो ।

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Minister need not take note of these things.

Shri Abid Ali: Not even of their existence, Sir? I may assure the hon. Members who were very anxious that because of the Plan revision and the revision of the target the employment opportunities should not dwindle—some said they will dwindle—that is not true. I do not believe so, and the attempt is that the target should be achieved.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: The plan reappraisal.

Mr. Speaker: No running commentary should be made.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: No running commentary. I only pointed out that he may kindly go through the reappraisal of the plan wherein they have said so.

Shri Abid Ali: I have said 6·5.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: It was originally eight million.

Shri Abid Ali: I am confining my remarks to 6.5. It is not possible to ban retrenchment.

An Hon. Member. Why?

Shri Abid Ali: Some of the factories.....

Mr. Speaker: I have to ask the hon. Members to keep quiet. There is no meaning in going on like this. It takes away the decorum. Hon. Members may go on saying what they like, and I have absolutely no objection; I have never restrained them, and I am sure that the hon. predecessor, whoever was sitting in the chair, never tried to pull them up except of course, when they use abusive words—I am sure they do not so—but then, this kind of running commentary takes away the importance of the explanation that the Government is bound to give. Shall this Government, by such interruptions, put itself in a bad light before the people represented here by the Members of Parliament and should it not be allowed to give its explanation? I am really surprised. The hon. Members should be able to take care of this huge country if they are put in charge of this country and not unnecessarily lose themselves when they sit in opposition. Any day, they must feel that they could become Prime Ministers and come on to this side of the House.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: It is very interesting.

Shri Abid Ali: I was saying that it is not possible to rule out unemployment completely. But we are

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trying to minimise it. Where retrenchment becomes necessary we see to it that workers get appropriate compensation on being retrenched. Sometimes a factory might have become uneconomic or the particular article produced by that factory is no longer required by the consumers or for any purpose. Then what should we do? Should we go on producing that article though it is not going to be used at all? In such circumstances there will be some retrenchment. Sometimes when a temporary work is undertaken, as soon as that work is over, people engaged in that work are asked to go away. For that also, as the hon. Members are aware, we have amended the Industrial Disputes Act.

About employment exchanges figures have been quoted from one book which has been recently circulated to all the members. The figures are true. It is also true that the number of registrants at the employment exchanges is increasing. But it should be borne in mind that before the Second Plan the number of employment exchanges was only 108. Now it is 204; 96 employment exchanges have been added. A complaint was made that the employment exchanges are not sufficiently widespread. Our proposal is to increase their number and extend their scope of activity.

Then, we do not spare any pains to remove the defects, whenever they are found. I have already requested hon. Members to kindly help us. We have already promised to help them in whatever way we can, because that is our job. We also wish that all sorts of corruption and nepotism should stop. As hon. Members are aware, the State Governments are in charge of administration of employment exchanges. But it is not the function of the employment exchange to create employment. It brings the employment seekers and the employers together so that nepotism and similar things could be minimised. Nobody can guarantee that this will be completely eliminated from society. Of course, everyone will wish that. But the effort is to minimise the defects.

We have opened an employment exchange on an experimental basis in the university campus in Delhi. After gaining experience about the working of this particular employment exchange, if the results are encouraging, the proposal is to extend its activities to five other universities also.

The estimate is that one-third of the registrants at the employment exchanges are already employed and only two-thirds are real employment seekers, that is, those who are not employed.

Then, a complaint was made by my good sister, Shrimati Subhadra Joshi. I would humbly request her to believe me when I say that the information which she has received is not correct. The intention is not that all the rickshaw pullers should be immediately stopped from work. The circular is that attempts should be made in that and alternative jobs should be found for them. They can ply auto-rickshaws or engage themselves in some other employment. But no new licences will be issued and alternative employment will be found for them. The intention is to stop rickshaw pulling by men in course of time.

About the increasing population, hon. Members know that every year 2 million people are added to the list of unemployed.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: What is the death rate?

Shri Abid Ali: Two million people are added to the list of employment seekers.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Now three million.

Shri Abid Ali: That may be the information of the hon. Member.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Because the population is rising by 6 million per year.

Shri Abid Ali: Of course, an attempt is being made and should be made to tackle this problem. In this particular matter all hon Members here, societies, outside non-official bodies can be helpful to propagate family planning. It is very much necessary that the rate of birth should be controlled For that purpose the committees which have been instituted are making an effort and I hope with the co-operation of hon. Members and of non-official bodies also their attempt will succeed to a great extent which will minimise the problems to which a reference has been made.

Regarding land reforms, I am glad that even an hon Member from the Communist Party has very much appreciated the efforts made by the Congress Committee with regard to land reforms

Shri Panigrahi: Nobody from this side has appreciated that.

Shri Tangamani: What I mentioned was the AICC . ..

Shri Abid Ali: I am not referring to Shri Tangamani What Shri Panigrahi said was that very good work was being done.

Shri Panigrahi: May I clarify? He has not understood properly

Mr Speaker: It does not matter even if he has not understood it properly Let him finish.

Shri T. B Vittal Rao: On a point of personal information.

Mr. Speaker: Does not matter

Shri Abid Ali: The work which the National Extension Service is doing and which the development organisations have taken up will ensure the issue which the hon Member was referring to. It is hoped that with their efforts that problem also to a great extent will be controlled.

About machinery for assessment, hon. Members know that a survey for the year 1955 had been undertaken so far as the question of employment and unemployment is concerned. The report, I hope, will be available within a few months and that will give the information about which hon. Members are very much anxious

My hon. friend, who moved the Resolution, was very much concerned about persons who were superannuated and were re-employed. Fortunately, their number is very much insignificant.

Then, the Central Committee on Employment, which is being appointed, will contain Members of both the Houses Its function will be to review employment information and to assess employment and unemployment trends, to advise on the development of the National Employment Service, to advise on deployment of personnel retrenched on the completion of development projects, to consider special programmes relating to educated unemployed, to advise on the development of the Youth Employment Service and Employment Counselling at Employment Exchanges, and to assess the requirements of trained craftsmen and advise the National Council for Training in Vocational Trades

Now, these should satisfy the hon. Members who have supported this Resolution because the Committee which has been mentioned in the Resolution and the amendments will not be able either to study or to collect the data as that is a specialised job of a particular set of trained people and this Committee will not be able to do that work nor will it be able to create employment opportunities.

An Hon. Member: Who will be able to do that?

Shri Abid Ali: The Committee, which I have mentioned, will not only have representatives of the Central and State Governments but will also have economists and four Members of Parliament—two from this House and two from the other House. This should be satisfactory and therefore I would request the hon. Member

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to withdraw this Resolution on the assurance that the other Committee about which I have made a mention will take care of these matters.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: May I seek a clarification.....

An Hon. Member: May I ask a question.....

Mr. Speaker: No, no. There is another Resolution. It is late.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): It has always been my good fortune to move such Resolutions on the floor of this House as have borne fruit. I moved a Resolution with reference to working journalists and I am sure it has been productive of good results. I moved the Resolution with regard to the Pay Commission and I hope that is also going to lead to something. I should say that the Resolution which I have moved about unemployment has yielded results.....

Some Hon. Members: Don't withdraw.

Shri D. C. Sharma: ....in terms of good suggestions, in terms of good speeches, in terms of the anxiety shown by the people about this and I am glad that the hon. Minister of Labour has responded to the suggestions that I have put forward. I am very happy that immediate action has been taken on the Resolution and the Central Council of Employment is going to be constituted and that Council will keep under scrutiny and review not only the incidence of unemployment in this country, but also the trends of employment which are needed to bring into being a society whose aim is good employment and full employment.

Many suggestions have been made so far as this question is concerned. I want to make one observation with regard to this. Our Prime Minister said the other day that we are getting very fond of big things, gigantic things and if I am not mistaken, he referred to this as giganticism if I may term it correctly. What I meant to say is that the unemployment situation can be improved in this country if we only try to improve the situation with reference to small things: cottage industries, small-scale industries, medium industries. Of course, we cannot give up the big things. Sometimes, they are basic to our national life. All the same, the real remedy for unemployment lies in this that we should try to concentrate our attention on those things which are small, but which have a higher employment potential than big things.

Secondly, I would say that so far as unemployment is concerned, we have concentrated our attention more on the educated unemployed. That is necessary; I do not deny that. I would say, we should also take into account the villages and we should take into account the unemployment that is to be found in the villages. I welcome the statement that the hon. Minister of Labour has made that the number of Employment Exchanges is going to be increased. I am very happy. I would say that these Employment Exchanges should cater not only for the cities of India, but some system should be evolved by means of which these Employment Exchanges can also be useful to the rural population of India. I think that is very necessary. While the educated unemployed and the industrial workers want to be rehabilitated, to be employed, and want to see a ray of hope in life, the rural workers, and the agricultural labourers also want that they should have a chance to make good in life. After the assurance that the hon. Minister of Labour has given, and after the appointment of the Council which was in my mind also, I would like the House to permit me to withdraw my Resolution.

Mr. Speaker: I shall first put the amendments to the vote of the House. Shri Jadhav: does he press his amendment?

Some Hon. Members: All amendments can be put together.

Mr. Speaker: I shall now put all the amendments to the vote of the House.

The question is:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted, namely—

"This House is of opinion that a Committee of Members of both the Houses of Parliament be appointed to estimate the incidence of unemployment in this country and to make a survey of the employment potential in agriculture, industry and services in the Government and semi-Government institutions and offices."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House is of opinion that the incidence of unemployment in the country is very high and urges upon the Government to take, without delay, active steps to solve this problem."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted, namely:—

"That this House requests the Government to appoint a Committee with a view to make a full appraisal of the unemployment situation prevailing in the country and place such appraisal report before the House for consideration."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That after the words "that a committee" the following be inserted namely:—

"consisting of eight members—four from Lok Sabha and three from Rajya Sabha and with the Planning Minister as Chairman."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That after the word "unemployment" the words "and underemployment" be inserted.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: I take it that the Hon. Member is not pressing his Resolution.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

16·59 hrs.

RESOLUTION *RE*: APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO GO INTO THE PATTERN OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh): Sir, I beg to move:

"This House recommends that in view of the far-reaching scientific and technical developments in the field of defence, a Committee consisting of Members of the Lok Sabha assisted by technical experts be appointed to examine and suggest changes in the existing pattern of military expenditure."

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member may continue the next day. The House stands adjourned to 11 O'clock on Monday.

17 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday the 24th November, 1958.