

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR (SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY): I have listened to the hon. Member with the utmost attention.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): Now, Bill to be introduced; Mr. Viswanatha Menon.

The Pensions (Regulations) Bill, 1974

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Kerala): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the grant and regulation of pension, gratuity, dearness and other allowances and benefits, payable by the Central Government to its employees or their dependents, on retirement, voluntary or otherwise, or on the death of the Government servant and for other matters connected therewith.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1970

(Insertion of New Article 16A,—contd.)

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR (SHRI BALGOVIND VERMA): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have listened to the speeches of the hon. Members very carefully and I am grateful to them for the interest they have shown in the unemployment problem. It may not be possible for me to reply to the points raised by all the hon. Members separately. But certainly I will bear in mind to accommodate them in my reply.

The sole objective of the Bill moved by Shri Shyam Lal Yadav is to provide for the right of employment failing which right to unemployment allowance as part of the

Fundamental Rights and thereby to make it justiciable. This is sought to be done by inserting new article 16A in the Constitution, which reads as follows:—

Every citizen above eighteen years of age shall have the right to employment and in the event of his failure to procure any employment, he shall be entitled to an unemployment allowance to be paid by the State at such rate as may be prescribed by the Government concerned from time to time by public notification.

Therefore the issue involved in the proposed Bill relates to right of employment failing which right of unemployment allowance. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons, the hon. Member has observed that at present the right to an adequate means of livelihood forms part of the Directive Principles of State Policy, but this provision in article 39(a) has neither served any purpose nor has it achieved the desired objective.

Sir, this contention does not appear to be justified, in view of the various efforts made by the Government in the successive Five Year Plans for creation of more and more employment opportunities. Here, I would not like to burden the hon. Members with all those schemes which have been formulated by the Government in all these Plans till date. If they so like, I can enumerate them. For example, in the First Five Year Plan between 1951-56, eleven point programme was put into action, and schemes were:

(1) Adequate assistance to small industries;

(2) Extension facilities for training workers;

(3) Purchase policy of the Government to be oriented towards indigenous production;

(4) Establishment of adult education centres;

(5) Extension of National Extension Service;

(6) Development of road transport;

(7) Slum clearance;

(8) Encouragement of private construction;

(9) Relieving power shortages;

(10) Stepping up of work and training camps; and

(11) Establishment of one-teacher school in rural area.

These and other Plan schemes were executed in the First Five Year Plan and they generated 5.5 million jobs of which 4.5 millions were in non-agricultural sector and one million jobs were in the agricultural sector.

In the Second Plan during 1956-61, there were certain special schemes for educated unemployed, namely:

(1) Intensive development of small-scale industries;

(2) Co-operative goods transport; and

(3) Work and orientation camps. So, Sir, these and other development schemes created about 8 million jobs of which 6.5 million jobs were in the non-agricultural sector and 1.5 million jobs were in the agricultural sector. During the Third Plan period, namely, during 1961-1966, also some special schemes were executed and they were the Rural Employment Programmes. Under this scheme, four lakh persons got work for about a hundred days a year. About 14.5 million jobs were

created during the Third Plan period of which 10.5 million jobs were in the non-agricultural sector and 4 million jobs were in the agricultural sector. So, Sir, during these three successive Plan periods, so many jobs were created. About the Fourth Plan schemes also, Sir, I would like to say something. This Plan lasted from 1969 till 1974 and five special schemes were taken on hand. The first one was the Small Farmers Development Agency and the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agency. Under this scheme, Rs. 3,686.98 lakhs were spent for 18.51 lakhs of beneficiaries till February 1974. The second scheme was the Drought-prone Area Development Programme. Under this scheme, a sum of Rs. 8,323.00 lakhs were spent from 1970 to 1974 and 1,526 lakh man-days' work was created. The third scheme was the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment. This scheme lasted for about three years, that is, from 1971 to 1974. In 1971-72, under this scheme, a sum of Rs. 3,115.58 lakhs were spent and about 789.6 lakh man-days' work was created. The figures for 1972-73 are: Rs. 5,334.40 lakhs and 1,344.15 lakh man-days' work, and for 1973-74: Rs. 4,094.05 lakhs and 1,019 lakh man-days' work was created.

Then, Sir, the fourth scheme was the Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Project. This also was run for about two years so far and under this scheme also Sir, a good amount was spent. In the year 1972-73, a sum of Rs. 118.75 lakhs was spent and 32.12 lakh man-days' work was created. Then, in 1973-74, an amount of Rs. 11.15 lakhs was spent and 2.97 lakh man-days' work was created.

The fifth scheme was the scheme for the educated unemployed. It was started in 1971 and it lasted for about three years. I would like to give some figures pertaining to this scheme also.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): These figures do not prove anything at all.

SHRI BALGOVIND VERMA: No. These figures prove that the Government is conscious of its duties and the Government realises that the problem of unemployment has got to be solved and the Government is doing its best to solve this problem. My intention is to prove that the Government is not sitting idle and it is doing something.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You must give the figures of the persons who are unemployed. That also you must give.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil-Nadu): Alongwith these figures, you must give the figures relating to the growing unemployment, the number of persons who remain unemployed after the implementation of each of these schemes.

SHRI BALGOVIND VERMA: I am coming to that question. So, Sir, in these three years, jobs for lakhs of persons were created. Then, Sir there is the other scheme. It is called the Special Employment Programme for the States and the Union Territories. It started in 1972-73 and continued up to 1973-74. Here, too, Sir, nearabout 384 lakh man-days' work was created. Then half-a-million jobs programme was taken up in 1973-74 and jobs were provided to 3.34 lakhs of persons. Similarly, Sir, in the Fifth Five Year Plan, which is to last till 1979, the employment promotion programme was taken up in hand and a budget provision of Rs. 40 crores has been earmarked for the purpose for 1974-75 and I am sure good many jobs will be created. So, Sir, in conformity with the objectives embodied in the Constitution, employment has been accorded a high priority in the successive Five Year Plans.

The Government Resolution of March 1950 stated that the objective of planning in India was to promote rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increase in production, offering opportunities to all, in the service of the community. Then, in 1954 Parliament adopted a Resolution, stating that the objective of economic policy should be socialistic pattern of society. Sir, towards that end the tempo of economic development in general, and industrial development in particular, should be stepped up to the maximum, so that they result in appreciable increase in national income and employment. The Third Plan emphasized that economic activity must be so organized as to achieve an ideal way of living for all citizens, specially for those in low-income groups who are lacking opportunities of work. The Fourth Plan laid stress on increasing employment opportunities and adoption of labour intensive techniques to the maximum extent possible.

Thus Sir, continued efforts made since 1951 have no doubt resulted in a substantial volume of new employment opportunities. However, because of the growth of the labour force being faster than the pace of the employment generation and the constraints on resources for investment, the employment generated was not adequate to meet the requirements of growing labour force. As a result, unemployment has continued to grow over the years.

Although precise estimates are not available at present, a committee of experts on unemployment—Dantwala

Committee—was set up by the Planning Commission in the year 1968, which examined the estimates made by the Planning Commission and presented in Plan documents together with other connected issues and suggested in reports submitted to Government in 1970 certain improvements in the collection of statistics on employment and unemployment, which would make it possible to make precise assessment of unemployment situation, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in future. Again, to undertake necessary steps, a comprehensive Labour Force survey in this regard has already been under way for some time past.

Meanwhile, in December 1970 the Government had appointed another committee on unemployment under the chairmanship of Shri B. Bhagwati, to assess, *inter alia* the problem of unemployment and under-employment, in the background of the recommendations of the Dantwala Committee. The Committee estimated the magnitude of unemployment to be of the order of 18.7 million. Sir, out of these 18.7 millions, 9 millions were unemployed and 9.7 millions were working for less than 14 hours a week and, therefore, they were treated as on par with the unemployed. Of these 18.7 millions, 16.1 millions were in the rural areas and 2.6 millions were in the urban areas. Of these 6.1 millions, 7.6 millions females, and of those in the urban areas 1.6 millions were males and 1 million were females. Sir, this Committee has emphasised that these findings can only roughly indicate the dimensions of the problem. Here, I would like to tell you that one cannot say with accuracy the extent of unemployment in the country. Some time back, a survey was conducted by the D.G.E.T. which revealed that nearly 50 percent of registrants with Employment Exchanges were really unemployed. It also indicated that 42.3 per cent were those who

were employed somewhere and wanted employment to better their lot. Seven per cent were those who were getting education somewhere. They were not interested in getting employment as such but would give up their studies if they got suitable employment. Therefore, no estimate can be arrived at regarding unemployment in the country. The Bhagwati Committee too has suggested a number of measures which will lead to a better assessment of employment and unemployment position in the country.

Sir, pending the submission of the final report the Committee on Unemployment had submitted an interim report in February 1972. Keeping in view the urgency and the mounting problem of unemployment and the need to suggest suitable remedial measures to be taken up immediately, the recommendations contained in the interim report were examined by the inter-ministerial working group set up by the Planning Commission and the suggestions made by the group regarding the allocation to be made for various employment schemes during 1973-74 were kept in view while formulating the annual plan of the Central Ministries and the State Government for 1973-74. The final report of the Committee was received in May 1973 and a summary of the main conclusions and recommendations made therein was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament the same day. Subsequently, on 3.8.1973, the full report itself was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament. The recommendations contained in the final report of the Committee were gone into by an inter-ministerial working group appointed by the Planning Commission and the recommendation of this group was received in April 1974. The Ministry of Labour, Directorate General of Employment and Training have since forwarded the recommendation given in the Committee's report together

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with the views expressed on each recommendation by the inter-ministerial working group to the concerned Ministries/Departments for further processing and for obtaining Government's orders to initiate action thereon. The concerned Ministries/Departments have also been requested to nominate a Senior Officer as the Liaison Officer for co-ordinating the work in this connection. Sir, as I stated before, there are no precise data available for unemployment. But the lack of precise data relating to the quantum of unemployment has not prevented the Government from taking suitable remedial action against unemployment. While steps were taken to accelerate the pace of development during the Fourth Plan so as to ensure the creation of a large number of employment opportunities, it was felt that normal programmes included in the Plan alone would not meet the unemployment problem adequately. The Government therefore, initiated a large number of special measures to create a substantial number of additional employment opportunities both in the rural and urban areas of the country. Keeping in view the special needs of the weaker sections of the area where the problem is most acute, certain special programmes designed both for increasing the earning capacity as well as creating additional employment opportunities were drawn up and are being implemented since the year 1970-71. Some of the more important of these programmes as I have told you while dealing with the Five Year Plans, are: the small farmers development agency; marginal farmers and agricultural labourers projects; drought-prone areas programme; commonly known as rural works programme; development of dry farming; area development scheme for development of infra-structure like roads, regulated markets, etc.; and a scheme for agro-service centre.

Sir, during 1971-72, two schemes were sponsored by the Central Government. They were: the crash scheme for rural employment and the scheme to assist the educated unemployed. For the crash scheme for the rural unemployed, an allocation of Rs. 50 crores was made. The idea was to organize work on an average for 1,000 persons in rural areas in each district for a period of 12 months. The scheme was continued during the Fourth Plan and it completed its final state in March, 1974. Under this scheme, again out of an outlay of Rs. 142.74 crores an expenditure of Rs. 125.45 crores was incurred resulting in the creation of 3.153 lakhs man days of employment till the end of March, 1974.

Then, Sir, under the programme for the educated unemployed, implemented by various Central Ministries through the States and Union Territories, the schemes relating to expansion and improvement in the quality of primary education, financial assistance to small entrepreneurs for self-employment service, rural engineering surveys agro-service centres, expansion of consumer co-operative stores, investigation of road projects, design of units for rural water supply, etc. were taken up. On the basis of report, a sum of about Rs. 93 crores was spent and about 71,000 additional jobs were created up to the end of March, 1974. This programme completed its final stage in March, 1974. Then, during 1972-73, another programme, a special employment programme, involving Rs. 27 crores for States and Union Territories was introduced on the understanding that the States would mobilize additional resources to an equal extent. This was a significant step. For the first time the State Governments began to be involved in a significant manner in evolving employment programmes that would lead to the creation of productivity as

well as growth of self-employment. Under this programme, which completed its final phase in March, 1974, against an outlay of Rs. 50 crores, an expenditure of about 69 crores of rupees was incurred resulting in the creation of about 3.80 lakh jobs and 384 lakh man-days of employment till the end of March, 1974. Sir, a further boost to the efforts towards employment generation has been provided during 1973-74. Recognizing the need to further augment employment generation, particularly for the educated unemployed, it was decided to undertake a new programme called half a million jobs' programme. For this programme, an allocation of Rs. 100 crore was made in the Central budget for 1973-74 with the object of finding new job opportunities for a minimum of 5 lakh educated job-seekers during the year through co-ordinated efforts by the States and the Union Territories. Under this programme, a sum of Rs. 53 crores was released to the States and Union Territories/through Central Ministries against which an expenditure of Rs. 50 crores was reported resulting in employment to 3.34 lakh persons up to the end of March, 1974. Then, Sir, the strategy of development as envisaged in the Fifth Plan Document has been designed to meet the three-pronged challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Redistributive growth is a major objective of the Fifth Plan and to attain this objective, employment would be an important vehicle. During the Fifth Plan, bulk of employment opportunities both in rural and urban sectors will be created through the implementation of various Central programmes. In addition, an employment promotion programme with a thrust on self-employment has been taken up during the year 1974-75 with a Central budget provision of Rs. 40 crores.

So, Sir, all possible steps are thus being taken to promote employment opportunities in the country to the

maximum extent consistent with the availability of the resources with due regard to the need for laying foundation for a sustained long-term growth. As emphasised earlier, one of the objectives of all our plans is to enlarge opportunities for employment and it is through efficient and effective implementation of the plans that we can make a dent on the problem of unemployment. However, in the present context of economic development of the country and considering the present capacity of the economy to channelise resources for development, the object of full employment will have to be kept as a somewhat long-term goal towards which the economy has to move in the coming years.

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Uttar Pradesh):

आप यह क्या पढ़ रहे हैं ।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद

माथुर) : राजनारायण जी, आप उनको बोलने दीजिये ।

SHRI BALGOVIND VERMA: Sir, I am giving all these facts and figures because this is a very important topic. It has been raised over and over again in this House and also in the other House. I do not want you to have any doubt in the matter that the Government is not doing everything possible towards solving the problem of unemployment.

Sir, it may be pointed out that even if we were to include in the fundamental rights the right to employment also, it will remain a mere exhortation, for there can be no right without a remedy. More affluent societies seek to give substance to this right by providing for unemployment insurance and unemployment relief as well as old-age pensions. In view of the present stage of the development of our economy, we shall be raising false hope amongst our citizens if we merely

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enshrine the right without providing the necessary wherewithals for their fulfilment.

As regards the suggestion that unemployment allowance should be paid to every citizen who is above 18 years of age, in the event of his failure to procure employment, it will not, perhaps, be a practicable proposition in the present stage of the economy. From the Financial Memorandum it will be seen that it has been admitted that it is not possible, in the absence of authoritative figures of unemployment, to work out the exact estimate of the recurring expenditure on account of unemployment allowance to be paid to those citizens who fail to procure any employment for themselves. It has further been stated that the annual recurring expenditure on this account is not likely to exceed Rs. 60 crores so far as the Central Government is concerned. Even an approximate estimate of the amount to be incurred by the State Governments on this account is not possible. In other words, even if it is possible to provide for payment of unemployment allowance to registered work-seekers in all States which is very much an understatement of the total unemployment in the country, the financial implications would run into several hundred crores of rupees. In view of the resources position of both the Central and the State Governments, it may not be possible to undertake any additional financial burden on this account. Moreover, the resources at our disposal should be invested in a productive manner to create sustained employment rather than be frittered away in giving debts to the youth. In fact, the conditions in India, where a large number of people are joining the labour market every year as a result of faster growth of labour force, are different from those in the developed countries where only frictional unemployment exists and the aim is to provide unemployment insurance for the entire working population.

Incidentally, Sir, the Committee on Unemployment has also considered the

question of granting unemployment allowance. They have felt that the grant of such an allowance would call for the mobilisation of substantial resources which would raise very large issues, such as, determination of the criteria for giving such relief, the quantum and duration of relief to each person, the necessary administrative and organisational arrangement for the satisfactory operation of the scheme, the inflationary pressures that are likely to arise, etc. Further the operation of such a scheme in a country having a preponderance of household workers and with a little over 70 per cent of the population depending on agriculture which, in turn, is subject to vicissitudes of weather, would present very difficult problems. Besides that it leaves great scope for mal-practices and generating an attitude of inability to make any effort for seeking work.

However, insurance against loss of employment can be considered at a future date as suggested by the Committee on Unemployment. Sir, in the light of the efforts already made and being continued in terms of creating more and more employment opportunities as stated in the foregoing paragraphs and in view of the uncertain financial implications involved in the proposed amendment it is felt that such a proposition cannot be considered as being practicable at the present stage of economy. In view of the facts stated, Sir, as well as the efforts made by the Government to give effect to the provisions of article 39 of the Constitution, I request the hon. Member, Shri Yadavji, to withdraw the Bill.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after hearing the long speech of Shri Balgovind Verma, the Deputy Minister, I remember the old saying, i.e., his speech is like the bikini because, like the bikini, lots of things are revealed but the most important things are concealed. Sir, the Deputy Minister read out the whole list of schemes which the Government had been in-

roducing, like the rural works schemes. Cash programmes, half-a-million jobs schemes and the whole plethora of schemes but he has deliberately concealed the most important thing, namely, despite all these efforts by the Government, unemployment has been continuously rising ever since the First Five Year Plan. If in the beginning of the First Five Year Plan unemployment totalled 33 lakhs, now it is anywhere near 400 lakhs plus 30 per cent of the population who are in a state of disguised unemployment. Unemployment problem is continuously getting aggravated despite all the crash programmes, despite all the rural works programmes that have been undertaken so far. I am tempted to say this because Mr. Balgovind Verma has deliberately used the details of the various schemes of the Government only to conceal the main point that the Government has utterly failed to solve the problem of unemployment. Whatever they have done has been a drop in the ocean and the unemployment problem continues to be aggravated. You may be putting a few crores of rupees here and there in the name of solving unemployment problem but in fact, whatever money you have put in the unemployment schemes has been frittered away by private hungry contractors, by political workers of the ruling party at the local level. They have been misusing the funds rather than creating assets. I would like the hon. Minister, for example, to tell the House, out of the total investments you have made for the crash programme, for the rural works programmes and so, how much percentage of the total outlay has been spent on reproducible assets? Government will not be able to give the figure because like the figures for unemployment, Government refuses to collect figures regarding reproducible assets. How much of the total outlay on employment schemes has been spent on reproducible assets, creating employment of a permanent nature? In fact, a large proportion of the money has been spent on investments which create only temporary jobs and the man-days that have been added

to the total employment figures are only temporary in nature, even if they are real. Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, the hon. Deputy Minister said that the proposal of the Mover of this Bill, namely, in case Government is unable to provide employment, it is duty bound to pay unemployment allowance, cannot be accepted. The main reason put forward by the hon. Deputy Minister is that investment should be used in productive schemes and not for giving doles. That was one of his arguments. He said that because of the resource position, the Government could not utilize their limited resources for unemployment allowance because the implications would be too large—large amounts of money will be needed for such a scheme. He also said in his characteristic fashion that if unemployment allowance is given, it will add to the inflationary pressure. I fail to understand his logic because unemployment allowance can add to inflationary pressure only in a situation where such resources have been created by deficit financing, or in a situation where unemployment allowance is given without commensurate development activity. It is true that in a period of inflation, in a period of economic stagnation as we are having today, any disbursement of money from deficit financing will add to inflation. The mover of the motion or anybody else did not demand such an allowance to be distributed. We demand that while the economic crisis should be solved by changing the economic policies of the Government, the Government is duty bound to give unemployment allowance in case the Government fails to provide gainful employment to the people, particularly the working people.

The Deputy Minister spent a lot of time in enumerating the steps that Government have taken. For example, the Bhagwati Committee's interim report was submitted, earlier an inter-Ministerial group was submitted, and the final report was submitted in

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian.]

May, 1973. Then another inter-Ministerial group was formed by the Planning Commission. They deliberated and submitted a report after a number of years. Interim reports, final reports, inter-Ministerial groups reports and reports galore, but no action. Why is that despite the Dantwala Committee's recommendations, concrete figures have not been collected regarding unemployment? Because the Government knows that if the practice of making estimate of our unemployment which was there till the end of the Third Plan was continued, people would rise in revolt because this Government is incapable of providing gainful employment. Plan after Plan, year after year, the additional labour force coming to the labour market has been much larger than the additional employment generated by all the crash programmes and special programmes taken together. Let the Minister have the courage to contradict me. Is the Minister prepared to assert that the new jobs created every year is equal to or more than the additional labour force? He would not be able to say that. In fact, every year since 1951, every year since India got independence, the additional labour force coming to the market has been much larger than the creation of new jobs in that particular accounting year, and as a result there has been a net addition to the unemployed army of people in this country. Therefore, the Government cannot take shelter under the lack of precise data. Whatever the Government has done has been a drop in the ocean, and they have been unable to provide even jobs for the additional labour force, not to speak of wiping off the backlog of unemployment created ever since the First Plan. In the beginning of the First Plan, as I said, according to Government estimates, total unemployment was 33 lakhs. By 1970, it went up to 200 lakhs of totally unemployed people. According to rough estimates, it will be anywhere around 400 lakhs today. The most disturbing

fact is that during the period of development, so-called development—I have got figures for 1959—65—while the ex-factory value of output increased by 168 per cent, during the period, employment increased only 37 per cent. It is not true that production did not increase. The overall production has increased. During the period 1959—66, the ex-factory value of output increased by 168 per cent, but employment increased only by 37 per cent. The main reason is that while in some sectors, industrialisation is taking place, in a large number of other sectors, de-industrialisation is taking place. This is the crux of the matter. While the Government provides some new jobs through some scheme or the other, in a number of other sectors the industries are stagnating, factories are closing down and new problems of unemployment are created. Small-scale industries and middle sector industries are languishing because of the cut-throat competition from the big business houses.

During the period of garibi hatao, 1969-70 onwards Government has been giving increasing number of licences to the big monopoly houses. In 1971, 35 new licences were given to the top 20 companies. In the third year of garibi hatao Government gave 111 licences to the top 20 business houses. If this is the policy of supporting big monopoly houses on the one hand, naturally on the other side, small-scale sector and medium-scale sector must languish. Private industries are being closed down. Employment, for example, in the coir industry in Kerala coast has gone down from 10,000 in the factory sector some 10 or 15 years ago to 3,000 today. Even in the primary sector, machines have been introduced for, the beating of the retted husk in yarn production and in factories, as a result of which there is large-scale unemployment. In the rural areas of the country, due to the so-called green revolution policy of tractorisation and mechanisation, large-scale jobs have been denied to

traditional Harijan labour. The figures show that additional employment has not been created. There has been an explosive situation because the traditional farm labour has been replaced by new labour brought from dry areas. Therefore, even when figures show some employment opportunities having been created, the traditional Harijan labour is being replaced by relatively trained technical labour brought from the dry areas. Computers are used in the L.I.C., in the Railways and in various agencies where the middle class employees were employed and had some opportunities for promotions. Today there is stagnation and retrenchment due to increasing use of computerisation in the various factories and offices. The Government does not stand in the way because the Government represents certain class interests of the big business and landlords who would like to have a larger share of the value of output created in a given year and reduce the share which goes to those who work manually and mentally and those who get wages, salaries and allowances. According to the latest figures given to Parliament the other day, the share of wages and salaries in the total value added has decreased from about 53 per cent to something like 25 per cent today. Every year, the value which goes to the working people, is being taken away from them and passed on to the hands of the top 5 per cent of the population who have title to property. This is the crux of the matter.

I would like to say that in the process of capitalist industrialisation, it is in the interests of the big capitalists to keep a reserved army of unemployed. Shri Balgovind Verma might give a whole list of the schemes which the Government is implementing but there is a bigger Government which is the Government of big landlords and capitalists who are controlling this political Government and according to that economic Government, reserved army of unemployed is necessary to depress the wages of the people. They deliberately keep a

large army of unemployed because that suits them. They can repress the wages, defeat the trade union movement and divide and rule. And the hon. Minister says that in the Fifth Plan, a high priority has been given for solving unemployment. Where is that high priority in the Fifth Plan, I would like to ask. In the Fifth Plan, there is the statement that income will be transferred from the top 30 per cent of the people to the lower 30 per cent, from the top 3 deciles to the lowest 3 deciles. Such a transfer cannot take place. For instance, are they prepared to take over the entire monopoly houses without compensation? Are they prepared to nationalise the entire foreign private sector, including the drug industry, the plantations, and so on? Are they prepared to take over the entire marketable surplus of the landlords and the rich

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peasants? They are not prepared for such concrete policy changes which are required in order to see that the capitalist path of development is reversed and this huge army of unemployment can be reduced. I must say despite all the long catalogue of schemes narrated by the Minister, the hard fact remains, the real fact remains that unemployment is fearfully increasing, in spite of all professions to the contrary. Therefore, I suggest that if this discredited Government is unable to solve the unemployment problem, they should at least show some small mercy by giving an unemployment allowance to the lakhs and lakhs of people, including the educated unemployed, who are today suffering because of a lack of gainful employment opportunities.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Bill under discussion relates to a very important question, namely, guarantee of employment and if there is no guarantee of employment, people should be given some unemployment allowance.

[Shri S. W. Dhabe.]

The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. Raju) in the Chair.

The argument was made just now as if there is only one path available to this country, i.e., to follow the communist regime or communist policy followed either by China or another country. The stock argument has been made against the establishment for every type of problem which has arisen in this country. Those countries which are saying that their unemployment problem is solved by their philosophy are all of not one philosophy. Russia is a socialist country. But China is the only Socialist country which says that when it enters into an agreement with America, it is a useful agreement, but if Russia enters into an agreement with America, it becomes a conspiracy. The days of 'isms' are over. Democracy is a way of life and democracy and socialism can go together. It is a big experiment made in this land. Democracy alone guarantees that people have the right to work and also the right to go on strike. Those who talk here about employment look to those countries which have accepted social discipline and they have done away with strike. Not a single instance they can point out where strike has taken place in the communist countries. If they go on strike they will have to go to prison. Those who talk of guarantee of employment should know that it can come only through industrial peace and by the generation of more employment. In the ILO's slogan it is called increasing the economic cake and then distributing it. On the other hand, regarding the industries which we have got, those who talk so much here about employment and welfare of labour in season and out of season, have asked the public sector workers to go on strike even on flimsy grounds or because of trade union rivalry. I feel that only by guaranteeing industrial peace we can solve the unemployment problem. If we strengthen the new industries coming up in the public sector, which every body is duty bound to make it a

success, many problems relating to unemployment will be solved. The unemployment problem is all-pervading and it is a fact that the Bhagawati Committee has said that it is increasing. It is really a source of worry in our country, but how can it be solved? It can be solved if all people and all parties join together for economic development. Economic development should become a subject above party politics and if industrial peace is ensured, there will be increased economic activity. There are some problems. One reason why employment is not given to more people, as rightly the Deputy Labour Minister said in his speech, it is a question of resources and it is a question of finding more money. There is the question of having more infra-structure in the industry. Everybody in this land is interested in generating more employment for the people. Therefore, if we look at the picture, the time has come when the organised sector, of which Dr. Kurian is a very great exponent, should come forward and make sacrifices for the people who are not organised and who are not getting paid. A large number of rural labour today is unorganised, they have no trade union; they have no organised strength; their wages are poor. Many of them have no employment; they have only sometimes seasonal employment for eight or ten months. Nobody gets provident fund or gratuity. I have been in the trade union movement for a long time. I say, the time has come when the organised sector should make sacrifices and see that generation of employment is made possible in the rural sector. In case the scheme is implemented for every man to get a job, one of the things which I would suggest is to extent the scheme of job guarantee, of employment, to the rural people also is done in Maharashtra where all the parties including the opposition have combined, and they all have agreed on a levy, a tax, for combating unemployment, and Rs. 25 crores are being raised this year, so, that every able-bodied person in the rural area can be given a job. That scheme is very

important. Not only the organised sector should be ready to make sacrifices, but they were also ready to give tax for the unemployment levy. If this scheme is accepted, it will be necessary for the organised sector to come forward to contribute to this unemployment levy which can be Rs. 2 from the management and Re. 1 from the State Government, and a large unemployment fund can be created which can be used for the eradication of unemployment.

Coming to the Bhagwati Committee, it is essential that we create more emphasis on a duty-oriented society. Today, more emphasis is laid on the public sector. People do not worry whether their action is going to make the society at large comfortable. We have seen—there have been instances of strikes, where a large number of people were asked to go on strike—politically-motivated strike—because of which the loss to the society was very great, and nothing was achieved. A great number of man-days was lost. It is necessary that the trade unions should make it a point to see that there are no man-days lost and that the movement is canalised in such a way that industrial peace is maintained. If this is accepted in principle, then we may be able to give employment to every person and it is essential that some sort of guidelines are accepted by the society.

One question which was rightly raised by the previous speaker is about the small-scale industries, and their problem is very important. Today small-scale industries are suffering. On the one hand, we are generating more power and on the other hand we are having power shedding also. At Faridabad, the small-scale industries have been closed and the workers have been laid off. It is happening. It is happening in many parts of the country. In my State it is 25 to 40 per cent of electricity cut; in Tamil Nadu and other States it is still more. I feel that it is very es-

sential that this load-shedding business is stopped, and the Labour Ministry should share the responsibility for this. This load-shedding business has been the greatest source of unemployment so far as a large number of small-scale industries and labour-intensive industries are concerned. I wish to take the opportunity to appeal to the Ministry to see that the power supply is made available. They should also see that there is no load-shedding. They should see that at least the small and the rural sectors and the labour-intensive industries are enabled to get a proper supply of electricity.

It is really strange that in our country the only guarantee of bread is when the man is in prison; outside, he has no guarantee of bread or no guarantee of employment. In this respect our Constitution lacks a very important provision about the guarantee of employment. I, therefore, congratulate Mr. Yadav for bringing his amendment. In fact, it should be our duty to see that the people who are able-bodied, who are young, who are educated get employment. If we do not solve this problem we are sitting on the verge of a volcano. Anytime anything can happen because according to the old Sanskrit proverb:

वृक्षक्षिता किन्नकरोति पापम् ।

If the unemployment problem is not solved, if the people are not given proper jobs at proper time the situation becomes very much explosive. It is really a tragedy of our planning that with more and more planning we are having more and more unemployment. Therefore there must be specific targets fixed. Some years back it was stated that five lakhs educated people will be given job every year. Till now that targets has not been fulfilled. Therefore, I wholeheartedly support the motion of Mr. Yadav. It will be a guarantee not only for larger employment but will be also a statutory obligation on the Government to have such a scheme for all the unemployed.

[Shri S. W. Dhtbe]

Again, I would like to say that we are on trial. Democracy is a way of life. It does not work merely by legal or judicial decisions. Democracy is a way of life which we have accepted and it is being repeatedly asked whether it is not the duty of the society and the Government to see that the unemployed people and the youth get jobs. It is a very unhappy picture that well qualified engineers also have to run from place to place for getting jobs. In the Universities when a Lecturer's post is advertised there are 300-400 applications for a single post. Therefore, in order to solve the question of unemployment we will have to follow certain definite principles. First, I would suggest that there must be some scheme all over India to guarantee jobs in the rural area. In fact, there is no rural welfare board for these people. The thinking is only for the industrial worker. For the rural worker there is no social security scheme. We all know that is the main factor for economic development.

My next suggestion is that there should be continuous supply of electricity and raw material for the small scale industries which create large employment so that they get expanded and provide more employment.

Lastly, it is the duty of the trade unions to see that people who are not employed also get employment by their own effort. And for that purpose I suggest unemployment levies may be considered by the Government for the people who are in the organised sector. Some money from their salaries should be sacrificed by them so that people who are without jobs, who are starving, whose life is miserable get some jobs and their life is made tolerable by their efforts

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री वी० बी० राजू) :
श्री रघुनाथ रेड़डी ।

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
क्या आप मुझे भूल गए हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU): The question is, we have one speaker from each party, and one Member from your party has already spoken.

श्री राजनारायण : यह बात तो आप भी जानते हैं और हम जानते हैं ।

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री वी. बी. राजू) : मैं कोई नई कंवेंशन कायम नहीं करना चाहता, जो सही है वही कहना चाहता हूँ । आप बोलिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, श्री श्याम लाल यादव जी ने जो प्रस्ताव कांस्टिट्यूशन एमेन्डमेन्ट बिल, 1970 पेश किया है, मैं इसका पूर्ण समर्थक हूँ । मुझे इस बात का भी खुश है कि श्री यादव ने यह प्रस्ताव उस समय पेश किया था जब वे हमारे दल में थे ।

श्री श्यामलाल यादव : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं आप के दल में नहीं था ।

श्री राजनारायण : इस विधेयक का सार है कि इस देश में कोई बेकार न रहे और जो बेकार रहे तो उसको बेकार का भत्ता मिले । इसका मूल सार यही है । इस सदन में जो भा लोग हैं, वे शायद जानते हों और शायद आप भी जानते होंगे कि सन 1970 में 6 अप्रैल को जब यहाँ पर लाख, डेढ़ लाख आदिमियों का प्रदर्शन आया था तो हमारी छः मांगों में से एक मांग यह भी थी कि बेकारों को काम दो और अगर बेकारों को काम नहीं दे सकते हो तो उनको बेकार का भत्ता दो । इस काम के लिए आई० टी० आई० ने यह छड़ी मुझे दी है और हमारा पैर भी इसमें टूटा और छः महिने तक अस्पताल में रहा ।

अब मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि बेकारी क्या चीज है? आप कहेंगे कि जल्दी से जल्दी अपना भाषण समाप्त करो, लेकिन मैंने इस पर एक पूरा नोट तैयार किया है और हम चाहते हैं कि पूरा नोट ही आपके सामने पाए दें ताकि सरकार को पूरी जानकारी हो जाय और यह भी मालूम हो जाय कि बेकारी क्या चीज है। मैं मोट-मोटो बातें हूँ आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। जब बच्चा माँ के पेट से पैदा हो जाता है तो उसको जीने का हक है। जीने के लिए खाने का हक है और खाने के लिए काम पाने का हक है। यह हमारा कुदरती अधिकार है कि हमको काम मिले। 28 सालों को आजादी के बाद भी भारत की सरकार लोगों को काम नहीं दे पाई है।

मंहगाई और बेकारी में बेकारी दुख का ज्यादा बड़ा कारण है। चाँजे और सेवाएँ मंहगी हैं तो भी जॉ रोजी रोजगार में हैं कमाई कर रहे हैं, वे उन्हें ले सकते हैं। जैसे तैसे जी सकते हैं। हालाँकि चढ़ती हुई कीमतें जीवन का रस पी लेती हैं। लेकिन जिनको कोई रोजी नहीं, कमाई नहीं, वे तो जैसे जीने के हों हकदार नहीं और अधिकतर लोग तो किसी रोजी धंधे से ही कमाई करते हैं। पुरानी कमाई पर तो बहुत थोड़े पलते हैं और अगर वे भी नई कमाई न करें तो नये धन और जीवन की दौड़ में छूटते जाते हैं। इस प्रकार की हमारे देश की स्थिति है।

मैं कुछ दुनिया के जो विद्वान हैं उनकी सम्मति को बहुत ही नजार के रूप में पेश करना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन आपने हमारे देश में देखा होगा कि बेकारी का अनुमान लगाने के लिए सन् 1968 में योजना आयोग ने विशेषज्ञों की समिति नियुक्त की थी। इस समिति ने

सिफारिश की है कि श्रम-शक्ति, बेरोजगारी और अर्द्ध-बेरोजगारी का जैसा हिसाब पश्चिम के धनी देशों का लगाया जाता है। वैसे हमारे देश में लगाना ठीक नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा तो बिना समिति नियुक्त किये भी किया जा सकता है। इसलिए समिति बैठाने की क्या आवश्यकता थी। यह समिति बैठाई क्यों गई। मैं समझता हूँ कि बेकारी दूर करने के लिए श्री बाल गोविन्द वर्मा अपनी बुद्धि से सुझाव दे सकते हैं। इन समितियों और आयोगों के चक्कर में हमारे देश में बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ती चली जा रही है। सवाल यह है कि अगर बेरोजगारी की पश्चिमी परिभाषाएँ ठीक नहीं बैठती हैं तो कौन-सी परिभाषाएँ माप की विधियाँ अपनाई जाय। समिति की सिफारिश है कि इस बारे में जनगणना, राष्ट्रीय नमूना सर्वेक्षण तथा बेरोजगार दफ्तरों के जरिए आंकड़ों के इकट्ठा करने तथा पेश करने में सुधार होना चाहिए। इन सिफारिशों का पालन करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय नमूना सर्वेक्षण ने श्रम बल का एक व्यापक सर्वेक्षण शुरू किया है।

... और अभी इस सर्वेक्षण के परिणामों की प्रतीक्षा की जा रही है। अभी कुछ आया नहीं कि सर्वेक्षण की रिपोर्ट क्या है; प्रतीक्षा कर रही है सरकार। यह तो सैमुअल बेकेट के "गोडी के इंतजार" जैसा नाटक है। योजना आयोग भगवती समिति बहाल करती है, और वह बताये कि कितने बेरोजगार है? समिति जनगणना; राष्ट्रीय नमूना सर्वेक्षण और बेरोजगारी दफ्तर में यह काम खिसकाती है—क्यों? नमूना सर्वेक्षण हो रहा है। अभी उसके नतीजों का इंतजार है। लेकिन इतना तो अभी से कहा जा सकता है कि राष्ट्रीय नमूना सर्वेक्षण का एक परिणाम यह होने वाला

[श्री राजनारायण]

है कि इस बारे में बेरोजगारी दफ्तरों को अपने आंकड़ों में सुधार करना जरूरी है। आंकड़ों में जालबट्टा कराना, बेकारों की तादाद कम दिखाना यह तमाम बातें समिति का, आयोग का, काम रह गया है।

श्रीमान, इसमें जाहिर है सरकार या तो जानबूझ कर बेरोजगारी के आंकड़ों की प्रसलियत छिपाती है या इतनी अज्ञानी है कि सचमुच जानती भी नहीं। जो भी हो, कोई ठोस हिसाब-किताब भारतवर्ष में नहीं है कि कितने लोग बेकार हैं। हमारा अपना अनुमान है कि देश में किसी न किसी किस्म की या किस्म किस्म की बेकारी है—लगभग 15 करोड़ लोग बेकार हैं। 1971 में आबादी लगभग 54 कोड़ थी, 1974 में 57-58 करोड़ थी, और अब 60 करोड़ के करीब हो गई। औसत परिवार 4 आदमियों का है तो एक आदमी हम बेकार मान रहे हैं। इस प्रकार 60 करोड़ की आबादी है तो 15 करोड़ बेकार हैं, इसमें पड़े और अपढ़ सब शामिल हैं और अब एक औसत परिवार में एक प्राणी किसी न किसी किस्म का बेकार है—पूरा बेकार हो, मौसमी बेकार हो, ढांचागत बेकार हो, एक काम से, छुट्टी और दूसरे को पकड़ने के बीच का हो अर्ध बेकार हो, छिपा बेकार हो—किसी न किसी प्रकार का बेकार है। किसी परिवार में एक से ज्यादा, किसी में कम, लेकिन औसत परिवार में एक अवश्य बेकार है, 4 आदमियों पर। यह हमारा आग्रह है। अब 15 करोड़ बेकारों की संख्या गृह्य भीषण है। अगर उन बेकारों का देश बनाया जाय यादव जी, तो शायद यह देश संसार में छठ नम्बर का देश होगा। बंगलादेश से बड़ा यह देश बेकार देश होगा, जहां न किसी को कोई वृत्ति होगी, न जीविका होगी, न सम्मान होगा—ऐसा अंध तमसावृत्त, सूर्य-हीन, वीर्य हीन देश अपने देश में दबा पड़ा है। यह स्थिति सहसा नहीं बनी है। देखा

जाय, खास तौर से, कि हमारे देश में जो सरकार की योजना है वह क्या है, इसने काम देने के लिये कौन सी चीजें अभी तक की हैं? उसमें हम पश्चिमी सभ्यता और अर्थ-व्यवस्था से कैसे तुलना करेंगे? खेती में मोटे तौर पर 100 में से 50 से भी कम लोग लगे हैं। 1960 के दहाई में 100 में से 21 लोग थे फ्रांस में, खेती में, जर्मनी में 100 में से 14 खेती में थे, इंग्लैंड में 100 में केवल 4 थे, और संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका में 100 में 9 थे, शेष बाकी उद्योग धंधों और अन्य सेवाओं में थे, जब कि भारत में 100 में से 70 लोग खेती में हैं। अब जरा हम को बालगोविन्द जी बतायें कि 100 में से 70 जहां खेती में रहेंगे वहां न खेत ही, न काम हो, वहां सब बेकार पड़े हुये हैं। दो शताब्दियों की साम्राज्यशाही ने पश्चिम के सीमित विश्व में शेष दो तिहाई विश्व की खेती, उद्योग सेवा और जीवन को चूसकर रोजगार और जीवन का यह ढांचा खड़ा किया।

अपने देश में अठारवीं शताब्दी में लगभग 50 प्रतिशत लोग खेती में लगे हुये थे और अब वह संख्या 50 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 70 प्रतिशत हो गई है। अंग्रेजी सभ्यता और अंग्रेजी राज्य ने चर्खा, कर्षा और अन्य धंधों का नाश कर दिया और उनके नाश पर मनचेस्टर और लीवरपुल में मिलें खड़ी की गई और भारत सरकार ने क्या किया? इसलिये मैं यहां पर एक सैद्धान्तिक बात बतला देना चाहता हूं। हमारे जो श्री भूपेश गुप्त हैं वे यह कहते हैं कि कार्ल मार्क्स ने कहा है कि कॅपिटलिज्म के बाद सोशलिज्म आयेगा। **the strongest link of capitalism** कॅपिटलिज्म के बाद पूंजीवाद का जो सबसे मजबूत कड़ी होगी वह टूटेगी और उसके बाद समाजवादी क्रान्ति आयेगी। मगर 1889 में एजिब्स ने संशोधन किया क्योंकि उन्होंने कार्ल मार्क्स का समर्थन करना था इसलिये उन्होंने कह दिया **Capitalism is not the last stage, but imperialism is the last stage.**

में मुश्किल में पड़ गया हूँ। जो दर्शनशास्त्र और अर्थ-शास्त्र के विद्वान हैं, विद्यार्थी हैं, मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इंग्लैंड जैसे देश को भारत जैसा उपनिवेशवाद न मिला होता तो इंग्लैंड में उपनिवेशवाद विकसित न हुआ होता। कैपिटलिज्म और इम्पीरीलिज्म, ये दो जुड़वाँ बच्चे हैं और ये दोनों साथ-साथ चलते हैं। मगर हमारे भूपेश गुप्त के दिमाग में तो यह बात आती नहीं है। वे तो यही कहते हैं कि पहिले कैपिटलिज्म टूटेगा और उसके बाद मिल आयेगी। कम्युनिस्ट दर्शन का भी यह कहना है कि समाजवाद आने के पहिले पूँजीवाद का आना ज़रूरी है क्योंकि जब पूँजीवाद होगा तब मजदूर होंगे। इसके बाद पूँजीवाद खत्म होगा और फिर समाजवाद आयेगा और इस तरह से साम्राज्यवाद वा नाश होगा। इसी तरह की बातें भारत सरकार की किताबों में भी लिखी हुई हैं। उनमें तो लिखा हुआ है कि ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद तो भारत के लिये एक बरदान था। अगर ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य न होता तो इतना बड़ा राष्ट्र ही न बनता। ऐसे ऐसे बेवकूफ, ऐसे ऐसे पागल हमारी सरकार में हैं जिन्होंने इस प्रकार की बातें किताबों में लिखावाई हैं। इस तरह की बातों को पढ़कर हमारे देश के विद्यार्थी क्या करेंगे और हमारे देश के विद्यार्थी क्या समझेंगे ?

(Interruption)

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह बात आपके समक्ष में नहीं आयेगी।

श्री राजनारायण : इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि लैमन ने कहा था कि यहाँ के मजदूरों का शोषण किया गया और इंग्लैंड के मजदूरों को तनख्वाह दी गई। यही वजह है कि इंग्लैंड के जो मजदूर हैं वह चरित्रहीन हो गया और वहाँ के मजदूरों में आग्न नई हुई। यही बात लैमन ने भी कही थी। आज रूस के मजदूर भारत के मजदूरों का शोषण कर रहे हैं। श्री यादव जी को इस बात का पता होगा कि देहातों में भी मजदूर

हैं... (Interruption) श्रीमान् मैं उत्तर प्रदेश की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ पर 10 जिलों में बस्ती से लेकर गोरखपुर तक गांव में लोगों की जो आमदनी है वह 116 रुपया से लेकर 200 रुपया सालाना से भी कम है। यह उत्तर प्रदेश की हालत है जहाँ पर 42 करोड़ लोग रहते हैं जिनकी आमदनी 10 आना रोज से भी कम है। क्या यह कोई देश हुआ ? इस देश में बेकारी हटाने का क्या रास्ता है, कोई माई का लाल हमें यह बात तो बतलाये।

श्री श्यामलाल शर्मा : आप ही रास्ता बतलाइये।

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : पहिले उन्हें विश्लेषण करने दीजिये। बाद में वे रास्ता भी बतलायेंगे।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर यादव जी हमसे बोलने के लिये नहीं कहते तो हम नहीं बोलते। क्योंकि हम तो अपने गवाही के काम में जो 18 तारीख से 20 तारीख तक होने वाली है, उसी में ही फँसे हुये हैं और आपके कहने से यहाँ आये हैं। तो श्रीमान, मैं यह कह रहा था कि पश्चिमी सभ्यता की वजह से, उसके अनुसरण करने की वजह से हमारा जीवन-स्तर, हमारी आर्थिक, सामाजिक और रोजगार की जो प्रगति थी वह पीछे पड़ गई।

करीब करीब जितना एशिया, अफ्रीका, लैटिन अमरीका पीछे धकेला गया, योरोप, अमरीका, आस्ट्रेलिया आगे बढ़ा। जितना उन्होंने हमको धकेला उतना ही वे आगे बढ़ गये। गरीब धनी मुल्कों में पूर्ण रोजगार के स्तर को बनाये रखने के लिये शेष विश्व में कम रोजगार की स्थिति बनते-बनते अब तो पूर्ण बेरोजगारी की स्थिति आ गई है। इसलिये हमको इसके लिये कुछ करना पड़ेगा। गरीब उत्तरी औद्योगिक धनी देशों में पिछले 20-25 वर्षों से बेरोजगारी एक मर्यादा के अन्दर है। पश्चिमी योरोप

[श्री राजनारायण]

तो 1950 की दहाई के मध्य से बेरोजगारी 4 प्रतिशत से कम है। पश्चिमी जर्मनी तो बाहर से आने वाले योरोपीय मजदूरों का स्वागत करता है क्योंकि वहां काम ज्यादा है। एक परिभाषा होनी चाहिये कि पूर्ण रोजगार क्या है। पूर्ण रोजगार तब माना जायेगा जब काम ज्यादा होगा, आदमी कम होंगे। कम्युनिस्ट देशों में पूर्ण रोजगार का दावा नागरिक स्वतंत्रताओं को छीन कर लिया जाता है। लिखने, बोलने, राजनीतिक संगठन की स्वतंत्रता वहां सीमित है। राजसत्ता को शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से बदलने की छूट बिल्कुल नहीं है। इसलिये वहां रोजगार स्वतंत्र समाज में नहीं, बंधे समाज में है। पश्चिमी देशों में उतनी बेरोजगारी है जो एक धंधे को छोड़ने और दूसरे को पकड़ने के बीच होती है। संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका में 1957 के बाद से 5 प्रतिशत से कम बेरोजगारी नहीं हुई, लेकिन पश्चिमी देशों की सरकारों ने बेकारी के दिनों में बेकारी के भत्ते की व्यवस्था कर रखी है। 1958 में पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने कल्याणकारी राज्य की बात कही तो मैंने उनसे पूछा कि कल्याणकारी राज्य का मतलब क्या है? कल्याणकारी राज्य का मतलब है जहां बेकारों को भत्ता हो, बुढ़ों को पेंशन हो, जहां अराहियों का पेंशन हो, जहां मुफ्त दवा हो, जहां मुफ्त शिक्षा हो।

श्रीमन, अगर बेकारों को रोजगार देने के लिये श्री बालगोविन्द वर्मा देना चाहते हैं—बालगोविन्द वर्मा से हमें कुछ उम्मीद है, मगर जो कम्युनिस्ट मंत्री कान में लगाये बैठे हैं उन से नहीं है—अपने देश में 15 करोड़ एकड़ जमीन फालतू पड़ी है, 15 करोड़ एकड़ जमीन को तोड़ने के लिये हिन्दुस्तान के बेकार 10 लाख लोगों की पल्टन बना दी जाये। हमारे

देश में खेती इस समय कुल 33 करोड़ एकड़ जमीन पर हो रही है। केवल 8 करोड़ एकड़ जमीन पर पानी है, 25 करोड़ एकड़ जमीन बेपानी है। उसके लिये, मैं वर्मा जी से कहना चाहता हूं, सिंचाई सेना तैयार की जाये। इसमें भी हट्टे-कट्टे लोगों की, बाबू लोगों की नहीं, जो मेहनत कर सकें उनकी भरती हो। हमारे देश में 40 करोड़ निरक्षर हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि एक साक्षरता दल बनाया जाये जो 40 करोड़ निरक्षर हैं उनको शिक्षा देने के लिये। गांव बांट दिये जायें और जो पढ़े लिखे बच्चे बेकार घूमते हैं इधर उधर उनको कह दिया जाये कि इतने दिनों में इतने गांवों को शिक्षित कर दो। इसी तरह प्राथमिकता छोटे छोटे कुटीर उद्योगों को दी जाये, करघे कां दी जाये, चरख को दी जाये। कि कपड़े की बड़ी बड़ी मिलें तो यह माल तैयार करती हैं वह केवल विदेशों में एक्सपोर्ट हो, उससे विदेशी मुद्रा कमाई जाये और अपने देश के कपड़े की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति चरखे से हो, करघे से हो, हैंडलूम से हो, पावर लूम से हो या अम्बर चरखे से हो। यह व्यवस्था की जाये। अगर यह हो जाये तो जहां तक बेकारों का सवाल है वह हल हो जायेगा और जो हमारे कुम्हार हैं, लुहार हैं, बूढ़े या तेली हैं वह आज सब समाप्त हो गये हैं। उनके रोजगार को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाये और उनको प्रोत्साहन देकर देहात के बेकारों को काम में लगाया जाये। मैं, श्रीमन, चुनार से आता हूं जहाँ पर मिट्टी के छोटे छोटे बर्तन बनते हैं। वह कला आज नष्ट हो रही है। आपने नाम सुना होगा, नानागढ़, आल्हा की लड़ाई में मिट्टी के बर्तन बनाने का वहां पुराना गृह उद्योग था। वह सब नष्ट हो गया। वह अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद और रूसी साम्यवाद इन दोनों ने मिल कर हमारे उस उद्योग को नष्ट कर दिया। इस लिये मैं विनम्रता से सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि सरकार मेरे द्वारा दिये गये सुझावों को काम में

लाये और देश को बेकारी, गरीबी और महंगाई को दूर करे। खाली हल्ला करने का जमाना अब नहीं है। नमस्ते।

एक सवाल मैं और पूछता चाहता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Mr.

श्री राजनारायण : एक सवाल मैं और पूछना चाहता हूँ। 80 करोड़ रुपया लोन टु गवर्नमेंट सर्वेंट्स फार व्हिक्ल्स। यह अप्रोचेटु दि फिक्स्ड प्लान नाम की किताब है....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: 280 crores or 280 lakhs.

श्री राजनारायण : 280 करो है। क्योंकि मा ति कम्पनी है। वह जो कार बनायेगी वह सरकारी अफसर खरीदेगे और इसलिये वह 280 करोड़ का वर्जा ले और वह कार खरीदे। क्या इससे बेकारी दूर होगी ?

श्री श्यामलाल यादव : वह तो कट गया।

श्री राजनारायण : कुछ नहीं कटा। इसका वह जवाब दें। माछुति कम्पनी (व्यवधान) लवह तो तेरे सिर पर चढ़ कर तेरा गर्व दूर करेगी।

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR (SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, the mover of this Bill, has propounded the idea of creating an enforceable right for employment or in the alternative to have unemployment benefits or allowance, whatever the name may be. He has proposed to include this in Chapter 3 of the Constitution of India. He obviously means that this must be an enforceable right and not a directive principle of the Constitution. In other words, the consequence of this would be that in case a person is unemployed or is not in any job, he will have the right to go

to the High Court or the Supreme Court and invoke Article 226 or Article 32 for a direction to the Government or to the authorities concerned. In the absence of that, the Government is bound to provide the necessary employment relief in such cases. This is, in essence, the purpose of this amendment that has been sought to be moved by Shri Yadav. While I commend the intention and the objective behind this Constitutional Amendment Bill, I have to dissent painfully and dutifully from this in view of the fact that having taken into account the economic realities of the present situation, however desirable it may be, it is not easy to achieve this object. Therefore, to enshrine in the Constitution of India, specially as an enforceable right, a right which cannot be enforced by any court of law—through the direction may be there, the direction cannot be implemented in the present economic situation of the country—will not be proper and wise. It will not be proper and wise to include such fundamental rights which, in effect, cannot be enforced having regard to the present historic and economic situation of the country. This aspect I would like the hon. Member to keep in mind before he considers further moving in the matter.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: It is a confession of failure.

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: Many points have been made in this House by several hon. Members..

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): He says that it cannot be implemented in the present situation. After 1976, it will be implemented.

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: For the time being, it cannot be implemented. My hon. friend from Tamil Nadu need not be in such a hurry because I am fully acquainted with the facts and the situation in Tamil Nadu also. Therefore, I do not think he should unnecessarily raise

[Shri K. V. Raghunatha Reddy]

any question of controversy here because I also know the place. I hope he would observe sufficient restraint on himself. As far as many points that have been raised in this House by various hon. Members are concerned my distinguished colleague, Shri Balgovind Verma, in a very brilliant exposition of the subject had answered most of the points. Though my intervention may not be necessary at all for the purpose of answering these questions, for the benefit of the House and my hon. friends, I thought I should intervene in this matter.

Dr. Mathew Kurian, with his distinct understanding of economic theory and practice—with less of practice and more of theory—had come forward with a number of suggestions which we are fully aware, and we need not at this stage of our life learn the economic theories however eminent Dr. Kurian might be.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: How about your practice? How long will it take and how many Plans do you require to make the entire population unemployed? Please give the facts if not the theory.

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: I think in his next doctoral dissertation, Dr. Mathew Kurian may attempt on this subject for the benefit of this House and for the benefit of the people of India. And we on our part would concentrate on finding out ways and means of finding fuller and full employment, and Dr. Kurian may find out ways and means of how to unemploy even employed persons.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You have already done it in practice.

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: But I don't want to enter into this controversy, Sir.

The problem of unemployment, if I may say with great respect, Sir, is not merely a problem that confronts our country but it is also a global problem

having regard to the present economic crisis. Even in a country like America to which many people look forward in terms of affluence and in terms of satisfying their own aspirations, the unemployment has gone up now by nearly 8.2 per cent of the population. And even in England, the unemployment problem is a growing phenomenon. Even in West Germany, it is also like that. Except in the socialist countries where the unemployment problem has completely vanished, in the entire capitalist system, the unemployment problem is growing along with prices. It looks as if the entire capitalist system in the world is in a state of crisis. Therefore, no useful purpose would be served by going in for analogies because the analogies prove worse than the facts which are being stated here.

Therefore, Sir, as far as our situation is concerned, as my friend, Mr. Balgovind Verma has stated, every step is being taken by the Government for the purpose of meeting this enormous problem of unemployment, having regard to the magnitude of the population of this country and the growing population of this country. And then, Sir, as far as the population of the world is concerned, it is said that in the next 30 years, there will be a doubling of the world's population another world on the top of this with equal numbers, demands and hopes. There was a conference of the leading world economists in Mexico recently under the auspices of the UNCTAD, which is an agency of the UNO. Economists who belonged to various schools of thought with differing approaches to the world problems have met and discussed various things, including the problem of economic crisis and unemployment. It has also been pointed out by some of the hon. Members, though not clearly. They had also made a reference to this thing. They said: To this day, at least, three quarters of the world's income, investment, services, almost all the world's research, are in the hands of one quarter of its people. This is the

totality of the global situation that is existing in this world and it would be unfair for any hon. Member to say that the Government, in this context of the world economic situation, is not taking sufficient steps for the purpose of economic development and for providing opportunities for employment. The Government have been attacked and it has been said by Shri Rajnarain that the Congress-men feel that British imperialism did better for the country. I do not know, Sir, whether you have come across a book called "insult to Dictionary". This book seems to have become outdated and Shri Rajnarain seems to be bringing out a new edition of this book. I do not want to interfere and let him have this benefit of doing this job.

Sir, according to the provisional data available, the percentage increase in employment in the public sector has been much more than that in the private sector. Notwithstanding the claims that were made by the private sector and its exponents in this House, it must be realised that it is the public sector that has made a tremendous advance in terms of providing necessary employment potential and also employment opportunities. A comparison of employment figures in respect of organised sector for March 1972, March 1973 and March 1974 shows that while during 1972-73 the rate of employment in the public sector went up by 5.9 per cent, the increase in the private sector was only 1.1 per cent. Again, during 1973-74, while the public sector employment went up by 4.3 per cent, there was tragically a decrease in employment in the private sector by 1.1 per cent. Thus it will be seen that the public sector had shown a commendable increase both in terms of numbers as well as employment opportunities.

So, Sir, while the Government is making every effort to provide necessary opportunities for the purpose of providing employment and increasing employment opportunities for both the

educated as well as those in the rural areas and however desirable it may be, it would be impossible to achieve such an objective as Shri Shyam Lal Yadav has put in his Motion by way of a statue. Sir, it ultimately depends upon the social and economic processes through which the country has to go which will finally lead us to the goal of full employment, and, it depends, not to a small extent, on the rate of economic growth and the total population. So, Sir, while this House certainly would appreciate the motive, the objective and the intention of the Mover of this Bill to move it for acceptance by this House, we would all pray that in not too distant a future this House would have the opportunity to accept such a Bill which would enshrine in the Constitution an article providing for the right to work and the right to peaceful living and the right of having proper economic means for living. I hope that it will not be in the distant future and that in it can be visualised in the near future itself and let us all await with anxiety, expectation and inspiration for such a day to come.

So, Sir, may I in all humility request the hon. Member to consider the desirability of withdrawal of this Bill, instead of putting it to vote, so that the sentiments may remain as have been expressed.

Thank you, Sir.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Does it mean only sentiments and no solution to the problem of unemployment?

श्री श्याम लाल यादव : मान्यवर, मैं माननीय सदस्यों का बहुत आभारी हूँ जिन्होंने इस विधेयक पर अपने विचार रखे हैं और मंत्री जो का भी बहुत आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने अपने विचार इस विधेयक पर प्रकट किये हैं और जो आशाएं व्यक्त की हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि वे बहुत शीघ्र ही फलवती होंगी !

[श्री श्याम नाल यादव]

इसके पहले कि मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूँ, तीन चार बातें निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। मैं एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितने भी कमीशन इस संबंध में नियुक्त किये गये, चाहे वह लेबर कमीशन हो, चाहे भगवती कमेटी हो या बैकवर्ड क्लासेज कमीशन हो, उन सबने अपनी रिपोर्टों में बेकारी की समस्या पर बहुत विस्तार से विचार किया है। इनमें कहीं न कहीं इस बात पर जरूर विचार किया गया कि जो बेकार हैं उन्हें किसी प्रकार का बेकारी का भत्ता दिया जा सकता है या नहीं दिया जा सकता है। यह सही है कि वर्तमान समय में हमारे देश की जो आर्थिक स्थिति है उसमें तत्काल ऐसा करना शायद संभव नहीं, लेकिन अगर हम लोगों को सामाजिक सुरक्षा देना चाहते हैं तो हमें इस संबंध में कुछ करना होगा। हमारे देश में शुरू में जब संयुक्त हिन्दू परिवार हुआ करते थे तो उन परिवारों में काम धंधे की किसी प्रकार की सुरक्षा हो जाया करती थी और परिवार के जो सदस्य बेकार होते थे, वे किसी प्रकार से अपनी जीविकोपार्जन कर लिया करते थे और भरण-पोषण भी कर लेते थे। लेकिन आज सम्मिलित परिवारों की प्रणाली समाप्त हो चुकी है। लिहाजा अब इस प्रकार का कोई व्यवस्था नहीं रह गई है। आज बेकारी के संबंध में जितने भी आंकड़े माननीय सदस्यों ने यहां पर पेश किये हैं मैं और आंकड़े देकर उनमें वृद्धि नहीं करना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन यह बात भी सही है कि बेकारों के सम्बन्ध में हमारे पास कोई सही आंकड़े नहीं हैं। इस संबंध में दांतवाला कमेटी ने कुछ सिद्धान्त निरूपित किये थे और मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन सिद्धान्त के ऊपर नेशनल सेम्पल सर्वे का कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये मैं सरकार से यह भी अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि शास्त्रता से ऐसे मापदंड बनाने चाहिये जिससे बेकारी के संबंध में सहा-महा आंकड़े देश के पास उपलब्ध हों ताकि कोई भी आदमी अनरगल

और मनमाने ढंग से आंकड़े प्रस्तुत न कर सके।

दूसरी बात मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह सही है कि बेकारी का भत्ता सरकार नहीं दे सकती है, लेकिन इस दिशा में कुछ किया जाना आवश्यक है जिससे कि बहुत से बेकारों को काम मिल सके। अभी इस बात की आर श्री धावे जी ने भी संकेत किया है कि जो लोग नौकरियों में हैं उनको अधिक से अधिक सुविधायें देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इसके लिये आवश्यक होगा कि जिस प्रकार से कुछ दिन पूर्व जर्मनी में एक प्रयोग किया गया है उसी प्रकार से यहां पर किया जाय। काम के घंटों में कमी करके अधिक लोगों को प्राप्ताह्न दिया जा सकता है। इसी प्रकार से जिन वेतन पाने वाले कर्मचारियों को ओवर टाइम भत्ता दिया जाता है। उसका बन्द करके बेकार लोगों को काम पर लगाया जाय। तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोगों को टैक्सों में भी रिमिशन दिया जा सकता है। यूरोपियन देशों में इस प्रकार का परीक्षण किया जा चुका है। अगर कोई उद्योग ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को रोजगार देता है तो उसके लिये उस उद्योग को टैक्सों में कुछ रिमिशन दी जा सकती है। इससे उद्योग धंधों, फैक्ट्रियों और पब्लिक तथा प्राइवेट सैक्टर में लगे हुये उद्योगपतियों को इस बात के लिये प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा कि वे ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को अपने यहां रोजगार दें और इससे बहुत से लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा।

इसके अलावा एक थ्योरी सबस्टिट्यूट इम्प्लोयमेंट की भी है? आजकल गांवों, नगरों और कस्बों में नहरें बनाई जाती हैं, सड़कें बनाई जाती हैं और इस प्रकार से निर्माण के दूसरे काम भी किये जाते हैं इस सम्बन्ध में माननीय मंत्री श्री वर्मा जी

ने बहुत से आंकड़े दिये हैं। वे आंकड़े सही हैं, लेकिन इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि जिस काम के लिये रुपया दिया जाय वह स्थायी स्वरूप का काम हो, बरसात में वह न जाय और वह काम इस प्रकार का हो जिससे उत्पादन में वृद्धि होता हो।

अगर उत्पादन में वृद्धि नहीं होती तब भी उस धन का दुरुपयोग हो जाता है, उसका सदुपयोग नहीं होता इसलिये अगर सब्स्टीट्यूट इम्प्लायमेंट की व्यवस्था व्यापक पैमाने पर बराबर की जाय, जो धन सरकार बजट में उपलब्ध कर रही है उसके द्वारा स्थानीय निकाय हैं, जिला परिषद् हैं और राज्य सरकारें हैं, उनके माध्यम से कुछ न कुछ काम लोगों को मिल सकता है।

एक चीज और महत्वपूर्ण है जिसकी तरफ डा० कुरियन ने ध्यान दिलाया, मैं भी ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ, कि मशीनीकरण को अभी हमें अधिक प्रोत्साहन नहीं देना चाहिये कम्प्यूटराइजेशन नहीं करना चाहिये क्योंकि हमारे देश में आदमी ज्यादा सस्ता है, मशीनें बहुत महंगी हैं, बाहर से मंगाने पर और भी महंगी पड़ती है। तो बिन उद्योगों में हाथ से काम हो सकता है, आदमी के जरिये काम हो सकता है, सरकार को ऐसे उद्योग में किसी भी सूरत में मशीन नहीं लगानी चाहिये, जैसे कि मैं दो उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली में मकान बनाने के लिये ईंटों का जां निर्माण होता था, जिसमें छोटे छोटे मजदूर और कारीगर काम करते हैं, उसके लिये मशीन बैठा दी गई। क्या जरूरत था मकान बनाने में जहां लाखों लोग मकान बनाने के काम में लग सकते हैं, उसके लिये प्री-फैब्रिकेटेड हाउसेज शुरू कर दिये हैं। उसकी क्या आवश्यकता है। मुगलसराय में रेलवे में जां मार्शलिंग हुआ करती थी वहां पर मशीन लगा दी गई, जहां 50 आदमी काम करते थे वहां एक आदमी काम करने लगा। ता

इन चीजों को बन्द करना चाहिये और कम्प्यूटराइजेशन नहीं होना चाहिये। दफ्तरों में, एल० आई० सी० और दूसरे दफ्तरों में तमाम मशीनें लगा दी गई, लोग बेकार हो गये, उस काम को बन्द किया जा सके तो जो धन उपलब्ध है उसी में ये सारे काम हो सकते हैं।

अन्त में मान्यवर, मैं पुनः सदन को बहुत आभारी हूँ और मंत्री जी को और खासतौर से रघुनाथ रेड्डी जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ, उनके जैसे विचारवान और समझदार व्यक्ति ने इस बात का आश्वासन दिया कि वह दिन आयेगा जब यह सदन इस तरह के प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करेगा। मैं उनका बहुत आभारी हूँ। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, और मंत्री जी ने जो भावनाएँ प्रगट कीं और आश्वासन दिया उसको ध्यान में रखते हुये अपने प्रस्ताव को वापस करता हूँ।

The Bill was, by leave, withdrawn.

THE CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1971 (TO AMEND ARTICLES 124 AND 217)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I beg to move:

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

Sir, this Bill provides for the appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court not by the President on the advice of the Government but on the basis of advice of a panel approved by Parliament, and in the case of High Court judges the panel should be approved by the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned. This is the first part of the Bill.

The second part of the Bill provides that in the case of a judge of the Supreme Court, it will be open to the