

19. Shri D. D. Puri
20. Shri A. V. Raghavan
21. Swami Rameshwaranand
22. Shri R. V. Reddiar
23. Shri A. T. Sarma
24. Shri S. M. Siddiah
25. Shri K. K. Singh
26. Shri Krishnapal Singh
27. Dr. L. M. Singhvi
28. Shri R. Umanath
29. Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah, and
30. Shri Asoke K. Sen

and 15 from Rajya Sabha;

that in order to constitute a sitting of the Joint Committee the quorum shall be one third of the total number of members of the Joint Committee;

that the Committee shall make a report to this House by the last day of the first week of the next session;

that in other respects the Rules of Procedure of this House relating to Parliamentary Committees will apply with such variations and modifications as the Speaker may make; and

that this House recommends to Rajya Sabha that Rajya Sabha do join the said Joint Committee and communicate to this House the names of members to be appointed by Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee."

RESOLUTION RE REVISION OF THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN TO IMPROVE THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR (Madhya Pradesh) Sir, I move the following Resolution:

"That this House is of opinion that Government should so revise

and enlarge the scope of planned economic development envisaged in the Third Five Year Plan as to arrest the fast deteriorating employment situation in the country and to provide gainful employment to millions of unemployed persons within a reasonably short period."

Sir, this Resolution which I have moved is very simple but at the same time most important in the present state of affairs. The Resolution has four points. In the first place, it demands the revision and enlargement of the scope of planned economic development envisaged in the Third Plan. Secondly it is to arrest the fast deteriorating employment situation in the country. Thirdly it is to provide gainful employment to millions of unemployed persons and that also within a reasonably short period. Now, if it is established that the employment situation in this country is deteriorating fast, I will make out a case for the revision and enlargement of the scope of planned development in the Third Plan. If we go through the reports published by the Government themselves, we find that the employment situation is deteriorating very fast. The Planning Commission have said that during the last 10 years—namely, from 1951 to 1961, the population has increased by 77 millions. This fact has accentuated the problem of unemployment. The additional employment opportunities created during the Second Plan are estimated at about 8 millions. Of these 6.5 millions were outside agriculture. At the end of the Second Plan the back-log of unemployment is estimated at about 9 millions. At page 155 of the Planning Commission report, they have said:

"There is a general belief, which is strengthened by the limited number of employment opportunities reported to the employment exchanges and the pressure of employment seekers on them that in terms of unemployment the economy suffered significant deterioration in

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the last five years. The high rate of growth of population, as reflected by the limited 1961 Census data, now available, would indicate that the problem is one of increasing complexity."

That means, they have themselves admitted that this problem of unemployment is of great complexity.

"This has been broadly confirmed by the findings of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry, the National Sample Survey and the studies undertaken by the Programme Evaluation Organisation."

Another thing in this connection is, the outline report of the Study Group on Educated Unemployed. This is also a Government of India publication. They say:

"The magnitude of the problem that we have to consider is, therefore, the provision of about 20 lakhs of jobs (14.5 lakhs for new entrants and 5.5 for the backlog) for the educated in the Second Five-Year Plan, if unemployment among them is to be eradicated."

That is at the end of the Second Plan the estimated backlog was 5.5 lakhs of unemployed persons.

"Against this figure of 20 lakhs, adjustments will have to be made for the number of persons that are likely to superannuate in the next five years. It is estimated that of the 51 lakhs educated persons, 37.4 lakhs are in the labour force. Of them 5.5 lakhs are unemployed, leaving about 31.9 lakhs who are employed. A part of this population will be employed in services where retirement is compulsory."

I will leave the rest and read this.

"If, on the whole, 1.5 per cent retirement allowance is made per year for all the persons at present in the working force, this by itself

will provide 2.4 lakhs new jobs during the Second Plan period. The other part that has to be taken into account is the employment likely to be generated as a result of the Second Five-Year Plan, both in the public and private sectors, for which our estimate is 10 lakhs in the public sector and 2 lakhs in the private sector making a total of 12 lakhs. This leaves a balance of 5.6 lakhs which requires to be catered for."

So they estimate that about 5.6 lakhs of persons were unemployed at the end of the Second Five Year Plan.

The problem of unemployment in this country is two-fold. There is the unemployment in agriculture or the under-employment in agriculture and there is the unemployment in the urban area which is the unemployment of the educated persons. I have tried to show that the problem of unemployment among the educated should be our serious concern. So also is the problem in the rural areas. Since statistics are not available in the rural areas it is very difficult to estimate it. Efforts have been made to estimate how much unemployment exists in the rural areas, but because of the existence of the joint family system, there is no correct data to show how many persons are unemployed in the agricultural sector. Even assuming that there is under-employment among the uneducated, it is not full employment. The problem is serious. If you see the Statistical Handbook, which is also a government publication, you find an appalling condition in the employment exchanges. These are the statistics. In the year 1951 the applicants on the live register numbered 3.29 lakhs. In 1960 they were 16.06 lakhs. The number of those who registered themselves came to 27 lakhs, out of whom only 3 lakhs or rather 3.06 lakhs were employed, leaving a balance of 16 lakhs on the live register. This shows how enormous is the problem of unemployment in this country.

At the end of the First Five Year Plan there was a back-log of 5 million unemployed persons. At the end of the Second Five Year Plan it was 9 millions and now it is estimated that by the end of the Third Plan there will be about 20 million people unemployed. When we see that this is the condition of the unemployed, naturally the question arises what is to be done in this regard. Are we to allow all our plans to go up in the air? Are we to allow these plans to be sabotaged by these vast numbers of unemployed persons?

The problem becomes serious and the high rate of the growth of our population makes it more difficult. It is estimated that every year about 5 million people are in the market seeking employment and in this way too the problem of unemployment becomes still graver.

When we started our planning, the Planning Commission stated that the object of Indian development plans must be to provide the masses of the Indian people the opportunity to lead a good life. Now we have to see whether by these plans, there is this opportunity to lead a good life or not. I submit that this opportunity is negated, by the growing population and unemployment. The first Plan faced this basic idea with limited means and inadequate data. In fact, the First Plan was no plan at all. It was just a list of some ambitious schemes of development. But the Second Plan had some idea or some notion or shape of a plan. But even then all the targets it had set were not reached. At the end of the Second Plan there is a large number of unemployed persons. And now, in the Third Plan, although the Plan has become ambitious, yet according to the planners themselves, they will not be able to provide full employment to all the persons and a large number will remain unemployed even at the end of the Third Plan. The

approach of the Third Plan, according to the Planning Commission, was to utilise to the fullest possible extent the man-power resources of the country and to ensure substantial expansion in the employment opportunity. This approach is negated by realities. The basic objective of development plans in India must necessarily be to provide the masses of our Indian people with the opportunity to lead a good life. And this is the pious idea or pious resolution. This could not come into a reality. It will be seen that all the efforts and the pious wishes of the Government have failed to give employment to the teeming millions of this country, both in the agricultural sector and in the urban educated population. Now the question is: "What can be done to remedy this appalling state of affairs? What can be done to improve the condition of the unemployed persons in this country." I do submit that so many committees have recommended so many good proposals. But they remain only on paper. Here I will not try to give an exhaustive list of suggestions to show how the Plan can be enlarged or how it can be revised. I will only suggest a few. The Government should give a complete guarantee and they should unequivocally declare that nobody will remain unemployed in this country. This will create a proper psychological atmosphere in this country and enthuse the people with a new ray of hope. Such a declaration on the part of the Government will act as a stimulus in this country. The next suggestion I would like to make with a view to enlarging the plan is the creation of a separate Ministry of Employment. At present the employment situation is looked after by the Labour Department. That Department perhaps is over-worked and cannot give as much consideration to this subject as can be expected. So if there is a separate Ministry to deal with this problem which is acquiring serious proportions, and which can eradicate the unemployment problem, it would be better.

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Now, Sir, the Planning Commission has pointed out certain subjects. I will not deal in detail with them but I would say that there is need for immediate and drastic land reforms in the agricultural sector. I know that land reforms are carried out by the State Governments but they are only an eye wash or just deceptive. I know that in Madhya Pradesh a legislative measure was enacted fixing land ceilings but it was so defective that people had to make an agitation against it. The ceiling was fixed at a very high rate. Even after fixing such high ceilings, the surplus lands available were allowed to be sold by the landlords within two years. Recently a question was asked in that House about the amount of land that was distributed amongst the landless labourers after the fixation of land ceilings and the reply was that this figure would be given in the year 1963 when this period of two years would lapse. This means that after two years there will not be any land for distribution. This is one of the ways how land reform measures are implemented haphazardly. If unemployment in the rural areas is to be eradicated, land reforms must be carried out immediately and through drastic methods. As far as the rural areas are concerned, the introduction of small-scale industries, service co-operatives and co-operative farming must be attended to immediately. For the present, the respective State Governments are not very anxious to do all that. In fact, I have seen the recent agitation that was launched. The State Governments are in no mood but they have got to do these things; because the Central Government asks them to do. Hence they are doing these things; otherwise, they themselves would not do it. So, the atmosphere for immediate land reforms has got to be created in the States.

With regard to the urban areas, I would suggest that there should be

complete nationalisation of road transport, big banks and basic industries. Unless that is done, the problem of unemployment cannot be solved. We know the recent experience, and Government also knows it, that money is concentrated in a few hands and the rich are becoming richer and the poorer section is becoming poorer. On account of this huge disparity in income between one man and the other, the unemployment problem is getting more and more acute. While talking of nationalisation, the difficulty is always put forth that our Constitution does not allow it but the problem is so acute and so staggering that to solve it, if any amendment of the Constitution is required, it must be undertaken immediately. Our Government has carried out so many amendments in the Constitution and so it should not hesitate to make one more amendment to solve this problem and confiscate or nationalise everything.

SHRI ANUP SINGH (Punjab): May I ask the hon. Member how the nationalisation of the transport industry will increase employment?

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: Nationalisation of transport will bring money to the Central Government with which they can start new industries. Now, they always say that they have no money, that they have to borrow from outside and so on. They have taken so many loans. If there is nationalisation, that money will come to the Centre.

SHRI ANUP SINGH: I had the impression that in the transport industry itself it would create more employment. I could not follow the other argument that . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: In any case, you can have a difference of opinion.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: With the huge profit that would be made by the nationalised transport industry we will be able to start new industries

in the public sector and this will naturally give employment to the people. I was submitting that if necessary the Constitution should be amended and we should have nationalisation without any compensation. This should be done within a reasonable period. Our Plans are so lengthy that at the end of twenty or twenty-five years people say that there will be heaven on earth but time cannot wait for anybody. Conditions are becoming so acute and educated unemployment is creating frustration amongst the younger population. A discontented nation cannot sustain, cannot live for a long time. A revolution is bound to come and this is a warning, this is the writing on the wall. Unemployment adds to indiscipline also and, as I said, time cannot wait. Our population is growing at a fast rate and we cannot cover the gap. New people will come and we cannot provide for them. This gap will become bigger and bigger and a day will come when it will be difficult to fulfil our plan targets as we visualise in this voluminous book. Therefore, I submit that Government should take serious note of the situation, enlarge the scope and revise the planned economic development which is envisaged in the Third Plan to create more employment and give gainful employment to the unemployed and that too within a reasonably short period. I hope the House will approve of this Resolution unanimously and pass it.

Thank you.

The question was proposed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I call upon the Members whose names have been registered with me to join the discussion, I might point out that under rule 142 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, there is a time-limit of half an hour for the Mover and the Minister concerned and fifteen minutes for the other Members.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : सभापति महोदय, श्री खांडेकर जी ने सदन के सामने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है कि देश में इस समय जंग बेकारी की समस्या है उसको तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में दूर किया जाना चाहिये, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। उन्होंने प्रस्ताव को रखते समय जो बातें कहीं हैं वे सही नहीं हैं। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहा कि प्रथम और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में बेकारी की समस्या को दूर करने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया। अगर वे फिगरों को देखने का कष्ट करते तो उन्हें मालूम हो जाता कि प्रथम और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में देश के अन्दर जो विकास कार्य हुए हैं उनमें प्रति योजना में ६० और ७५ लाख पढ़े लिखे यूथों को काम दिलाने की चेष्टा की गई। जैसा कि हमारे प्रस्तावक महोदय ने कहा कि सरकार कहती है कि बीस साल बाद हम देश को स्वर्ग बना देंगे और तब तक यहां के लोगों को अनेक प्रकार के कष्ट उठाने पड़ेंगे और उनको भूखों मरना पड़ेगा। लेकिन बात असल में यह है कि जो हमारे देश की समस्या को जानता है उसे इस बात का अच्छी तरह से ज्ञान है कि जहां हम एक योजना में ५० या ६० लाख नवयुवकों को काम देते हैं, उाकी बेकारी की समस्या को दूर करते हैं, वहां ५० लाख आदमी प्रति वर्ष तथा एक पंचवर्षीय योजना में २॥ करोड़ बच्चे पैदा कर देते हैं। यदि एक पंचवर्षीय योजना में हम एक करोड़ को रोजगार दिलाते हैं तो १॥ करोड़ फिर बेकार हैं। लेकिन जहां तक बेकारी की समस्या है उन्होंने जो आंकड़े बतलाये हैं वे भी गलत हैं। अगर वे इम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज जाते तो उन्हें ठीक फिगर्स प्राप्त हो जाते। हमारे देश की ४४ करोड़ की आबादी है और आधे से ज्यादा आबादी निठल्ले यूथों की है जो कि बेकार बैठे हैं और जिन्हें काम नहीं मिलता है। लेकिन सब को किस तरह से काम दिया जाय, यह खाली कह देने से नहीं होता है, जैसा कि उन्होंने यहां पर प्रस्ताव रखा है। जो जो समाजवादी देश हैं उन्होंने ३०, ३० वर्ष

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

छ: छ: पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं बना करके बेकारी और दूसरी समस्याओं का समाधान किया। आज हम तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर बेकारी की समस्या को हल करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इस सारी समस्या का समाधान तो मुमकिन नहीं है। आज हमारे सामने यह समस्या है कि देहातों में जो करोड़ों बेकार लोग हैं और अर्बन एरिया में जो पढ़े लिखे नौजवान लोग गलियों में फिरो करते हैं उनमें से ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को हम किस तरह से काम में लगायें। तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में एक करोड़ से ज्यादा लोगों को काम पर लगाने की कोशिश की जायगी। लेकिन जहां तक एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर का सवाल है उनकी तादाद पहले करीब पांच करोड़ थी और अब वह बढ़ कर करीब सात करोड़ हो गई है। इनके अलावा अर्बन पापुलेशन है, इण्डस्ट्रियल लेबर है। अगर हम एक एक समस्या को अलग-अलग लेकर विचार करें तो जितने हमारे यहां अन-एम्प्लायड हैं, उन सब को हम नौकरी नहीं दे सकते हैं, काम पर नहीं लगा सकते हैं। इसलिये जब तक हमारी सरकार और खास करके ये जो प्राइवेट सैक्टर के लोग हैं उनके दृष्टिकोण में मौलिक परिवर्तन नहीं होगा और जब तक हमारा आउटलुक सोशललिस्टिक नहीं होगा, तब तक हम इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं कर सकते हैं।

जो ट्राईपार्टाइट कांफ्रेंस हुई थी उसमें प्राइवेट सैक्टर के लोगों से यह तय हुआ था कि जब तक इण्डस्ट्रियल लेबर के वास्ते आगे के लिये कोई और नौकरी की व्यवस्था न कर दी जाय तब तक रेशनलाइजेशन नहीं होगा और उन को अपने काम से नहीं हटाया जायेगा। लेकिन आज तक रेशनलाइजेशन के नाम पर प्राइवेट सैक्टर के लोग मजदूरों को अपने काम से हटाते हैं और उनकी छंटनी होती रहती है। इस प्रकार छंटनी होने होते इण्डस्ट्रियल एरिया में भी बहुत से मजदूर बेकार होते जाते हैं। ट्राईपार्टाइट कांफ्रेंस में प्राइवेट सैक्टर के लोगों

ने यह वादा किया था कि जब तक हम मजदूरों को आगे के लिये कोई काम देने की व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हम उनकी छंटनी नहीं करेंगे, लेकिन धीरे धीरे बेकार मजदूरों की तादाद बढ़ती जा रही है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर में बहुत से लोग जो रिटायर हो जाते हैं, उनकी जगह की पूर्ति नहीं होती है और वे जगहें खाली रहती हैं। इस तरह जब तक प्राइवेट सैक्टर के लोगों पर सरकार कड़ाई नहीं करेगी, तब तक यह बेकारी की समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है। यह बेकारी की समस्या बड़ी अहम समस्या है और इसको हल करने में यदि प्राइवेट सैक्टर के लोग आना कानी करें, तो अब समय आ गया है कि जिस तरह से कुछ दूसरे मुल्कों ने किया, उसी तरह से हम भी अपने यहां सारे कल कारखानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लें। जब तक हम ऐसा नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हमारे देश में जो बेकार नौजवान और नव-युवतियां हैं उनको हम ज्यादा से ज्यादा काम पर नहीं लगा सकते।

इसके अलावा हमारे देश में जो विदेशी पूंजी लगी हुई है, उसका राष्ट्रीयकरण करने की भी आवश्यकता है। आज हमारी सरकार विदेशियों को दावत देती है कि वे हमारे देश में आ कर पूंजी लगायें। पहले विदेशी लोग हमारे देश में राज्य करने नहीं आये थे। वे व्यापार करने आये थे और धीरे धीरे राज्य करने लगे। व्यापार करते करते वे अपने पंजे को फैलाते हैं। हमारी सरकार कहती है कि हम इण्डस्ट्री किस तरह से लगा सकते हैं। हमारे पास कैपिटल नहीं है, पैसा नहीं है, पूंजी नहीं है, बर्मा एक छोटा सा मुल्क है, लेकिन उसने भी सारी विदेशी कम्पनियों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके पूंजी जुटाने का प्रयत्न किया है। उसी तरह से सारी विदेशी कम्पनियों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके हमारे पास भी काफी पूंजी हो सकती है। इसके साथ साथ जो बहुत से विदेशी लोग हमारे यहां बहुत से

कामों पर लगे हुये हैं, उनकी जगह पर भी हम अपने नौजवानों को लगा सकते हैं। आज हमारे पास इतना पैसा नहीं है, इतनी पूजी नहीं है जिससे हम देहातों में छोटी छोटी इण्डस्ट्रीज चालू कर सकें और अपने नौजवानों को काम पर लगा सकें। इसलिये अब जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार को सोचना चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि हमारे सविधान में किसी चीज का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने के लिये मुआवजा देने की बात कही गई है। लेकिन जब हम राष्ट्रीयकरण करके बड़े बड़े जमींदारों को पेपर बाड दे सकते हैं और बड़े बड़े राजाओं, महाराजाओं, सूर्यवंशियों और चन्द्रवंशियों का सफाया कर सकते हैं तो जो हमारे यहाँ विदेशी कम्पनिया हैं, चाहे वे ब्रिटिश कम्पनिया हों, चाहे अमरीकी कम्पनिया हों, चाहे कहीं की कम्पनिया हों, उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण क्यों नहीं कर सकते हैं? विदेशी व्यापारी जहाँ लूट रहे हैं उनकी कम्पनियों का यदि हम राष्ट्रीयकरण करेंगे तो उससे हमारे पास सम्पत्ति होगी और जो हमारे यहाँ पड़े लिखे लोग हैं उनको हम काम पर लगा सकेंगे।

आज देहातों में दशा यह है कि एक कुटुम्ब में २०, २५ व्यक्ति होते हैं। उनमें से केवल दो चार लोग कमाने हैं और बाकी लोग ताश खेलते हैं या गप्पे मारते हैं। उनसे कोई काम न सरकार लेती है और न परिवार के लोग लेते हैं। अब जरूरत यह है कि उनसे काम लेने के लिये हमारे यहाँ भी रेजिमेन्टेशन होना चाहिये लेकिन वह रशियन टाइप में या चीनी टाइप में नहीं होना चाहिये। हमने सीलिंग फिक्स कर दिया है और सीलिंग फिक्स करने के बाद जो बहुत सी फालतू जमीन हमारे देश में बचती है उस पर हमें कोआपरेटिव ब्रेसिस पर या क्लेक्टिव बेमिस पर बेकार नौजवानों और नवयुवतियों को लगाना चाहिये और उनके द्वारा मेकेनाइज्ड फार्मिंग करना चाहिये, ताकि हमारे यहाँ जो जनशक्ति है उसका हम प्रयोग कर सकें। यहाँ रोड बनाने की भी बात आई। सरकार को इस तरह की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये कि जो हमारे नौजवान

और नवयुवतिया घरों में बेकार पड़े रहते हैं उनको पकड़ कर एक जगह इकट्ठा किया जाये और उनसे सड़क और रेल बनाने के काम से लेकर खेती का काम लिया जाये। हम सदा बाहर से चावल और गेहूँ मंगा करके जिन्दा नहीं रह सकते। हर साल मैकडों, करोडों रुपये का अन्न हमें बाहर से मगाना पड़ता है। इस समस्या का हल करने के लिये सीलिंग फिक्स करने के बाद जो जमीन बच जाती है और जो सरकार के पास फालतू जमीन है, जिसको फैंलो लैंड कहते हैं, उस पर मेकेनाइज्ड फार्मिंग करने के लिये हमें कड़ाई करके बेकार और निठल्ले नौजवान और नवयुवतियों को लगाना चाहिये। ऐसा करने से हमारे देश में बेकारी भी दूर होगी। इस खेती से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले करोड़ों की तादाद में एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर हैं, जो बेकार बैठे रहते हैं। जब सीलिंग फिक्स हुई, तब यह कहा गया कि जो जमीन बचगी वह पचायतों के पास जायेगी। और उस पर कोआपरेटिव फार्मिंग होगी, लेकिन वह चीज अभी कागज में ही है। यदि उस कोआपरेटिव फार्मिंग को हमें अच्छी तरह से चलाना है तो उसके लिये जो नौजवान और नवयुवनिया देहातों में रहते हैं उनको हम जल्दी से जल्दी इस खेती के काम में लगायें। यह मैं जानता हूँ कि जो सरकार की जमीन है उसको भी अगर हम उपजाऊ बना करके खेती के काम में लायें तब भी तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में जितने हमारे यहाँ अन-एम्प्लायड हैं वे सारे के सारे एम्प्लाय नहीं हो सकते हैं। यह काम तीस वर्षों का है। हमारा जो मनुष्यो का खजाना है, वह बढ़ रहा है और उस के बढ़ने की हमें कोई चिन्ता नहीं है। बहुत से लोगो को इससे चिन्ता होती है कि हमारी जन संख्या बढ़ रही है। मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि यह हमारी सम्पत्ति है और अगर यह बढ़ रही है तो कोई ध्वराने की बात नहीं है। अगर जरूरत पड़ेगी तो हम इसको इधर उधर भेज देंगे। लेकिन जो लोग बेकार निठल्लो की तरह बैठे रहते हैं, उनको हमें अवश्य काम पर लगाना चाहिये। एक कहावत

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

भी है कि बेकार दिमाग शैतान का घर हो जाता है। यही वजह है कि जो प्रदर्शन होते हैं, जो डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन होते हैं, उनमें अधिकतर बेकार लोग ही भाग लेते हैं। इसलिये सरकार को यह कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि जो जमीन फालतू है या सीलिंग फिक्स होने के बाद जो जमीन पंचायतों के पास आये, उस पर देहात के नौजवान और नवयुवतियों को काम करने के लिये लगाया जाये। इसके साथ साथ सरकार को देहातों में छोटी छोटी इण्डस्ट्रीज को ज्यादा से ज्यादा चालू करना चाहिये। इसके लिये अगर पैसे की कमी हो तो सरकार को बैंक और जनरल इंश्योरेंस आदि का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लेना चाहिये। प्राइवेट सेक्टर वाले तो रुपये खर्च करेंगे नहीं। इसलिये हमें सब चीजों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके पूंजी इकट्ठी करनी चाहिये और उससे छोटे छोटे कल कारखाने चालू कर देने चाहिये जिससे हमारे देश में बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान हो सके।

खांडेकर जी ने जो यह कहा कि यह काम पहली योजना में नहीं हुआ, दूसरी योजना में नहीं हुआ और इस योजना में भी होने वाला नहीं है, उनसे मेरा यह सुझाव है कि वे भी समाजवादी हैं और उनको साइंटिफिक दृष्टिकोण अपनाना चाहिये। जहां रेजिमेंटेशन है, जहां डिक्टेटरशिप है वहां भी इस काम को करने में ३०, ४० वर्ष लग गये हैं। यहां तो तीन कनोजिया और तेरह चूल्हे वाली कहावत के अनुसार दर्जनों समाजवादी पार्टियां हैं जो एक दूसरे को कोसती रहती हैं। इसलिये जिस रफ्तार से हम चल रहे हैं उसमें देरी होगी ही। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ सरकार को जरा तेज करने के लिये हम को भी तेज होना चाहिये और हमारा जो कदम उठे वह सही उठे, क्रान्तिकारी उठे, समाजवादी उठे, गिण्टेशनरी नहीं उठे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं फिर इस रेजोल्यूशन की तारीफ करता हूं।

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, this Resolution postulates that there is necessity for rethinking and reformulating in the field of economic philosophy dealing with planning in India. To that extent I welcome this Resolution and support it. As you know, economic development in this country is said to be based on four pillars, viz., (i) man-power, (ii) internal financial resources, (iii) natural resources, and (iv) foreign aid, which is the weakest among the pillars. Of all the capital assets in India, man-power is the biggest asset which India possesses. Unfortunately, we are not able to make use of the entire man-power available in this country for the purpose of economic development, which some other countries have managed to make use of. In spite of the inadequacy and shortage of proper statistical information available in India, the problem is clearly stated, at least explained in the Third Plan. The gravity and magnitude of the situation regarding unemployment are admitted in the figures given in the Third Five Year Plan itself, the backlog of unemployment being about 9 millions. The Third Five Year Plan also admits that it is impossible to solve the problem of unemployment in the Third Five Year Plan or Fourth Five Year Plan or even in the Fifth Five Year Plan. Probably they have fond hopes that afterwards they may be able to tackle the situation.

When we turn to the field of agriculture, the problem is more acute than what the planners imagine. Apart from the question of unemployment both in the urban areas and rural areas, there is also the question of under-employment, proper, full employment. Now, if we turn to the statistics prepared by experts who belong to the I.L.O. we will find this:—

“According to a national sample survey, in 1955 about 55 per cent. of rural households in India have holdings of less than 2.5 acres and about 71 per cent. of less than five acres. Of the total estimated rural labour

force in 115-120 million 'it may be fair to assume that in rural areas opportunities for gainful employment of the order of about 22 million may have to be provided for the persons who are not occupied for more than 22 hours a week and who have expressed willingness to do extra work if provided for more than eight hours a week.' "

This is the magnitude of the problem in relation to rural unemployment and underemployment, as stated in the book published by the International Labour Office entitled 'Employment Objectives in Economic Development--Report of a Meeting of Experts'. This book cannot be accused of having been published by even such mild organisations as the 'Socialist Forum', which had met recently. This is purely an organisation of experts dealing with economics and, therefore, we cannot doubt these figures. We can attach some importance to what has been stated by them.

In this context if we look at the problem properly, we will find that the entire problem of unemployment is directly linked with the economic development of this country and towards that end the entire thinking of economists and planners must be directed, so that a quicker development is possible. This immediately raises the problem of investment, besides man-power. About this my friend has already stated that if not today at least tomorrow there is no alternative except to nationalise the banks, which will yield capital, and also foreign investments which export in the form of profits nearly Rs. 33.8 crores per year. Even if we may not go up to the point of nationalisation, at least we will have to insist that all these profits will have to be invested here for the benefit of this country, because their profits are got from the blood and sweat of the people of India.

Then, if we look at the problem, we will find that inflation has also been

made a convenient contrivance for the purpose of making more profits day by day. If we can make use of these profits, it would be a good augury for the development of the country. And if we can persuade our friends at least to give loans to the Government in whom they have confidence and if the capital assets which are lying idle in the hands of the capitalists can be taken over by the Government, that would go to some extent towards fulfilling the development plans of this country. In this context, I may again quote the Report of the Experts Committee in relation to spending and taxes. On page 53 they say:—

"In most cases it will be necessary for the government to take further measures to restrict the consumption of those groups in society whose need for additional consumption is least pressing."

Then, again, in another paragraph they say:—

"It is non-essential spending by the upper income groups and by the government itself that the government wishes to reduce, not investment. Policies should be designed with this end in view."

In spite of what the experts feel throughout the world, rather ironically I might add—in pursuance of which philosophy, I do not know, the expenditure tax has been abolished, in spite of the contrary opinion expressed by the various experts in the world, with a unanimous voice.

Then, as regards foreign aid, we have got many illusions that foreign aid is going to help this country in a big way. The Finance Minister, in his statement made in the Lok Sabha after he had returned from foreign tour, had expressed in one paragraph his confidence and high hopes of getting a lot of foreign aid. He said that it was only a sum of Rs. 38 crores which was lagging behind from what had been promised. To the extent he has got the aid, he deserves our congratulations, but in the later pra-

[Shri K. V. Raghunatha Reddy] graphs he has expressed a feeling of despondency whether we would be able to make our experts properly whether the six ECM countries would treat our country in the same manner as they treated us previously, whether we would be able to keep our balance of trade and get the amount of foreign exchange which is necessary for the development of this country. As far as this problem is concerned, unless we view this in the context of international economic developments, we will be having only fond illusions which we should not have. After the development of various countries notably West Germany and the American countries, there is a kind of market crisis which has taken shape in the form of an economic crisis and they are struggling hard to find out markets. With the resurgence of independence movements in the African and Asian countries, the traditional markets of the Western countries are finding unstable conditions. Hence, in order to find a method in order to postpone the day of scuttling, the day from which no more of this capitalist type of production will go on, they have thought it fit to think in terms of an organisation called the European Common Market. This European Common Market is not limited merely to national agreements between the nations for the purpose of tariff control or finding markets for their commodities. A phenomenon of industrial integration between various European countries is going on. I cannot do better than quote from the journal published in English called the Journal of Industrial Economics on the subject: this again is published by the British economists in consultation with the British industrialists: it is said on page 6:

"There is a steadily growing flow of American and British companies setting up subsidiaries in one of the Common Market countries, or entering into various sorts of agreements with local firms. There are also more and more Continental

firms seeking to establish themselves as producers for the whole of the market. It is possible that this has not yet had a sizeable effect on trade flows, but evidence in this field points in the same direction as the one given by trade returns

It is admittedly difficult to make a quantitative assessment of the agreements which have already been entered into. The information I have been able to collect nevertheless adds up to a very impressive list "

In engineering, electronics and various other fields there is an integration of industries between one industrialist and another industrialist and the flow of capital from one country to another country for the purpose of integrating their economies and tightening the belt of markets. Viewed in this context I do not know whether the hopes of any Minister or any economist would be justified that we are going to have a favourable trade with all the six countries which have formed into a European Common Market. Therefore, it is again one more reason why there should be complete rethinking in the field of economics, foreign exchange and foreign trade, for otherwise we will have to face a very serious situation.

Dealing with economic development in relation to unemployment, emphasis on regional development should not be forgotten. Again in this context I might say that the experts dealing with this matter have said:

"The role of industry in economic development will depend upon natural resources, comparative costs, the size of markets and other factors. But in very many countries it is, in the long run, industrial development which may be expected to contribute most to the creation of new permanent jobs both directly and through the promotion of complementary tertiary activities. The question of the regional location of industry thus becomes vitally important from the point of view of the full utilisation

of underemployed labour. For social and political reasons, heavy public investment must in any case be undertaken in all regions and particularly in those where there is much underemployed labour. Unless these expenditures are accompanied by industrial growth, they will fail in the double sense that the new public works will remain in great part unutilised while requiring steady maintenance expenditure (unless they are simply left to deteriorate), and that labour employed for their execution will, once they are completed, fall back into open unemployment thus giving new impetus to excessive horizontal mobility."

In another paragraph they say:

"Apart from social and other considerations, a more balanced regional development may enable the country to reap long-term economic benefits by making possible a wider diffusion of industrial knowledge, skills and techniques over the country and instilling a sense of progress among a wider section of the population. The fundamental objective of regional industrial planning is therefore to leave no important fraction of the country's population untouched by the process of industrial development. This does not of course exclude an appropriate degree of internal migration nor does it imply that completely self-sufficient regional industrial systems should be created."

If either for political reasons or for the reason that a particular Minister belongs to a particular constituency and that that particular constituency is to be developed those ideas infiltrate into the philosophy of planning, it will not be a happy affair. So the Planning Commission or the Planning Minister should take up the cause of regional planning in relation to the natural resources available in each place and in relation to the needs.

In this context I may be permitted to state that Andhra Pradesh and Kerala in the South are the two most neglected States, though some of the industries might go by 'night flight to Madras. So, Mr. Chairman, as far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, the Prime Minister had been pleased to state one of these days that power and Panchayati Raj constitute socialism. They both are the fundamental factors for the purpose of building socialism in the country. Sitting in Delhi I cannot probably complain much because we are having power shortage here, but as far as power is concerned it is the basic raw material around which you will have to develop all the metallurgical and steel industries and subsidiary industries so that the unemployment problem can be solved to some extent.

In this context I must state that as far as coal is concerned the Railways are the most prodigious users of coal because there the coal is used only at 6 per cent. efficiency, whereas coal can be used for the purpose of generating electricity at a level of 34 per cent. efficiency. Kathagodam is a place where coal is available in great quantity and in the surrounding areas they have got raw material. All these things can be utilised even for the purpose of erecting a power station for 200 megawatts or 300 megawatts and also to erect an alloy steel factory at Kathagodam. For this purpose we have got almost all the materials except a few raw materials which we have to import. If a coal washery is installed there, it would be useful to give some coal to the Railways at a higher caloric value and the rest of the coal with greater ash content can be utilised for the purpose of generating electricity.

I may add in conclusion that in all projects which are created under Government patronage, if land is available, it should not be distributed among persons who have got the capacity to buy. The land must be distributed amongst the agricultural labour and Harijans and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes without creating pro-

[Shri K V Raghunatha Reddy]

proprietary rights but making them as shareholders and partners in co-operative farming. Model farms will have to be set up under every project which is developed by the Government with the taxpayers' money under the public sector, so that these farms which are based on co-operative farming can act as model farms and can inspire others to endeavour themselves into this type of activity. In this way only I think the unemployment problem can be solved to some extent in this country. So, the rethinking in the philosophy of economics will have to start from now, and in that spirit I support the Resolution moved by my hon. friend.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras). Mr Chairman, the mover of the Resolution has suggested that the Government should expand the Plan so that it will give more employment.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I understand—and I am told about it—that he has just returned from a movement after having been in jail. While we are opposing taxation which was levied in pursuance of the objectives of the Plan, if you propose any extension of the Plan, it means taxation, and if you oppose the taxation, I do not understand that. We must have dual personality. In one place we do one thing, and in another place we do another thing. I do not know. If I am not right, I may be told that I am not right.

Now coming to the unemployment position, it is indeed pretty bad. I am not talking about under-employment which has been mentioned to be 15 million to 18 million. With regard to unemployment the Third Plan has said that it is about 2 million backlog at the end of the Second Plan. The new labour force is about 17 million. They come to about 19 million men. Employment has got to be found for these 19 million men. They say that they could find employment for 14 million men. The rest is about 5 million men.

It has been calculated, Madam, that of these people for whom employment has to be provided, two-thirds are in the villages and one-third in the cities. But the employment provided in the Third Plan is two-thirds in the cities and one-third in the villages. These are taken from the Third Five Year Plan figures. For this purpose, the Government proposed certain projects called the Rural Manpower Utilisation Projects. I would like to know from the Government the result of these projects. These projects have been working certainly from the last year; possibly, they began even in the last year of the Second Plan but they certainly began in the first year of the Third Plan. A sum of Rs. 2 crores is being provided and we are told that any amount would be provided. But I would like to know what the result of the working of these Rural Manpower Utilisation Projects is.

Now, I come to another aspect of this unemployment problem and that is the educated unemployment problem. Figures have been made available from employment exchanges all over India. There are 334 employment exchanges all over India and on the 31st March, 1962, the total number entered in the employment exchanges was 8,53,000, roughly 8½ lakhs. Of these, 4½ lakhs are matriculates, 64,000 are intermediates and the number of graduates is 51,000. That will mean that this problem of educated unemployment will grow greater in most States and my own State of Madras is one of them, where there is almost free education for children till school final, for children of people who receive salaries less than Rs. 1,500 a year. Previously, it was Rs. 1,200, it has been recently increased to Rs. 1,500. Their children get free education till the VI form, till matriculation. And that means that a number of children who previously did not get opportunities of education are going in for education. The result will be that the number of matriculates will increase tremendously in the future.

There is another reason which has contributed towards this increase of matriculates and that is, previously schools were only at taluk centres but today in many States, there are schools within three miles or five miles reach of any village. The result is that almost anybody who wants to be educated gets free education. And so, the problem of educated unemployment in the future is going to be a very tremendous one.

As far as 1962 is concerned, the number of matriculates is $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and others constitute the balance out of $8\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. The analysis shows that the number of engineering graduates is 760. I am amazed at the figures given because we are lacking in engineers but the polytechnics and colleges do not get engineers, many of our polytechnics and colleges are only half filled, the posts are only half filled. And I am told here that 760 engineering graduates are unemployed, 199 medical graduates are unemployed and 40,611 other types of graduates are unemployed. But these are not the whole figures because researches have

shown that only one-third of the people enter into the employment exchanges. The Preliminary Survey of Urban Employment, 1953, laid down that of the total educated unemployed only 43 per cent got registered at the exchanges for jobs. Later surveys including the Sample Survey of Employment in Calcutta, the National Sample Survey 9th Round, etc have proved that only 33 per cent to 36 per cent of the total educated unemployed got registered at the exchanges. That means, this figure of 8,53,000 is really 25 lakh people unemployed. And the question is how are we going to employ them. The Government have set up a Committee to go into this matter. A Study Group on Educated Unemployment was appointed some time in 1955-56 and they have made some recommendations. They are—work and orientation centres, establishment of small-scale industries and production centres, co-operative goods transport, university employment bureaus from where

they will make people available for employment opportunities, technical training and vocational guidance centres, etc. Now, what I want to know is this. This is a colossal problem. We are taking many steps. I want to know whether any studies have been conducted as to how the steps that we have taken have served the purpose. I have no doubt that the Government is very earnest about this matter, any National Government must be earnest, because this unemployment problem will become a dynamite. It is up to us to improve the situation, especially when we are out for large schemes and when we are providing large opportunities of education.

In this connection, one other matter we must consider. In 1957, a survey was made. Of the 26,297 graduates who were registered at the exchanges, details were collected and analysed in respect of 25,785 graduates. It was found that 12,512 applicants held BSc Degrees. This may be about North India. In South India, BSc Degree-holders to teach science classes are not available. But here I find that 48 per cent of the registered unemployed graduates are holding BSc Degrees. There must be something wrong in the statistics. The balance are Arts graduates, etc. Some of these figures given are facts which we experience in our lives but what I would like to know is how far these figures are correct and it is something which must be gone into.

Then, it is not enough that a Minister or a representative of the Government gives a reply that this is being done. This does not create employment. We must be told what is happening in the field and whether the results expected from this experiment are encouraging. I would expect the Government to give us some detailed information about this in these reports.

I would like to mention one other matter before I sit down and it is this. No country in the world can give desk employment only to everybody. The

[Shri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.].
unfortunate thing about us is that almost everyone who has passed the school final examination wants to become a clerk, and that is what the statistics say. People want clerkships and think that it is enough; they think that it is not worth anything if they do not become clerks. People would like to do only white-collar jobs and will not take to work by hand. It is not a matter merely for the Government, we must give that orientation to our people. We are having these industrial schemes, for example. They must go and join those schemes. And unless they join those schemes, any number of schemes will not help us. So, it is a matter of changing our national habits also. And in this matter one thing we should consider, and it is important. When a boy passes the school final examination and wants to go for higher studies, what does he choose? He chooses engineering because the prospects for engineers are very high today. Then he chooses medicine. Next comes agriculture. These are the three courses he chooses. (Interruption.) Maybe in your place medicine is the first preference. Maybe in another place they want engineering first. There is a lot of demand for medical courses, I agree. Medicine is a much sought-after subject, there is no doubt about it. But after that what is happening? The number of seats that we provide in the engineering and medical colleges can by their very nature be only small because they require a tremendous amount of investment. Next to that, the boys do not want to go to colleges if they have got a professional outlook. After the VI form they want to go to the colleges only because they do not have a professional outlook. Polytechnics have a large number of applications; agricultural courses have a large number of applications. Even the teacher training courses where the prospects are very low, have a large number of applicants. I am not talking about all India. My knowledge is, of course, limited only to my part of the country. I speak from my experience. Possibly it is true of other States; perhaps it

may not be true in respect of some States. But, by and large, this is the picture. This only means that in our educational system we must provide tremendous scope for professional training at the end of the Sixth Form course. In the course of another ten years almost every boy and girl in this country, I believe, will become a Matriculate and naturally, unemployment among these educated people after these ten years will have mounted up, because everybody will become a Matriculate as free education is provided, as is already being done in many States. So a mere Matriculate will not do. It must be a higher qualification, and to tackle this problem of unemployment among the Matriculates it seems to my mind that there must be provision of facilities for people to take to professional courses at the end of the Sixth Form course so that, in two years or three years, for such of those people who cannot get admission in the medical colleges or the engineering colleges, there must be a variety of jobs thrown open, and to enable them to be fit to take on such jobs we must give training. This is a matter in which the Labour Department must work in co-operation with the Education Department, not only with the Education Department, also with the Agriculture Department. There are a variety of jobs that are cropping up in the Agriculture Department today, which do not require engineering graduates to fill them. People with technical education should do. Also in the Medical Department there is need for technicians; a vast number of technicians are necessary today. We must be able to move with the times, and find out the variety of technicians that are to be produced within the country itself, and this is a subject in which the Labour Department should take the greatest interest. This calls for imagination, greater study and greater co-operation between these departments. Unless we do this many things may be said against us. Many things may be planned, many things may be announced by the Government here, but the results will not be those we ex-

pect unless the things announced and planned are implemented in right earnest. I hope proper vision will be brought to bear on the solution to this problem of the educated unemployed.

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

महोदया, इस प्रस्ताव के द्वारा देश की एक ज्वलन्त समस्या की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट किया गया है। मैं प्रस्ताव की मूल भावना से सहमत हूँ लेकिन अच्छा होता यदि प्रस्तावक महोदय यह भी स्पष्ट कर देते कि पंचवर्षीय योजना में वे किस प्रकार का परिवर्तन चाहते हैं जिससे अधिक से अधिक लोगों को काम मिल सके। प्रस्ताव में यह भी स्पष्ट होना चाहिये था कि कितनी अवधि के भीतर हम देश के हर एक स्वस्थ और परिश्रम करने योग्य व्यक्ति को काम देने का लक्ष्य रखते हैं। केवल इतना कहना कि एक रिजनेबुली शार्ट पीरियड के भीतर काम मिल जाना चाहिये पर्याप्त नहीं है और केवल यह मांग करना कि पंचवर्षीय योजना के क्षेत्र का विस्तार किया जाये, मैं नहीं समझता कि उस उद्देश्य को पूरा कर सकेगा जो इस प्रस्ताव में निहित है।

हमें इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिये कि हमने आर्थिक नियोजन के जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये हैं उनमें लोगों को काम देने की जो एक बड़ी बात है उसका स्थान क्या है? पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत मुख्य रूप से हमने पांच लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये, जिनमें राष्ट्रीय आमदनी का बढ़ाना, मूलभूत उद्योगों का विस्तार करना, खाद्य उत्पादन में आत्म-निर्भरता प्राप्त करना और उसके बाद चौथे नम्बर

पर जाकर हमने लोगों को काम देने का लक्ष्य रखा है।

अब यह बात कही जा सकती है कि जब तक उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा तब तक राष्ट्रीय आमदनी में वृद्धि नहीं होगी और हम आर्थिक विकास के लिये एक आधार स्थापित नहीं कर सकेंगे। लेकिन इस देश में जिसमें जनसंख्या अधिक है और बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या के लिये काम जुटाने का सवाल है, हमें यह भी विचार करना होगा कि हम उत्पादन का कौन-सा तरीका अपनायें। उत्पादन तो बढ़ना चाहिये, लेकिन आधुनिक ढंग के तरीके ऐसे हैं कि जिनमें उत्पादन तो बढ़ता जाता है मगर उत्पादन में लगे हुए हाथ बहुत कम होते जाते हैं। नई मशीनें आ रही हैं। संसार आटोमेशन की तरफ जा रहा है और अगर हमें अपने उत्पादन के लागत के मूल्य को कम करना है तो हमें उत्पादन के तरीके बदलने पड़ेंगे। लेकिन उसी समय हमारे सामने संकट खड़ा होता है कि हम उत्पादन के नये ढंग को अपनाते हैं तो उत्पादन में लगे हुए हाथ कम होते हैं, बेकारी घटने के बजाय बढ़ती जाती है और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी आर्थिक नीतियों के निर्माताओं ने अभी तक इस समस्या का कोई हल नहीं निकाला है। देश में आदमी ज्यादा है और उनके लिये काम की आवश्यकता है। अब उत्पादन का एक तरीका यह हो सकता है कि हम उत्पादन बढ़ा लें मगर लोगों को काम न दें। इससे हो सकता है हमारी राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति बढ़ जाये, हो सकता है कि कृषि के क्षेत्र में, उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में हम उत्पादन के ऊँचे लक्ष्य प्राप्त कर लें लेकिन जब तक लोगों के

[श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

पास काम नहीं है, उनके पास खरीदने की ताकत नहीं है तब तक वह बड़ा हुआ उत्पादन कहा जायेगा। वह मुट्ठी भर लोगों के हाथ में केन्द्रित हो जायेगा। इसलिये केवल योजना का क्षेत्र बढ़ाना आवश्यक नहीं है, केवल उसका स्कोप बढ़ाना आवश्यक नहीं है, हमें पंचवर्षीय योजना में निहित जो स्ट्रेटेजी है, जो उत्पादन के तरीके हैं और जो टेक्नीक है, उस पर विचार करना चाहिये कि क्या उसको बदलने की आवश्यकता है?

क्या यह एक विचित्र स्थिति नहीं है कि देश में आर्थिक नियोजन चल रहा है और बेकारी बढ़ रही है। दुनिया के किसी देश में ऐसा नहीं हुआ कि आर्थिक नियोजन चलता हो और बेकारी बढ़ती हो। हमारी तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी लोगों को काम देने के जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये गये हैं उनसे यह स्पष्ट है कि आधा देश में जितनी बेकारी है, तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के पूरे होने के बाद आज से ज्यादा बेकारी होगी। यह बेकारी ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में है, शहरी क्षेत्र में है, गैर-पढ़े लिखे लोगों में है पढ़े-लिखे लोगों में है और यह कह कर कि हम जितना विकास सम्भव है उतना कर रहे हैं इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं किया जा सकता है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में इस प्रश्न की ओर थोड़ी-सी जागरूकता दिखाई देती है। हमने ऐसे कार्यक्रमों पर अभी तक बल दिया है जिनमें जनशक्ति अधिक काम में लाई जाती है। हमारे सामने समस्या केवल अधिक जन-बल की नहीं है, समस्या यह भी है कि हमारे पास पूँजी कम है और इसलिये हमारी योजनाएँ पूँजी प्रधान नहीं होनी चाहियें, श्रम प्रधान होनी चाहियें। अधिक से अधिक लोगों को हम काम दे सकें, इस प्रकार की योजना की आवश्यकता है। लेकिन तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को पढ़ने से ऐसा ज्ञात नहीं होता कि योजना के निर्माता एक निश्चित

अवधि के भीतर लोगों को काम देने के लक्ष्य को पूरा करने की ओर अप्रसर हो रहे हैं।

अभी सर्व सेवा संघ की ओर से एक विचार गोष्ठी का आयोजन किया गया था, देश के सभी प्रमुख दल और सर्वोदय नेता उस गोष्ठी में शामिल थे। श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण ने उस गोष्ठी की अध्यक्षता की थी और वह गोष्ठी इस परिणाम पर पहुँची कि हमें कम से कम १९७२ तक इस बात का वादा करना चाहिये कि हम हर एक व्यक्ति को काम देंगे। आज, १९६२ है, अभी दस वर्ष बाकी हैं और आर्थिक नियोजन के दस वर्ष बीत चुके हैं क्या योजना के निर्माता यह कहने के लिये तैयार हैं कि १९७२ तक वे हर एक व्यक्ति का हर एक स्वस्थ व्यक्ति को जो काम चाहता है उस को काम देंगे। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि काम देने के सम्बन्ध में हम लक्ष्य निर्धारित क्यों नहीं कर सकते। लेकिन लक्ष्य निर्धारित करने से पहले योजना बनाने वालों के पास अभी बेकारी कितनी है, कितनी स्वरूप में है, और कितने क्षेत्रों में है, इसके सम्बन्ध में भी पूरे आकड़े नहीं हैं। तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में इस बात को स्पष्ट रूप से स्वीकार किया गया है। मैं योजना कमिशन के शब्दों को उद्धृत करता हूँ। वे ये हैं :

"The exact data are inadequate for building of a sufficiently detailed picture of the state of employment in the country as a whole and in its regional, urban and rural aspects."

योजना के बनाने वाले कहते हैं कि हमारे पास अभी पूरी सामग्री नहीं है जिससे हम इस बात का विचार कर सकें कि राष्ट्रीय, क्षेत्रीय और स्थानीय स्तर पर बेकारी कितनी है। अगर प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाते समय यह बात कही जाती तो मैं समझ सकता था परन्तु यह तीसरी योजना चल रही है और हम भविष्य की योजनाओं की रूप रेखा

तैयार कर रहे हैं अगर बेकारी के सम्बन्ध में हमारे पास पूरे आंकड़े नहीं हैं, तो हम किस प्रकार आर्थिक नियोजन ठीक ढंग से कर सकते हैं यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है। मैं नियोजन मंत्री से यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि जब तीसरी योजना बनी तब १९६१ की जनगणना के आंकड़े हमारे पास नहीं थे लेकिन अब जनगणना के आंकड़े आ गये हैं। उन आंकड़ों से क्या प्रकट होता है? बेकारी कितनी मात्रा में फैली है इसके बारे में क्या जानकारी मिलती है और क्या उन आंकड़ों को देखते हुए तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में किसी तरह के संशोधन परिवर्तन या परिवर्द्धन करने की आवश्यकता है? मैं चाहूंगा कि इस विवाद का लाभ उठा कर नियोजन मंत्री इस सम्बन्ध में प्रकाश डाले कि जनगणना के अन्तिम आंकड़ों के आने के बाद क्या योजना में किसी तरह से परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है।

योजना के अन्तर्गत कुछ ऐसे कार्यक्रमों के मुद्दाव दिये गये हैं जिनसे ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में बेकारी दूर हो सकती है, जैसे सिंचाई की सुविधाओं को बढ़ाना, जंगल लगाना, सड़कें बनाना, भूमि-क्षरण को रोकना और इस तरह के सार्वजनिक काम हाथ में लेना जिससे अधिक से अधिक लोग अपनी रोजी कमा सकें और इसके लिये तीन चार पाइलट प्राजेक्ट्स की व्यवस्था की गई है। स्पष्ट है कि यह संख्या बहुत कम है और इसके लिये जो रुपया खर्चा गया है वह और भी कम है। एक पाइलट प्राजेक्ट के लिये हम साल भर में अगर दो लाख रुपया रखें तो उससे कोई बड़ा परिवर्तन होने की संभावना नहीं है।

इसके अलावा यह भी विचार करना होगा कि गांव से जनसंख्या का जो प्रवाह नगरों को ओर आ रहा है उसको कैसे रोका जाये। अंग्रेजी राज्य में पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के जिलों के निवासी कलकत्ता और बम्बई रोजगार के लिये आते थे, और स्वतन्त्रता

प्राप्ति के १५ वर्ष बाद भी श्रम का यह प्रवाह अभी तक नगरों की ओर चल रहा है। गांव में काम नहीं है, घन्घा नहीं है और इस का परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र और शहरी क्षेत्र जहां एक दूसरे के लिये पूरक होने चाहिये थे वहां गांव के लोग जो शहरों में आते जा रहे हैं वह शहरों में निवास की एक नई समस्या पैदा कर रहे हैं और शहरों का पक्का माल गांवों में जा कर गांवों के जो परम्परागत हाथ से चलने वाले उद्योग हैं उन को समाप्त कर रहे हैं। भारत के ग्रामीण क्षेत्र और शहरी क्षेत्र में हम समन्वय स्थापित नहीं कर सके हैं और पिछले १० वर्ष के आर्थिक नियोजन में ग्रामीण क्षेत्र और शहरी क्षेत्र की यह खाई बढ़ती जा रही है। प्रश्न पूछा जा सकता है कि आखिर यह गांव से आने वाले लोगों का तांता जो शहरों में काम के लिये आते हैं कब तक चलता रहेगा। इसका एक पहलू और भी है। गांव में प्रशिक्षण की कोई सुविधा नहीं है और रोजगार की जो भी सुविधायें बढ़ रही हैं वह जो प्रशिक्षित लोग हैं उनके लिये बढ़ रही हैं। हम कोयले की खानों का मेकेनाइजेशन कर रहे हैं, यंत्रीकरण कर रहे हैं, हम उत्पादन के नये तरीके अपना रहे हैं। अब, गांव से जो सीधा-सादा नौजवान आदमी, जिसने किसी कला-कौशल को नहीं सीखा है, जो केवल अपना हाथ ले कर चला आता है उसको हम शहर में काम नहीं दे सकते हैं। हमारे उत्पादन का जो पैटर्न है, उसका जो स्वरूप है, वह बदलता जा रहा है और जैसे जैसे औद्योगीकरण करेंगे वैसे वैसे यह स्वरूप बदलता जायेगा। एक तरफ हम देखते हैं कि हमें ट्रेड यूनियन की जरूरत है, अखबारों में नौकरी के जो विज्ञापन निकलते हैं उनको उठा कर देखिये तो पता चलता है कि आज प्रशिक्षित लोगों की आवश्यकता अधिक है और उसके अनुरूप हम प्रशिक्षित लोगों की मांग को पूरा नहीं कर सकते हैं और दूसरी तरफ ऐसे लोगों की बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है जिन्हें किसी प्रकार का प्रशिक्षण नहीं मिला है।

[श्री ए० बी० बाजपेयी]

मैं नहीं समझता कि एक ओर जो प्रशिक्षित लोगों की मांग है और दूसरी ओर जो प्रशिक्षित लोगों की कमी है इन दोनों के बीच की खाई को पूरा करने के लिये कौनसी योजना बनाई गई है ? वोकेशनल टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग की काफी व्यवस्था की गई है मगर वह पर्याप्त नहीं है, उसे और भी व्यापक रूप से फैलाने की जरूरत है। उस के साथ ही ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में जो पाइलट प्राजेक्ट्स हमने स्थापित किये हैं उनकी संख्या हम बढ़ा सकते हैं, उनमें लिये अधिक रुपया रख सकते हैं, और इस बात का प्रयत्न कर सकते हैं कि खाद्य-उत्पादन की दृष्टि से देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनाने के लिये करोड़ों लोगों को हम काम में लगाने का प्रबन्ध करें। एक सुझाव दिया गया है कि लैंड आर्मी बनानी चाहिये और इसके लिये ऐसे लोगों की भर्ती की जाये जो कि परती जमीन को तोड़ें और नई जमीन पर खेती करें, घनी खेती के तरीके को अपनायें और खेती का उत्पादन भी बढ़ायें और अपने लिये रोजगार की व्यवस्था भी करें। मगर सरकार ने अभी तक लैंड आर्मी बनाने के सुझाव पर गम्भीरता से विचार नहीं किया है।

एक समस्या और है और वह है पढ़े लिखे लोगों की बेकारी की। जो लोग पढ़े लिखे हैं उन्हें हम कहां काम देगे, उन्हें कैसे काम देगे ? किस किस प्रकार के उद्योगधंधों में खपायेंगे ? पढ़े लिखे लोगों की बेकारी केवल एक आर्थिक प्रश्न नहीं है, उसके सामाजिक और राजनैतिक परिणाम होते हैं। पढ़े लिखे बेकार लोग एक ऐसा कच्चा माल है, विस्फोटक माल है जिसमें एक छोटी सी चिनगारी कभी भी बवडर पैदा कर सकती है और देश के अनेक भागों में पढ़े लिखे लोगों की बेकारी के दुष्परिणाम हम देख रहे हैं। मगर अभी तक पढ़े लिखे लोगों की बेकारी को दूर करने का कोई समन्वित, संगठित प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर औद्योगिक और कृषि के

क्षेत्र में हम उत्पादन के तरीके नहीं बदलेंगे और पश्चिम के तरीकों का अन्धानुकरण करेंगे तो हम उत्पादन तो बढ़ा लेंगे मगर न तो उस उत्पादन का समुचित वितरण कर सकते हैं और न उस बढ़े हुए उत्पादन के लिये देश के भीतर बाजार पैदा कर सकते हैं। अगर बेकारी है तो वेतन नहीं है और वेतन नहीं है तो खरीदने की ताकत नहीं है और अगर खरीदने की ताकत नहीं है तो खेतों में कितना ही अनाज पैदा हो जाये या कपड़े की मिलों में कितना ही कपड़ा बन जाये वह इस बात की गारंटी नहीं है कि हर एक भूखे को अनाज मिलेगा या हर एक नंगे को कपड़ा मिलेगा। आज भी देश में अनाज की कमी नहीं है मगर पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के जिलों के लोग अभी भी पेड़ों की जड़ खा कर अपना पेट भरते हैं, कनाटा प्लेस में कपड़ों की कमी नहीं है मगर अभी भी सड़कों पर नंगे आदमी देखे जा सकते हैं। अनाज की, औद्योगिक और कृषि पैदावार की बढ़ोतरी इस बात की गारंटी नहीं है कि वह हर व्यक्ति को मिलेगी। इसकी गारंटी एक ही है कि हर एक व्यक्ति को काम मिलना चाहिये, ऐसा काम मिलना चाहिये जिससे वह अपना पेट भर सके, अपनी बुनियादी आवश्यकताओं को पूरा कर सके और इसके लिये हमारी योजना में आधारभूत परिवर्तन करना चाहिये। योजना का पहला लक्ष्य होना चाहिये हर एक व्यक्ति को काम देना। हमने ससार को कर्मभूमि माना है, हम यहां कर्म करने के लिये पैदा हुए हैं मगर आज देश में काम नहीं है। नारा लगाया जाता है "आराम हराम है", मगर जो बेकार हैं वे आराम नहीं चाहते वे काम चाहते हैं। अभी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कुछ दिन पहले नौजवानों को एक नारा दिया था कि उन्हें कदम मिला कर चलना चाहिये मगर कहां को कदम मिला कर चलना चाहिये ? क्या रोजगार के दफ्तरों की तरफ कदम मिला कर चलना चाहिये ? लोग काम चाहते हैं और हम नारों से उनका समाधान करना चाहते हैं। इसलिये जब तक हम उत्पादन के ऐसे तरीके

नहीं अपनायेंगे जिसमें पैदावार भी बढ़े मगर साथ ही साथ पैदावार में लगे हुए हाथ भी बढ़ते जायें तब तक लोगों को संतोष नहीं होगा। शायद इसीलिये गांधी जी ने नारा दिया था कि माम प्रोडक्शन नहीं, प्रोडक्शन बाई मासेज हो, करोड़ों भुजाये उत्पादन के काम में लगी हों। इसलिये खेती का यंत्रीकरण देश के लिये उपयोगी नहीं है। औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में भी हमें गांवों में बिजली फैला कर छोटी छोटी मशीनें देश में तैयार करके उन मशीनों का जाल बिछा कर वहां उत्पादन केन्द्र स्थापित करने चाहियें। पश्चिम के ढंग का औद्योगीकरण न तो आर्थिक विषमता को कम करेगा न देश के हर एक व्यक्ति को काम दे सकेगा। इसके लिये आवश्यकता केवल योजना के क्षेत्र को बढ़ाने की नहीं है, इसके लिये योजना के निर्माताओं के दृष्टिकोण में मूलभूत परिवर्तन होना जरूरी है और वह तब तक नहीं होगा जब तक कि हम अपनी योजनाओं का पहला लक्ष्य यह नहीं रखेंगे कि हर एक व्यक्ति को काम मिले और यह काम १९७२ तक मिले। आर्थिक नियोजन के लिये २० साल कोई कम समय नहीं है। हम दूसरे देशों की तुलना करके अपने बेकार लोगों को काम न देने की स्थिति का सामना नहीं कर सकते। और देशों में जनता रुकी रही होगी मगर आज समय जिस गति से चल रहा है उसी गति से आर्थिक नियोजन का चक्र न चला तो लोकतन्त्रीय ढांचे में आर्थिक समता लाने का हमारा उद्देश्य पूरा नहीं होगा। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि नियोजन का लक्ष्य होना चाहिये “हर एक व्यक्ति को काम” और वह काम १९७२ तक, १० साल के भीतर, हमें देना चाहिये। इसके लिये कृषि के क्षेत्र में उद्योग के क्षेत्र में अपनी नीति को बदले और शिक्षा में परिवर्तन करे, देश में हाथ से काम करने की प्रवृत्ति को प्रोत्साहन दें, एक ऐसा दृष्टिकोण विकसित करे जिससे कि हमारे आर्थिक नियोजन का, जो हम एक महान् प्रयोग कर रहे हैं लोकतन्त्र के अन्तर्गत आर्थिक नियोजन का वह प्रयोग सफल हो

सके। मगर उसके मार्ग में बढ़ती हुई बेकारी एक बड़ी बाधा है, उस बाधा का निराकरण होना चाहिये। यही मेरा निवेदन है।

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras):
Sir, the Resolution itself is very badly drafted but it draws attention to one of the most pressing problems of this country. Full employment is an objective of every kind of economy in this world, whether capitalist, socialist, communist or mixed economy. Therefore, it is also one of our objectives. But then, we are not able to find out whether we are proceeding on the road of greater employment or greater unemployment. I am afraid that thinking on this matter is to-day so confused and contradictory that unless we can have a rational comprehension of the whole problem we are not likely to make any headway. Therefore I want to define how we should approach this problem. First of all, this is not a single problem but two different and distinct problems. We should not confuse total unemployment with partial employment or underemployment. These are two different things that have to be dealt with in entirely different fashions but unfortunately, when we speak of 15 or 19 million unemployed, nobody knows how many of these are really totally unemployed and how many are suffering from seasonal or partial unemployment. Total unemployment is an urban phenomenon. It is only in cities and towns you have people who have no work whatsoever. In the rural areas it is always a case of partial unemployment or seasonal unemployment. Therefore the first thing to be done in order to solve this is, we must find out, we must devise a machinery to ascertain how many are totally unemployed and how many are under-employed. So I do suggest that every municipality in this country should maintain a register of unemployed. Of course we have now

[Shri K. Santhanam.]

the Labour Exchanges. Unfortunately, they are not to be found everywhere and all unemployed do not register themselves there. Therefore, I suggest that, in every municipality, there should be an unemployment register and propaganda should be done among the unemployed that they should first register themselves in the municipal register. Similarly I would suggest that in every village panchayat there should be a register where people will register themselves for under-employment because during the harvest season or the sowing season, there is actually a shortage of labour in the villages rather than the reverse. Therefore, there would have to be different kinds of registers to show in what seasons you want to give employment and we have to devise such employment which will not take them far away from these villages while in the case of the totally unemployed of the towns, we can take them a way wherever there is employment.

Then secondly we have to realise that so far as total unemployment is concerned, the only way is to develop industries and social services. The word 'employment' is also used very loosely. In the Ambar Charkha if a man gets 4 or 6 annas, it is called employment. That will not do. We must define employment as giving him work which will give him living wages. Any work which does not give living wages should not be called employment. If we have to give living wages, the only way of doing it for the totally unemployed is to develop our industries and expand our social services. So far as social services are concerned, there is enormous scope for expansion. Why should you not in this country have one teacher for every 20 children? Why should we have one teacher for 40 children? Immediately we can increase the strength of teachers by lakhs. But the real difficulty is we have to pay them and therefore we

are now caught in a dilemma. Without increase of wealth we cannot increase the social services. Without increasing the social services, we cannot give sufficient and adequate employment for the totally unemployed in the towns. Therefore the development of industries—by industry I include transport, trade and everything—is essential. Without the development of industries and social services the problem of total unemployment cannot be solved. Therefore it is no use blaming the Planning Commission or anybody. Of course some kind of temporary employment can be devised by such ways as asking the man to go and dig the high level and make it low level and give them some temporary wages but that will be only waste of scarce resources and we shall not be solving the problem of unemployment. Therefore a faster development of industry and out of the surplus proceeds of industry a quicker development of the social services is the only possible solution for total unemployment. For partial employment or under-employment in the villages, it has to be solved in a different way. Intensification of agriculture is bound to increase employment. For instance, wherever there is single crop, if we can introduce double crop, the total amount of labour required will be doubled. Therefore conversion of single crop lands into double crop lands and providing irrigation and other facilities for them is one of the certain methods of solving this under-employment. Again many traditional services such as the annual repair of irrigation tanks, canals, etc. have lapsed. We must resume them. I am sure they will give at least an average of 15 to 20 days more employment to every under-employed worker in the villages. Again I think high prices for agricultural raw materials is one of the conditions of solving the under-employment because as the purchasing power of the agriculturist increases, he is bound to employ more and more labour for various purposes.

Therefore the cry for a reduction of agricultural prices is a fallacious cry. It is bound to increase the under-employment of the agriculturists. Public works and other things are well known. I do not want to harp upon them. We must develop them as much as possible and give as much work in road-making and other public works to the under-employed in the villages. But there is one thing to which sufficient attention has not been paid. At least 80 per cent of the houses in our villages are not fit for human beings. I am sure that if we want to be a socialist society, if we have got even a human feeling for the under-dogs, large-scale house-building in the rural areas should be taken up. Of course here again we have got into a dilemma. Most of the peasants cannot afford even Rs 1,000 which is the minimum for a small house in a village. You cannot give him a loan and try to recover it. We have to find out some kind of national insurance by which all the workers, the landless labourers, the poor artisans and others, will be provided with decent houses within the next 15 or 20 years. Take a village of 500 persons. It will have about 100 houses and of these about 80 will have to be built properly. I say, let us have a plan by which every village of 500 population will build 4 houses every year, and for building these 4 houses the village will mobilise all its labour, make its own bricks, raise its own timber and so on. And if it builds 4 houses a year, in 20 years' time it would have built all the 80 houses and all the mud huts and all the thatched houses will disappear from our country. Whenever I go to a village the first difference or class distinction that is noticed is about the brick houses and the mud or thatched houses. The man in the thatched house gets a depressed mentality. He feels he is down and out and he has not the incentive to do hard work. Therefore, I feel that a large-scale house-building scheme, almost in the form of a gift to the poorer classes, is one of the things

necessary. It is likely to employ labour for many years, 20 years or 30 years and by that time we can expect both our industrial and agricultural economy to expand so much that they will be able to absorb all the labour into both of them. We want a good deal of imagination. I do not agree with the idea of having small pilot projects. The duty to give employment should be vested in every local body. It should become the duty of the municipality to provide work for the unemployed in the towns. It should become the duty of the village panchayat to provide work for the unemployed in the villages. Of course, they have to be assisted with finance by the State, by the Centre. But it should be the obligatory duty of every municipality which no municipality should escape. I believe, Madam, both in the United Kingdom and in America, this unemployment problem was first tackled by the municipal authorities and only then did the other authorities come into the field. The same should happen here. Only then can we tackle this problem on a national scale. A pilot project in one centre in a vast State can employ only 100 or 200 or 1,000 persons. How will that affect the problem as a whole? If every village will give employment to some 10 persons at a time, then it means you get five million employed, since we have 5 lakh villages. So these five million will be employed at the same time. We have to conceive of it on a national scale and in a decentralised fashion so that the work could go on in every village at the same time. Of course, there are the difficult problems of finance, supply of materials, supply of technical advice and all that. I do not want to take up the time of the House by going into the details just now. But I say this work should be started. The work of giving employment all over the country by the local authorities should be started. The tasks which the villagers should be given should include not only the keeping of the irrigation channels clean or the repair of their

[Shri P. K. Kumaran.]
tanks and so on, but also the providing of houses for those classes which cannot afford to build houses of their own. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, unemployment in our country has been growing at a very fast rate. At the beginning of the First Five Year Plan the number of the unemployed was estimated at 2½ millions and it is expected to reach 12½ millions at the end of the Third Plan. The latest estimate seems to indicate that another 2 millions will have to be added to this number. The rate of growth has been tremendous and this is not a problem which can be tackled by measures of birth control. The whole Plan has to be recast in a new way and I support the Resolution now before the House. While recasting the Plan the capacity for employment has to be fully taken into consideration.

Recently, that is to say, some 3 years back, in the Tripartite Conference, there was an agreement that rationalisation will be introduced in industries in such a way that retrenchment does not take place. But I am sorry to say that that agreement is already a dead letter and rationalisation is being introduced in all the industries. While this is increasing the production, the number of persons employed in these industries is getting reduced. Take the example of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Some 10 years ago, this concern was employing nearly 40,000 workers and the production then was 1 million tons of steel. Today it is producing as much as 2 million tons of steel and the number of workers has gone down. I do not remember their exact number. Similarly in the public sector undertakings also, as for instance, in the Railways and so on, the Government has been following a policy of not filling up vacancies though the work-load has been increasing by leaps and bounds. The work-load has been increasing but the number of employees has been stag-

nant or has even gone down. These go to increase the number of the unemployed in this country.

There is one suggestion I would like to make in connection with our large development projects. For these projects, we have been importing machinery for moving earth and so on and some of these big projects are being held up for want of such mechanised earth-moving devices. The bulldozers and other machines have to be imported from foreign countries at very high costs. While I am not against the introduction of advanced techniques to increase production, because otherwise that will only hamper our production, in such cases as earth-moving etc., when a large number of unskilled labourers are wandering all over our country, the work can be done by utilising these workers instead of spending foreign exchange in importing huge machineries, until we can ourselves make these bulldozers and other earth-moving devices.

There has been considerable agitation in this country—and it is still going on—for the distribution of Banjar land or government fallow land to the poor unemployed in this country. If this fallow land had been distributed free to the landless poor, it would have helped them to find gainful occupations. But this aspect of the matter, the Government has been consistently neglecting. As the previous speaker was pointing out, in the countryside, under-employment is a big problem. Of course, during the harvesting season there is shortage of labour. But throughout the remaining period they migrate from place to place. Especially in the famine-stricken areas the agricultural operations are such that they are not able to maintain these people and hence they migrate to the towns and cities. In these cities and towns they remain unemployed or get into all sorts of ways, take to begging and so on. The large number of beggars in our cities is also accounted for in this way. Recently there has been a good deal of power cut going on in the country at different places, in towns and cities.

This lack of availability of power is interfering with the normal production in the factories and workers are being laid out. The capacity of the existing factories is not being fully utilised and this leads to further unemployment. There is a general argument that these skilled workers are not unemployed. That is not a fact.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member can continue later. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, **THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN** in the Chair.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, in iron ore industry mechanisation is being introduced. This process is rendering a large number of workers surplus. The same story is being repeated in the cotton textiles and jute industries. In Bombay alone sometime back the total number of textile workers was 2,50,000 but now the figure has been reduced to 1,60,000 or so. I am not against rationalisation or mechanisation as such but if this is to be done at the cost of employment, then while it may be creating more profits for the industrialists it will put unbearable burden on the society. I am of the opinion that rationalisation without ensuring alternative employment to the surplus workers should be banned. Large tracts of fallow land are lying in this country unattended to. Government could start State farms in these places and employ agricultural labourers. Fallow land could be distributed amongst the poor peasantry along with sufficient grants so that they can start their own cultivation. At present Government is depending on the private individuals to start medium and small scale industry. If this policy is given up and if Government starts small scale industries in the countryside, this will absorb a large number of workers. These sources will prove quite profitable and unemployment can be reduced to a large extent. At present, inflation has

been allowed to come in the country. Inflation is reducing the purchasing power of the people. When the purchasing capacity is reduced, goods remain in surplus and demands come down. This also affects the employment potential of the industry. If the present trend of creating inflation is not stopped, our planned development will only create and continue economic chaos. I hope, therefore, that the Government will reconsider the whole aspect of the question and affect such change as would absorb the growing number of unemployed persons.

Another scheme to be considered by Government is unemployment insurance and unemployment relief. In Western countries unemployment relief is being given by the Government but in our country people go from starvation to starvation which leads to all sorts of social irregularities. I hope Government will consider the question of affording unemployment relief also as a temporary measure until the whole unemployment question is solved and the unemployed persons are absorbed in other industries or other activities.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam Deputy Chairman, I thank the hon. mover of this Resolution for giving an opportunity to this House to discuss this very important problem, although I must say that he has not been very convincing. The question of unemployment or employment is very vital from three points of view. Committed as we are to the socialist pattern of society, we are also committed to giving every citizen in this country a means of livelihood so that he can enjoy all the opportunities which the best of the citizens have in the country. Secondly, a lot of unemployed man-force would be depriving the country of the national wealth which it would otherwise produce. If we could provide employment for the idle man-power in this country, then we can conceive of a tremendous rate of increase in the national wealth of the country which will lead to the benefit of not only the unemployed

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but of the country as a whole. From the third point of view, it is important because if we have a large number of unemployed force, then naturally the sense of national security, social security, is affected. Many among the unemployed will create a problem for the nation and law and order. Hence, this is a very important question, and the Planning Commission, in my humble opinion, have realised the importance of this problem. They have visualised means for solving the question of unemployment. They have devised schemes for solving the unemployment problem. The problem, it must be remembered, is vast. We are expanding to provide more employment opportunities but in spite of all that we have been able to do, there has been a backlog of nine millions among the unemployed labour at the end of the Second Plan and the figure for the Third Plan is fourteen millions and not twenty millions as was mentioned. Now, this would mean twenty-three millions which is not an overstatement. This is an understatement. These figures must have been compiled from the returns of the Employment Exchanges. The Employment Exchanges generally give figures of those educated people or semi-educated people who register themselves with the Exchanges but there are any number of illiterate people who do not come into the picture at all. So, the problem is much more acute than what is indicated by this figure given either by the Planning Commission or by the statisticians who have compiled the figures from the Employment Exchanges. Now, the several methods that have been adopted and the mechanism that has been adopted to solve are good so far as they go. The Planning Commission has provided for the establishment of large industries which have got great employment potential. They have also devised several schemes by which new entrepreneurs would be assisted to start large and medium industries which in turn afford scope for employment. They have also afforded training facilities for skilled crafts-

men and artisans who could be employed in any industry or start small-scale industry of their own. They have also schemes for the establishment of rural industrial centres where rural people can go and learn a trade, calling or avocation which will give them a means of livelihood. There are so many other things like the expansion of technical educational facilities, establishment of technical colleges, polytechnics, etc. Something that can be said about this is that although the scheme is good, although these means are really good, yet, as some hon. Members said, they are not well made use of. This is because they are not properly trained men and there is no proper supervision. I have visited two industrial technical schools. In one school more than 800 boys are there who are called in for several branches of craftsmanship, for machining, for sheeting, rolling and for this and that. They are made to come at 7 o'clock or 7.30 and they are made to sit idle. When there are 100 students for lathe classes there are only three or four lathes and no instructor, so much so that they while away the whole day. There is no supervision whatever. The Labour Commissioner or whoever is in charge of inspecting these schools is not doing his duty. This is how we waste our resources. Where there could be a perfectly well-conceived institution to train these artisans, where money is spent, well, no good is coming out of it and there is no return because of the lack of supervision and lack of management and there are no instructors. If they want particulars about the institution, we will give them.

Now the rural training centres. It is also a very good scheme. Women who have no employment can go and learn tailoring, boys can learn carpentry, smithy, tailoring, etc. It is a very good scheme but the instructors who are there are incompetent to teach the jobs, also they are not interested in teaching the jobs so that when a boy or a girl trained in this institute for six months goes out and

takes up some employment, he or she is found useless. So more attention should be paid to make use of the present facilities that have been provided. There is also scope for enlarging these polytechnics with more trades than what they have at present. There are several trades in the country which do not seem to have figured in the estimate of the Planning Commission and I will mention a few. Madam, you know how difficult it is to get a driver for your car. It is very difficult to get a driver; to get a good driver it is still more difficult. We have several accidents on the roads. Our Home Minister himself was involved. Unfortunately his car was involved in two accidents, lorry drivers being reckless. We see in Delhi drivers who operate cars and buses without knowing traffic rules. This is a field where we can make use of these centres to train drivers. You can take matriculates or even graduates. If a graduate gets Rs. 120 a month as a driver, he is very likely to come; he will welcome it. Have an institute and train drivers.

We have a tremendous labour force. For instance, we have got the P.W.D. Building Section. Anybody who has got experience of building houses knows the difficulties. Now you have to employ masons. A mason today wants an advance of Rs. 100. He says he will turn up tomorrow but he won't come because he gets a job elsewhere. He gets advance at one place and goes and employs himself elsewhere. Similarly, the carpenter comes and enters into an agreement with me and takes an advance. And next day he goes to some other man. In this way there is dearth of carpenters, there is dearth of masons, there is dearth of bricklayers, dearth of all kinds of people involved in building, construction work. The P.W.D. has got its own force of labour but there are several contractors who take up Government work and they will all be very ready to employ trained people. So ask these institutes, whether they are technological institutes or polytechnics, to start

training for these trades as well. If they do not fit in in the present technological institutes, start more in the country because there is need in the country for trained people. There are people to employ them. Now, Madam, it is the experience of everybody that the tailor does not give out clothes on the day he promises. He takes a week or ten days more. Similarly, the dhoby who washes the clothes does not bring the clothes on the day promised. Even if you go to a shaving saloon for *ayushkarma* you will have to wait and take your place in the queue. What does this show? This shows that there is huge demand for these services and that there are no people available to give good service. Now, why not we train people, just as in America, in all these trades? Have institutes for this purpose and train people in these trades. If you begin such centres and employ good men to train people properly, probably private effort will be also forthcoming to take charge of these centres and the Government will not have to bear any further burden on account of these institutes. Conceivably there are hundreds of trades in which people can be trained so that they can get opportunities for employment. This the Planning Commission has to take up. I see a lot of force in the argument of Shri Vajpayee that the approach must be revised. The traditional approach as far as it goes it all right but they will have to widen their vision because there is terrible unemployment in the country. He was referring to the disgraceful scenes which everybody sees in the streets today. It is a shame to a country like India that people should be eating from the leaves that are thrown out, that people should be eating from the dustbins and people should be living in the streets. All the while we are talking of socialist pattern of society and we do very little. Nobody thinks of these people. The trouble is, unfortunately the Ministers go in cars and they do not see these pitiable, dismal, depressing sights. They do not see the fate of

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these unemployed people. People come to us, even here to Members of Parliament, unemployed people, uneducated people, semi-educated people and say, 'Sir, you are a Member of Parliament; recommend us for a job.' He does not know any trade. The only place he can get is that of a chaprassi. Even that is elevated as Class IV. So there also there is unemployment. Madam, this question is a very poignant question and it must be solved not in a routine manner, framing schemes and allowing somebody to implement them. A responsible Minister must be put in charge of this and the States must be responsible to that Minister for implementing these schemes. His business must be to go and visit these several institutions to see how far they have been successful in discharging their duties. Unless pointed attention is given to this problem, unless ways and means are explored to increase training facilities, to increase the trades that are taught, we are not going to solve this problem in a satisfactory way.

Only one point more and that is regarding agricultural labour. It is the experience of every farmer who has got more land than he can himself cultivate that it is difficult to get labourers who know the processes of agriculture. Of course there are people in the villages who know agriculture, who have lived upon agriculture, but nowadays as Mr. Vajpayee was saying, the momentum is for the flow of the population from the villages to the cities because the cities provide more lucrative employment and many attractions than the villages can afford to give, so much so that it is a job to find agricultural labour particularly in my part of the country and I should think it must be true of other parts of the country as well. If you have agricultural schools, train people in the art of agriculture, make them well-informed and well-equipped farmers; they will be able to get employment.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR PLANNING (SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN): It is only seasonal.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: There is no longer this compulsory system of forced labour and these trained people are sure to get handsome wages. We are ready to take in thousands, in our areas, such agricultural labour. It will be the case in the entire south; I do not speak of the north. There is plenty of scope. Agriculture is looking up and there will be a great demand for increasing the number of institutions which train uneducated people, semi-educated people and perhaps even educated people, in the processes of farming. And there is plenty of room for the employment of teachers. Somebody has very graphically represented the fate of teachers; in fact it should not be so. We must admire the socialist countries where with only will and without the corresponding effort they have been able to remove illiteracy and promote literacy to a large extent. That is because the teachers there are well-trained. The teachers are respected in society and respected by the Government. The teachers get places in the legislature, if they do good and meritorious work. There is zeal in them, missionary spirit in them. That is because they are above want. If our teachers are placed above want and if there is sufficient propaganda here to instil in them that missionary zeal, they will do the work. As somebody said here there is plenty of scope especially. Instead of having a teacher for forty students—we do not have a teacher now for forty, it will be for sixty or seventy—we can have for twenty or twentyfive students, so that the number of teachers can be increased.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you that this question must be solved. Otherwise, as Shri Avinashilingam Chettiar said, it might threaten the security of the country. People are likely to be misled. I have seen places where people think of other things. We should never give them

that opportunity as long as we have resources in the country, as long as we have means in the country to remedy this problem and as long as there is a missionary spirit also to do it.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I completely agree with my friend, Mr. Santhanam, that any work which does not provide a living wage does not deserve to be called employment. At best it can be called under-employment. Unfortunately in India all those who are employed even for a few hours are counted as employed and, therefore, it has not yet been possible to have an accurate idea of the real unemployment that prevails in the country. Reduction of unemployment is declared to be one of the chief objects and aims of our Plans, but none of our Plans is employment-oriented. Employment is given a secondary consideration and our Plans have failed to deal with the problem of unemployment. During the First Plan period, unemployment increased by 100 per cent. from 2.5 million to more than 5 million. During the Second Plan period, according to the calculations of the Planning Commission, unemployment increased from 5.3 million to 9 million, that is, by 75 per cent. According to calculations of the Planning Department of Uttar Pradesh, unemployment in the State increased from 9.46 lakhs to 18.67 lakhs, that is, by about 100 per cent. Again, these calculations were based on provisional figures of the 1961 census. These figures have proved to be an underestimate and, therefore, there is reason to believe that there is greater unemployment in the country than is calculated by the Planning Commission and Planning Departments of our country. Under-employment is also increasing. It is estimated today to be 18 million by the Planning Commission. But this seems to be an underestimate. The Seventh Evaluation Report on Community Development points out:—

“Half the man-days ostensibly

spent on farms can be considered unwanted”

and besides this disguised unemployment,

“Cultivators and artisans are unemployed for 30% of the total man-days and agricultural workers for 25% ”.

The Report holds that out of 100 man-days there is perennial unemployment equivalent to 24 man-days for cultivators, 26 for artisans and 28 for agricultural labourers. To this the onset of the slack season adds another 50 per cent. for the first and the third group and 30 per cent. for the third. Chronic and perennial unemployment is thus twice as large in magnitude as the extra seasonal unemployment among cultivators and agricultural labourers and three times or so among artisans. That underemployment is also increasing is testified to by the Report of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee and by surveys carried out by the Government of Uttar Pradesh. According to one survey, in the State of Uttar Pradesh, unemployment among agricultural workers increased from 48 days in 1950-51 to 124 days in 1956-57. In the Third Five Year Plan, no attempt has been made to deal with the question of underemployment. It is only hoped that unemployment would not increase by more than three million. Those who have calculated independently of the Planning Commission feel that unemployment during the Third Plan period would increase by six to seven million. In the first year of the Third Five Year Plan, we have been able to provide new employment opportunities to only two million people and I feel that during this period the labour force must have increased by about four million people, because the population itself must have increased by 9 million. The Third Five Year Plan estimates unemployment among the educated to be about one million and it is further estimated that there will be an increase of about 3.5 million educated during the Third Plan period. No attempt worth the name is made in

[Prof. M. B. Lal.]

the Third Five Year Plan to deal with the question of unemployment among the educated people. All these problems are to be tackled by us.

The problem of unemployment and underemployment, with which India is faced, is not the problem of seasonal unemployment. It is a problem of chronic unemployment, which is much more difficult to tackle than the problem of seasonal or frictional unemployment. India obviously needs employment-oriented plans and labour intensive projects. A Committee of the I.L.O. which investigated the problem of unemployment in India was of the opinion that the major problem of employment of the rural population in the less developed countries like India is:—

"To provide productive work for the farm population during long periods of seasonal unemployment;

To prevent the annual increase in employable population from further aggravating the situation of chronic agricultural unemployment which in many parts of these countries has already reached serious proportions;

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...to remove such amounts of agricultural labour from the land as are redundant in relation to existing labour-intensive methods of cultivation; and to reduce the labour requirements of agriculture so as to enable each person engaged to cultivate a large area of land, thus making employment more productive and laying the foundations of higher standards of living."

Madam Deputy Chairman, my submission is that the Planning Commission has not given full consideration to these suggestions of the Committee of the International Labour Office, and hardly any of these problems are tackled by the Planning Commission.

The Committee of American Experts sponsored by the Ford Foundation to

study the problem of food crisis laid considerable emphasis on capital formation in rural areas through the proper utilisation of manpower which is not being utilised to day. In our plan a provision has been made of a scheme costing Rs. 150 crores. But that provision does not form part of the outlay of the Third Plan. What does it mean? In a Plan you provide a scheme but you do not provide the financial outlay for it. And there is reason to believe that it is not going to deal adequately with the problem of unemployment in the rural areas. The problem of capital formation through the proper utilisation of manpower must be tackled.

Madam, it is not possible for us to ignore altogether the importance of modern technique of production. It is not possible for India to deny to itself the use of improved technique of production and rely for its industrial development wholly or mostly on old technique of traditional handicrafts nor is it possible to deny to the community the use of the technique of large-scale production so essential to produce basic materials and capital goods and the organisation of certain essential services such as transport and the supply of fuel and power. But all the same India needs labour-intensive industrial development. There is need in India for a well-balanced programme of industrial development wherein all forms of production, large, small, concentrated and dispersed, are made subservient to the needs of production, employment, health and happiness. Such a programme must provide for the adoption of large-scale industries where modern production technique overwhelmingly requires it, rapid growth of technically efficient small-scale industries spread all over the country, and modernisation of traditional handicrafts and cottage industries which involves the introduction of more efficient equipment, better techniques and organisation, more effective marketing and better credit facilities.

To deal with the problem of educated unemployment it is necessary for us to provide for greater social services. The educated unemployed could be utilised for the promotion or advancement of social services. Madam, in the midst of educated unemployment India is faced with a dearth of personnel for various economic and social services. The distressing situation is largely due to bad planning in education and lack of realisation of the importance of social services. If the urgency of proper social services for human welfare is fully realised and efforts are made to provide to the youth of the country proper diversified education in various economic and social services, India can be spared from the distress caused by educated unemployment and the lack of efficient economic and social services. All that I wish to say at the end is that a reorientation of the economic plan from the point of view of providing greater employment to the people of the country is urgently needed.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi): Madam, I am very glad that our friend has brought forward this Resolution that the Government should so revise and enlarge the scope of planned economic development envisaged in the Third Plan as to arrest the fast deteriorating employment situation in the country. I think the Plan certainly needs to be revised. I would rather say that it should be well and properly implemented and executed so that it does bring about more tangible and concrete results and brings about greater achievement of those aims and goals which are envisaged in the Plan. Unless the plan is well executed and implemented with sincerity and honesty and hard work, I think most of our aims will remain short of achievement as has sometimes happened. As far as the unemployment situation is concerned, it is a very serious matter, and it is one of the great handicaps in the country that the unemployed people are rather frustrated, dissatisfied, not

happy, and they have nothing much to look forward to in life. That takes away the larger incentive in living from a person when he has nothing to look forward to, when his physical energy is not being used in gainful employment, when his brain or intellect or his ability is not used and he cannot be on his feet or earn his living and he is faced with a very dark present and dark future. If large masses of people have that future, we cannot expect them to work very hard and sincerely for the betterment of the conditions of their area or their people or for the promotion of their own standards of living or living conditions in general. Unemployment takes away a very great deal from the lives of the people. Therefore, it becomes a very serious emotional problem for them as well as for the Government, because the Government has to see that the people are satisfied and have something to look forward to in life and are able to contribute in the planned development of the country, and make them partners in our developing country. It is very necessary that they are actively associated and have their share in that. Unfortunately I think the people do not have the jobs and the jobs do not have the workers. The people and jobs have to be brought together. There has to be better co-ordination. I feel personally, or at least this has been a little bit of my experience in Delhi, that the Employment Exchanges also have not been able to do very well and be very effective and efficient. If they were more efficient like all other Departments which also need to be very efficient and if they could bring jobs and people together, some of these problems would not be there. Some people are on the rolls of the Employment Exchanges for three or four or five years without their being sent out for interview on a job possibility, for years and years and years. I cannot really feel that there is no job coming for four or five years; may be the Employment Exchange people send out names in whom they are in-

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interested. But if we are more impartial, some of these problems—two per cent. or ten per cent.—may be eliminated.

So also, we have the small-scale industries programme. We had it in the First Plan and in the Second Plan, and now we have it in the Third Plan. But some of the so-called experts in the Government do not know their job very well. We have become so very enamoured of the experts that we always feel that the experts will deliver the goods. But unfortunately, very often the experts really do not do a good job because those people who have done the work—industrialists or business people who have had experience ever since they were sixteen years or twenty years old—seem to know all the ins and outs of the business much better than some of the experts of our Government, who know only academically or theoretically what should be done or how a certain thing should be done. But those who have experience have the know-how. Many times business people have told me that the schemes prepared by these experts or Government departments for small-scale industries are not very useful or effective or proper for the particular areas. I will give you one instance about Delhi, about one of the plans. They wanted to prepare a scheme for the palm gur industry without knowing that there are no palms in this part of India. The industry could not function and later on it had to be changed. It could never work here. Sometimes they provide for industries in places where the raw materials are not available. So, I think that if the Small-scale Industries Department could be more efficient, a large number of people could be employed.

So also, I would say something about the reclamation of lands and about the hilly areas where the question of unemployment or the question of employment for a short time during

the year is there or where poverty is very extreme and acute. I think that a large-scale programme of having orchards, and canning and fruit-preservation industry should be there in the hilly areas. I have seen some programmes in Almora which are very successfully and nicely going on there. They are having orchards and canning and fruit-preservation industries, which work very well. But I suppose this is not done extensively enough in other parts, so that a large number of people are still living in conditions of fairly acute poverty. I think the labour and their ability could be used to give those people a good living. They can work in the orchards and make it a gainful employment for them. In the hilly areas the lands can be used for farming, etc. as has been done extensively in Kashmir. Until some years ago, Kashmir had very little of crop cultivation, etc. But recently they have extended that particular programme to a very great extent and they have brought very large areas under cultivation. That I think can be done in other hilly areas also.

Another thing about which I feel strongly is education. But unfortunately under the Plans, we prepare one scheme for compulsory primary education and then we say that it has got to be enforced. But we never enforce compulsory primary education. Then to make primary education successful, we start another scheme suggested by the Women's Education Council and spend money, etc. to enrol girls into the schools. And then to make that scheme successful or to supplement the failure of that scheme, we have another scheme. So, to supplement one scheme we start another scheme. And to complete that we have a third programme. For one particular object, we are using half a dozen schemes incurring much expenditure, having a multiplicity of authorities, having duplication of work and overlapping etc. But what are the results? Ten years back also, primary education was compulsory in Delhi, five years back also

it was compulsory. Last year also we passed a law in this House that primary education should be made compulsory. But the state of affairs today is exactly the same as it was ten years ago or five years ago. What was the idea of our passing the legislation spending tons of money in preparing the Bill, sending it to the Select Committee, and wishing the Bill to be a model for others. Conditions elsewhere may differ from those in Delhi? We are hanging on to certain ideas without those ideas being necessary for a particular State. We are hanging on to certain terms like 'pilot projects', 'packet programmes', this and that, without really getting solid results. If today we have a certain number of programmes which are really very solid and tangible and if we could show very great results from them almost like a formula, I suppose that the people generally will feel more satisfied that we are doing something and getting results. But here we have innumerable programmes, there are more programmes than workers. There are more departments for everything. We have a department and a branch of that department and also a third branch of that department and so many things, without really getting any results, which has a very demoralising reaction because the people at large read about all these things. They read about these programmes, about this department or that department about this Evaluation Committee or that Commission or that Report. Most of the reports do not give any results. Committees are being set up to study the flood control situation, this or that and later on the same departments do not bother about the Reports. So, we are wasting our time, money and energy and are not reaching anywhere. But if we aim and concentrate on a few things to be done and done well then I suppose we can be more satisfied.

The main problem so far as education is concerned is this. Of course, the Minister cannot be blamed because he does not go about teaching every primary school-child. But the fact remains that we are not getting men

who are employable, people who are good workers. People want good, trained workers and well-educated men. But our education is falling short of that. You may interview a large number of people for various jobs without finding suitable people because education has failed, to that extent, to produce good workers. Everybody goes up to B.A., M.A. and so on. But we need overseers, we need draftsmen, we need even a large number of contractors. Today you are going in for various projects and plans without those people being available. You ask for tenders, not once but two or three times, without any tender coming up because contractors are not available. So, some of the work cannot be done, some of the targets cannot be reached. People are not trained in specialised things for which you have a demand today. I think the Government ought to spread the programme of greater technical training starting at a lower level. People cannot afford to study for B.A. or M.A. or F.A. because of the financial burden. But from the 9th class onwards they could be made into good overseers or draftsmen and for this a 3-year intensive training could be given to them. And we can have a large army of trained people who can become electricians or mechanics or foremen etc. I will give one very small example. Here in Delhi we have a condensed course for matriculates. For ladies who are middle-aged, who are in trouble or who have nobody to look after them or who are widows or who are in a very destitute condition, we have a condensed course. Now, a child spends eleven years and then he finishes the higher secondary course. But these women have studied only up to the second or the third class. We give them one to two years' training and they appear as private students for the examination and pass the high school course. If these ladies in their 30s or 40s can be prepared for the high school examination in one to two years. I cannot understand why we cannot train an army of technical personnel with two or three years of intensive train-

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ing when they have finished eighth class. You may call them skilled people or technicians or technical assistants. Why can't we train a large army of them after they have passed their middle school examination, so that by the time they finish their course, they would be technically trained?

We have technicians who come from abroad after their training there. I am talking about the high-level experts—technicians. We do not use them, we do not know how to use them. They remain here for some time looking for suitable jobs. They are frustrated. Nobody wants them or appreciates them. They go back abroad, to those countries where they had their training, with the result that we are losing very good talent which we never make use of and which we do not appreciate, so that our own trained people go abroad and find there whatever little job they can and they are living there.

Then, on account of the participation of foreign capital and foreign collaboration, hundreds and thousands of foreigners are coming into our country every year and they want to start industries here. I think that should be taken note of very seriously and not encouraged very much. We are having all these people. They want to collaborate with us. But when they come into the public sector, that is all right. But in the private sector it is not so manageable. Their influence is far and wide. They control the brains and thinking of our people. They are infiltrating in large numbers into various sections and they are inculcating their employees with their ways of life and thinking also so that finally you do not have your own way of life but some other way of life. You cannot somehow adjust this with the Indian way of life or with the Indian conditions. Their thinking changes. Their attitudes change. Their loyalties change. They begin to criticise their own Government for its public sector activities, because they have been instilled very well with what the pri-

vate sector is and should be and how only the private sector can deliver the goods which the public sector can never deliver. Therefore this sort of brain-washing is very dangerous. Today you have a very great leader in the Prime Minister of our country, who can manage these things very well, who can control our people, whom our people worship and without whose great influence it will be very difficult to manage our young people as well as other people. You will find that your own children are not in your hands, that your own people are not in your hands. And that will create a very big problem for us, because the loyalties of our people will be in half a dozen different directions and we will not know how to bring about integration between their differing loyalties apart from how they should have integration within India. It will become a difficult problem as to how to integrate their loyalties when they will be owing loyalties to half a dozen different countries and will be thinking of their ways of life. Therefore this foreign collaboration is a thing containing great and dangerous portents and we should be very cautious about it. This amount of collaboration in industry and so on is not paying us much in this way; and after all the standard of life is not the only thing we have to aim for in life. Nearly 50 per cent. of foreign exchange is necessary to fulfil the targets of the Third Plan and this money has to come from abroad after all. So, if we have to live with a little less, we should be ready and prepared to live with a little less and be a little more on our own feet. With educational reorientation, with emphasis on training technical personnel and others within the country itself, and using their talent and doing whatever job is in hand very well and efficiently and competently are more important than having a large network of all sorts of agencies and departments and Ministries and programmes of every kind and variety without getting great results. That will not take us very far. Therefore my humble submission is that we should look upon the imple-

mentation of the Plan very seriously and use a larger number of our own people. If the Education Department functions exceedingly well, I think we can have workers whom the employers would like to have, who could be employable and could be useful in the construction of our country.

Thank you.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उप-सभापति महोदया, जो प्रस्ताव श्री खांडेकर जी ने रखा उस की वजह से आज बेकारी की समस्या पर कुछ चर्चा करने का अवसर मिला। जब से इंग्लैंड में इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन हुआ तब से उस का असर धीरे धीरे हम लोगों पर भी पड़ा और उस के प्रभाव से हम वंचित नहीं रह सके और जो काम करों से होता था वह कलों से होने लग गया, कल बढते गये और कर बेकार होते गये। हमारे छोटे छोटे उद्योगों को जो कि जुलाहे, तेली, लुहार, चमार आदि किया करते थे वह अब औद्योगीकरण के आधार पर बड़े बड़े लोग करने लगे। हमारे छोटे छोटे जुलाहों को बिड़ना और उन के साथियों ने बड़े बड़े कारखाने लगा कर बेकार कर दिया, हमारे छोटे छोटे लुहारों को टाटा ने बड़े बड़े कारखाने खोल कर बेकार कर दिया, हमारे छोटे छोटे तेली बड़ी बड़ी आयल मिल के सामने बेकार हो गये। बेचारे सोनारों की भी बुरी हालत हुई। कुछ तो गहनों की जगह लिपस्टिक ने ले ली, कुछ परचेजिंग पावर के कम हो जाने से उन की मांग खत्म हुई और कुछ उन के लिये शौक न रहने की वजह से और नये टाइप के गहनों के चल जाने की वजह से यह काम खत्म हुआ और स्वर्णकार बेकार हो गये। इसी तरह से दर्जियों के ऊपर भी यही मुसीबत आई। जो कपड़े बे सीते थे उस की जगह पर नई फैशन की कटिंग और टेलरिंग की बात आई और रेडीमेड कपड़ों का भी ज्यादा प्रचार होने लगा और इसी वजह से धीरे धीरे दर्जी भी बेकार होने लगे। फिर, बेजिटेबिल घी आया और इस घी को बनाने के लिये बड़े बड़े कारखाने खुल गये।

किसी एक उर्दू वाले ने मुझे बताया कि वह पहले घी से सब्जी बनाते थे अब सब्जी से घी बनाते हैं, ऐसी स्थिति हो गई है। पहले जो बेचारे गूजर और अहीर दूध, घी का व्यवसाय करते थे वे अब बेकार होने की स्थिति में आ गये हैं। अभी पूरी तरह बेकार नहीं हुए हैं मगर उन की स्थिति भी इसी दिशा में बढ़ रही है। तो इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन का प्रभाव हमारे देश पर हुआ, हमारे देश पर ही नहीं बल्कि समस्त देशों पर इस का प्रभाव हुआ, और उस की वजह से हमारे यहां दिन प्रति दिन बेकारी बढ़ती गई। कुछ ऐसे वर्ग हैं जिन्होंने नौकरी करना या हल हांकना या दूसरे काम करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया है, मगर कुछ वर्ग ऐसे हैं जो कि उस धंधे के सिवाय और कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं जो कि हमेशा से करते आये हैं। जो स्वर्णकार है, वह नौकरी नहीं करता है; क्योंकि पढ़ा लिखा नहीं है और शुरू से माता पिता के समय से, एक विशेष स्तर पर रहने की वजह से वह चपरासीगिरी भी नहीं कर सकता। ऐसे लोग हजारों की संख्या में हैं जो कि इसी वर्ग के हैं और जो कि बेकार बैठे हुए हैं। आप ने दो योजनायें रखी और दोनों योजनाओं में यह प्रयास किया और यह बताया कि हम देश की बेकारी बिल्कुल मिटा देंगे, "आराम हराम है" का नारा भी दिया लेकिन जब कहा जाता है कि "आराम हराम है" तब लोग क्या करें, मजबूर हैं, आराम करना ही पड़ता है, ट को भी आराम देना पड़ता है, और हाथों को भी आराम देना पड़ता है, तो आराम हराम है, का नारा बेकार हुआ और योजनायें भी इस बारे में सफल नहीं हुईं। इतनी बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें बनीं, लेकिन फिर भी हमारा हाथ बेकार है। योजनायें बनीं तो "कर" बेकार हुए, मगर "कर" का भार योजना की वजह से जरूर बहुत बढ़ा। इधर तो खांडेकर साहब योजना को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और बेकारी को दूर करने के लिए प्रस्ताव लाते हैं, उधर कर का विरोध करने के लिए बेल जाते हैं। चंठियार सदाब कहते

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया]

हैं कि कर बढ़ना चाहिये तो अगर कर को बढ़ाने से ही, अनइम्प्लायमेंट की समस्या साल्व हो जायेगी, तब तो मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है मगर चेट्टियार साहब भी यह सब अच्छी तरह से समझने हैं। पुराने जमाने में "क्रैग बैरस" होने थे, किलेदार होने थे, और एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान को जाने में जितने किले पड़ते थे उन सब के किलेदारों को कुछ न कुछ भेंट पूजा करनी पड़ती थी, उसी तरह मे कांग्रेस के युग में "बैग बैरस" हैं, थैलेदार है, कर के, टैक्स के थैलेदार हैं और अगर कर वसूल करने है तो थैलेदार की थैली बढ़ती है और अगर लोगों को राहत पहुँचाने के लिए पैसा खर्च करते हैं तो थैलेदार की थैली बढ़ती है। आज इनइक्वालिटी इतनी बढ़ती जा रही है कि अधिक आमदनी वालों की प्रति दिन अधिक से अधिक आमदनी बढ़ती जाती है और कम आमदनी वालों की साथ ही साथ स्थिति और भी खतरनाक होती जाती है। जैसे अमृतधारा सब बीमारियों का इलाज है, अगर उसी तरह से चेट्टियार साहब के कहने के अनुसार टैक्स ही सब बीमारियों का इलाज हो तो फिर यह एक साथ कह दिया जाये कि इतना टैक्स चाहते हैं और इससे अनइम्प्लायमेंट बिल्कुल खत्म कर देंगे तब मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं होगी मगर बेकारी दूर करने का बहाना कर के बार बार टैक्स पर टैक्स बढ़ाते जाते हैं और हमारे हाथों को बेकार करने जाते हैं, यह शोभा की बात नहीं है। जो दो योजनाएँ आज तक बनाई गई हैं, वे इस दिशा में बिल्कुल ही सफल नहीं हो सकी हैं और इससे हमें सबक लेना चाहिये। हमने बड़े बड़े कारखाने बना लिए और सब कुछ किया मगर बेकारी बदस्तूर कायम रही। एक चीज का निर्माण कर के दूसरी चीज का निर्माण किया, यह थ्योरी बराबर चलती रही। ऐसा नहीं किया कि जो चल रहे थे, जो अपना उद्योग कर रहे थे, वे बने रहने और दूसरों को

भी कुछ उद्योग धंधा मिल जाता। अगर कहीं बेकारी को थोड़ा कम किया तो दूसरी जगह बेकारी को अधिक बढ़ा दिया, इस तरह की स्थिति हमारे यहाँ मौजूद है।

तो हमें इन बारे में सब से पहले यह विचार करना होगा कि आया हमको अनइम्प्लायमेंट मिटाना है अथवा नहीं या केवल हमको प्लान बनाना है। योजना के लिए जनता है, जनता के लिए योजना नहीं है, ऐसा कोई हाई एंड फास्ट रूल बना लिया हो तो हमें कुछ कहना नहीं है पर हम इसको उचित नहीं समझते हैं। मैं यह प्रार्थना करूँगा कि हमारे देश के हिसाब से आपको योजना बनानी चाहिये। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना जब मूव हुई थी उसी समय जनसंघ की स्थापना करने वाले डा० श्यामाप्रसाद मुखर्जी ने पार्लियामेंट में इस बात की चेतावनी दी थी कि आप योजना तो बना रहे हैं मगर इस से हमारी बेकारी दूर नहीं होगी और उन समय बड़े जोरदार शब्द में कहा गया था कि सारी बेकारी दूर कर दी जायगी। मगर वह बेकारी दूर हुई नहीं और आज भी हमारे मित्रों को इसके लिए प्रस्ताव लाना पड़ा। कांग्रेस के मित्र भी कहते हैं कि बेकारी बढ़ रही है, जनसंघ के मित्र भी कहते हैं कि बेकारी बढ़ रही है, कम्युनिस्ट मित्र भी कहते हैं कि बेकारी बढ़ रही है और समाजवादी मित्र भी कहते हैं कि बेकारी बढ़ रही है। तो इसकी जिम्मेदारी किस पर है? क्या कोई चपरासी इसको ठोक करेगा, मंत्री ठीक करेगा या सचिव ठीक करेगा? यह योजनाओं की सारी गड़बड़ है योजनाएँ हम विदेश के आधार पर बना रहे हैं और विदेश पर आधारित योजना के परिणामस्वरूप हमारे यहाँ औद्योगीकरण बहुत हो रहा है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी होना चाहिये। क्या आपके कहने के मुताबिक हिन्दू संस्कृति के आधार पर होना चाहिये?

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी
चौरङ्गिया : आपके दिमाग में वह बात आयेगी, इसमें मुझे शंका है। आपको इसे गंभीरता से सोचना और समझना पड़ेगा और बुद्धि का उपयोग करना पड़ेगा नहीं तो बादाम घिस कर पीना पड़ेगा।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : यह जनसंघ वाली हिन्दू संस्कृति में होता होगा कि बादाम पिथो और दिमाग बढ़ाओ।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया : वैसे तो हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार गांधी जी के पदचिह्नों पर चलने का नाम लेती है और मैं कांग्रेस के सभी सदस्यों से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि मेहरबानी करके जो गांधी जी ने प्लान निकाला था, और उसके अनुसार जो योजना बनाने की धूम मची थी, उसको उठा कर देखिये। जे० सी० कुमारप्पा जो गांधी फिलासफी के पंडित थे और जिन्होंने काफी आर्टिकल्स उस पर लिखे, उनके आर्टिकल्स उठा कर देखिये और उसमें अपना कार्यक्रम की, अपनी सफलताओं की तुलना कीजिए कि आप किधर बैठते हैं। गांधी जी जैसे वे आसमान में गये वैसे उन की योजना गई और नाम उनका रख कर आप अपना काम चलाते हैं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : गांधी जी को तो पहले ही आप ने आसमान में भेज दिया।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी
चौरङ्गिया : आपकी अक्ल के बाहर की बात है, मैं पहले ही कह चुका। इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि कम से कम उस गंधियन प्लान को, जिस पर अभी आपके यहां काफी धूल चढ़ गई होगी, उसको उठा कर देखें, उसमें काफी अच्छे सुझाव बेकारी दूर करने के लिए किये गये हैं, उसको

कार्यान्वित करने की कृपा करेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

हमारे कई भाइयों ने ट्रांसपोर्ट के राष्ट्रीयकरण के बारे में यह भी बताया कि अगर सब चीजें सरकार के हाथ में आ जायगी तो सब काम हल हो जायेंगे। मैं जरा इस में मतभेद रखता हूं। कुछ योजनाएं, कुछ उद्योग ऐसे हैं जो कि केवल सरकार द्वारा ही किये जाने चाहियें, कुछ उद्योग ऐसे हैं जो केवल प्राइवेट सेक्टर द्वारा किये जाने चाहिये। जहां प्राइवेट सेक्टर की जरूरत हो वहां प्राइवेट सेक्टर और जहां पब्लिक सेक्टर जरूरी हो वहां पब्लिक सेक्टर होना चाहियें। एक नाग बना देना कि सबका राष्ट्रीयकरण हो, उससे काम नहीं चलने का। यथार्थ की भूमि पर हमें खड़ा होना होगा और एक बेलेन्सड इकानामी की हमारे देश को आवश्यकता है।

अब मेरे पास अधिक समय तो है नहीं, इसलिए एक ही पक्ष की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। हमारे यहां सब से पहली समस्या ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में बेकारी बढ़ने की है। जब फसल काटने या बोने का मौसम आता है तो मजदूरों की कमी हो जाती है। एक प्रब्लम यह भी है कि जब खाली दिन होते हैं, तब बेकार लोग मिलते हैं और जब फसल बोने का समय आता है तो मनुष्य नहीं मिलते। इसका स्पष्ट कारण यह है कि आजकल ग्रामीण लोग शहरों की ओर आकर्षित होने जा रहे हैं। और शहरों की हालत यह है कि सब चीजें वहीं सेंट्रलाइज होती जा रही है। इण्डस्ट्रीज शहरों में होने के परिणामस्वरूप लोग वहां केन्द्रित होते जा रहे हैं और ग्रामीण क्षेत्र खाली होते जा रहे हैं और वहां आमदनी का दूसरा स्रोत नहीं रह गया है। आमदनी के साधन प्राप्त करने के लिये ही ग्रामीण लोग शहरों की ओर आकर्षित हो रहे हैं। इसलिए सब से पहली प्रार्थना मेरी यह है कि गांवों का विद्युतीकरण हो ही रहा है और

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]

जिस तरह जापान में घर घर में इण्डस्ट्रीज चलती हैं, उद्योग चलते हैं और एक किसान छतरी की तीलियां बनाता है तो दूसरा किसान छड़ी बनाता है, एक किसान कपड़ा चढ़ाने का काम करता है तो दूसरा किसान हत्था लगाने का काम करता है और फिर एक जगह सब चीजें सेंट्रलाइज करके छतरी बना देते हैं, हमारे यहां क्या कोशिश करते हैं कि एक जगह कपड़ा बने तो मिस्टर याजी का कुर्ता भी उसी कम्पनी से बन कर आ जाये, एक ही जगह सब काम हो जा पे। कपड़ा बनाने का उद्योग ले लीजिये। कपास ग्रामों में पैदा होता है, वहां से स्पिण्डल होने के लिये शहर में आता है, फिर कारखाने में कपड़ा बनता है और वही कपड़ा फिर ग्रामों में बिकने आता है और उसमें ट्रांसपोर्ट आदि का खर्चा काफी हो जाता है। तो अब जब कि गांवों में बिजली आने लगी है तो बिजली के आधार पर छोटे छोटे पावर-लूम्स गांवों में चल सकते हैं, छोटी छोटी फैक्टरियां गांवों में चल सकती हैं और वहां पर कपड़े का उत्पादन करके एक बार में ही सीधे बाहर भेजा जा सकता है। मगर इस समय जो सब से नुकसानदेह नीति बरती जा रही है वह खादी ग्रामोद्योग के बारे में है। खादी ग्रामोद्योग के प्रचारक कहते हैं कि अगर हम मशीन के पुर्जे लगा देंगे तो गांधी जी की आत्मा रो उठेगी। और इधर गांधी जी की आत्मा को रुलाने के लिये बड़े बड़े उद्योग खोल दिये गये तो हमें इस बात का ध्यान नहीं रहा कि गांधी जी की आत्मा को हम शान्ति दें। एक तरफ आप देखते हैं उद्योग बढ़ते जा रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ गांधी जी का नाम लेकर छोटे छोटे उद्योगों में काम करने वाले, जुलाहों पर, रोक लगा देना कि पावर लूम नहीं लगा सकते, यह एक अजीब बात है। हमको तो आपकी इस योजना ने बहुत पीछे धकेल दिया।

अभी मुझे एक किताब मिली है राज्य सभा की ओर से :

"Projects for intensive.....on small industries in rural areas."

कितनी कमेटियां बँठाई गईं, कितनी योजनायें बनाई गईं, मगर सारी योजनायें कागज तक ही सीमित हो जाती हैं। उसका एक मात्र कारण यह है कि कई मित्र कहते हैं कि मिस्टर बिड़ला और टाटा इसमें गड़बड़ कर देते हैं, कुछ उनका निहित इन्टरस्ट है, इसलिये वे चाहते हैं कि बैसे का बैसा ढर्रा चलता रहे। योजनायें कागज में धरी रह जायें और उद्योगों का विकास होता रहे टाटा और बिड़ला के। इसलिये प्रार्थना है कि योजनाओं को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये आपके दिमाग में जो टाटा और बिड़ला के और दूसरे बन्धुओं के अहसान पड़े हुए हैं उनको चुनाव जीतने के बाद अब भुला दीजिए और बात साफ कर दीजिए और उसके बाद उनको कार्यान्वित करने की कृपा करेंगे तो परिणाम अच्छा होगा। आप एक बार इसको फिक्स कर दीजिए कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के लिए ये ये इण्डस्ट्रीज होंगी जो कि वहां पर लाभदायक हो सकती हैं। फिर शहर वालों को लूम देने की जरूरत नहीं, स्पिण्डल देने की जरूरत नहीं। जब तक आप ऐसा निश्चय नहीं करते तब तक गांवों में औद्योगीकरण ठीक से नहीं हो सकता। इसलिये प्रार्थना है कि प्लान को बढ़ाने की अपेक्षा—क्योंकि प्लान बढ़ाने के साथ हमारे चेदियार साहब जैसे मित्र कहते हैं कि टैक्स बढ़ाइये—प्लान को ठीक तरह से बना कर उसमें ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के लिये इण्डस्ट्रियाइजेशन की व्यवस्था करें तो ज्यादा उचित होगा।

और भी कई सुझाव हो सकते हैं और अगर सचमुच हमारे मंत्री इसमें दिलचस्पी रखते हैं कि हमारी बेकारी की समस्या कम हो तो उसके लिये उनको चाहिये कि एक विभाग इसी के लिये कायम किया जाये और वह इसी बात के लिये प्रयत्न करे कि कौन से शहर के उद्योग बन्द किये जाने चाहियें या धीरे धीरे कम किये जाने चाहियें और कौन कौन से उद्योग ग्रामों में बढ़ाये जाये और इन क्षेत्रों में पायलेट प्रोजेक्ट्स प्रारम्भ कर दीजिए । तभी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों को लाभ पहुँचेगा । गांधी जी की किताब की धूल झाड़ कर जब तक आप उसको पढ़ते नहीं तब तक देश में आप अन्न चैन नहीं ला सकते ।

SHRIMATI DEVAKI (GOPIDAS)
(Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to the mover of the Resolution for giving us an opportunity for dealing with such an important and urgent problem facing this country. We are proud of being an independent nation. But, to my mind, we are not fit enough to pose ourselves as a free nation unless and until this unemployment problem is solved. We find that because of this unemployment the people do not have enough means for their living and because of that we find that our people, our women and children, all are in worries. If you go to the rural parts of the country, you will find children with swollen belly and tender limbs because they have not got enough means to live due to the unemployment rampant in the country.

Among unemployment problems the most important is that of educated unemployment. The population in India is growing very fast. It has increased by 21·5% during the last ten years; it is now 43·90 crores. With this tre-

mendous increase in population the unemployment problem is becoming graver and graver. That we have to note. Let me say that this unemployment problem is peculiar to Kerala. I have been saying this even before.

In Kerala the most important problem is that of educated unemployment. There the population is so thick that we have about 1,125 people per sq mile. In this, out of 100, 28 are self-supporting, 6 earning dependents and 66 non-earning dependents almost all of them matriculates. That is the greatest problem facing us there. The discontentment among the people due to this problem is impeding the progress of the whole country. About 53·6 per cent. of the population is agricultural labour. For agriculture we have only 27 cents. of land per head and there is no fresh land for the growing population. This, coupled with the fact that there is no major industry with employment potential has made the problem of unemployment rampant in our State. We are trying by so many means to solve this problem. We are trying to have production units through Mahila Mandals and in this we are faced with so many difficulties. One of the most important difficulties, as has been pointed out by Mr. Reddy, is that we are having some All-India centres. From the States we are asked to send people to those centres, for training in handicrafts and such other things but we find that the training imparted is not at all good. The trained hands that are coming from these centres are not able to make finished or marketable things, so that it has become a useless process. So production units started with small machinery may be able to give us some facility to give employment to the unemployed or partially employed. This has become a great problem. While we travel by trains in the coastal areas of our place, we see idle men and because they have not got any job, they are spending their whole time on card playing in the compounds with money and in

[Shrimati Devaki (Gopidas).]

the night time they would go out for robbing people. That is rampant in the place because of unemployment. The womenfolk are engaged in the coir industry and spinning as they have to find something for their children and give something to their children. That is the problem facing us at this juncture. I remember an instance. When I was walking through the rural part of our State, I saw a little child of four years and it was drizzling and even I could feel that the temptation of wrapping up the child because I could see that the four-year old lean child was shivering without any clothing. I just called the mother of the child and asked her why the child was not given even a single cloth to wrap itself. It was about 2 P.M. The mother told me: "I am not able to give the child a little bit of Kanji—rice water—even for the whole day and then how could I give that child any cloth?" Because of the unemployment undernourishment is there and the health of the population is deteriorating. So they are not able to do any manual labour and by that means the capacity of the people is getting deteriorated. This is the most important problem facing us because the health of the population, the culture of the population and everything depends on the means of livelihood. We have to raise the standards of living. The fundamental object of planning we know, is to develop the standard of living of the people and to open up new opportunities for a fuller, richer and a more fruitful life. That is the basis on which we have built up the Plan or formulated our Five Year Plans. The main objective of the Third Five Year Plan is to secure a rise in the national income, at least by 5 per cent. That is the target and also to utilise the man-power resources to the fullest extent. We have an Institute of Man-Power Research also but in spite of all that we are not able to utilise the man-power till now to the fullest extent and that man-power is deteriorating day by day. This is the most important problem facing the onward march to progress of our country.

In this connection specially in Kerala we find that industrialisation can use the educated man-power of the State. I would like to point out that it has become a serious problem there because of the recent Communist regime there. Because of that, if our youngsters go out to any industrial area for any job in the industries, they are denied any jobs condemning them as Communists. Thus, unemployment problem has become very serious now. So we have to find jobs inside the State itself to employ the educated man-power to ease the situation there. The only solution is to industrialise with employment potentiality. I would concur with Mr. Vajpayee that it is not mass production that we require but we want production by the masses. That we have to support. So we have to utilise the man-power, in order to solve the problems facing us, otherwise we will not be able to reap the full results of our Five Year Plans. We have to realise that if we have to have an effective Five Year Plan, we have to solve this problem first.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, if the Plans of the Congress Government, like plans of mice and men, have gone awry, it is chiefly due to the defect that these Plans have not observed any sense of priorities. Of course in the course of the report on the Plans, the word 'priority' is often used but there must be a rigid hierarchy of priorities. First things must come first. Fundamentals must be developed before superstructures can be thought of. The foundations of economic prosperity must be strengthened before the superstructure can be raised. It is not only academic economists that have taught this lesson of imposing some priorities in our Plans but a practical economist, a businessman like Bernard Baruch, who was the Economic Adviser to a succession of Democratic Presidents in the U.S.A. insists that priorities and clearances are the foundations upon which all else is raised. Bernard Baruch's plan for a European power which had asked his advice in 1926 was this: First

things, he said, must come first, and among the first things he put food for the people, cloth for their backs, shoes for their feet, roofs over their heads and light industries before heavy industries. Baruch also refers to the cost in life and death and in agony, if any attempt is made to do in a few years what other countries have taken decades and some countries even centuries, the strain of building heavy industries, for instance, on the backs of a poor, impoverished, ill-educated and illiterate people. Even the New Deal of President Roosevelt which lifted the United States of America from the depression of the 1930s insisted on these priorities being given to fundamentals. The New Deal of Roosevelt started with the Agricultural Adjustment Act, in order to give a fair deal to agriculturists and to agricultural production. He then instituted a number of "civilian service camps", as called them, to which he brought teams of young men who were trained to do outdoor services, construction work, to work upon roads, to build roads, to work on afforestation projects, for the conservation of soil against flood and erosion, on flood control measures and so on. All these protective measures were taken in order to help agriculture which is still the foundation of the economic prosperity and economic progress of the United States of America. It is on similar priorities that we should insist for India. We should insist on priority being given to roads which must be built not at the miserable rate at which roads are being built in the Congress Plan. According to the Congress Plan we can look for 65,000 miles of roads in 1965, that is to say, 65,000 miles in 5 years or about 13,000 miles per year, whereas the country wants for its economic development roads at the rate of one mile of road for every square mile of territory. We have about one million square miles of territory in our country and therefore, at least one million miles of roads are required. But at this rate of 13,000 miles per year, it will require about 75 years for us to have the road

mileage necessary for the economic development of the country. On the other hand, if we build 100,000 miles per year, in about 10 years we shall be able to have the road mileage required for the economic prosperity of the country.

Similarly, according to the report of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, road transport offers employment to about 2.5 million people, whereas the Railways to which priority is given by the Congress Government offers employment to only 1 million people. So also, in order to improve the prosperity of the people in the villages, wells must be sunk at the rate of 100,000 wells per year so that in about five to six years, the 500,000 villages in the country may be supplied with clean drinking water and the health of the people may be improved and sustained. With their health strengthened they will be able to produce more.

In this connection I may say how good it might have been, had our dams, like the great Bhakra Nangal Dam and other dams been built with human hands rather than by machines which had to be imported at high cost from foreign countries. It is with human hands that the Chinese have built things in the New Regime, their dams and other protective works. Similarly, all the unemployed hands in this country might have been employed in the building of our dams. But then our Congress Ministers want progress in their life-time—and they are all fairly elderly gentlemen—and so they had to import machinery in order to expedite the building of our dams. So also, if houses were built at the rate of 500,000 per year, we could give employment to at least 2.5 million people per year. Similarly, if we paid more attention to small-scale and village industries, we could employ another 1 million of our craftsmen per

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]
year. So also we should pay more attention to the development of primary education. The condition of our primary education, of our literacy, is one of the most disgraceful things that distinguish India from other countries. Our literacy is about 25 per cent of the population in the more advanced States and in the less advanced States like U.P. and Bihar, it is only 10 per cent. If we are to promote literacy—and literacy is at the back of and at the foundation of every economic and social progress—we should be able to provide for at least 100,000 schools per year and thus give employment to at least 200,000 additional teachers. Of course, the cry may be raised that if you pay all your attention to small things, what about the heavy industries which are required by the country? The development of the heavy industries might be left to private enterprise. It was not public enterprise but private enterprise that had set up all our textile mills. So also the very first steel mill was started by the Tatas, a private enterprise. The Tatas set up the first steel mill and that too against the discouragement of the British Government so much so that they had to go for their technical men to the U.S.A. since they could not get them from England.

The Congress Government will say: We also have priorities. We pay attention to agriculture. We pay attention to the building of more roads, to the village and small scale industries, to primary education and so on. But let us look at their record and the provision they have made in the Third Five Year Plan. Out of the total financial outlay of Rs. 7,500 crores, agriculture and the community development projects get Rs. 1,068 crores. Major and minor irrigation gets Rs. 650 crores. Power gets Rs. 1,012 crores, organised heavy and large-scale industry gets Rs. 1,520 crores, side by side with the village and small industries getting the miserable allotment of Rs. 150 crores. Transport and communication gets Rs. 1,486 crores. Roads get only

Rs. 297 crores, while Railways get Rs. 890 crores. For primary education—to make up for past lapses and past omissions—they have provided 50 per cent of the expenditure on education. Even so the rate of primary education will not be expedited so that in 10 years we may have at least 75 per cent literacy in our land. As a result of the First and Second Five Year Plans, according to a U.N. world economic survey, India's rate of economic progress is only 3 per cent, as compared to 11 per cent. in Israel, 9 per cent in Iraq, 7 per cent in Central Africa and 9 per cent in Japan. In order to make up for all these lapses of the past, especially to make provision for solving the problem of unemployment, the Congress Government must adopt and abide by the message of Mahatma Gandhi, namely, back to the villages. Let them orient all their plans and policies towards the villages, towards the improvement of the village. Have schools in the villages. Take roads to the villages, build houses in the villages, so that by improving the villages and their condition, their economic and social conditions, you may improve the 350 or 400 millions of people who are living in our villages. Improving their lot and the potentiality of employment for these 400 millions will go a long way towards the solution of this problem of unemployment. The Plan is advanced 4 P.M. by the Congress Governments, Ministers, Congress politicians and Congress candidates as being the people's Plan but from the record that we have seen of what the Congress Plans have done for the people, one might say that the people have been more planned against than planning. It is not a people's Plan. It is a plan concocted by few men under the influence of the theory of the socialistic pattern of society and presented to the people. They have to take it or leave it. On account of the Congress prestige, because it is the Government in power and because there is no other party that would be able to take over the Government, people vote for the Congress Party

time after time. From that you cannot say that it is the people's Plan. People have had nothing to do with it. After all, the Planning Commission is composed of Ministers of Government, of experts, handpicked by Government. It is not even a national body as it pretends to be because no businessmen are appointed, no men from public life are appointed to it. There are Planning Commissions in other countries as in France, for instance, where the Planning Council is really a National Council composed not only of Ministers, not only of experts, bureaucrats, but also of representatives of industry and business so that the French economic plan is not subservient to any ideology but is the result of the work of a number of representative people, Ministers, businessmen, industrialists, agriculturists, etc. That is the kind of Planning Commission that we want. Therefore, there must be a reverse of the planning engine. They must go back. All plans and work of the Government must be reorientated towards the village and if they plan all their programmes from the standpoint of the welfare of the villages, they will be promoting real, lasting and substantial prosperity of the country. They will also be laying the foundations of future economic progress which will solve the great problem which is the subject-matter of this Resolution so fortunately brought forward by the mover.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, I regret that only the Deputy Minister of Planning and Labour and Employment or, rather, shall I say, of unemployment, is listening to the debate on the Resolution before us. The Resolution before us attacks the whole question, the entire policy of the Government, the approach towards the planned society and I presume that it would be difficult for him to do justice to the debate. At least a senior member of the Cabinet

should have been present here to listen to the debate.

Coming to the Resolution itself, sufficient figures have been quoted in regard to unemployment in the urban areas. I would now like to give some figures about under-employment in the countryside. Twenty million people have hardly one hour's work a day, twenty seven million people have less than two hours of work a day, forty-five million people have less than four hours of work a day, thirty million people have gainful employment for five days a month, forty million people have gainful employment for less than ten days a month, fifth-three million people have gainful employment for less than fifteen days a month. These are the figures collected by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis and according to the 1961 Census the total labour force in the country was 172 million. This is the dark and terrific picture of under-employment in the country. I would confine myself to putting forward certain suggestions. If you model your thought on the pattern prevailing in the capitalist heaven, that is, the United States of America, you will never be able to solve the problem of unemployment because even in that country thirty-five lakhs of people are unemployed and taking the figures of under-employment, this would be about a crore of people. So, a definite departure has got to be made if we want to go forward and solve this problem. I would suggest certain measures to achieve this. In the countryside, during the fourteen years of the Congress regime more people, peasants, have been uprooted from land than during the one hundred and fifty years of British rule. All these people have been rendered unemployed. If you abolish the survivals of the feudal system and give land to the peasants—it does not matter whether they get one bigha or half a bigha—if you write off the indebtedness which is weighing so heavily on the lakhs and lakhs of

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

peasants, then millions and millions of peasants would be employed. They would intensively cultivate their plot of land and that would be a big step forward. A prosperous home market would be created on the basis of which our industrial development can go forward but whatever land reforms you have undertaken you have managed to render the peasantry landless. You have benefited a certain section of the peasantry and kept as much as possible the feudal interests intact and thereby you have terribly aggravated the problem of unemployment. The peasantry is the backbone of the country, it is the backbone of the State and you are breaking that backbone. If you execute the Plans on the basis suggested by me seriously, then there might be various large-scale industries in the countryside, dotting all over the country. There can be had gainful employment for all the people on a co-operative basis where they can be drawn in millions and millions. Further, for our industrial development and progress, we require machines but we have no machine-building industry. We are being denied machinery to build our own machine building industry. Now, the Western Powers are pegging down the prices of the goods that we export from this country but it never stands to reason why a country with forty-five crores of people cannot stand up to that. If you take the matter in your own hands, if you take over the entire foreign trade in your hands, then these metropolitan powers will have to come down. China has gone out of the orbit of capitalism. They cannot afford to lose the potential market in India. They have so long kept the trade to themselves but if we take the entire foreign trade in our hands, we can bargain with them. we can dictate our own terms and have proper prices for our products which are exported and in the bargain we can get machines which we want to build the machine-building indus-

try. Further, a point has been raised whether foreign capital should be nationalised or not. I would personally go in for confiscation but if you do not confiscate, you can at least nationalise. At least, this is not unconstitutional, it is within the bounds of the propriety of the Constitution. If those imperialists cannot invest in this country, if they cannot get a market for the goods, spare parts, intermediate goods, replacements, depreciation, and all that, automatically markets will be created and foreign exchange will be allocated. And thereby we are getting more and more into their grip. That is the position but if this is eliminated, if foreign capital is eliminated, a position will be created when they will be bound to trade with us and on that basis we can force them to give precisely the machinery we want in order to build our own machine-building industry in the State sector. This we can do within a matter of four or five years; it is possible to do so. You have to remember that Soviet Russia has become a great industrial country not within 40 years; twenty or twenty-two years were taken up by civil wars, famine and all that and within only 20 or 22 years from a backward agrarian country they have become the second biggest industrial country in the world. So we can build our own machine-building industry and we can supply machines for millions and millions of small and medium industries; not village industries but I mean medium and small industries. But the entire policy of the Government runs counter to the small and medium industries. They do not get licence; they do not get raw materials; they do not get permits; they do not get coal; wagon is not allocated to them; no market is assured for them. All these things are denied to them and all the favours are kept reserved for a few big monopolists. That is the position. But if we develop our own machine-building industry; every urban town can have its own medium or small industries,

thus providing employment to millions and millions of people in the urban sector. Also with this we can accelerate our industrial development and we can broaden the technical basis of our country. We can do all those things and it can be done within a period of five years. Not more than that would be required for this purpose. And nobody has suggested that the problem of unemployment can be solved within the twinkling of an eye; nobody expects that of this Government. We gave them sufficient time.

Now, I will cite another example, though it might be unpleasant because our present relations with China are bad but that country with 65 crores of people eradicated the problem of unemployment some five or six years ago and there is shortage of labour there. They want more men. They are even trying to release women from kitchen duties so that they can be available for productive jobs while we in our country are putting forward the theory that because we have increase in population, unemployment is going up and there is more unemployment in the countryside. We are saying such trash things. These things won't hold good, won't convince anybody in this modern world. A century back if you had advanced this argument, perhaps you would have been able to convince somebody or other but not today. So that country has completely done away with unemployment. Now we are faced with mounting unemployment. It seems that the Government wants us to take unemployment for granted and it seems it will continue to increase and they also will continue to run the administration. Both will be together; that is the position we are in today.

Then I would suggest some labour intensive measures. There are innumerable irrigation projects which can be undertaken. We know that in our country the yield per acre is falling for want of irrigation. We

can undertake countless small scale irrigation projects which can be done with the minimum amount of machines and all that. In this way production can be increased in the countryside and millions would be employed. All these things we can do. I have not suggested any socialist method. Any capitalist country can undertake these things. If I had placed before you a full-fledged socialist programme, then you would have said, 'Oh, it is impossible; it is possibly only in those countries.' So I have avoided suggesting any socialist method. For the present let us immediately take a concrete step forward to tackle this problem of unemployment, to take the country forward and make our industrial base broader. We have suggested these concrete steps which can be taken by any capitalist country in the world. There is not even an iota of socialism in them. I say that the whole policy of planning and approach towards foreign trade, towards foreign capital and towards land reforms requires a break with the past. It requires reorientation. Only that way we can move forward and tackle this problem here and now. After that we can think what other steps are necessary to do away with unemployment altogether. So I would request the Government to seriously think over this and take immediate steps to reduce unemployment appreciably.

Some years ago it was talked about—and we also heard—that there might be a scheme of unemployment relief. Even in advanced capitalist countries there are such measures, social insurance schemes and all that for the relief of the unemployed. It is high time that in our own country some such scheme is thought out and incorporated. In the Third Plan you are spending more than Rs. 10,000 crores. Can you not set apart 300 or 400 crores of rupees for this purpose? It is very easy to do so and you can give relief to them and save them from desperation. So I would request the Government to think over this item too.

SHRI M H SAMUEL (Andhra Pradesh) I think the subject has been discussed considerably and I move

"That the question be now put"

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI J VENKATAPPA (Mysore). I had given my name

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. That is all over

SHRI C R PATTABHI RAMAN: Madam, at the outset

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN How long would you take?

SHRI C R PATTABHI RAMAN About half an hour

I wish to express my gratitude to all sections of the House and to all hon Members who have participated in the discussion on the problem that is facing our country, the problem of unemployment. I wish at the outset to say, Madam, that it will not be correct to say that the situation in the country is deteriorating fast as envisaged in the Resolution which I am opposing. The situation undoubtedly is not satisfactory but it will be very wrong to take an alarmist view of the situation. The Employment Exchanges furnish data—and in my humble submission the only scientific data available—regarding the changes in the various levels of unemployment in the country and that is useful for analysis. Actually, in March 1956 the number of Exchanges was 136 and the live register then gave us a figure of 7.5 lakhs. The monthly live register returns for 1961 are available now

and the House will be pleased to know that in April 1961 there were 310 Employment Exchanges which registered a figure of 16.27 lakhs. I will not tire the House by reading out all the figures. In December the number of Exchanges was 325 and the returns 18 lakhs and odd. And we come to June 1962 when we had 342 Exchanges registering 20.63 lakhs. The number of Exchanges during the first one and a quarter years of the Third Plan has been on the increase. The increase in the live register can be partly attributed to this development. Although a constant number of Exchanges, namely, 312 from May 1961 to August 1961 had an increasing live register, it may be stated that the increase in unemployment during that particular period has an important seasonal element of large-scale registrations of the educated job-seeking persons immediately after their examination results. During October, 1961—March, 1962, the live register total has been rather stable around 18 lakhs. With the opening of new Exchanges since April this year, the increase in the live register has been rather marked. Notwithstanding the recurrence of seasonal element in the unemployment picture, during this part of the year, the increase may be viewed with some concern. I do concede that it has to be viewed with some concern.

It is also known that in the rural areas the basic problem is of under-employment, as has been frequently stated in the House. Although data for the first year of the Third Plan in this regard are not available, some idea of the changing pattern can be had from the results of the National Sample Survey from the 11th to 14th round, to which reference was made by Mr Niren Ghosh with regard to Prof Mahalanobis's Survey. The following data would be relevant so far as rural unemployment is concerned

	11th and 12th rounds combined	14th round
	(August 1956— August 1957)	(July 1958— June 1959)
1. Moderately under-employed (working 29-42 hours a week)	5.10%	4.71%
2. Severely under-employed (working less than 28 hours during a week)	7.03%	6.47%

I submit that these figures will show that the quantum of productive work available to the rural working population has been increasing under the Five Year Plans in the recent past. It is most likely that this trend will continue, and there will be a real attempt made to reduce the unemployment figure.

The Third Plan provides for physical programmes in excess of the financial provisions. Every effort is being made in several sectors to reach the measure of physical programmes included in the Plan. The essential condition for enlarging the Third Plan is the availability of additional resources. To the extent additional internal and external resources become available, the Plan already has a built-in flexibility for enlarging the programmes of development and thereby increasing the employment opportunities further. In the present circumstances, attention has to be focussed on expanding the resources for the Plan. However, even with best efforts, there are limitations in this respect.

The growth of labour force during the Third Plan period is estimated to be 17 million. The Plan is estimated to provide for additional employment of the order of about 14 million. The

gap of about 3 million is intended to be covered largely by the rural works programme, which has been tried on a pilot basis with some success and which is eventually designed to provide employment during the slack agricultural season for about 2.5 million persons. The rural works programme is being steadily expanded. Thus the basic approach of the Third Plan to hold the employment front is likely to be maintained.

It is essential to emphasise that the following are the principal aims of the Third Plan, to which the Government is committed:-

- (i) increase in national income of over 5 per cent. per annum;
- (ii) to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains and increase in agricultural production;
- (iii) to expand basic industries such as steel, fuel, power, machine building and chemical industries;
- (iv) to utilise to the fullest possible extent the man-power resources of the country; and
- (v) to establish progressively a greater equality of opportu-

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nity and to bring about reduction in income and wealth disparities.

These objectives have been laid down in the Plan after a well-considered view of the national goals not only in the immediate future, but also in the long run. In preparing the Third Plan, a careful assessment of the employment situation has already been made and there are no new factors to be reckoned with. If an attempt is made to stress the employment objective—as has been frequently stated—disproportionately, it may be possible to have larger employment gains in the near future, but it would be at the cost of employment itself in the long run. The basic industries which are intrinsically capital-intensive and provide limited employment in the short run, have the greatest potential of expanding industrial and agricultural capacity of the economy so as to provide larger employment opportunities in the long run. You may have to spend less on a project which may employ only 100 people.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What is the period when you say 'in the long run'? Is it at the end of this century or the next century?

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN: I am rather surprised that my friend should say so, that it should be coming from him sitting where he is. In short, I submit that the scheme is for a self-sustained growth, to build up a sound economic overhead. In view of the factors explained above, the question at present is not one of revising and enlarging the scope of Plan development, but of implementing the Plan fully and of securing the effort required at all levels in giving effect and securing the maximum benefits from the programmes in the Third Plan.

With regard to the size of the unemployment problem and labour force

Growth, it is no doubt true that the back-log of unemployment at the beginning of the Second Plan was estimated to be 5.3 million. On the assumption of a population growth around 1.26 per cent per annum, the growth of labour force during 1956—61, i.e., for five years, was estimated to be about 10 million. For the short period of five years of the Plan, the goal laid down was to create employment opportunities of an order commensurate with current additions to labour force so as to hold the employment line. Later, on the basis of the first set of the 1961 census data, the growth of labour force in the country for the period under review was put at 11.7 million. It was visualised that the development programmes under the Second Plan would create 8 million non-agricultural and 1.6 million agricultural employment opportunities. In the course of the actual implementation of the Plan, certain limiting factors cropped up. Important among them were a relatively large increase in the general price level and shortfalls in the outlays proposed. Later on, I am going to make detailed references to the factors inhibiting full realisation of the employment potential of the Plan. Consequently, the actual employment achievement fell short of the 9.6 million or about 10 million target. On the basis of the output-employment norms for some segments of the economy and investment-employment ratios for others, it has been reckoned in the Planning Commission that the increase in non-agricultural employment was roughly of the order of 6.5 million and agricultural employment in the neighbourhood of 1.5 million, thus making a total of 8 million for the Plan period.

In so far as the unemployment level in the Second Plan period is concerned, the creation of only 8 million employment opportunities in the context of about 17 million job requirements under the Second Plan, i.e., 5.3 million

for backlog and 11.3 million for increase in the labour force, would inevitably reflect the growing unemployment in the country. Although an aggregate view of unemployment at the end of the Second Plan period is not available, some idea of the changes that occurred can be had from the data provided by the National Employment Service.

It may be noted that at the end of March, 1956, the number of applicants on the live register—I have already said that there were only 136 Exchanges at that time—was only 7.5 lakhs. The total number of applicants at 307 Exchanges at the end of the Second Plan period on 31-3-1961 was 15.61 lakhs, thus recording an increase of a little over 8 lakh job seekers through the Exchanges. The point was made that the Exchanges do not register all the unemployed. I do concede that not everyone registers himself at the Exchange, but the time will come when, as in the case of other advanced countries, practically every unemployed or those who seek employment will register in the Exchanges. Inasmuch as Employment Exchanges were not set up in all the urban areas by March, 1961, these figures do not represent even the totality of urban unemployment. I do concede that. But that is not the position today. It has certainly improved far so far as the registration is concerned. The National Sample survey which has had many rounds, provides some data on the magnitude of unemployment in the urban and rural areas. Changes in concepts and definitions of relevant terms used in various rounds and variations in the reference period, apart from sampling errors, do not make these data amenable to build up a consistent picture of the volume of unemployment in the economy. Moreover, the latest reports of the Survey rounds available relate to the mid-period of the Second Plan.

In order to ascertain the changes in the employment level of various es-

tablishments in the public and private sectors and thereby to know the additional employment created during a period, the Employment Market Information Programme has been undertaken. It has had notable development in so far as 136 areas (District size) were covered by the end of the Second Plan period whereas only one area (Delhi) was covered on pilot basis up to the end of March, 1956. The Programme covers all establishments in the public sector and establishments employing about a specified number of workers in the private sector. On the basis of this it has been estimated that the growth of employment in the public sector alone has been in the neighbourhood of about 2.5 million. Similar information for the private sector is not available. In course of time we may be enabled to gauge the important changes in the employment level of the economy from time to time.

Some reference was made, and frequent reference was made, if I may say so, by Members of my side, so far as educated unemployment is concerned. At about the beginning of the Plan, the Study Group on Educated Unemployed compared the job requirements of educated persons with the demand for their services by the planned programmes of the Centre and States and private sector, replacement of retiring persons, etc. The Group found a sizeable gap leading to continuance of educated unemployment during the period.] Accordingly, it suggested an additional programme to mitigate the problem.

Among the main schemes recommended by the Group, mention may be made of Work and Orientation Centres, Co-operative Goods Transport, Production Centres of small-scale industries and the University Employment Bureaus. In view of the Planning Commission's decision in January, 1956, to test the suitability of these schemes, some pilot projects were started. Schemewise progress

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during the Plan period may be mentioned below.

I wish firstly to mention work and Orientation Centres. They were set up at Kalamassery (Kerala), Kalyani (West Bengal), and Delhi with the purpose of enthusing the educated unemployed for manual labour and enabling them to develop aptitudes for different occupations. The experience at the first two Centres has been that the trainees wanted to acquire at least that much of skill which is imparted in the Industrial Training Institutes. As such the pilot schemes were revised so as to let the Centres function as sections of the Institutes for a full course of 18 months' training with provision of business management instruction. Of the centres with a total seating capacity of 1500 sanctioned, only 15 could be started by the States. At the end of the Plan period, the actual number of trainees who availed of this scheme was a little over 800. Need was felt for further review of the scheme in August, 1960 when it was recognised that training in business management should be given only to those who were interested therein and that there was no need to have a combined course of industrial training and business management instructions. It was felt that many people were not interested in both and some were interested in only one training.

Secondly, two Production Centres of small-scale industries were started at Ettamanur and Tiruvelli for training and absorption of educated persons in small-scale industries. Of the 344 educated persons trained, most of them have been employed at these Centres. The slow progress of the scheme may be attributed to foreign exchange difficulty.

Thirdly, five Transport Co-operatives, one each in Delhi, Kerala, Madras, Orissa and West Bengal,

were sanctioned. Co-operatives were set up in Kerala and Delhi and were in the process of being started in Orissa and West Bengal. In view of the local assessment of the situation, the Madras Government did not seem to be interested in the scheme.

The Study Group had recommended the setting up of University Employment Bureaus with a view to mitigating the feeling of helplessness among more qualified persons who were not much inclined to avail of the existing Employment Exchanges' services for registration and placement. It is quite understandable. A graduate or a double graduate is loath to register himself in the Exchanges, and we were feeling that they had a sort of psychological approach. The main functions of the Bureaus were to provide employment, counselling, disseminate employment market information among the university graduates and to bring the highly educated persons in quick contact with employers in public and private sectors who had vacancies to offer. By the end of the Second Plan period, 15 such Bureaus had been set up at various Universities in the country.

The implementation of special schemes formulated by the Study Group to relieve unemployment among the educated, has been rather limited. Except the scheme of the University Employment Bureaus, it may be stated that other schemes have not progressed beyond pilot projects' stage. As such, the additional employment of the order of 2.35 lakhs with an estimated gross outlay of about Rs. 130 crores on the special schemes visualised by the Group has not been realised and the actual employment achievement seems to be only a small fraction of the potential.

So far as technical personnel and training are concerned, one of the important elements of the employment situation during the Second Plan period has been the existence of

shortages of certain types of trained personnel side by side with the large-scale unemployment of untrained educated and unskilled persons. Persistent shortages of engineers, overseers, draftsmen, doctors, nurses, compounders, trained teachers, stenographers, physical training instructors, and craftsmen such as foremen, wiremen etc., were experienced in different parts of the country in implementing the Second Plan programme. Such shortages were already witnessed during the First Plan period and with the larger outlay and increasing tempo of development under the Second Plan, these shortages were expected to grow unless special measures were taken to meet the growing demand of technical personnel. To meet the situation, the Second Plan had comprehensive programme of technical training

Now I wish briefly to refer to engineering personnel. The Engineering Personnel Committee appointed by the Planning Commission in 1956 estimated requirements of engineering graduates and diploma-holders at 26,300 and 53,800 respectively. This necessitated expansion of existing engineering institutions and setting up of new colleges and polytechnics. The number of institutions imparting engineering education increased from 65 to 100 and that of institutions for diploma-holders from 114 to 196 during the Plan period. Against the requirements mentioned above, the outturn from engineering colleges and polytechnics was of the order of 22,000 and 28,000 respectively. In addition, various methods such as re-employment of retired engineers, extension of the employment term of personnel of experience for higher jobs, relaxation of minimum qualifications for certain categories of personnel in short supply were adopted to augment the supply of engineering personnel.

I now come to craftsmen. Only a passing reference was made but the House will be interested to know that

regarding craftsmen, the Technical Training Committee of the Small-scale Industries Board estimated the likely requirements of semi-skilled and skilled craftsmen for large, medium and small-scale industries and suggested to make arrangements for training of 6.35 lakhs craftsmen to meet the Second Plan requirements. To this end, the number of industrial training institutes sponsored by the Ministry of Labour and Employment increased from 59 in the year 1955-56 to 167 in 1960-61 and the admission capacity increased correspondingly from 10,500 to 42,000. In addition, the National Apprenticeship Scheme provided for 5,000 seats in industrial undertakings. The anticipated expenditure on the technical training programmes relating to engineers, overseers and craftsmen has been of the order of about Rs 60 crores.

I now come to agriculture. For agriculture and allied fields, the Agricultural Personnel Committee of the Planning Commission in 1958 estimated the additional requirements of such personnel for the period June 1957 to March 1961 to the extent of 8,900 agricultural graduates, 5,100 veterinary graduates, 600 dairy personnel, 630 fisheries personnel of senior and junior grades. Expansion of training in these fields took place during the Second Plan period. It is estimated that the outturn of agricultural graduates increased from 308 in 1955-56 to 2,300 in 1960-61, of veterinary graduates from 320 to 1,200 during the same period. Significant increases were also recorded in the outturn of dairy and fisheries personnel. The expenditure estimate on these programmes in the Second Plan is a little over Rs 15 crores. So far as trained teachers are concerned, the number of training schools increased from 930 in 1955-56 to 1,307 in 1960-61 and that of training colleges from 107 to 236 during the same period. The additional intake capacity built up during the Second Plan period in the training schools was about 40,000 and in training colleges 20,600. The expenditure on these programmes of

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training amounted to Rs. 15 crores. It is estimated that 3.4 lakhs of additional teachers (2.2 lakhs in primary schools, 0.8 lakhs in middle schools and 0.4 lakhs in high/higher secondary schools) were appointed during the period.

So far as doctors and medical personnel are concerned, keeping the ratio of one doctor for every 6,000 of the population, expansion of medical education during the Plan period has been quite proportionate to the growth of population. The additional medical personnel employed or self-engaged in medical and health services during the period numbered as follows:—

Doctors	6,500
Nurses	8,500
Auxiliary Nurse-mid-wives and mid-wives	7,120
Health Visitors	700
Sanitary Inspectors	2,000

In view of the many categories of medical and health personnel, the comparative position of medical institutions, their intake and out-turn is given. The number of institutions in 1955-56 was 42, the intake was 3,600 and the out-turn 2,540. That is, some have left them in the middle or some have failed. In 1960-61, the number is 57 institutions; intake is 5,300 and out-turn is 3,200. I will not tire the House as regards the other figures. I want to say that even so far as pharmacists are concerned, they have been coming up in larger numbers. We want a big pharmaceutical and drug trade in this country which has a very large population.

Finally, I come to agricultural labour and that will be the last part of my analysis. A special section of the community whose low economic and employment conditions received

special attention under the Plan has been the agricultural workers. The First Agricultural Labour Enquiry was conducted in 1950-51 and a repeat survey was undertaken in the first year of the Second Plan, 1956-57. Many changes relating to concepts, definitions and constitutional procedures were introduced in the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry, with the result that the data made available by it stand little comparison with the data furnished by the First Enquiry. A first glance at the data indicates a significant deterioration in the economic condition of this group of people over the period of two enquiries. However, suitable adjustments are essential for securing any comparability. The task was assigned to a technical committee by the Planning Commission which came to the conclusion that there was no reason to believe that there was a marked deterioration or improvement in the economic condition of agricultural workers during the period. In terms of unemployment, some improvement is recorded in the Second Enquiry in so far as the wage-paid employment of adult male workers increased from 218 days in a year in the First Enquiry to 222 days in a year at the time of the Second Enquiry. The corresponding change in self-employment of those persons has been a sharp fall from 75 days to 40 days in a year. As regards child labour, there seems to be a significant increase in wage employment from 165 days in 1950-61 to 204 days in 1956-57. In the case of adult female workers, the corresponding change has been from 134 days to 141 days denoting a small increase. After making adjustments for changes in the procedural methods followed in the two Enquiries, the technical committee opined that the number of days of employment was not, perhaps, any lower in 1956-57 than in 1950-51. This is the position so far as agricultural labour is concerned.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What about the adult male labour?

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN: It is between 218 to 222 days. Then comes child labour and finally comes adult female labour. There does not seem to be much of a change in the pattern.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken half an hour.

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN: I want to answer some of the questions raised.

The Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry reflected the conditions of agricultural labour in 1956-57 which was the first year of the Second Plan period. The position of this group of workers at that time may be seen more in terms of the impact of the First Plan on their position rather than the changes affecting them during the Second Plan period. Probably, the Third Agricultural Labour Enquiry would give more representative picture of the position of the agricultural labour.

Madam, I will take only two minutes more to deal with some of the points raised by the speakers. I was rather surprised to hear from Shri Khandekar that the Plan had not been expanded and that more steps had not been taken. I was told the other day that one of the speakers today, sitting opposite to me was leading an agitation against taxes and suffered imprisonment. You oppose taxes for the Plan purposes and have a dual personality and come and say that we should expand the Plan.

PROF. M. B. LAL: We are opposed to certain forms of taxation.

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN: It may vary from State to State. As you are aware, there are a number of agitations so far as taxes are concerned. But we have to find the wherewithal if we are to expand the Plans.

So far as Mr. Santhanam's point on sample surveys is concerned, they have to start with sample surveys and

they are not to be found fault with. And there is no doubt that in course of time there will be a big expansion so far as the rural areas also are concerned.

Mr. Chettiar was referring to educated unemployment, to free education up to the tenth standard in Madras and the likelihood of more unemployment figures cropping up later on. It is quite true. But the fact also remains that we are expanding not only in the public sector but in the private sector also, and I have no doubt that many more employment opportunities would crop up.

So far as the figures for Kerala are concerned, I want to assure the hon. lady Member that the projects started in Kerala are specifically meant to deal with the educated unemployment problem there.

Madam, in view of the shortness of time, I do not want to take any more of the time of the House. I am very grateful to the House, hon. Members, for having given us an opportunity to explain the point of view of the Government.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: Madam, I am really grateful to the hon. Members who have given their unqualified support to my Resolution in spite of their party affiliations. I am also grateful for the valuable suggestions that they have given during their speeches. Even the hon. Minister had to admit that the situation, though it is not alarming, yet is not very satisfactory. When the Government says that the situation is not satisfactory, it really means that the situation is alarming from our point of view. There is nothing for me to reply to because all the points have been covered. The hon. Minister has given some statistics which I do not want to contradict at the moment. When everybody has supported the Resolution it means that the situation is serious and that everybody all of us are concerned about it. With these words I request that this Resolution be passed unanimously.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"This House is of opinion that Government should so revise and enlarge the scope of planned economic development envisaged in the Third Five Year Plan as to arrest the fast deteriorating employment situation in the country and to provide gainful employment to millions of unemployed persons within a reasonably short period"

The motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION RE INQUIRY INTO OWNERSHIP IN NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I beg to move:

"This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a Committee consisting of 15 members representing both Houses of Parliament to enquire into and report on the growth of monopoly and concentration of ownership in the newspaper industry."

The press in this country is the most important news medium. Other countries have other news media also but in this country, apart from the radio and the press, there is no other news medium. The radio, as we know, has a limited time for news, and there is the controversy over the language which the radio should use. The press is therefore not only the most important news medium but the only news medium of any consequence. The press in this country was a missionary some time back; the nationalist press in this country was built by people with a missionary zeal. As early as in the nineteenth century the nationalist press came into being and almost all the leaders of our national movement, in one way or the other, contributed to the building of the nationalist press which was imbued with a missionary spirit. But in the post-

independence period an unfortunate and risky development has taken place. The press which could at one time claim Lala Lajpatrai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and even Mahatma Gandhi as editors of newspapers has today fallen into the foul hands of industrialists. In their hands it has ceased to be a mission; it has become a pure business, not only a pure business but something dirtier. The Press Commission in 1954 noticed this change and said:

"We have come to the conclusion, on the basis of the evidence of people who have been in the profession for decades that there was formerly a widespread prevalence of the idealistic and missionary spirit while today there is a greater emphasis on the profit motive. There are, however, some papers which have managed to retain their traditions irrespective of changes in the form of ownership. Unfortunately these are not numerous enough to provide a solid core for the future expansion of the Press in this country."

That was the position in 1954 noted by the Press Commission. And during the years that have followed the situation has worsened. Far from being an organ of people's will the press has become an instrument in the hands of a small coterie of industrialists who having made money in cotton textile, jute goods, sugar and stock exchanges now seek to monopolise and control this important news medium. So, such is the stranglehold that these industrialists are acquiring on the daily press that even the Prime Minister had to complain about it.

In February this year the country had the General Elections, and addressing an election meeting at Connaught Circus in New Delhi, the Prime Minister, in the third week of February, said:

"I was recently in Bombay. I addressed a meeting—a small one— . . ."