

request you to enshrine in the Constitution now, the "Right to Work" with the target date as a fundamental right and at the same time make a provision for giving subsistence allowance as mentioned in my motion.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That this House takes serious note of the Prime Minister's promise that the unemployment problem will be solved within ten years and strongly recommends that 'right to work' be enshrined in the Constitution to be made effective from a target date and in meantime subsistence allowance be given to all the unemployed invalid and old people."

Mr. Hukmdeo Narain Yadav, you move your amendments 1 and 2 and then speak later on.

SHRI HUKMDEO NARAIN YADAV (Madhubani): To the motion of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, I beg to move:

That in the motion,
for "a target date"
substitute

"15th August, 1978" (1)

That in the motion,—
add at the end—

"and it should be made compulsory for all able-bodied persons whether in Government service, politics, business or armed forces to do physical labour for one hour every day for public works and cleanliness" (2)

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN (Cannanore): I beg to move:

"That this House do resolve that the Government should take concrete steps of immediate nature and also of far reaching consequences for finding partial and lasting solution to the problem of unemployment which has grown into menacing proportions."

While moving this motion I agree with many of the points raised by my friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, but I must make it very clear that the approach to the problem of unemployment

and its solution should be very clear in our minds, in the mind of the Government, in the mind of this House. Sir, I think, unemployment is another manifestation of poverty: it is poverty itself. Recently, in a report presented to the United Nations by the Centre of Economic Growth, they have said that unemployment is another manifestation of poverty. *Yojana*, the journal published by the Planning Commission, in its issue May, 1, 1977, had said:

"It is estimated that the number of unemployed would be near about 29 million at present."

That is the magnitude of the problem.

"The Central Employment Directorate has estimated that the unemployed and under-employed respectively, would be 60 million and 3 million at the end of the Fifth Plan."

That is, in 1978-79. This is the big problem that we have to tackle in our country. It is in this context that Shri Morarji Desai, after assuming the office of Prime Ministership, has made a very important declaration. Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai has said:

"We have to see that unemployment comes to an end and there is no unemployment anywhere. But all this takes time and cannot be done overnight; it has to be done over a period."

Then he says, 'It will take ten years'. This is a very good promise, if he will be able to bring about a condition in our country where there will be no unemployed in a decade. The Janata Party Manifesto has also stated that they will include in the Constitution the right to work; it has been explained further in their Manifesto:

"This can become a realisable ideal only if we move towards the establishment of an economy in which agriculture and cottage and small industries have primacy and are not sacrificed to the big machine and big cities."

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan]

I have my own reservations about this statement. But anywhere these are some of the important declarations which have been made by the leaders of the Janata Party after assuming office.

Sir, I do not think that unemployment was growing in this country because Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister, and I do not think that unemployment will find a solution within ten years if Shri Morarji Desai continues to be the Prime Minister of this country. There are more fundamental issues involved in it.

The International Labour Organization convened a Conference in Geneva I think, last year, and that Conference came out with this statement after making a thorough study in which the delegate from our country also participated; they have said that the basic reason for unemployment is the failure of the countries to bring about a condition under which fundamental reforms are introduced, basic structural changes are brought in in the society. So, the solution of this is linked with the structural changes in the economy. That is why, you can see that mere economic growth will not bring a condition where no unemployment will be there. If that were so, then the United States should have been a country without any unemployment—or Britain or Japan or any such country, for that matter. Here I have certain figures. Here, I have certain figures about those countries which are highly affluent. According to the ILO Report of 1976 Japan has 10,50,000 unemployed, Canada has 8,00,000, USA has 81,00,000, France has 10,00,000 and West Germany has 13,00,000. These are countries which are considered to be very affluent, very modern, with highly developed technology industry, science and everything else: but, in spite of that, there is unemployment. At the same time, you can see another picture there is no unemployment in any socialist country. Just now Mr. Bosu was suggesting to the Prime Minister to

make a visit to China. He will find that there is no unemployment there. Two years ago, I visited Viet Nam, a country which was just coming up, after trying to recover from the war. The war over only about six months earlier, but they told me that there was no unemployment there. This is because the whole society is planned in such a manner that no section of the society will be able to amass wealth and, on the other side, the poor people cannot be pushed further and further into poverty. If such conditions can be created, then there will not be any unemployment. That is why I said in the beginning—and my friends on the other side got annoyed—that it is not a question of who is the Prime Minister of the country. The question is what path of economic progress it is that you are choosing. As a Communist, my contention is that in this country there is a malady of unemployment and it is growing into menacing proportions because this country is pursuing the crisis ridden path of capitalist development. As long as you pursue that path of capitalist development you will land into further miseries. As poverty is the offspring of capitalist development, there will continue to be poor people and there will continue to be unemployment. So, it is a question of choosing a different path, if you are serious about fighting unemployment.

In this regard, I beg to differ from my friend Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu who attributed everything to Smt. Indira Gandhi. He has said that now that Smt. Indira Gandhi has gone and Shri Morarji Desai has come, the country will have a brighter future I don't believe that. (*Interruptions*). There are certain hard realities of life to which you cannot close your eyes. Therefore, my point is that, basically, the question is what path you are choosing. If you are choosing the path of capitalism, you will continue to create conditions which will give rise to more poverty in this country and, therefore, to more unemployment. That is what I wanted to make clear at the outset.

Now, coming to the other aspects of the problem of unemployment, I may say that there are certain minimum measures the Government will have to take. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has explained himself at length and so I will not go into the details of it. First of all, from where will the Government find new resources for investment? This country is a rich country and nobody has any doubt about it; somebody has described India as a rich country but inhabited by poor people. If you want this rich country to be inhabited by people who will become rich, then you will have to invest more and more resources into our economy, so that the rate of economic growth will be higher and there will be social justice. That is where the question of path comes. If more money could be invested, we can make our people rich. Take the case of Madhya Pradesh, which is the economic geography of this country. Now the people of that State are very poor even though that State has immense natural resources.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI BIJU PATNAIK): Why are you forgetting Orissa?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: Orissa is very rich. Kerala is immensely rich. In fact, our whole country is rich. But the question is how we are going to exploit the natural resources and for that where will you find the money from. Though there could be difference of opinion on this question, in my opinion there is money in this country. The question is whether we have the political will, the seriousness and determination to tap those sources.

My first suggestion is that we have to break the monopolies. There are 75 big business houses. Now 20 to 23 business houses have been added to them. They constitute a big empire who amass nearly 75 per cent of the total wealth of this country into their exchequer. Will you make it the property of this country is the fundamental question.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: Will that increase employment?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: It will. I know you have a different theory. It will increase employment. Let us see how these big companies amass wealth. I will cite only two examples. In 1963-64 the total wealth of Birlas amounted to Rs. 282 crores. In 1975-76 it increased to Rs. 1,064 crores. This was during the period when *garibi hatao* was the slogan. Then, take Tatas. In 1963-64 their wealth amounted to Rs. 375 crores. By 1975-76 it increased to Rs. 974.6 crores, nearly three times.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: You were in the vanguard of the Government. What did you do?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: That question will not help. If you are in the vanguard of something else now, it will not help. Unless you change the basic policies, you cannot change the position. That is why I say that money is there and money can be found out if you break the backbone of the big business houses.

Shri Biju Patnaik was enquiring whether the break up of the monopolies will provide or generate more employment. It will. As we all know, monopolies are interested only in making more profits and further profits. They are not interested in providing employment or reasonable standard of living to the people. They are interested only in profits. That is the law of capitalism. There is no vegetarian tiger. In the same way, there is no capitalist whose motive force is not higher and higher profits. So my concrete suggestion is to nationalise all firms and companies owned by the monopoly houses. And you have to nationalise also the companies owned by the multi-nationals and their subsidiaries. Put a moratorium on the repatriation of profits immediately as also on royalties and dividends of foreign companies. Break the parallel economy

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of the black money by taking all preventive measures including demonetisation about which the Janata Party was discussing the other day. Collect arrears of tax. Confiscate the hoarded gold and other wealth of the rich people in the country.

Then, completely take over the import-export trade. Utilise fully the installed capacity of the industry and minimise foreign collaboration.

If these steps are taken—I am not saying that this is a panacea for all our ills—but if these steps are taken, you will find that there will be new resources which you can invest.

Then there is the question of private sector. They should be told to behave in a disciplined manner. According to your own report submitted to this House, there are certain interesting things. In March 1975 the total number of people employed in the public sector was 130.38 lakhs as against 68 lakhs in the private sector.

The public sector was giving more and more employment to the people because the public sector will not have that character of profit motive. So they gave more and more employment to the people whereas the Indian private sector gave less and less employment during the last few years. So you will have to call the private sector and tell them to behave properly.

There are other steps which are of immediate nature which are necessary. There may be a time-bound programme for rapid industrialisation of the country.

There should be land reforms because in our country without land reforms you cannot imagine the bulk of the unemployed people. If you take Mr. Raj Krishna who is now a Planning Commission Member, we have 19 million unemployed of which nearly 3 million are in the cities and

the rest are in the villages. So, you have to implement radical and reforms and distribute the surplus to the poor peasants... (Interruptions). There is surplus; only the assessment of the surplus steadily came down. That is all, but the surplus is there. That is all details and I am not going into them.

Arable land should be distributed among the peasants for cultivation.

Then, promotion of agro industries, cottage industries, small-scale industries and undertaking large-scale public works, road construction, rural electrification....

SHRI P. RAJAGOPALA NAIDU (Chittor): Rural housing.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: Yes, rural housing.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): But nothing is going on.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: And take steps for primary education, to implement the constitutional provision regarding primary education and also a massive scheme to eradicate illiteracy. That will create job opportunities for many many millions of young people who are educated but are unemployed.

Then there should be a plan to fully exploit our natural resources, to develop fisheries and forestry.

There should be an efficient social service scheme including a country-wide health service scheme even to the remotest village and our educational system should be re-oriented according to these needs. That means that more vocationalisation will have to be there.

Now, the question is that apart from generating jobs there is another job of defending the jobs which are already there because there is a large-scale closure, lock-out and retrenchment going on in our country....

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: Also strikes.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: Strikes are there. Tomorrow we will discuss how the strike in that Kiri-buru mine is going on.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: I just remembered.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: You just remembered. Last year 76 per cent of the total mandays lost in this country was due to arbitrary lock-out, closure and retrenchment.

I do not hold you responsible for that. But that is the fact and even to-day that continues.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: How much is in China?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I do not know. We will make research together. In regard to automation there should be more rational approach. It should not result in large scale replacement of labour.

All casual and temporary workers may be confirmed. Contract labour system should be abolished. All those who are in these systems should be made permanent workers.

Employment should be ensured to apprentices and trainees. Statutory provision should be made so that there is no eviction of land tenants and share croppers.

These are some of the measures by which you will be able to provide employment to many more people and at the same time protect employment opportunities which are already there.

Certain measures were proposed by the Janata Party before the formation of the Government. These were good proposals. I think an assurance will come to us from the hon. Minister that there will be food for work or employment scheme. But nothing big is being done. There may be small things which are being done here or there.

In this House we were discussing yesterday that nearly 21 million tonnes of foodgrains are in the godowns. Now we are facing a problem of finding additional godowns. Lot of it is going waste. It is rotting and is not good for human consumption. It is in this context that the programme becomes irrelevant. You pay the worker in kind and ask him to work in nationally important schemes. You mobilise people in a big way for the construction and completion of Rajasthan Canal. You ask them to work in Nagarjuna Sagar or to come and complete the work in Kerala, in Orissa, etc. Have some big schemes. There should be proper approach. Have you got that approach? You have never spelt out what it will be. If you have that approach of mobilising the people and bringing them in a big way for construction work and providing them food instead of wage and asking them to work, that will not only provide them relief but also it will add to the national wealth of our country. Are you serious about the scheme—food for work. If you are serious about it, then what are the projects that you have in mind? We tried it in Kerala. It was successful.

Here, there is no political bar. You can approach everybody and you can mobilise the whole country provided you can give them leadership and provided you can inspire them. That inspiration will not come by making speeches. There should be programmes and there should be guarantee that you work in Rajasthan Canal and the area will not be taken by kulaks but that will be given to the people for cultivation.

Shri Raj before he became a Member of the Planning Commission, presented very interesting schemes before this country. That was liked by the framers of the Janata Party manifesto. What was the scheme? He said.—If you take the 20 million unemployed people and calculate in terms of man-days lost, how many

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days do you lose? They are unemployed. There are 20 million people. Give them Rs. 4 a day. It is a relief measure. You provide them this amount of Rs. 4 a day. You ask them to work in nationally—important, highly productive schemes in the country and in 5 to 10 years if you have a scheme like that you will be able to make progress. You will have to spend Rs. 150 crores a year. Well, it may appear to be a big amount but I have suggested how the money could be found. If that point of view is accepted and if the programme is undertaken, I think Government will be able to make a breakthrough in the matter of creating more employment opportunities and providing more relief to the people. If you fail in all these things, then I think you will not make any difference in the approach which was made by Mrs. Gandhi.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: I am intervening as I want one or two clarifications. He referred just now to what Shri Raj, Member of the Planning Commission had said. If you take 2 crores of people and if you give them Rs. 4 a day, it amounts to Rs. 8 crores a day. If you have it multiplied by 365 days it comes to nearly Rs. 3000 crores and not Rs. 150 crores a year. This is number one. Number two is this: Supposing all the private sector is nationalised today, this morning, would it provide one more job? That is the question.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: In calculation if I made a mistake, I stand corrected. But in relation to that second question I am very clear in my mind. The tiger will not change its colour. There you may hold a different view but I don't agree with it. I wish that the Prime Minister succeeds in implementing the programme and the scheme about unemployment being wiped out in 10 years.

If you are able to do that, I will be the first man to be happy about it. The people will be happy about it. The whole country will be happy about it.

But, unless you pursue a policy by which you make fundamental changes and departure from the capitalist path which this country has been pursuing for the last 30 years, this pious wish will remain a mere wish, which will never be fulfilled.

With these words I conclude my speech.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI DESAI): I would be away both from capitalism as well as from communism and I say this very forcefully and very emphatically.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I could not hear him.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He said that he would be away from both the capitalist and communist paths.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: Nobody succeeded in that way.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: You will see that now.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I wish you all success but I have my own doubts.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Doubting Thomases have never succeeded.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That this House do resolve that the Government should take concrete steps of immediate nature and also of for reaching consequences for finding partial and lasting solution to the problem of unemployment which has grown into menacing proportions.”

Now, Shri Saugata Roy.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY (Barrackpore): It is with pleasure that I rise to participate in this debate on the