

rights like freedom of speech and expression and many other political freedoms for which a certain degree of right to property is essential because, as Mr. Ravi himself asked, how many people can go to Court?

Right to work and literacy are good, we all agree. The Janata Party's manifesto also talks about it. I do not know how far they will go, but I would like them to move in that direction.

About minorities and a national minimum wage, we all agree.

About the Forty-second Constitution amendment Act, which was then called the Forty-fourth Constitution (Amendment) Bill, it did contain some good things, but the manner in which it was brought and the way in which it was passed, the manner in which the country was not allowed to discuss it freely and openly was highly objectionable. It was badly brought, wrongly passed, tortuously passed by the House. Therefore, let the Janata Party Government reject it lock, stock and barrel, and then bring forward a new Bill incorporating some of the good things which Mr. Ravi has suggested. This is my request and appeal to the hon. Law Minister. I hope he will agree and not have an idea that because it contains some one or two good things, it should be amended and retained. By scrapping the Act entirely you would also be deprived of some of the executive powers which you are at least in theory now enjoying. I do not want even you to enjoy them, even on paper. That is why I am making this appeal to the hon. Law Minister.

17.09 hrs.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Contd.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): In the

statement which I made this morning regarding Government business in this House for the next week I had mentioned that "Further discussion on the motion regarding train accidents" would be put down for Wednesday, 30th November, 1977, and the "discussion on the motion regarding the statement on Samachar" on Thursday, 1st December, 1977.

However, for unavoidable reasons, it has become necessary to interchange these two discussions. The discussions would now be held as follows:

(a) Discussion on the motion regarding the statement on Samachar—on Wednesday, 30th November, 1977.

(b) Further discussion on the motion regarding the statement on the serious train accidents—on Thursday, 1st December, 1977.

17.10 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION—Contd.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA (Cannanore): I am very happy that my friend, Mr. Valayar Ravi has brought forward this Resolution which gives us an opportunity to discuss some of the vital problems of today. Most of the points mentioned in the Resolution deserve to be supported. But my approach to the whole problem is slightly different from what was expressed by my good friends here. It is good that we included many good things in the Constitution but it is another matter whether that will be translated into practice. Now Mr. Mavalankar just now mentioned that there is a need to look into the chapter of Directive Principles and from time to time take some of them and put them in the Fundamental Rights so that to that extent you are assuring the people that it will be translated into practice. But the pic-

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan]

ture is this. Now, many friends from that side in their speeches said—whether it is the question of literacy, whether it is the question of poverty or anything—‘what business Mr Ravi has to say these things, you were in the power for the last thirty years and we are here for the last few months only’. There exactly is my point. I do not think that even if they remain there for some more years, they would succeed much in implementing the promises that they are making to the country. Mr Morarji Desai, for example, is falling for the number 10. He says that in ten years, he will solve the problem of unemployment, in ten years, he will solve the problem of illiteracy, in ten years again, he will even solve the problem of caste system in our country. I do not have any quarrel over the number whether it is 10, 12 or 5 years. But what is the policy you are pursuing which is different from the Congress Party, by which you can tell the people that you will implement the promises that you are making? For all these things we look at it that there is an economic foundation on which you build a certain kind of society. You are creating the same society which the Congress tried to create in this country. The social order is practically the same, whatever name you may call it. You are just continuing that. You are putting capitalism on more firm foundations. My point is, under capitalism, unemployment is inevitable; you can not solve it.

Take the condition of India as such. If you take the question of giving employment to people without meaningful radical land reforms, you cannot think of it. What is the policy of the Janata Party about Land reforms? Is it not a secret that the Janata Party is trying to go back? A memorandum has been given by the MLAs of Janata Party in Orissa saying that the ceiling limit should be enhanced from 15—if I remember

right—to 25. Is it the way of implementing the policy of land reforms?

Then, take poverty. Poverty has another side. Everybody in this House agrees that as years are passing, we are seeing more and more people becoming paupers. A process of pauperism is taking place. The other side is, a small number of people are becoming more and more rich. From 40 per cent of people below poverty line, if we have 60 per cent people below poverty line today, the wealth of Indian monopolists, if you take it from 1947 to date has increased five times. The people became poorer, the monopolies became richer. Can you stop this process? You have to take many bold steps to break the monopolies. Only then, you will be able to solve the problem. Unless these problems are tackled adequately, unless these problems are approached from this angle, nothing concrete can be achieved. We can talk bad things about you and you can talk bad things about us. Life will go on. As someone said, Parliament is a talking shop, it is a cosy and comfortable place to sit where we can discuss the things comfortably and will not quarrel beyond a certain limit. That will not do. Something more has to be done.

In regard to some of the constitutional amendments or which Mr Vayalar Ravi has suggested, I support them. If these amendments are incorporated in the Constitution, our Constitution will become more democratic. Regarding the right to private property, I must make that point very clear. We are against private property to the extent that it becomes a means of exploitation. Otherwise, I have a private property and someone may have a pan shop and all that. That is a private property. We are not against that. But if a private property becomes a means of exploitation, a source of exploitation, then that should go. I think, Mr Ravi also meant it that way, that a private property should

not be allowed to become the be-all and the end-all of everything. It should not be allowed to be used as a means of exploitation.

What about some of the very good things which everybody from the Janata Party said about the constitutional amendments? They are not speaking about those things these days. For example the right to vote at the age of 18. If that is brought about may be our democracy will become more dynamic and meaningful. What about the right of recall? I think that was a very democratic thing about which the Janata Party talked before the party was formed. J P is telling even today that there should be a right of recall. If they betray the people must have the right to call them back. If I betray I may also be called back. I am not excluding myself. We should be made more accountable to the people. The Janata Party is not talking about it these days.

Lastly I come to the system of having a proportional representation. That is a very important thing in a democracy like ours. What happens is that all kinds of opportunistic and political alliances take place because I want somehow to come to the Parliament. I do not care about the number of seats. Let everybody get their proportional number of seats. I want the Government to make it clear as to where they stand in regard to all these things. They may not accept these things right now. But they should make it clear as to what is the position of the Government in regard to these vital matters. The country would like to hear from them.

With these words I extend my support to the Resolution moved by my hon friend Shri Vayalar Ravi.

श्री कांवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर)

सभापति महोदय मैं अपने मित्र श्री रवी को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने एफ् बीएसड रेजोल्यूशन इस सदन के सामने रखा। मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी व्यक्ति, चाहे इस

तरफ का हो या उस तरफ का, सिद्धांत में उनसे मतभेद नहीं करेगा। उन्होंने यह ठीक ही कहा कि देश में नयी पोलिटिकल सिचुएशन आई है। जो बदल भारत में बैलट के जरिए से हुई है वह शायद किसी भी अन्य डेमोक्रेटिक देश में नहीं हुआ होगा। यह एक अनपेरेल्ड घटना हुई है कि हम शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से इस देश में क्रान्ति लाये। इसके लिए जनता पार्टी ने जो वायदे किये थे कि हम सविधान में संशोधन करेंगे, हम लोगों को आजादी देंगे बोलने की, अदालत की और अखबार की, मैं समझता हूँ हमारे सारे मित्र इस बात से सहमत होंगे कि जनता पार्टी ने थोड़े ही समय में शासन में आने के बाद, देश से जो तानाशाही का वातावरण था उसको समाप्त करके इस देश का दोबारा आजाद कराया है।

जहाँ तक सविधान में अमेन्डमेंट्स की बात है, मैं अपने बोस्त श्री मावलकर जी से इस बात में सहमत नहीं हूँ कि उसको पूरी तरह से हटा दिया जाये। जो चीजे उसमें अच्छी हैं, जो चीजें प्रजातन्त्र के हित में हैं, जो जनतंत्र के हित में हैं उनको रख करके बाकी जो गलत चीजें हुई हैं उनको जनता पार्टी हटायेंगी। हमें विश्वास करना चाहिए कि अगर इस सेशन में नहीं तो अगले सेशन में वह बिल आपके सामने आ जायेगा। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे साथी इसमें हमारी मदद करें।

इसी तरीके से हमारे मित्र ने इन्वैशन लाज के बारे में कहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनमें कुछ बाने ठीक भी हैं और उनके बारे में हम विचार कर रहे हैं और मैं भी सरकार से यह मांग करूँगा कि आज जो चुनाव की पद्धति है, वह इतनी भद्दी और गंदी है कि उसको जब तक ठीक नहीं किया जाएगा, तब तक देश से चुनाव ठीक नहीं होंगे हालांकि मैं राइट ब्राय रिफाल के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ। देश की आज जो परिस्थिति है उसमें अगर