

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Bihar: General) Mr. President, Sir, I rise to offer my limited and qualified support to this Constitution. But for the adoption of Hindi language and the abolition of untouchability, I would not have seen my way to support this Constitution. I support this Constitution to the extent it is unitary. I am opposed to Federalism, Provincial Autonomy, Parliamentarianism, Adult Franchise and Fundamental Rights.

There is no element of idealism in this Constitution. It is a Constitution foreign to the culture and genius of this land. It is a lawyers' Constitution. It is a Constitution meant to stabilise the interests-both economic and political of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist classes. Article 24 has banged the door to all progress. Without the liquidation of private property as the means of production, there is no bright future for India.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: I am speaking quite distinctly. I would go slow if the honourable President would give me time. But he would not.

The provision relating to compensation incorporated in article 24 stands as a stumbling bloc in the way of progress. The present Government of India Act with suitable modifications would have amply served the needs of the hour. We are passing through a transitional period. Revolution is knocking at our door. We are not in a position to sense the needs of the coming century.

There is decadence all round.

There was no necessity for drafting a Constitution at the present moment. We do not know which way India will choose to go in the near future. There are three courses left open to her. She may follow the road that leads to Moscow or she may fall in line with England and America. There is a third of alternative which to my mind appears to be the best course for her to follow. If there is any inner vitality left in her blood and veins, India will remain loyal to her genius and culture and maintain her separate individuality as the leader of a third Bloc in world politics.

This Constitution stands as a stumbling block in the way of Indo-Russian entente. By incorporating article 24 we have given a fresh lease of life to the capitalists. There cannot be any sincere and loyal co-operation between a capitalist State and Soviet Russia.

If India is to remain loyal to her ancient traditions she must discard the basic foundations of this Constitution. Dharma was the basis of all Governments in ancient India. If the will of ignorant and hungry people were ever to become the basis of government in India, it will mean the complete liquidation of all that is good and noble in Indian life. The common man has got no will of his own. He is a bundle of instincts and a creature of environment and heredity. His will can never be the basis of modern Governments in any part of the world and especially in India where he suffers from innumerable handicaps. The concept of Dharma incorporates all that is good and noble in Parliamentarianism and rejects the evils that have crept into it. A State based on Dharma will never tolerate economic inequality or social injustice. But it will never accord recognition to popular will as the basis of Government. For the will of man is nasty, brutish and short. Dharma is in consonance with the fundamental principles of Democracy. The will to will the general will is the core of democracy. The essence of Democracy is the representation of the real will of the people as opposed to and distinct from the actual will. The actual will is surcharged with passion and prejudice. The actual will changes from moment to moment, from hour to hour and from day to day. It contains within itself all that is mean, stupid and foolish in human life. it can never be the basis of Government. The real will on the other hand is in consonance with the teachings of the great leaders of thought in human history. It is in consonance with morality.

I am opposed to Parliamentarianism because it has no future in the modern age. The average individual is not in a position to understand the highly complicated problems of our industrial society. It is an age of Experts.

This Constitution will amply suit India if it is to fall in line with Anglo-American powers. I hold the opinion that if India decides to fall in line with England and America, she will be committing a first class mistake.

The hungry and starving millions of this country will never tolerate a government which chose to fall in line with the anglo-American powers. If I were to choose between Washington and Moscow I would choose Moscow and not Washington and New York. I love equality more than liberty.

The essence of the theory of decentralization is utter distrust of the State. Bakunin and Prince Kropotkin advocated the theory that the state is an evil. It was based on violence and therefore inimical to all that is good and noble in human life. The best state is that which is least governed. May I ask the Members of this House are they going to build up their State on the basis of these assumptions?

The emphasis in the doctrine of Philosophical Anarchism is upon the individual and not the State. The individual should be the sole reservoir of all powers. When we talk of decentralization of powers, our sole aim is to wrench power from the hands of the Centre and to vest it in the hands of the Provincial Governments. I hold the opinion that if further encroachments are made upon the power of the Centre, it will reduce the Government of India to the status of the League of Nations. If the social purposes of the age are to be fulfilled, more powers ought to be vested in the Centre. The theory of decentralization runs counter to the concept of a unitary state. A unitary state is the need of the hour. If the menace of Provincialism and Communalism are to be combated we cannot afford to think in terms of political decentralization.

The great Mahatma was an advocate of decentralization. His doctrine of decentralization had an integral relation with the concept of Ram Raja.

(At this stage, Mr. President rang the bell).

It is only in a non-violent society where all the elements of violence have been liquidated that we can achieve the goal of decentralization. As long as there are warring Nation states we cannot think in terms of decentralization. As long as there is economic inequality, the goal of decentralization will elude our grasp. It is only with the need of the Togetherness that we can usher in a decentralized society. As long as there is militarism it is not possible to decentralise powers to any extent whatsoever.

(At this stage, Mr. President again rang the bell).