

countries. There is a difference between your socialism and our socialism.

(Interruptions)

Ours is persuasion; yours is compulsion.

SHRI M. C. DAGA (Pali): I will request the hon. Chairman to change the time for speaking.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I appreciate your suggestion.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN (Teelicherry): With mixed feeling, our party is welcoming the 44th Constitution Amendment Bill. We are very happy that you have adopted socialism as our goal in our Constitution. You have inscribed the words "socialism and secularism" in the Preamble of the Constitution. It is an important development, because it shows that in the world today we are living in a period where great achievements of socialism have come to stay and not only that, it has been proved that capitalist part of development is no more suitable for developing countries. It is in that background, we suppose, that we are inscribing the word "socialism" in the Preamble of the Constitution as the goal that we want to achieve. We welcome that. But, at the same time, it is necessary to point out one of the glaring contradictions which is there in the Constitution.

When we adopt socialism as our goal, as the previous speaker from our party had pointed out, it is a contradiction that in the Chapter regarding the Fundamental Rights, we are again keeping the right to private property as one of the very important fundamental rights. When we say that the right to private property should be taken away from the Constitution, we do not mean that there should not be any *panwallah's* shop or there should not be a small trader or a small farmer.

The main consideration is that the means of production should not be

privately owned as a means of exploitation of the masses of the people. The Constitution, as it is amended today, when we retain that clause regarding the fundamental rights to private property, we do not think is in tune with what has been written in the Preamble of the Constitution.

Mr. Basumatari was just now quarreling with us. The point is, whether it is by persuasion or by whatever means it is in this country, under socialism, there should not be a Birla; there should not be a Tata; there should not be a Goenka; there should not be a kulak lobby pressurising the Government all around. You can adopt whatever means you like. If you want to adopt the Sarvodaya method, you try it. If you want to go and fall at their feet and beg, "relinquish your property", you do it. But in this country, when we say that we are going towards socialism, there is no place for private property as a means of exploiting the masses. That is what we mean. This contradiction remains in the Constitution. The Government refuses to adopt our proposition. Many of our friends on that side also have proposed that the right to private property should be deleted.

Then, we have fears about the clause that has been included in the Constitution, that is, about anti-national activities. It is not to say that we support anti-national activities, not the least. But in the name of fighting anti-national activities, this clause can be misused against the legitimate trade union activities in the country. I think, the Members from both the sides of the House have expressed their fears about it. This amendment enables the Government to bring forward the necessary legislation. The Law Minister said that at that time, he will take care of it. Several promises were made in this House before that Emergency powers will not be misused and that MISA will not be misused. There are cases after cases brought before

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan]

the Government about the misuse of these powers. It is not Mr. Gokhale who is going to implement it. It is the bureaucracy that is going to implement it. In our administrative system, as it is today, the bureaucracy plays a very important role and there is no guarantee that they will not misuse these powers. I express this fear because that is a fear not merely being expressed on the floor of the House but it is a fear in the whole country among the democratic-minded people.

Another point which I would like to bring before the House is about the deployment of Central armed forces. There are newly acquired rights of the Central Government for the deployment of the Central armed forces in the States without taking into consideration their views.

About the declaration of partial Emergency and for the enforcement of partial Emergency there may be a legislation enacted for that particular part of the country which is under partial Emergency and we feel that that also can be misused against the people who are living in the neighbouring areas, in places which are not declared under partial Emergency. This also should be taken note of by the Government.

Lastly, Mr. Gokhale said, when you adopt this Constitution Amendment Bill, it is to bring about a social revolution in the country. I would like the Government to take into account one fact that in this country, the people, specially the new generation of people should be given proper education as to what socialism means so that they can understand socialism and the new goals that you have set before the country.

Your educational system should be oriented in that fashion. The members of the Congress Party like Mr. Basumatari should know what socia-

lism means. There are a large number of young people who should be educated on that. A cultural revolution might be necessary to enforce what you mean by bringing about a social revolution. It may not be in the Chinese fashion. What I say is that an effort should be made by the Government to educate the people on the meaning of socialism, on the great achievements of the socialist world. What has been the experience of the Soviet Union? There may be people who are allergic to that. But, without knowing that, you cannot implement socialism in this country; you cannot implement socialism with Birlas and Tatas. This should be taken care of.

These are some of the things which I would like to bring to the notice of the Government. Otherwise, I welcome this Bill.

**SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI (Gauhati):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I associate myself with the others in congratulating the Law Minister for having piloted this Bill through the first and second stages and which is now in the process of the first stage.

Two contradictory views have been expressed in this debate. Some have said that the Constitution needs a fresh look because it has outlived its use or utility; and the other view has been that the Constitution is a sacred and sacrosanct document and it should not be touched. I do not share any of these extreme views. I feel that this Constitution has stood by us all these years. By this Constitution, we have been able to meet a number of foreign aggressions; we have also been able to meet our economic difficulties as we have provided stability in the country. Therefore, there is no ground to subscribe to the view that the Constitution should be scrapped. We should undoubtedly remove those provisions which are coming as road-blocks in the implementation of our socio-economic programmes.