the Defence Ministry. But at these other war memorials there are guides, etc. At least maintenance of these memorials should be taken care of by the Government. I do not know whether the Education Ministry looks after them or the Defence Ministry looks after them. Wherever memorials are created by Defence personnel or Defence Ministry, they are looked after, but certain memorials are not looked after. Recently during my Manipur I had gone visit to Mauran to pay my homage and respect to the memory of the late Netaji Subhash Bose. Maurang is some 40 kilometres away from Burma border in our area in Manipur State where the first national flag was hoisted by Azad Hind Fauz under the leadership of Capt. That was the first Indian flag hoisted on Indian soil. When I visited that memorial, I saw that the statue of Netaji Subhas Bose inaugurated by the late President V. V. Giri in 1965 and a war memorial which was created in Burma, it was afterwards demolished by somebody and was brought here by our Government and the foundation stone was laid by the present Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi in 1969. The first national flag hoisted by Hind Fauz was on 14th April 1944 at Maurang; and that is a permanent memorial; it is not a memorial This is a memorial of other types the type erected in memory of freedom fighters who were not merely soldiers but who should be respected Here were freedom more than that. fighters who contributed to the achievement of our freedom in a different manner, through a different struggle, and who boosted the morale of the Even though the names of country. two big Government personalities are connected with it,-the late President and the present Prime Minister-still that memorial is incomplete. Barring the statue and a war pillar, the auditorium is incomplete. There is a small wing where a small museum of photographs of the late Subhas Bose are exhibited, but the memorial is incom-

plete. When I asked the local people who came there, they told me, "What to do? Even though 11, 12 years have elapsed since the Prime Minister laid the foundation stone, the memorial is still incomplete." I do not know whether this is being looked after by the Education Ministry or the CPWD or by whom. But I feel we must show due respect to such memorials. If they had not been created, if they had not been inaugurated by the late President, if the Prime Minister had not laid the foundation stone, it was right, it was a different matter. once you have it and if we do not care for it, I think it is an insult not only to the war memorial but to the martyrs who laid down their lives for the country. This is a subject where there is no dispute. There is no question of any region coming in are all national memorials; and here is the greatest of them. I would request the Government to kindly see that this is properly maintained and the incomplete portion of it is complet. ed. If it is done with the help of the local committee, well and good. If they are not able to do it, the Government should take it over and complete it.

- I. STATUTORY RESOLUTION
 SEEKING DISAPPROVAL OF THE
 CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE
 (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE, 1980
 (NO. 12 OF 1980)—Contd.
- II. THE CODE OF CRIMINAL PRO-CEDURE (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1980—Contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI). The Minister is to reply to the debate.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIA-MENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VEN-KATASUBBAIAH); Mr. Vice-Chairman, yesterday the discussion on the Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill took place in this House. Some stalwarts from the opposition led by Mr. Sunder Singh Bhandari, have made

certain observations about this Bill now under discussion in the House. As you are well aware, the Lok Sabha has already approved this Bill

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI (Uttar Pradesh): How does it affect us?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH It does not affect you. I am only making a statement of facts. I am not trying to influence the hon Member.

Sir the burden of the song of the opposition Members has been that it violates the Directive Principles, particularly article 50 of the Constitution. I would like to inform this hon. House and also hon. Member Bhandari that the provisions of sections 108, 109 and 110 do not relate to judicial functions. It is borne out by the fact that the 14th Law Commission report has very thoroughly gone into this matter I would like to read some of the observations made by the Law Commission in this report. I quote.

Under the Criminal Procedure Code and other relevant statutes, the functions of Magistracy fall into three broad categories .

- (a) Functions which are police functions in their nature namely, handling of unlawful assemblies;
- (b) Functions of administrative character, namely, issue of licences of fire arms and similar functions; and
- (c) Functions which are essentially judicial, namely trial of criminal cases.

These functions, since the introduction of the scheme, have all been performed by the Collector of a district and a number of Magistrates subordinate to him and controlled by him. The essential feature of this scheme purely judicial functions was that coming under category (c) were transferred from the Collector and Magistrates subordinate to him to a new set of officers who are no longer under the

control of the Collector. Functions. coming under categories (a) and (b) were to continue to be discharged by the Collector and Revenue Officers subordinate to him. The officers performing functions in category (c) were to be called Judicial Magistrates and those performing functions in categories (a) and (b) were to be called Executive Magistrates

This is the definition given by the 14th Law Commission report with regard to this particular section 108

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHAN-DARI: What about the second report?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH will come to that. Sir, in their wisdom, they have said:

"By that time certain States were taking steps for the separation of the judiciary from the executive, one of the States being Bombay."

It was Bombay then and the Law Commission had suggested that Bombay pattern should be adopted. The Bombay pattern is this—the Law Commission has said which I quote here:—

Legislation for bringing about the separation should be enacted by Parliament on the model of the Bombay (Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions) Act. 1951. In Bombay as constituted before the reorganisation of States, a similar scheme was brought into effect by the passing of the Separation of Judicial Executive Functions Act. The main point of distinction between. Madras and the Bombay schemes is this Whereas in Madras the head of the judicial magistracy in a district is the District Magistrate, in Bombay the head is the Sessions Judge, and whereas in Madras, the powers under 108 to 11 of the Cr.P.C. are exercisable only by the Judicial Magistrates, in Bombay these powers are left to be exercised by the Executive Magistrates. In Bombay, powers are left to be exercised by the Executive Magistrates. It may be pointed out that in both the States

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

the Judicial Magistrates are like civil judicial officers under the administrative control of the High Courts."

Then, Sir, I come to the 37th Report of the Law Commission wherein they have exhaustively dealt with this :nat-In this Report, Sir, they have specifically stated that these are executive functions and have to be left to the Executive Magistrates. Of course in their 41st Report, which Mr. Bhandari has mentioned, they have gone into this matter. But, when it came to coming to a conclusion, they did not say anything and they did not say anything as to whether these should be retained with the Executive Magistrates or whether they are to be transferred to the Judicial Magistrates. They have only discussed the matter and nothing has been said on this matter.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI Would you please quote that part which I was mentioning?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: will quote that also. There is another thing. An allegation has been made that we are trying to arm the Executive Magistrates with more powers and want to usrp the judicial which were hitherto given to the Judicial Magistrates. I may mention to the honourable Member that it is we who in 1973 took steps to separate the judiciary from the executive and even then, Sir, a provision had been made to the effect that the option was open to the State Governments and that whichever State Governments wanted that these should be retained with the Executive Magistrates, they could do so under certain conditions. This has been made clear and it was made clear even when the Act was passed in 1973.

श्री नागेइवर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश): 1973 में गलती हो गयी थी, **ब्राज ब्राप उसे ठीक कर** रहे हैं।

SHRI V. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I am sorry to say, Sir, that some of he honourable Members are alienated from public opinion. They have got their own opinions and they do respond to the public feelings and .he socio-economic compulsions. Sir, law is not static and it has to be changed to suit the public response and the socio-economic conditions. If what was passed in 1973 has to be modified, it does not mean that that thing of 1973 is sacrosanct and nothing can be done. As a matter of fact....

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD This is not a modification; SHAHI: this is reversion.

P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: SHRI We have amended our Constitution several times in order to suit the prevailing conditions in the country. (Interruptions)

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: You have to plead your own case.

P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Another point which has been made out is that there is a lot of difference between sections 107,108, 109 and 110. Section 107 is one which deals with matters regarding breach of peace. This is already with Executive Magistrates. Yesterday Shri Shahi read out these sections and said that ... (Interruptions) I would like to read sections 107, 108 and 109.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: Only read the captions.

SHRI P. **VENKATASUBBAIAH:** Previous section 107...

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: That is about the convicted people.

P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: SHRI What I am trying to point out it that these preventive measures, not punitive, and section 107, 108, 109 and 110 must be treated on par. That is what I am trying to make out.

NAGESHWAR SHRI PRASAD SHAHI: Section 107 is meant purely for law and order. It can be used against anybody, not only criminals. Section 108, 109 and 110 are meant only for habitual criminals.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): You have made your point. Let him reply.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I am making my point.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: You are confusing the whole thing.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: But I will not be able to confuse you. (Interruptions) Sir, it is the same thing-section 108, 109 and 110... (Interruptions) If it does not suit you, what can I do? Sir, I only want to point out that there is a considerable misconception. Of course, the 'non. Members want to make their points very emphatic and clear. But there is a misconception of the whole thing. Sir, about the essential merit of the concept of the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, I have quoted from the 14th Report, inc 37th Report also, and the 41st Report, which Bhandariji wanted me to quote. The question is what constitutes the judicial and executive functions. 1 quote from the 37th Report. It says:

"In the field of criminal law, separation of the judiciary from the executive broadly means the administration of the criminal justice by members of the judiciary who are independent of executive control."

Sir, the hon. Members would also like to know that when the Law Commission furnished its 37th report advocating separation of judiciary from the executive, several States in the country had already brought about this separation with the help of State enactments. They are Madras, Bombay and Punjab. (Interruptions) For the information of Shri Ramamurti, I would like to point out that West Bengal has also adopted this thing. The West Bengal Bill brought forward in 1967 was informed by the same principles as the Punjab and Bombay Acts. It left the security proceedings entirely to the Executive Magistrates. The Statement of Objects and Reasons enunciated the principle that the Judicial Magistrates will primarily deal with cognizance, institution inguiry into and trial of a reference under the Indian Penal Code or under any other local or special law while the Executive Magistrate will be mainly concerned with prevention of offences under executive and administrative functions. It clearly shows that in a State like West Bengal, this principle was also accepted and that this purely of a preventive nature and, therefore this cannot form part of a judicial procedure. I am only arguing my case that there is misconception among some Members here. These sections do not form part of offences of punitive nature and that they are only of preventive nature. They are there to apprehend and contain the criminals, anti-social elements, antinational elements, etc. who are trying to create disorder in the country. This is the main purpose of this measure that is being brought forward before the Parliament.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: If I heard him correctly, he was mentioning that he had that support in the 14th Report

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I did not say 'support'. What I said was that they were silent on this. I said that while recommending that the proceedings in sections 108 and 110, should be entrusted to Judicial Magistrates, the 41st Report did not say that this was an essential part of separation of judiciary.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: This is what I said. On what authority are you interpreting it that way? I wanted that portion to be quoted.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: My interpretation is that they were silent. They did not say anything explicitly.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: Then don't quote them.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: They did not say that this will form part of the judicial functions.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: They have explicitly said that it should go only to the Judicial Magistrates

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): I agree that these are preventive detention measures and not punitive detention measures. There is a a difference between punitive detention and preventive detention. Do you know that when, under this section, a person is asked to show cause as to why he should not be bound over for a period of one year to keep the peace to do this and that under section 108 and all that, the entire procedure and the evidence on which he can bind me over is a judicial procedure and not an executive procedure? Witnesses can be there. I can cross-examine them and on the basis of my cross-examination. I can establish that the information on which he wants to act is a false information and, therefore, the entire proceedings are judicial proceedings and not executive proceedings. Therefore, the proceedings under that are judicial proceedings and not executive proceedings. And for that, the Evidence Act applies.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I think, the point on this subject was very ably put forth by the Opposition. It is for the Minister to reply. I don't think that this argument and counter-argument will lead us anywhere. Therefore, let the Minister reply.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: Your remark is sufficient for us. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): You put fourth your argument. Let the argument reply to this argument. This argument and counter-argument will lead us nowhere. Let him reply. Kindly hear him patiently so that he can give his own viewpoints to the Opposition.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you are a jurist.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI) I am not a jurist.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: You know the law. There is no question of argument.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Sir, he had his say yesterday and I was listening to him without interrupting him.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: Sir. the question is not of interpretation and argument. The question is that the Minister is somehow confusing the legal provisions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Shahi, I am not the person who can judge whether the Minister is confusing the issue or not. The Minister is entitled to reply in his own way. Let him give his own reply to the points raised by you Everybody is entitled to give his own reply.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: Sir, you know sections 109 and 110...(Interruptions)

SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRA-BORTY (West Bengal): Sir, let him give the reply in his own way. But why is he quoting from a portion where there is no indication regarding the functions of the Judicial and Executive Magistrates as performed by the different States?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): That is true. Let the Minister reply. If you interrupt the Minister at every stage, how can he reply? He should be permitted to reply.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Sir, he may be an eminent lawyer. But this is not a court room where he can cross-examine me. He had his say yesterday.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): In court rooms also, the lawyers are not cross examined The lawyers are permitted to argue their cases.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Well, he is taking me...

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: The arguments are on this side and the votes are on the other side.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Well, it is a matter of opinion. You please continue.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: That is purely a matter of opinion. The people have already given their verdict. There is no point in debating that point here.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: Not on this point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, it is safer for me to leave it to you, Dr. Zakaria.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Dr. RAFIQ ZAKARIA in the Chair.]

SHRI Ρ. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Sir, Mr. Ramamurti has been telling that the same judicial procedure is being adopted in these sections also, and that the evidence is called 'or. and all that But I may inform the hon. Member that the same procedure is adopted in section 107. Section 107 happens to be with the Executive Magistrate even today . . . (Interruptions) Sir, the option is given to the States Even though it was transferred to the judiciary, there are some States who have been keeping this still with the Executive Magis trates. Here, Sir, in view of the exigencies of the situation, in order to deal with the prevailing situation in an effective manner and to serve the interests of the people in a better manner, the Government thought that it would be better if these sections are brought under the purview of the Executive Magistrates

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: That answer is complete.

श्री नागेंडवर प्रभाद शाही: श्रीमन् श्रगर यह जवाब श्री जैल सिंह के मृंह मे श्राता तो हम लोगों को बहुत ग्रच्छा लगता

श्री रामानन्द थादव (विहार): बीच में बोलने का यह तारीका नहीं है। मिनिस्टर महादय को अप जबाब देने दी जिये।

VENKATASUBBAIAH: SHRI P. Sir. Mr. Ramamurti has said that this will go against the interests of the people, the people like the Tatas and the Birlas will escape and that they will have a stranglahold on our economy, on our people and that we on our part are hobnobbing with the Tatas and the Birlas. And, Sir, he made certain remarks. He said he is the product of the national movement. Sir, in my own humble way, I have also been a product of the national movement. Sir, whether it is the Tatas or the Birlas, they 5 P M. will not escape if they comoffence. I would mit an like to make it very clear to Shri P. Ramamurti. About our hoonobbing with the Tatas and the Birlas, even when Shri Namboodiripad in power, he invited the Birlas start industries in Kerala. I am only mentioning what he has said. Here personalities are immaterial. Everybody is equal before the law. whether it is the Tatas or the Birias anybody else. If he commits offence, he cannot escape.

Now, Sir, about clause 5, about the bail provisions that have been made very strict, Mr Bhandari has said that if a person is convicted for a small period of imprisonment or so, on two occasions, the bail is refused to him. But, Sir, it has been clearly stated that a person who has been convicted under cognizable and non-baila':le offence, who is convicted by a judicial officer, to such people the bail will not ordinarily be given. So, here the quesfor a tion of imprisonment period, for a short duration of time, does not arise. Here it is the ques tion of an offence that is cognizable and non-bailable and a judicial officer having convicted the person. Shri Bhandari has agreed that on the question of provisions making strict bail provisions and in respect of sureties he has no quarrel with the Government. His quarrel is only with regard to the transfer of sections from judi[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah] cial magistrates to executive magistrates.

Then, Sir, Shri Purabi Mukherjee, our ex-colleague....

THE V.CE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Not Shri, but Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee.

SHRI. P VENKATASUBBAIAH: I am sorry, Sir. Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee also made certain observations. Now she finds everything wrong with the Government. She has been with us for a very long time. She has been our General Secretary. In politics there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies, only interests are permanent. (Interruptions.) She was the General Secretary of our Party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Minister, you don't get distracted by Mr. Bhandari. You know, he is very clever.

श्री संयद सिब्ते रजी : ग्राप उनको कहने दीजिये । ग्राप उस पर तबसरा क्यों कर रहे हैं।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Sir, these are the points. Mr. Ramamurti says, you just stop your speech. In deference to his wishes..

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: What we talk in the Telugu is not meant to be translated. Otherwise, I would not have talked. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): In English he wants to tell you, go on.

AN HON. MEMBER: He knows Telugu also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA); He just now said it. Just now Mr. Ramamurti said it.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I would like again to emphasise, Sir, that these measures are preventive in nature. They do not form part of the judicial functions and the Govern-

ment is not violating the Directive Principles of the Constitution. What we are doing is within the Directive Principles of our Constitution. It has been done in order to maintain law and order in this country to prevent the anti-social and anti-national elements from doing damage and trying to do harm to the integrity of our country.

Sir, several hon. Members from our Party have spoken on this matter. They have very ably defended the Bill. I congratulate them and so also the Members from the Opposition who have spoken on this Bill. While appreciating their criticism, I would only say....

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): That those will be the victims whose criticism you appreciate.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I would only say that these provisions are not intended to be used against our colleague, Shri Kalyan Roy. I can say that with all the emphasis at my command; it will not be used against them and not against Shri Shiva Chandra Jha. These are the measures that are intended to preserve law and order, to prevent antisocial and anti-national elements who are trying to disturb the entire social fabric of the country.

With these few words, I request the hon. Members t_0 support and help us i_1 getting the amending Bill passed.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: Mr. Minister, you referred to your excolleague who is not with you. Do you consider them as enemies and will these provisions apply to them also?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: You are also my ex-colleague.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: But I am your opponent; I am not your enemy. We are not enemies; we might be in the opposion. But do you consider them to be enemies and will you apply these provisions against them? That was my question.

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THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): There is a very well-known saying that in politics there are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: That may apply to friends like Dr. Zakaria, and not like us.

श्री सैयद सिब्ते रजी (उत्तर प्रदेश): हम उनको दुश्मन नहीं समझते बल्कि दोस्त समझते हैं। (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): This $i_{\rm S}$ what Disraeli has said. He only quoted it. He did not intend in the sense you do.

Well, I shall now first put the Resolution to vote. The question is:

"That this House disapproves the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance, 1980 (No. 12 of 1980) promulgated by the President on the 23rd September, 1980."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): I shall now put the motion moved by Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah to vote. The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill. Clause 2, there are five amendments.

Clause 2—Amendment of sections 108, 109 and 110

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHAN-DARI: Sir, I move:

1. "That at page 1, line 7, the figure '108' be omitted."

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: Sir, I move:

5. "That at page 1, clause 2 be deleted."

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SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE (Maharashtra): Sir, I move:

6. "That at page 1, line 7, for the words and figures 'In sections 108, 109 and 110' the word and figure 'In section 110' be substituted."

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

- 7. "That at page I, line 9, for the words 'an Executive Magistrate' the word 'a Judicial Magistrate such being appointed where there is none by the 31st July, 1981, and pending such appointment an Executive Magistrate' be substituted."
- 8. "That at page 1, line 9, for the words 'an Executive Magistrate' the words 'a Munsif Magistrate' be substituted."

The questions were proposed.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ला कमीणन की 14वी रिपोर्ट का उल्लेख किया गया, 37वी रिपोर्ट का उल्लेख किया गया। मैं समझता हं कि यह दोनों रिपोर्टस सामने थीं जव ऋिमनल प्रोसीजर कोड का 1968 में फारमुलेशन हुन्ना। दो-दो सेलेक्ट कमेटीज में वह गया और उस के बाद 1973 में क्रिमिनल प्रोसीजर कोड का ऐक्ट पास हम्रा। म्रब यह कोई नयी जगह नहीं है, नया मौका नहीं है, दोनों सदनों के सदस्यों ने सेलेक्ट कमेटी में भी श्रौर हाउ-सेज में भी इन मृद्दों पर विचार किया है. उन्होंने 107 को स्पेसिफिकली केटेगराइज किया ग्रौर 108, 109 ग्रौर 110 को ग्रलग केटेगराइज किया। मैं यहां पर 108 के सव-क्लाज (1) व (2) को पढ़ता हुं तो इसमें यह कहा है कि उस मजिस्ट्रेट की राय में कार्यवाही करने के लिए पर्याप्त ब्राधार होना चाहिए। श्री राममूर्ति ने कहा, इविडेंस लोडेड होती है ग्रौर उन इविडेंसेज के ग्राधार पर वह कंविन्स हो--ग्रगर 108के श्रंतर्गत प्रोसीड करता है--फिर उसको

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भण्डारी]

यह भी देखना होता है कि किसी न्यायाधीश, जो भ्रपने पदीय कर्त्तव्यों का निर्वाह कर रहा है—यानी जडिशरी की फंकर्शानंग पर श्रापत्ति होती है--तो फिर जुडिशल मजिस्ट्रेट की फंकर्शानग में श्रापत्ति के बाद एक्जीक्यूटिव मजिस्ट्रेट देखें, एकजीक्यूटिव्ह मजिस्ट्रेट पर ऐक्शन ले, यह कंफ्यूजन पैदा होता है। इसीलिए लां कमीशन ने 41वीं रिपोर्ट में साफ तौर पर इस बात को कहा कि यह स्रोवरलैपिग नही होनी चाहिए, कांनकरेंस नहीं होनी चाहिए। कांनकरेंस होने के बाद लां कंफ्युजन पैदा होगा इसीलिए उन्होंने एक्सक्लुसिवली उन पावर्स को जुडिशल मजिस्ट्रेट के हाथ में देने की बात कही थी। इसलिए मेरा संशोधन है कि इन धाराग्री को ्बिल से म्रलग किया जाए।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (िहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, क्लाज 2 में एक्जीक्यूटिव मजिस्ट्रेट को भी वह जुडिशल पावर दिया जाएगा जिसको लेकर सारा विवाद हुआ था, सारी बाते हुई। एक तरह से जो सजा देने वाला है उसी को न्याय-मूर्ति बना देते हैं तो सारा न्याय का ढांचा, इन्साफ का ढांचा ख़तम हो जाता है इसीलिए मेरा संशोधन यह है कि यह आपका कांसेंट्रेशन श्राफ पावर हमारी सारी पद्धति को बिगाडेगा इसलिए इस सारे क्लाज को को हटा देना चाहिए, डिस्केपेंसी थोड़ी-बहुत हो सकती है बाद में जाकर, लेकिन वह माइनर है। यह एक्जीक्युटिव को जो पावर देने की वात ग्रा जाती है ---जुडीशल मजिस्ट्रेट श्राफ द फर्स्ट क्लास की जगह एग्जीक्यटिक्ह मजिस्ट्रेट की बात ग्रा जाती है इस सारे क्लाज को ही हटा देना चाहिए। सारा विवाद यहीं शुरू होता है इसलिए इसको डिलीट कर देना चाहिए।

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. the principle of separation of judiciary from the executive was accepted not only by others, but this was accepted even in the Constituent Assembly by Pandit Nehru himself. He said:

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"I may say, so far as Government is concerned, this Government is in favour of separation of judicial and executive powers. I may further say that the sooner it is brought about, the better."

Sir, this amendment which has been brought forward is against the principles of the Congress Party. I would like to say two things in this connection. It has been stated that because section 107 is there, giving powers to the executive magistrates, we can also give powers under section 108, 109 and 110. Section 107 is only in regard to security for good behaviour. But section 108 speaks of sedition—this is a very serious matter-and also about newspaper publications and so on. Section 109 is in regard to security for good behaviour by suspected persons. This power can be misused by the Government to a very large extent. In regard to sections 108 and 109, the judicial magistrates are required to make enquiries before any order is passed. There may be some justification in regard to section 110 which speaks about habitual robbers, house-breakers, forgers and so on. Here, the hon. Minister has said that the power should be given to the executive magistrates. If at all power is required, it is only in regard to section 110 and not in regard to sections 108 and 109 which are very serious matters affecting the rights of citizens, newspapers and other persons. Therefore, I would request hon. Minister to accept my amendment.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO: Sir, I have made this amendment to cover all magistrates. I have said that the date 31st July, 1981 should be fixed by which time the Judicial Magistrate is to be appointed. Till that time the Executive continue. As Magistrate may previous speakers have said, judicial task should be given to

the Executive Magistrates. The functions of the Executive Magis-trate should be completely separated and I want it to be pin-pointed that only judicial functions will be discharged by the Judicial Magistrates.

That is why I have given this amendment.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Sir, I have nothing more to state than what I have already stated. A question has been raised whether in the 41st Report it has been stated that this must be given to the *Judicial Megistrates. The point is that none of these reports has said that it is the essential part of the judicial functions. I want to make this point clear. Whatever the hon. Members have said in respect of their amendments is a stress on the same points. Mr. Bhandari has said about the 41st Report. I would like to say that in their 14th Report and 37th Report, they have exhaustively gone into the matter. None of these Reports, including the 41st Report, says that this is an essential part of the judicial functions. So, there is nothing to accept these **⊄a**mendments.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now I will put Mr. Bhandari's amendment to vote unless Mr. Bhandari withdraws the amendment.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHAN-DARI: My amendment be put to vote.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The question is:

1. "That at page 1, line 7, the figure 108 be omitted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): I will now put Shri Shiva Chandra Jha's amendment to vote. The question is:

5. "That at page 1, clause 2 be deleted."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Ayes have it, Ayes have it, the amendment is lost,

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA (Nominated): Noes have it, Noes have it. We want Division. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Just a minute. Let us not get excited. After all, the statement that I made is contradictory. I said one thing and gave the other verdict. Therefore, please allow me to correct myself. (Interruptions). All right, you want Division. Let there be Division. (Interruptions). The Division Bell is on. (Interruptions). The Division Bell is on. Order please. I am again putting Shri Jha's amendment to vote.

The question is:

5. "That at page 1, clause 2 be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Now I will put amendment No. 6 moved by Shri Dhabe to vote.

The question is:

6. "That at page 1, line 7, for the words and figures 'in sections 108, 109 and 110' the word and figure 'In section 10', be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Now I shall put amendment No. 7 moved by Shri Shahedullah to vote.

The question is:

7. "That at page 1, line 9, for the words 'an Executive Magistrate' the words 'a Judicial Magistrate

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[Dr. Rafiq Zakaria] such being appointed where there is none by the 31st July, 1981, and pending such appointment an Executive Magistrate' be substituted." The motion was negatived.

THE VCE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Now I shall put amendment No. 8 moved by Shri Shahedullah to vote.

The question is:

8. "That at page 1, line 9, for the words 'an Executive Magistrate' the words 'a Munsif Magistrate' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

I think the noes have it. I think the ayes have it. (Interruptions) Never mind. Mr. Ladli Mohan Nigam, simply because of a slip, do not take advantage of it. I said it once after all. Just do not try to take advantage of it simply because of a little bit of a human error. This is rather unfair. (Interruptions) Please sit down. In my conduct if you find that really I was saying it, you can say that but not simply because of this. That much co-operation, I expect. Therefore, I say the ayes have it.

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 3-Amendment of section 196

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Now we shall take up clause 3. There are five amendments.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHAN-DARI: Sir, I, move:

- 2. "That at page 2, line 9, the words 'or of the District Magistrate' be omitted."
- 3. "That at page 2, lines 12 and 13 the words 'and the District Ma-

gistrate may. before according sanction under sub-section (1A)' be omitted,"

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Sir, I move:

9. "That at page 1, line 14, the words and figures 'or sub-section (1) of section 505' be deleted."

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: Sir I move:

10. "That at page 2, line 9, the words for of the District Magistrate be deleted."

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri Shridhar Wasudeo-Dhabe).

11. "That at page 2, lines 12 and 13, the words 'and the District Magistrate may, before according sanction under sub-section (1A)' be deleted."

The questions were proposed.

श्री सुदर सिंह भंडारी: श्रीमन्, इस श्रमेंडमेंट में जहां पर पहले सेंट्ल गवन मेंट या स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की सिफारिश पर ग्रार्टिकल 153वीं ग्रौर ग्रार्टिकिल 505 सब-क्लाज 2 ग्रौर 3 में ऐक्शन लिया जाता था यह बात 🦥 सच है कि ऐक्शन इनीशियेट होते है कई बार डिस्टिक्ट ग्रथारिटीज के द्वारा लेकिन क्योंकि ये इनसे सीरियस मैंटर्स हैं ग्रौर ये चीजें जो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से कसर्निग हैं ये सेंट्ल गवर्नमेंट की सैक्शन के लिए जाती हैं तो उसमें ज्यादा गम्भीरता के साथ विचार हो सकता था। स्रगर मैलिस कोई पार्ट प्ले कर रहा है तो उसको हटाया जा सकता है । लोकल इंप्लयेंसेज के ग्राधार पर ग्रगर रिपोर्ट की 🤊 गई है तो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट एक ग्राब्जेक्टिव ब्यू लेकर किसी के खिलाफ प्रोसीड करने की उसमे गुंजाइश रहती थी । ग्रगर हम यह कर देने हैं 💐 कि डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट सुग्री-मोटो ऐक्शन ले ले, किसी को कंसल्ट करना जरूरी न हो, किसी की इंस्ट्रक्शंस प्राप्त करने के बाद सेक्शन 153 बी और 505 में प्रोसीड करना जरूरी

नहीं है तो यह मिस-यूज आफ अथारिटी होगा। इसलिए यह जो ऐडीशन है, जिला मिजिस्ट्रट को भी इसमें इंपावर किया गया है, मैं उसका विरोधी हूं। इस सिलिसिले में, मैंने अपना अमेंडमेंट दिया है और अऊस में कहना चाहता हूं कि इस अमेंडमेंट को स्वीकार कर ले।

SHRIDHAR WASUDEO SHRI Sir, in addition to DHABE: my friend has said, which I support, I want to say that under section 196, the previous sanction of the State Government or the Central Government was required for all these sections including section 505, the entire section. Now it has been reduced to this extent that it will be only for sub-section (1) of section 505. Now section 505 is a serious matter and sub-section (2) which has been excluded and where no sanction will be necessary is more serious than sub-section (1), Sub-clause (2) says:

"Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement or report containing rumour or alarming news with intent to create or promote or which is likely to create or promote on grounds of religion, race, place of birth.....feelings of enmity, hatred or ill-will..."

In these cases action can be taken, as also in the case of ill-will between different communities. For the prosecution of these cases, sanction was necessary. Now that has been taken away. I do not understand what is the propriety of merely taking half the section and allowing the other half to remain. Therefore, I appeal to him that the complete section of 505 should remain part of section 196 for taking the previous sanction of the Central Government on the State Government.

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: Sir. I endorse what they have said.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH. Sir, this is with regard to giving

concurrent powers to the District Magistrate. Sir, the powers were given in pursuance of certain observations made by the 41st Report of the Law Commission. They said that there has been inordinate delay in these proceedings and so in order to reduce the delay, the authority from the State Government or the Central Government need not be sought. Sir, this has been gone into very thoroughy. The two sections—I would like to read—which are now sought to be given to the District Magistrate are:

"Whoever, by words either spoken or written or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise makes or publishes any imputation that any class of persons cannot, by reason of their being members of religious....."

These are the cases which are detrimental. which go to incite communal violence and hatred between two groups of communities, as also distributing meterial prejudicia! to communal harmony. So we have only taken these two sub-sections because these are matters which brook no delay. If the State Government or Central Government authority is to be sought, there may be delay. By that time the damage would have been done. So, in order to expedite and see that these situations are controlled, this has been given to the concurrent jurisdiction 10 District Magistrate. This is the only explanation I can give. There is nothing sinister about it. It is only to see that prompt action is taken to contain these communal disturbances and hatred between two communities or groups.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now I shall put the amendments to vote....

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Now please be careful.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Ramamurti, I

[Dr. Rafiq Zakaria] would not like you or other Members to want me to give a wrong decision simply because of a slip of tongue on my part and I hope you will agree with me....

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम : दिल की बात जुबान पर श्रा जाती है। श्रापने दिल से कही जुबान से निकल गई।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरोया): मेरे दिल में क्या है क्या नहीं है इसका सवाल नहीं है । सवाल इस वक्त यह है कि हाउस की क्या फीलिंग है ।

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPA-DHYAY (West Bengal): Now you are the Vice-Chairman. You have to act as a Vice-Chairman. And as Vice-Chairman you don't have to give a personal explanation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): You have not understood what he said....

SHRIMATI, PÜRABI MUKHOPA-DHYAY: I have understood.

श्री जगर्दाश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : ग्रगर ग्राप इजाजत दें तो मैं ग्रापकी गलती पर शेर ग्रर्ज करूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Mrs. Purabi Mukhopadhyay did not know what had happened and therefore, I ignore the remark made by her....

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : एक नुकते ने हमें महरम से मुजरिम कर दिया, हम दुश्रा करते रहे, वो दगा समझा किये।

यह ग्रापकी हालत है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is—

2. "That at page 2, line 9, the words 'or of the District Magistrate' be omitted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is-

3. "That at page 2, lines 12 and 13 the words and the District Magistrate may, before according sanction under sub-section (1A)' be omitted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA- • FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is—

9. "That at Page 1, line 14, the words and figures 'or sub-section .') of section 505' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is—

10. "That at page 2, line 9, the words 'or of the District Magistrate' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is—

11. "That at page 2, lines 12 and 13, the words 'and the District Magistrate may, before according sanction under sub-section (1A)' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is—

"That Clause 3 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

Clause 4-Amendment of Section 436.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): There is one amendment, No. 12, in the name of Mr. Dhabe. But Mr. Dhabe, it is a negative amendment. So you cannot move it. If you want, you can speak on it.

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SHRIDHAR WASUDEO SHRI DHABE: If I cannot move it, there is no point in speaking on it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is-

"That Clause 4 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 4 was added to the Bill.

Clause 5-Amendment of Section 437

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDA-RI: Sir, I move-

4. "That at page 2, lines 32 to 34 the words 'or he had been previously convicted on two or more occasions of a non-bailable and cognizable offence' be omitted."

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: Sir, I move—

> 13. "That at page 2, lines 26 to 28 be deleted."

14. "That at page 2, lines 26 and 27, for the words 'if there appear reasonable grounds for believing' the words 'if he is satisfied' be substitute."

SHRIDHAR WASUDEO SHRI DHABE: Sir, I move—

15. "That at page 2, line 28, the words 'or imprisonment for life' be deleted."

16. "That at page 2. lines 32 to 34, the words 'or he had been previously convicted on two or more occasions of a non-bailable and cognizable offence' be deleted."

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: Sir, I move-

17. "That at page 2, line 34, after the words 'offence' the following be inserted namely:-

'except in cases connected with agrarian or trade union movement in favour of collective demands'."

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: Sir, I move-

- 18. "That at page 2, line 37, for the words 'sixteen years' the words 'eighteen years' be substituted."
- 19. "That at page 2, line 38, after the word 'infirm' the words 'either physically or mentally' be inserted."

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: Sir, I move—

20. "That at page 3 after line 6, the following be inserted, namely: -

'Provided that no person detained and kept in prison as undertrial shall be confined in solitary imprisonment of punitive nature during the period unless permitted by the trial Court'."

The questions were proposed.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भड़ारी : उपसभाष्यक्ष जी, जो हार्डेन्ड किमिनल्स हैं, उनको जमानत न दी जाय, मैं इसका समर्थन करता हुं। लेकिन जो विधान की भाषा है, उसके दो हिस्से हैं । एक हिस्सा **है** वे काग्नोजेवल ग्राफ़ेन्सेज का जिनमें मौत की सजा हुई है या ग्राजीवन कारावास की सजा हुई है या उससे ग्रधिक की सजा हई है। उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं इसका समर्थन करता हं । इसमे लिखा भी गया है कि किसी भी ग्रजमानती की जिसको संगीन ग्रपराधों के लिए दो या अधिक ग्रवसरों पर दोष सिद्ध किया गया है मद्रज इस वजह से कि काग्नीजेबल नान-बेलेबल आफ्रोन्स है, स्राप स्रपराध सिद्ध नहीं कर सकते है। म्राप जानते हैं कि काग्नीजेबल नान-बेलेंबल श्राफ़ेन्सेज में कुछ महीनों की सजा भी होती है। जैसा कि कल उल्लेख किया गया कि एजीटेशन के दौरान भी काग्नीजेवल नान-बेलेबल ग्राफेसेज में सजाए हुई हैं। महज इसलिए कि किसी को किसी तरह की दो बार काग्नीजेबल नान-बेलेबल ग्रपराध में

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारो] सजा हो गई है तो वह हार्डन्ड किमिनल नहीं हो जाता है । काग्नीजेबल नान-बेलेवल श्राफेन्मेज मे छोटी सजाएं प्राप्त करने वाले व्यक्ति पर पुलिस फिर इल्जाम लगा सकती है। इसलिए महज इस वजह से कि उसको दो बार काग्नी-जबल नान-बेलेबल आफ्रेन्सेज में सजा हुई है उसको बेल के ग्रधिकार से कानुनन वंचित किया जा रहा है। मैं ऐसा समझता हूं कि यह जुडिशियरी के डिसक्रिगन पर छोड़ना चाहिए जिसकी कि अपभी तक छूट है। देखने में यही आता है कि स्राज भी जजेज स्टिरिस्रो टाइप बेल हर एक को नहीं देते हैं। किसी स्राफेन्स के लिए किसी व्यक्ति को एक प्रकार की बेल देते हैं ग्रीर दूसरे को दूसरे प्रकार की बेल देते हैं। कई वार परसनल ब.ड पर छोड़ते हैं। कई बार दो हजार की जमानत होती है तो कई बार 20 हजार की जमानत होती है। एक्युज्ड परसन की हिस्री को देख कर जज बेल दे या न दे, यह ग्राज तक डिसाइड होता रहा है। ग्राज तक जजेज ग्रपने डिकिशन को इस्तेमाल करके इसका उपयोग करते रहे हैं । ऐसी हालत में मै सश्झता हूं कि जुडिशियरी पर बार करना उचित नहीं है। महज इस बत के लिए कि किनो श्रादमी को कारनीजेबल नान-बेलेबल श्राफेन्स में दो बार सजा हुई है, इसलिए उसकी जमानत मंजर नहीं होनी चाहिए, यह न्याय करने वालां पर ग्रीर उनके डिसिकिशन पर भ्रविश्वास करना है। भ्राप जानते हैं कि ग्रनेक बारबहुत से बेकसूर लोग जिन्होंने जर्म नहीं किया होता है श्रौर जिनका जुर्म साबित नहीं हुन्ना होता है, पकड़े जाते हैं। पिछले दिनों कितने ही ऐसे मुकदमे हुए हैं जिनमें यह देखा गया है कि दो साल, तीन माल तक जमानत न दिये जान के कारण एक्यूज्ड जेलों म

बन्द रहे श्रौर बाद में कोर्ट ने उनको एक्वीट कर दिया । ऐसी हालत में यह कहना कि जिसको दो बार काग्नीजेबल नान-बेलेबल ग्राफेन्स में सजा हो गई, उसको जमानत न दी जाय, यह अन्याय है । इस सेक्शन के दो हिस्से है । पहले हिस्से के लिए मेरी एमेन्डमेन्ट नहीं है। दूसरे हिस्से के लिए मेरी एमेन्डमेन्ट है जिसमें किसी भी काग्नीजेवल नान-बेलेबल ग्राफेन्स में दो बार सजायापता व्यक्ति को भी जमानत न दिये जाने का प्रावधान किया जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह न्याय पद्धति पर एक बहुत बड़ी ग्राशंका है, धोखा है, इसलिए मैं इसका विरोध करता हं श्रीर चाहता हं कि सदन के सभी माननीय सदस्य इस श्राधार पर इस संशोधन पर विचार करें।

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: Sir, my amendment is simply this that for the words " if there appear reasonable grounds for believing" the words "if he is satisfied" be substituted. have moved this amendment because believing is always a subjective thing and anyone can believe anything about anybody. And, Sir, an Executive Magistrate can be made to believe something simply by a telephone call from a Minister of any such person. Therefore, the word "believing" should not be there. My suggestion is that it should be "if he is satisfied". If this is done, at least it can be brought to the court of law to examine if he had proper reasons to be satisfied or not. This is the purpose of my amendment and I hope it will be accepted. I am not saying anything on the other amendment.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Yes, Mr. Dhabe.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Sir, up till now, the power to grant bail has been with the judicial authorities and they have been

used in cases normally for offences other than those punishable death. Now, Sir, a provision has been made and there will be no power for bail. This power should be vested in the Judicial Magistrates and in appropriate cases the affected persons can be released on bail. For political and other purposes a person can be charged with so many offences and, i that case, even the political or trade union workers will not be released if this clause is retained in this stringent form. That is why this amendment. Secondly, Sir, I support the amendment of Bhandariji. This is a very curious provision. If a person has been convicted previously on two or more occasions of a non-bailable and cognizable offence, he will not be granted bail. I, do not understand the propriety of this provision because non-bailable and cognizable offences are so wide that probably the majority of the offences dealt with in the IPC will be non-bailable and cognizable. I think these provisions are antihuman rights and other rights of the people of this country and therefore, they should not be retained.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Yes, Mr. Shiva Chandra Jha.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा संशोधन बहुत श्रासान है, वहुत सिम्पल है श्रौर मैं श्राशा करता हूं कि मंत्री जी इसको प्रेस्टिज इश्यू नहीं बनायेंगे कि चूंकि यह विरोधी दल के सदस्य की श्रोर से श्रा रहा है इसलिय इसको इंकार कर देना चाहिए, विलक वे ठंडे दिमाग से मेरे संशोधन पर गौर करें

मेरा संशोधन है कि जो नान-बेलेबल ग्राफेन्स के लिये गिरफ्तार किया जाता है वह बेल पर रिलीज हो सके । यह ठीक है कि जिसने पिछली वार भी इस तरह का ग्रपराध किया है या जिसको लाइफ इम्प्रजन्मेन्ट मिल चुका

है या जिसके विरुद्ध कांग्जीनेबल ग्राफेन्स सिंख हो चुका है उन लोगों को बेल पर रिलीज नहीं किया जायेगा । लेकिन क्लाज में यह है कि यदि वह माइनर है, जिसकी उम्र 16 वर्ष तक है, उसकी बेल हो सकती है बावजूद इसके कि उम्ने उसके पहले भी ग्राफेन्स किया हो, कितना भी किया हो ग्रौर कोई भी सजा हुई हो यदि वह माइनर है, उसकी 16 साल की उम्म है, महिला है या वीमार है तो यह प्रावधान है कि रिलीज हो सकता है। भेरा कहना है कि 16 की जगह पर ग्राप 18 साल कर दें। 18 साल तक का माइनर समझा जाना चाहिए । यह इसलिये भी ठीक है और देश भे यह मांग इसलिए भी की जा रही है कि 18 साल के नौजवान को वोट का ग्रधिकार है। 18 साल के नवयवक को वोट का ग्रधिकार मिला हम्रा है ग्रौर पोलिटिकली हर तरह से उसको मेजर समझते हैं । यह एक ग्राम, जनग्ल मापदंड देश में फैल रहा है । इसलिये इसमें 18 साल के नीचे का जो होगा श्रौर श्रगर वह कहीं भी श्राफेन्स करता है तो उसकी जमानत हो जानी चाहिए। तो 16 साल की जगह मेरा सुझाव है कि उसको 18 साल कर दिया जाए । 18 साल करना यह कोई बहुत मुश्किल नहीं है। इसलिये ग्राप इसको 16 की जगह 18 कर दें।

दूसरा जो मेरा संशोधन है उस पर मैं कुछ नहीं कहूंगा । सिर्फ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इसमें 16 की जगह 18 कर दिया जाय और आप इसको मान लें।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Sir, with regard to the amendment of Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari, even with regard to refusing of bail to persons, we have made it clear and have stated emphatically that persons who

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[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

are corvicted or cognizable and nonbailable offences twice should not normally or ordinarily get bail. And even in that Sir, we have said that there is a discretion available to the court to give bail in suitable cases for special reasons to be recorded. So we have given the discretion to the court in some special cases. If it is found reasonable, the court is entitled to grant bail. Sir, in this connection I would like to point out how some anti-social elements have advantage of this liberal provision of bail. In the case of Delhi alone, according to the police report, 1080 with previous convictions were arrested for committing offences after 1.1.78, and all of them were released on bail, despite bail being opposed. All of them were involved offences subsequently. them were convicted for 7 years or ... (Interruptions) There is ample given to the court in discretion special circumstances.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANthere are cases with DARI: But lesser punishment of only months.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : That is why I said, it is not but two times, and at the same time a discretion has been given to the presiding officer; in special cases they can grant bail.

Again, Sir, the intention of Mr. Dhabe seems to be that imprisonment for life should be deleted from the provision. Since no proposal has been made to change this provision, the amendment is not acceptable.

Shri Shiva Chandra Jha wanted the age to be raised from 16 to 18. Sir, I do not feel there is need to change the provision which has already been made.

About Shri Shahedullah's amendment, Sir, with regard to the people who have participated in an agrarian movement and all that, whether it is agrarian or not, that will be decided

according to the nature of the offence that has been committed. There are peaceful agitations and there are violent agitations. A crime is crime, You cannot make any discrimination between the nature of agitations, So. Sir. this is not acceptable.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now. I will put the amendments to vote, one by one.

The question is:

4. "That on page 2, lines 32-34, the words 'or he had been previously convicted on two or more occasions of a non-bailable and cognizable offence' be omitted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA). The question is:

13. "That at page 2, lines 26 to 28 be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA). The question is:

14. "That at page 2, lines 26 and 27 for the words if there appear reasonable grounds for believing', the words 'if he is satisfied' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): The question is:

15. "That at page 2, line 28, the words 'or imprisonment for life' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

VICE-CHAIRMAN THE (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The question is:

16. "That at page 2, lines 32 to 34, the words 'or he had been previously convicted on two or more occasions of a non-bailable and cognizable offence' be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA). The question is:

17. "That at page 2, line 34, after the words 'offence' the following be inserted, namely:—

'except in cases connected with agrarian or trade union movement in favour of collective demands'."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA). The question is:

- 18. "That at page 2, line 37, for the words 'sixteen years' the words 'eighteen' years be substituted."
- 19. "That at page 2, line 38 after the word 'infirm' the words either physically or mentally' be inserted."

The motions were negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The question is:

20. "That at page 3, after line 6, the following be inserted, namely:

'Provided that no person detained and kept in prison as undertrial shall be confined in solitary imprisonment of punitive nature during the period unless permitted by the trial Court'."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now the guestion is:

"That Clause 5 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 5 was added to the Bill.

Slause 6 Amendment of section 446

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now, we take up Clause 6. There are 4 amendments.

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: Sir, I move:

- 21. "That at page 3, clause 6 be deleted."
- 22. "That at page 3, lines 12 and 13, for the words 'to imprisonment in civil jail for a term which may extend to six months' the words 'or failing, to detention in Court till the rising of the Court on that day' be substituted."

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDE(DHABE: Sir, I move:

23. "That at page 3, line 13. for the words 'six months' the word 'three months' be substituted.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: Si I move:

24. "That at page 3, line 13, f the words 'six months' the wor 'one month' be substituted.

The questions were proposed.

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: § a very strict demand has been me on the surety. Not only will l money be forfeited, but he has suffer jail for six months. We kn that it is very difficult for poor pe ple to get surety. The people going to be arrested on mere alle tion. It will be more difficult for people to get sureties because surety will have to face six mon jail. I object to it. I demand t insted of six months the imprisment should be till the rising of court. It is a simple amendment should be accepted.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUIDHABE: My amendment is sir The provision for six months' prisonment is very harsh. As friend has correctly said, the people will suffer more by this vision. If the recovery cannot

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[Shri Shridhar Wasudeo Dhabe] made, there is a provision for the recovery of penalty imposed in the Court. Therefore: there is actually no reason for having a provision for six months' imprisonment. In order to reduce the rigour of this provision I have suggested that it may be reduced to 3 months.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा: उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा भी संशोधन उसी तरह का है जिस तरह से धावं जी का है। जो कोई जमानत लेता है ग्रौर मुजरिम यदि नहीं पहुं-चता है तो जमानत लेने वाले को सजा की बात इसमें है। जो यह कहती है कि छ: महीने तक उनको सजा हो सकती है यदि मृज-रिम को नही दाखिल करते है स्रब उसको है कि तीन महीना हो सकती है। मेरा है कि यदि ऐसी ही बात होती है तो एक महीना उसको सजा होनी चाहिए । तीन महीना भी वहत ज्यादा है, छ : महीना तो बहुत है ही लेकन तीन महीना भी है । एक महीना ज्यादा से ज्यादा होनी चाहिए प्रौर यह कोई मुश्किल बात नहीं है । आप जवाब दीजिए जैसे कि 16 का 18 का स्रापन राफ जवाब नह दिया । श्रापको उसको क महीना करोंने में क्या एतराज होता है, ौन सप्टि उलट जायगी, दुनियां उलट गयगी ।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:
r, I have great regard for Shri
iva Chandra Jha. Unfortunately,
ere are professional surety givers,
order to curb them and in order to
scourage such undesirable elements
provision has been made more
forous. Shri Bhandari has accepted
r contention that these people must
contained. These professional
ety givers must be punished proly. When there was no such
vision, even the recovery of mofrom them was very difficult.

erefore, Sir, it is only intended

see that such people are not en-

raged.

So, Sir, there is nothing against it. If there are no professional surety-givers, it will not be applicable at all.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I will now put the amendments one by one to vote.

The question is:

21. "That at page 3, clause 6 be deleted.

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The question is:

22. "That at page 3, lines 12 and 13 for the words 'to imprisonment in civil jail for a term which may extend by six months' the words 'or failing to detention in Court till the rising of the Court on that day' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The question is:

23. "That at page 3, line 13, for the words 'six months' the words 'three months' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The guestion is:

24. "That at page 3, line 13, for the words 'six months' the words 'one month' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The question is:

"That Clause 6 stand part of the Bill".

The motion was adopted.

Clause 6 was added to the Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Now, we take up Clause 7. There is one amendment by Shri Syed Shahedullah. It is a negative amendment. Mr. Shahedullah, if you want to speak, you can speak.

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: That is all right, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The question i:

"That Clause 7 stand part of the Bill".

The motion was adopted.

Clause 7 was added to the Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RA-FIQ ZAKARIA): Now, we will take up Clause 8. There is one amendment. It cannot be moved. Mr Jha, if you want to speak, you can speak.

SHRI SHIV CHANDRA JHA: want to speak. उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह जो श्रीगणेश इस विधेयक में इस खराबी से किया है, एक तो सारा विधेयक ही गड़वड़- शड़वड़ है, खराब है। लेकिन शुरू से जैसा किया है, ग्रंत भी उसी खराबी के साथ किया है।

मैंने पहले मंशोधन में कहा कि डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैंजिस्ट्रेट को पावर देने की जो बात है जिससे कि इसका इन्साफ नही होगा, बिल्क इन्साफ का गला घोटा जाएगा, उसी तरह से यहां मैं यह कह रहा हूं, उसी बात को और साफ करता हूं कि—

"If the Legislative Assembly of a State by a resolution so permits, the State Government may, after consultation with the High Court. by notification, direct that references in sections 108, 109, 110, 145 and 147 to an Executive Magistrate shall be construed as references to a Judicial Magistrate of the first class."

बात वही है—दिर भ्रायद दुरुस्त भ्रायद । भ्रभी भी कोई देरी नहीं हुई है। मंत्री जी इस बात को कबूल कर लें भ्रौर संशोधन मान लें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I am now putting Clause 8 to vote.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: Sir. am on a point of order. Sir, in the voting process, if it is by pressing the button, then the Members with have to sit in their seats. Even if it is a voting process. So, Sir. you should direct the Members to be in their own sea and give their votes either by voit or by pressing the button.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DRAFIQ ZAKARIA): I think, thon. Member is right. The point order is upheld. Those Members ware not in their seats may kind move on to their seats.

I will now put Clause 8 to vote.

The question is:

"That Clause 8 stand part of Bill".

The motion was adopted.

Clause 8 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 9 to 11 were added to Bill.

6 p.m.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUIDHABE: There is no clause 1: is now only Clauses 9 and 10.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN RAFIQ ZAKARIA): What is g here is clause 9 to 11. (Intertions).

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Fla): It is wrong.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN
RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I am afraid
Dhabe, you are not right.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BEDARI): Yes. yes, clause 11 is 1

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Because of deletes something, it is a pathe Bill and, therefore, it has there. Therefore, as I said, all clauses have been disposed of.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formulthe Title were added to the Bi

VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. THE RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Yes, Mr. Minis-

VENKATASUBBAIAH: SHRI P. ir, I move:

"That the Bill be passed". The question was adopted.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. AFIQ ZAKARIA): Yes. Mr. Sunder ingh Bhandari,

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उपसभाध्यक्ष ी, मुझे खेद है सरकार ने उन विषयों पर बचार करने की जरूरत नहीं समझी जो गय-प्राप्ति में स्रावश्यक है । मैं सरकार इस अधिकार को चनौती नहीं देता कि ला ग्ड ग्रार्डर मेनटेन करने का उन्हें उत्तरदायित्व उन्हे ला एण्ड ग्रार्डर मेनटेन करना ाहिए लेकिन यह बिल एक प्रकार से पिछले महीनों से इन्फोर्स था, एक ब्रार्डिनेंस के रा, ग्रौर 3 महीनों में भी उस ग्रार्डिनेंस या होने वाले इस विल का लाभ उठा कर एण्ड ग्रार्डर के मेंटीनेस में किसी प्रकार सुधार नही आया। यहां पर कोशिश की है एडजूडीकेशन को कम करने की हालांकि ो इस बिल में पूरा डीविएशन नहीं है, डिपार्चर नहीं है। क्योंकि जहां जुडीशल स्ट्रेट की जगह एक्जीक्यूटिव मजिस्ट्रेट्स व्यवस्था की गई है वहीं पर ग्रब स्टेट्स को का दिया गया है कि वाई ग्र रिजोल्यूशन ोक्यूटिव मजिस्ट्रेट्स के पावर्स जुडिशल स्ट्रेट दे सकतें हैं; इसी प्रकार से बेल देने मले में मनाही की गई है परंत्र डिस्कीशन ंगया है कि ग्रगर वे चाहें तो बेल दे है। यह एक ट्रांजिस्टरी स्टेज है, कंपली-एक्जीक्यूटिव ग्रौर इनडिस्क्रिमिनेट जन की तरफ जाने के लिए। ग्राज इस के माध्यम से एक रास्ता बनाया हा है एग्जीक्यूटिव से लिक्स वनाये का । धीरे-धीरे इसी में से स्रागे कोशिश होगी एक्जीक्युटिव को 'अ श्रिधिकार देने की, जमानत न भ्रौर ऐसे लोगों पर भी उपयोग

करने का जो ग्राजकल ग्रान्दोलनों में भी व्यस्त हैं । हम लोगो का ग्रन्भव है, सार्वजिनक ग्रान्दोलनो की शिप में हम में से कई बन्ध कागनीजेविल नान-बेलेबिल ग्राफेन्सेज होते हैं, हम को नाममात की सजा मिलती है, लेकिन रिकार्ड मं ग्रा जाता है। ग्रव सम्भावना इस में से रह जायेगी ग्रौर जव यह डिस्क्रीशन है केवल रीजन्स लिख कर एक प्रकार से एक्सेप्शन वनाया जायेगा जमानत देने का तो ग्राम तौर पर यह माना जाना चाहिए कि ऐसे लोगों को जमानत पर नही छोड़ा जा सकेगा। एक्जीक्यूटिव मजिस्ट्रेंट के हाथों में यह सब पावर होने के बाद भी पिछले तीन महीनों में किसी तरह का कोई एफेक्टिव कन्ट्रोल शुरू नहीं हुम्रा । म्रान्दोलन चल रहे है । श्रभी महाराप्ट्र में किसानों का बहुत बड़ा मार्च चल रहा है, रोज बन्द हो रहे हैं। ग्रभी परसों की ही घटना है । बाराणिवनी में जब पूरा बन्द हो रहा था, लोग मोर्चा निकाल रहे थे तो एक दूकान से खौलता हुम्रा तेल उछाला गया प्रदर्शनकारियों पर, म्रादमी जख्मी हो गए, 5 म्रादमी गम्भी-रता के साथ जख्मी हए, क्युटिव मजिस्ट्रेट वहां कहीं नहीं दिखायी दिया परिस्थिति को कन्ट्रोल करने के लिए । मुझे श्रभी तक भी भरोसा नहीं है कि वह कलप्रिट्स पकड़े गये या नहीं पकडे गए

इस बिल से केवल ग्रामिंग दि गवर्न-मेंट विद मोर पावर्स है । इस में से कोई रास्ता नहीं निकलता । एडमिनि-स्ट्रेंशन हम एफीशिएन्ट कैपेबिल ग्रौर हैन्डस में दें, इस बात की है। इन सारे मुद्दों के बावजूद सरकार प्रपने इस बिल को पास करवाने पर वजिद कायम है इस लिए मैं इस स्टेज पर भी इस का विरोध करता हं।

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair].

श्री हकमदेव नारायण यादव : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, ग्रभी सदन में जो यह विधेयक स्वीकृति के लिए प्रस्तुत किया गया है, सत्ताधारी पक्ष बहुमत में है श्रौर बहुमत के वल पर वह जो चाहे जिस तरह का विधेयक चाहे पास करा ले सकता है, कानूनी श्रौर गैरकानुनी किसी चीज का ख्याल उन को नहीं है। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जो विधेयक ग्रभी सदन के सामने प्रस्तृत है ग्रीर उस के भ्रन्दर जो प्रावधान किए गए हैं उस के सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह कहना है कि हम लोग लगातार श्रंग्रेजी राज्य के समय में भी लड़ाई लड़े ग्रौर कांग्रेसी राज्य के समय में भी ग्रान्दोलन करते रहे ग्रौर इस तरह के कानून का इस्तेमाल कार्य-पालिका के जरिए हम लोगों के खिलाफ कैसे-कैसे किया गया है हम लोग इस के भुक्तभोगी है । ग्रगर तीन साल के जनता शासन के काल में इस तरह के कानन में इन लोगों को बन्द किया गया होता तव इन को पता लगता कि कार्यपालिका किस तरह से ग्रन्याय किया करती है। जब हम लोग जेलों के म्रन्दर रहे हैं तब हम ने देखा है कि किस तरह से लोगों को जहां 6 महीने, 8 महीने, साल भर की सजा हो सकती है वैसे लोगों को तीन साल, चार माल तक जेलों के अन्दर अन्डर ट्रायल प्रिजनर की हैसियत से बन्द कर के रखा जाता रहा है। इस देश के वड़े बड़े नेता ग्रों के उपर भी इस हुकूमत ने दफा 110 ग्रौर गुन्डा दफा लगाने में कभी शर्म का अनुभव नहीं किया । मैं यहां तक भी कहंगा कि ग्रंग्रेजी राज्य में भी जिन नेताओं के खिलाफ इस तरह की दफा नहीं लगाई जाती थी कांग्रेसी राज्य में उन नेताओं के खिलाफ भी इस तरह को दफा का इस्तेमाल किया गया ग्रौर उस तरह की दफा में लोगों को जैल में

बन्द करने का काम किया गया । भारत का सविधान जहां इस देश में हर इनसान को गारन्टी देता है कि विना श्रपराध के किसी श्रादमी को जेल में नहीं किया बन्द श्रौर जब ग्राप विना ग्रपराध के, विना जमानत के जेल के ग्रन्दर बन्द करेंगे तो भारत के संविधान के प्रति म्राप श्रनास्था प्रगट करते हैं, जो म्राप न शपथ खा थी उस पर कूटाराघात करते हैं। इस लिए भारत के संविधान की धारा का उल्लंघन ग्राप कर रहे हैं इस विधेयक को स्वीकार करने का प्रस्ताव ला कर। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कार्यपालिका के हाथ में यह श्रधिकार देना कहां का इन्साफ है ? जो ग्रादमी ग्रादेश दे, उसके श्रादेश का पालन कोई नहीं करता हो तो उस को देखने के लिए कोई तीसरा संगठन होना चाहिए कि म्रादेश देने वाले का ग्रादेश गलत था या सही था। जो मजिस्ट्रेंट है उस का प्रमोशन, उस की तरक्की, उन की सारी चीजें सरकार के हाथ में रहती हैं ग्रार उस मजिस्ट्रेट पर दवाव डाल कर सत्ताधारी दल के जो प्रभावशाली लोग हैं ग्रपने प्रभाव का इस्तेमाल कर के कार्यपालिका की मार्फन विरोधी दल वाले लोगों सही भ्रावाज उठाने वाले लोगों जेलों में बन्द करने का काम करेंगे ग्रौर उन को दबाने ग्रौर तंग करने का काम करेंगे । इस लिए यह विधेयक, यह कानून संविधान के प्रतिकृल है, नाग-रिक ग्रधिकारो के प्रतिकुल है, मानव **ब्र**िधकारों क प्रतिकृल है । इस लिए इस सदन को ऐसा कानून पास नहीं करना चाहिए और ऐसे काले कानून को इस सदन को ग्रस्वीकार कर देना चाहिए इस स्टेज पर भी।

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the hon. Minister has tried to justify these amendments. Sir, is Mr. Venkatasubbbaiah gone...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AF-FAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAK-WANA): I am taking note.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: He will come back, I suppose. I hope, he has not staged a walk-out.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Makwana has taken over. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: He is disgusted with his own Bill.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Sir. in reply to the charges as made here that the Congress Party, which has all along been advocating the separation of judiciary from the executive, which has also been the firm slogan during the days of freedom struggle, has gone back from this principle, Mr. Venkatasubbaiah has said that economic compulsions have forced them to bring forward these amendments. I would like to know whether these amendments would help to root out poverty in this country, to remove the backward status of vast sections of the society who are living below poverty line. No, Sir. You are arming the executive with more and more powers and you are transferring powers, which are hitherto being exercised by the judisiary, to the executive. These things are being done in order to create an omnipotent State, against which no opposition would be tolerated, either in the form of expression or speech or publication of through free media through assembly. All these fundamental freedoms would soon be obi-This is not only an obnoterated. xious measure, but it is also a reversal of the very rule of law and negation of the fundamental freedoms of democratic functioning this country. The very persons who are now moving these amendments may, at one stage or the other, themselves become a prey to them.

Sir. we are totally opposed to the way in which these amendments have been brought forward and the purposes for which the executive is being armed with more and more powers, for which, no plausible answer has been given. The only thing is that they have got a massive man-But Sir, if you take the parties the Opposition both in this House and in the other House, they polled larger number of votes then the Congress (I) at the polls. This itself shows that they do not the sanction of the people... (Inter-Any objection from that ruptions) quarter?

AN HON. MEMBER: No objection. (Interruptions).

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Sir. it is very wrong to say that they have a massive mandate to put these amendments on the statute book. This is an obnoxious and draconian measure and my Party is totally opposed to this and we want to record our very strong condemnation against this measure.

श्री सैयद शाहेदुल्ला : जनाबवाला,
मैं जरा शोर से शुरु कहंगा :
ग्रहले दिल के लिए ग्रब ये नज्ये बस्त वे कुशाद,
संग वे खिश्त है मुकय्यद ग्रीर शद ग्राजाद
ग्राज हम क्या देखते हैं विहार में कि

All anti-social elements, dacoits and Billas are not being touched. There are these officers who have pierced peoples eyes and put acid into those eyes. There are these officers who are not being touched. (Interruptions).

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: There is no translation, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is speaking in English. (Interruptions).

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: All these people, all these officers, are not being touched. "while stores to drive away dogs are held tight, dogs are set free".

Sir, sections 132 and 197 continue to protect them. Nobody can file any case without the sanction of the Government, State or Centre. The Centre also holds authority in regard to all-India Services. Whenever there is any cry about law and order situation the Centre says it is a State subject and so on, everybody knows that the all India Services are under the control of the Central Govern-They behave in any manner ment. they like that is known to everybody. that the whole They feel society is full of goondas, dacoits and thieves and they are the only innocent people.

I do not want to take your time, but I would just quote here the Supreme Court Judgment in which they themselves were interested only two years ago, in 1978. The Supreme Court Judgment relates to anticipatory bail. The House knows well who were the people interested in anticipatory bail then. The Supreme Court Judgement was delivered by Chief Justice Chandrachud and other leading Judges. It says and I quote:

"In order to meet the challenge of articles 21 of the Constitution, the procedure established by law of depriving a person of his liberty must be fair, just and reasonable. Section 438 is a procedural provision which is concerned with the personal liberty of the individual, who is entitled to the benefit of the presumption of innocence...

Here in the amendment it is said 'reason to believ', the District Magistrate or the Executive Magistrate has a 'reason to believe' that a person is guilty. But the Supreme Court Judgment is that individual is entitled to the benefit of the presumption of innocence. Then the Judgment says and I quote:

"Since denial of bail amounts to deprivation of personal liberty, the Court should lean again the imposition of unnecessary restrictions on the scope of section 438, especially when not imposed by legislature."

So, the Government have come to the legislature to ask for our sanction to unnecessary imposition of restriction on individual liberty. That is the sum and substance of the Bill and that is why I am opposing it. The whole Opposition has opposed it tooth and nail. Further the Judgment says, and I quote:

"An over-generous infusion of constraints and conditions which are not to be found in Section 438 can make its provisions constitutionally vulnerable since the right to personal freedom cannot be made to depend on compliance with unreasonable restrictions."

I have nothing more to add to the Supreme Court Judgement. This makes them guilty. The Supreme Court judgment condemns it and this Bill should be thrown out, this is what I would like to say.

SHR' M. KALYANASUNDARAM: (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there is no need for me to repeat about the obnoxious and retrograde provisions of this Bill. Many hon. Members belonging to the ruling party themselves would feel, would agree with us when we criticise the Bill, but they cannot but vote for the Bill, and while doing so the will be voting only with a guilty conscience.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No. no.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: Some of you.

SHR M. KALYANASUNDARAM: It is because in this democratic setup the majority will have its way and the minority will have its say. We have had say in both the Houses. And they are having their way. But the people are going to judge. The people who gave them this majority are watching how this majority is being used, in whose

[Shri M. Kalayanasundaram] favour whether in favour of the workers, peasants and toiling people or in favour of the looting pepole. In a democracy it should be in favour of workers, peasants and the toiling people, but this is dictatorship. So, the first nail has been driven. More nails are coming tomorrow. We are going to have some more Bills like this.

Sir, it is a very sad day for democracy. If this Bill is allowed to pass, those who associate themselves in passing this Bill are going to regret it. They have not learnt any lessons from the past history.

With these words, Sir, I, on behalf of my party, record my strong opposition to this Bill. We will go to the people and tell the people the truth. The people are going to decide ultimately. You pass the Bill, you fill the jails, strengthen the magistracy, the Executive Magistrates and the police. Let us see whether the people are going to win or you are going to win.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: This is the most obnoxious provision of the Bill, apart from other things. Earlier you had, even before 1973, the powers given to the First Class Magistrate to take surety, to ask the person to show cause why he should not be bound over. Later on it was given to a First Class Judicial Magistrate. Now you are passing it on to an ordinary Magistrate-not even a First Class Magistrate. A Tehsildar Tamil Nadu is a Magistrate. A Tehsildar in Madras is a Magistrate. Therefore, what the Government is doing is, they want to place workers my working class people, my kisan people, my trade-union workers, the kisan workers, agriculfural labourers at the mercy of the Tehsildar, a poor official who is incopable of all that. We know how the Tehsildar is going to act.

Therefore Sir, this is a Bill which is intended to curb the activities of

the trade unions, kisans, agricultural labourers who are rising in revolt and, therefore, we do not propose to associate ourselves with the passing of this Bill. Let them have the happiness of passing this Bill. Let them do what they like. People will be the ultimate arbiters. Therefore, Sir, we are not associating ourselves with this Bill.

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री (बिहार):
उपसभापित जी सरकार की तरफ़ से
इस अध्यादेश पर सभा की स्वीकृति
मांगी गई है। विरोधी दल की राय में यह
बिल, यह विधेयक पहला सात है जो
न्याय के पंख को काटने जा रहा है
और एक्जीक्यूटिव को ज्यादा से ज्यादा
ताकतवर बनाने जा रहा है। यह
पहला कदम है, पहला कुठाराघात है,
यह पहला हथौड़ा है जो हमारे सिविल
राइट पर पड़ रहा है। मोनिंग शोइंग दडे
है जिसे हम एक ही वाक्य में कह
सकते हैं।

एक माननीय सवस्य : इमरजेंसी लगेगी । (Interruptions) फिर इंकलाब स्राएगा ((Interruptions)

श्री मोला पासवान शास्त्री: किस पर कुलहाड़ी चलेगी कहना मुक्किल है। हम सरकारी दल के सदस्यों से कहना चाहेंगे कि ग्राज ग्राप वहां पर बैठ हुए हैं। यह कानून ग्रापके लिए भी बनेगा हो सकता है कल ग्राप मिनिस्टर न रहें। ग्रापके गले के उत्पर भी यह प्रहार होगा। ग्राप इस को सोच लीजिए। इन तमाम बातों को सोच कर, इन तमाम भाषणो को सुनकर विरोधी दल इस नतीज पर पहुंचा है कि इस विधेयक को कभी भी पास नहीं करना चाहिए ग्रीर इस विधेयक के विरोध में समूचा विरोधी दल यहां से वाक-ग्राउट करता है।

[At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber]

SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRA-BORTY: On behalf of our party, I also oppose the Bill and join in the walk-out.

[At this stage, the hon. Member left the Chamber]

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA-CHARJEE (West Bengal): On behalf of my party, I also join in the walk-out.

[At this stage, the hon. Member left the Chamber]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I put the question. The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Bill is passed.

RE. THE SALARY, ALLOWANCES AND PENSION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL 1980

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we shall take up the Salary, Allowances and Pension of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill, 1980.

संप्रदीय कार्य तथा निर्माण ग्रौर ग्रावास मंत्री (श्रो भोडम नारायण सिंह): मेरा ग्राग्रह यह है कि इस बिल को स्टार्ट करके पास कर दिया जाए । (Interruptions)

श्रो न गेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश): यह ग्राप क्या कर रहे है। मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह कहा था कि दूसरे दिन लिया जाएगा। ग्राप तो मूव कर रहे हैं।

श्री भोष्म नारायण सिंह : उपसभा-पित जी, हम स्राप सब लोगों की राय से चलेंगे । हम तो बिल के साथ तैयार हैं। श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : जब कल रात को 10 बजे तक बैठना है तो ग्राज 10 बजे तक क्यों बैठाते हैं । (Interruptions)

श्री भीष्म नारायण सिंह : जैसे सब की राय होगी, सदन की राय होगी वैसा ही चलेगा।

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): We can have it tomorrow, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: As the House decides, I shall abide by that.

It was fixed for today and therefore, I called the Minister.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIP. VENKATASUBBAIAH): It is only a small Bill. Members of Parliament will get the benefit.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. this is a very short Bill. Half an hour. We are going to sit with it and Opposition parties have said it. It is not proper. Everybody wants it tomorrow and the hon. Minister has agreed to it.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL (Gujarat): There are some important amendments also.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: It is an undisputed Bill.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: There should be sufficient scope for those who move the amendments. Let it be tomorrow.

SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN SINGH: I have always respected the sentiments of hon. Members from the Opposition side. So, I am not making it