

DRAFT CONSTITUTION—(Contd.)

Article 14—(Contd.)

Mr. Vice-President : We shall now resume discussion of article 14. Amendment 510 was moved. 509 will be put to vote. So we next come to 512.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C. P. & Berar : Muslim): Mr. Vice-President, Sir, I beg to move :—

That in article 14, the following be added as clause (4) :—

- “(4) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.”

This is a very important amendment. You will be pleased to find that this finds place as article 4 in the American Constitution and in the Irish Constitution there are clauses (2) and (5) which are similar and in the German Constitution there are articles 114 and 115 on the same lines. In the book of Dr. Ambedkar—Minorities and States—on page 11, item No. 10, a similar provision has been made. Thus, this is an amendment, the correctness of which cannot be challenged. What is the situation in India today? In India, in practically every province, there are Goonda Act and Public Safety Act which do not provide for any appeals or representations, and which give no opportunity to the persons concerned to defend themselves. Arrests are made without warrant and searches without justification. We are being governed by lawless laws and there is no remedy for the redress of grievances on account of unauthorised arrests and searches.

We have seen in 1947, and in the beginning of 1948, that hundreds of thousands of people were arrested and houses were searched merely on suspicion. The result is that the morale of the members of the Muslim minority community was undermined and they were treated just like criminals in the country. I will give the house one very important instance. Whenever we went to an aerodrome to go to Delhi, our belongings were searched without any reason, without any cause and without any warning. I will now give another instance. When there was police action in Hyderabad, every Muslim worth the name was arrested without any justification in the adjoining provinces. If those Muslims were really traitors they ought to have been prosecuted, punished and hanged. But people who had nothing whatever to do with Hyderabad were arrested under the pretence that they were taken only under protective custody. Well, if they were taken under protective custody, why were their women and children who were outside not taken under this protective custody?

Therefore my submission is that unless this fundamental right that I have asked for in this amendment is guaranteed, there will be no end to these arrests without warrants and to these searches without justifications. I have moved this amendment in the earnest hope that it would be accepted.

Mr. Vice-President : The next amendment in the List is the one standing in the name of Mr. Kakkan.

Shri P. Kakkan (Madras: General): Sir, I do not want to move it. But, with your permission I wish to speak on it.

Mr. Vice-President : That I can not permit. I can give the honourable Member an opportunity to speak in the course of the general discussion on

article 14. I think, as there are no other amendments to this article, the House can now take up the general discussion of this article. Mr. Kakkan may now make the speech he wanted to.

Shri P. Kakkan : Mr. Vice-President, I had given notice of an amendment to this article only with a view to speak on it.

Sir, what I have got to say concerns the jail administration. In the jails they make a distinction between prisoners and prisoners in allotting duties in the jails. If a prisoner belongs to the Harijan community he is compelled to do scavenging work, no matter what his class or rank or education is. Prisoners belonging to other communities are not similarly forced to do scavenging work. On this occasion I desire to express my opinion and my feeling that this distinction in the matter of the allotment of work to prisoners inside the jails should be removed forthwith. Sir, I know from experience that the members of the Harijan community are treated in jails very cruelly, as if they are God's creatures and that He created them for doing scavenging work. I earnestly hope that this distinction will be removed hereafter and that Harijans will get impartial treatment everywhere. It is with this object that I have stated in my amendment that no person convicted for any offence shall be compelled to work in jail (*caste war*) in respect of religion, caste, race or class. I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari (Madras : General) : Mr. Vice-President, Sir, the point I have to place before the House happens to be a comparatively narrow one. In this article 14, clause (2) reads thus: 'No person shall be punished for the same offence more than once'. It has been pointed out to me by more Members of this House that this might probably affect cases where, as in the case of an official of Government who has been dealt with departmentally and punishment has been inflicted, he cannot again be prosecuted and punished if he had committed a criminal offence; or, *per contra*, if a Government official had been prosecuted and sentenced to imprisonment or fine by a court, it might preclude the Government from taking disciplinary action against him. Though the point is a narrow one and one which is capable of interpretation whether this provision in this particular clause in the Fundamental Rights will affect the discretion of Government acting under the rules of conduct and discipline in regard to its own officers, I think, when we are putting a ban on a particular type of action, it is better to make the point more clear.

I recognise that I am rather late now to move an amendment. What I would like to do is to word the clause thus: 'No person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once.' If my Honourable Friend Dr. Ambedkar will accept the addition of the words 'prosecuted and' before the word 'punished' and if you, Sir, and the House will give him permission to do so, it will not merely be a wise thing to do but it will save a lot of trouble for the Governments of the future. That is the suggestion I venture to place before the House. It is for the House to deal with it in whatever manner it deems fit.

Mr. Vice-President : Does the House give the permission asked for by Shri T.T. Krishnamachari?

Honourable Members : Yes.

Mr. Vice-President : Now I will call upon Dr. Ambedkar to move the amendment suggested by Shri T. T. Krishnamachari.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Mr. Vice-President, Sir, with regard to the amendments that have been moved to this article, I can say

[The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar]

that I am prepared to accept the amendment moved by Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari. Really speaking, the amendment is not necessary but as certain doubts have been expressed that the word 'punished' may be interpreted in a variety of ways, I think it may be desirable to add the words "prosecuted and punished".

With regard to amendments Nos. 506 and 509 moved by my friend, Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad.....

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad : It is No. 510.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Anyhow, I have examined the position the whole day yesterday and I am satisfied that no good will be served by accepting these amendments. I am however prepared to accept amendment No. 512 moved by Mr. Karimuddin. I think it is a useful provision and may find a place in our Constitution. There is nothing novel in it because the whole of the clause as suggested by him is to be found in the Criminal Procedure Code so that it might be said in a sense that this is already the law of the land. It is perfectly possible that the legislatures of the future may abrogate the provisions specified in his amendment but they are so important so far as personal liberty is concerned that it is very desirable to place these provisions beyond the reach of the legislature and I am therefore prepared to accept his amendment.

With regard to amendment No. 513 moved by my friend, Mr. Kakkan.....

An Honourable Member : It was not moved.

Mr. Vice-President : What about amendments Nos. 505 and 506?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : I have already said that I am not prepared to accept amendment Nos. 506 and 510.

Mr. Vice-President : Have you anything to say about amendment No. 505, the second part of it as modified by amendment No. 92 in List V? Perhaps you have overlooked it. It is in the name of Pandit Thakur Dass Bhargava.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : I accept the amendment moved by him.

Mr. Vice-President : I am putting the amendments one by one to the vote.

Amendment No. 505 as modified by amendment No. 92 of List V. I understand that Dr. Ambedkar accepts it. The question is:

"That in clause (1) of article 14, for the words 'under the law at the time of the commission' the words 'under the law in force at the time of the commission' be substituted."

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. Vice-President : Amendment No. 506. The question is:

"That in clause (1) of article 14, after the words 'greater than' the words 'or of a kind other than' be inserted."

The amendment was negatived.

Mr. Vice-President : Amendment No. 510. The question is:

"That at the end of clause (2) of article 14, the words 'otherwise than as permitted by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898' be added."

The amendment was negatived.

Mr. Vice-President : Amendment No. 512 moved by Kazi Syed Karimuddin and accepted by Dr. Ambedkar. The question is:

That in Article 14, the following be added as clause (4):—

- “(4) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.”

I think the ‘Ayes’ have it.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The Noes have it.

Mr. Vice-President : I will again put it to the vote.

I think the ‘Ayes’ have it.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: No, Sir, the Noes have it.

Mr. Vice-President : I shall first of all call for a show of hands.

(The Division Bell was rung.)

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (United Provinces: General): May I propose that this question might be postponed for the time being and a chance be given for the Members to confer between themselves and arrive at a decision. Even the British House of Commons, sometimes converts itself into a committee to give various parties a chance to confer and arrive at an agreed solution.

Mr. Vice-President : I am prepared to postpone the voting on this amendment provided the House gives me the requisite permission. I would request the House to be calm. This is not the way to come to decisions which must be reached through co-operative effort and through goodwill. Does the House give me the necessary power to postpone voting on this?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Vice-President, Sir, as apparently a slight confusion has arisen in many members’ minds on this point, I think, Sir, that the suggestion made is eminently desirable, that we might take up this matter a little later, and we may proceed with other things. It will be the wish of the House that will prevail of course. I would suggest to you, Sir, and to the House that your suggestion be accepted.

Dr. B. V. Keskar (United Provinces: General): Can it be done after the division bell has rung?

Mr. Vice-President : I never go by technicalities. I shall continue to use common-sense as long as I am here. I have little knowledge of technicalities, but I have some knowledge of human nature. I know that in the long run it is good sense, it is common-sense, it is goodwill which alone will carry weight. I ask the permission of the House to postpone the voting.

Honourable Members: Yes.

Article 15

Mr. Vice-President : Then we shall pass on to the next article. The next amendment is No. 514 but as Mr. Lari is absent, I shall pass on to the next article.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I suggest that discussion of this article be postponed, as it is being examined and the Members of the House would like to take some more time for the consideration of this particular article?