

[Sardar Swaran Singh]

know that this point has been discussed on occasions more than one. Government's position has been clarified on that issue. If something is not working properly, then to suggest that Government should take it over and undertake the responsibility of setting right all the loose screws, I think, is not a very fair suggestion. The best thing is to expand the public sector and let the private sector also go ahead and when your resources are such that you can manage both from the financial as well as from the technical angle, then you can sit down and consider as to what precise steps should be taken.

I do not want to go into the ideological aspects. The practical aspect is additional production; the practical aspect is that the mines which are not working properly will disappear by efflux of time. We will expand the public sector and that is the present policy which is adumbrated in the Third Five Year Plan.

Mr. Chairman: The mover of the Resolution is absent. However, I shall put the Resolution to the vote of the House. The question is:

"This House is of opinion that all the coal mines in private sector be nationalised."

The Resolution was negatived.

16.50 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: BUDDHIST CONVERTS

Shri D. A. Katti (Chikodi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"This House is of the opinion that all the Constitutional safeguards except those relating to the reservation of seats in the legislatures, granted and provided to the Scheduled Castes, be extended to the Buddhist converts from the Scheduled Castes"

Sir, on 14th October, 1956, at Nagpur, about 5 lakhs of people belonging to the Scheduled Castes, under the leadership of the late Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, embraced Buddhism. This event of conversion of 5 lakhs of people Buddhism in Buddha's own land was an unparalleled event in the history of the world.

Sir, once this land of ours was the land of Buddhists and Buddhist India then attained maximum greatness and attained the maximum height of glory. Probably, never in the history of India, India attained that greatness and we are still very proud of that greatness of India. But, unfortunately, this Buddhism which brought greatness to this country disappeared from this very country although it spread across the whole of the eastern globe. The loss of Buddhism was the most unfortunate event in the history of India. After this, India never attained that greatness. On the contrary, India fell a prey to foreign conquests.

On the 2500th Buddha Jayanti, the hon. Prime Minister said that it was the home-coming of Lord Buddha. Sometimes, our Prime Minister speaks excellently and beautifully.

An Hon. Member: Always

Shri D. A. Katti: May be always.

But these words were full of significance and were prophetic. And all the more of significance and more prophetic in view of the movement started by the late Babasaheb Ambedkar. Since 14th October, 1956, the number of Buddhists has gone up to 2 crores and that number is increasing day by day. It is really providential that the Scheduled Castes of India should take the initiative in bringing back Lord Buddha and his Dhamma to this country by accepting his religion. Everyone in this country loves Buddha.

The principles of Panchsheel have formed the basis of our foreign policy. In that national flag of ours there is enshrined Buddha's Dharma Chakra which is now standing very proudly on our House, the House of Sovereign Parliament. Therefore, we thought that Government would welcome heartily this Buddhist movement and extend its encouragement to this.

An Hon. Member: This is a secular government.

Shri D. A. Katti: That was what we expected. But, unfortunately, the contrary has happened and our expectations have been wrecked. Immediately after conversion two things happened. One was in the State of Maharashtra and in some parts of Mysore wherever these conversion took place, the conversion of the Scheduled Castes into Buddhists. These Buddhists were subjected to harassment; they were beaten and they were boycotted. All these things were published in the newspapers. Why? Because they committed the sin of embracing Buddhism; they committed the sin of having recourse to Lord Buddha. This was the first thing.

The second result was the most astounding result. After this conversion, the Government of India discontinued all the safeguards that they were enjoying as Scheduled Castes. This was a shocking result. And, I am now moving this Resolution to secure justice to these people.

I would like to mention that there is some happy coincidence. Today is the 14th of April when we are discussing this Resolution. This is also the birthday of the late Dr. Bhabasaheb Ambedkar who initiated this movement, and the conversion took place, first of all, on 14th October. But 14th is important. I would like to bring to your notice that aspect of the matter also.

When Government took this step, before bringing this matter before

this august House, we approached the Prime Minister and we explained to him our difficulties, and requested him to continue the facilities to the Buddhist converts. The Prime Minister appeared very sympathetic. But he said that there is the Constitution and that the Constitution comes in the way. He asked us to submit a memorandum. We submitted a memorandum, and while responding to that memorandum he wrote that for this purpose the Constitution had to be changed and that the Constitution cannot be changed for any purpose. Thus we were disappointed. Since then we have been bringing this matter here in this House, we requested the Government, appealed to the Government and at times we have even rebuked the Government here, but the Government is so thick-skinned that it could not be moved.

The Government issued a circular to the effect that all these Buddhist converts should be treated as backward classes and those facilities which are given to the backward class members should be given to these Buddhist converts. Those concessions are quite insufficient to raise these people to the level of the others.

This problem was a very serious problem in Bombay, as in Maharashtra mostly, almost all the Scheduled Castes have embraced Buddhism. Then the school-going children of the Buddhists were confronted with difficulties. They were thrown out and they were asked to pay school fees, etc. When it was not possible for them to do so, they had to vacate the schools and go away.

A similar resolution was moved in the year 1957 and Shri Yajnik who took part in the debate described all the difficulties that the students in Maharashtra had to face, but fortunately, wisdom, though late, dawned on the Maharashtra Government. And very recently, the Government of Maharashtra has declared the extinction of these safeguards, the constitutional safeguards, to the Buddhists,

[Shri D. A. Katti]

on 1st May 1960. Therefore, I congratulate the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Chavan, for doing a thing of historic importance and for having set an example before the Government of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's Government. The Constitution did not come in the way of Shri Chavan, whereas the Constitution comes in the way of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The question is, when Chavan's Government has done it, whether Jawaharlal Nehru's Government is going to do it. Wisdom dawned on that Government. The question is whether that wisdom would dawn on this Government. Conscience prevailed there. The question is whether that conscience will prevail here, and whether the Nehru Government would follow Chavan's State Government. My resolution seeks an answer to this question. Shri Chavan has taken this decision which has shaken this Government. Therefore, we are very much anxious to see what this Government does in the light of this development in respect of the subject-matter of this resolution.

My resolution seeks to secure the constitutional safeguards relating to the economic and social interests to the Buddhist converts from the Scheduled Castes except the reservation of seats in the legislatures. That does not mean that the Buddhist converts do not want the political reservations. They can very well claim those reservations also, but for the time being, at present, we are deeply concerned with the safeguards which I have mentioned in my resolution. That is why I have brought forward this resolution and restricted this resolution to these safeguards only.

Here, I want to make one point clear. Some people are under the impression that we are asking for these safeguards as Scheduled Castes. It is a wrong impression. No Buddhist can say that he should be treated as a Scheduled Caste for the sake of petty concessions. That is not the

purpose, and that is not the purpose of conversion. Rather, the purpose is to get rid of these castes.

Again, the argument is advanced that the Scheduled Castes, when they embrace Buddhism, cease to be Scheduled Castes, and as provision is made in the Constitution for Scheduled Castes only, the Buddhist converts cannot be entitled to these safeguards. This is the argument. This argument apparently appears to be logical, but if this argument is analysed, dissected and reasoned out, we will find no logic and no reason, but only the desire to penalise these people.

17 hrs.

My point is, even as Buddhists, they can claim these safeguards. To understand this, we must also take into consideration the basis on which these safeguards are provided to these people. Amongst the other backward classes also, there are some people who are worst hit by poverty but in their case this provision is not made. To understand this position, to know the basis, we have to bring before our eyes the social structure in which we live.

What is that social structure? The Hindu society is made up of many caste groups. Caste dominates the whole life. Caste determines the social status. Caste to a Hindu is omnipotent, all-embracing and all-pervading. There cannot be any Hindu without a caste. There cannot be a casteless Hindu. Hinduism is not a missionary religion; it is a conservative religion. That is why no Christian or no Muslim can become a Hindu, whereas a Hindu can become anything. There is no incoming; there is only outgoing.

Shri N. R. Ghosh (Cooch-Bihar): That is not correct.

Shri D. A. Katti: Caste confers social status; it determines the social status of a Hindu. That is why a Hindu must have a caste.

All these caste groups constitute the Hindu society and this is one world. Outside this world, on the outskirts of every village live the outcastes, who are not encompassed by the caste system. Who are the outcastes who are living on the outskirts of the villages? Why are they living on the outskirts? How long are they living on the outskirts? What is the number of these outcastes? It would be interesting to know these things. These outcastes—scheduled castes are out-castes—are there on the outskirts for centuries together. They constitute about one-fifth of the total Hindu population. They are segregated and forced to live outside the village, because they have been eternally condemned to the type of slavery which the world has never known. This is their world.

They were untouchable, unapproachable and unseable. They could not be seen; they could not be approached and they could not be touched. This was their world, a world full of misery, humiliation, hunger and filth. That was the world to which they were confined and humiliated. What was the result of this slavery? What has happened to these people on account of this slavery? As a result of this slavery, these people lost everything in life. They were simply alive, because they could not die. Because of the slavery, though they are human beings, they were reduced to mere galls of flesh and blood. They had no hope, no faith, no self-respect and nothing that man can ever have.

They were suffering from a strange inferiority complex. This was the horrible result of the tyranny practised against millions of people for hundreds of years. To remove this effect and to protect them and to bring them to the level of the rest of the community, it was essential to provide the constitutional safeguards which are now provided. They are not merely some sort of concessions, for those concessions have the force of constitutional safeguards. Thus, these safeguards have a direct rela-

tion to the slavery that was practised upon them and the effect it had upon them. No caste or no religion has any relation with these safeguards.

17 hrs.

Therefore, it is not out of consideration for any caste or religion that these safeguards have been given to these people. Therefore, every body will admit here that those who suffer on account of these effects deserve all these safeguards. It does not matter to what religion they belong. It is not that these safeguards have been given to these people because they are Hindus. Can anybody say that it is because they are Hindus that these safeguards have been given to them? Let the Government say that it is so, and I am prepared to withdraw this resolution at once without any hesitation. If Government cannot say that, then Government cannot also stop these facilities being given to the Buddhist converts. The term "Scheduled Castes" is meant simply to identify that particular section of the people who have been victimised by untouchability. Untouchability is not a caste, it is a social stigma.

Therefore, before providing these safeguards to those people the only question that can be put is whether those people were regarded as untouchables and whether on that account they suffered these disabilities. If the answer is in the affirmative, then such persons are entitled to these safeguards irrespective of the religious faith they have embraced.

Belonging to Hinduism was not a condition precedent to be entitled to these safeguards. Scheduled Castes have no caste. They were untouchables. They are out of the caste system. The caste confers a social status. What social status does untouchability confer? What social status is there for a slave? What social status can a dog have? What social status can a cat have? Untouchability does not confer on these people any social status. They have no caste. To be a Hindu one must

[Shri D. A. Katti]

have a caste. Therefore, they are not Hindus and they cannot be treated as such. In fact, they are not having any religion. Therefore, if they take to any religious faith, they cannot be debarred from having all these safeguards.

The words "Scheduled Castes" are of recent origin. These people were known as Antayajas, Atishudras and they were known as Chandalas. Now they are known as Harijans. Does this word "Harijan" denote any caste? It does not. For the same reasons, Scheduled Tribes, who are enjoying similar safeguards, even if they change their religion, are not debarred from enjoying these safeguards. A man belonging to a Scheduled Tribe, whether he be a Mohammedan or a Christian today, if he again converts himself and embraces some other religion, he does not lose his safeguards. The principle governing the grant of these safeguards to both the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is the same. Therefore, I would like to ask the Government one thing. How is it that the Scheduled Caste people after conversion lose these safeguards?

All that I want to say is, the Scheduled Castes are outcasts. They belong to no caste. That is why I say that they should not be treated as Hindus. As they are not Hindus, even if they accept any religious faith they can not be deprived of the facilities which are guaranteed to them under the Constitution, as in the case of the Scheduled Tribes who even after conversion get these facilities.

My hon. friend there has been all the while taking objection to all that I have been saying. For his satisfaction I will take it for granted that the Scheduled Castes are Hindus. But even then, Sir, the conversion of those Scheduled Castes cannot force them to lose all the safeguards that they have been enjoying, for the simple reason that being a Hindu is not a condition precedent to claim these rights. There cannot be any such condition. Ours is a secular

State, and therefore no concessions can be granted on the ground of religion.

What is the true test? The true test is to see whether he belongs to that stock which has suffered this lot, whether he was regarded as an untouchable and whether he suffered on that account. If the answer is "yes", no matter what religion he belongs to, the concession must be continued.

The word "Scheduled Caste" is itself wrong. Therefore, to remove the technical difficulty, let the word "Scheduled Caste" be omitted and let the word "social sufferer" substituted in its place. As there are political sufferers. And all the converts from Scheduled Castes should be included in that category. But this would be needed only if there is insistence on the change in the Constitution.

But the important point whether there is really any need to change the Constitution at all? The question is whether the Constitution prevents the Government from extending these facilities to the Buddhist converts. If you read articles 16 and 46 of the Constitution of India, it will be clear that Government is not at all prevented from extending these facilities to these Buddhist converts. On the contrary, Government is empowered to do that and there is no fear of any breach of the Constitution. While writing to Shri Vali Sinha, Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society, the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, writes—I am quoting it from the Lok Sabha debates, page 3029, which gives the letter from the Prime Minister to Shri Vali Sinha dated 31st July, 1957:—

"As you know, it is not possible to change the Constitution without going through certain elaborate process. If, however, the Government violate the Constitution, even for a good purpose, the matter would go to the High Court and to the Supreme Court."

Now he is expressing here a fear of committing a breach of the Constitution, whereas I say, by withdrawing these safeguards from these people, the Government is committing a breach of the Constitution, for which purpose we may go to the Supreme Court. (Interruption) But let me appeal to your conscience. This is only the first step. Article 46 says:

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

So, it is clear that it is the duty of the Government, it is the constitutional obligation of the Government, to protect the weaker sections of the society, and there is no controversy over the fact that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are the weaker sections. Actually, there is a special mention of these people in this Article.

Now where does the weakness lie? That is my question. The weakness is two-fold. On one side there is their own weakness in respect of education, economic condition, mental condition and physical condition and, on the other side, the attitude of others towards these people. These are the two weaknesses. Even after conversion whether these weaknesses cease to exist is the question. My answer is that they do not cease to exist. And so long as it persists, it is the duty of the Government, irrespective of any consideration of race, religion or caste, to extend its support and protection to these people from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

A change of outlook is important among the caste Hindus. But how can this be done? Can it be done by preaching? Or, can it be done by making the weaker sections strong? It can be done by making these people

fit to live. It needs a change of mind and not a change of heart. Very often, our hon. Deputy Minister, Shrimati Alva, says it is a matter of heart and it is not a matter of mind. We ask: where was the heart all these years and centuries? First of all, in order to bring about the change of heart, there must be change of mind, and to have a change of mind the condition of these people has to be changed.

This struggle for existence is bloody and horrible. Those who are the fittest survive. Now here the question is: Are all the fittest, that is, the strongest, the best also and would not the weakest, if protected, be the best to advance the ends and aims of society? This is the question. The day on which we accepted our Constitution we answered this question in the affirmative. Hence, article 46 is incorporated here. Article 46 is a directive principle. It is a constitutional obligation. But there is something positive in article 16. Article 16(4) says:—

"Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State."

These people were treated as backward till yesterday by the Government. After their conversion how can the Government treat them as forward today? It is clear that Government is perfectly right and is completely empowered to make reservations of posts in favour of the Buddhist converts also, but Government must have a will. It is a matter of the will of the Government and not a matter of the Constitution. The Bombay Government had the will and it has done it. But the Government of India exhibited on many occasions on some excuse or the other that they have not got the will to do it. It has become a matter of will and not a constitutional matter.

[Shri D. A. Katti]

But one would like to ask this. When there is this constitutional obligation why is Government not willing to do it? My feeling is that the Government might be having a fear that by encouraging such movements the result would be to diminish the number of Hindus. That is my feeling. If that is true, it is most unfortunate. Our Government is a secular government. It is none of this Government's business to bother about such consequences. The Constitution is there and the Government is bound to safeguard the spirit of the Constitution which this sovereign democratic republic has accepted and adopted and is not to safeguard any religion. If you want to safeguard a religion, destroy this secular character of this State and have a Hindu State, like the Pakistanis who are having the Muslim State, and do what you like. Then nobody would ask you anything.

Shri B. K. Gaikwad (Nasik): Do not call it a secular State.

Shri D. A. Katti: If anybody goes out of the Hindu fold, no Hindu is to be blamed. It is the conservative nature of the religion that is to be blamed. It is the strange social order that is to be blamed. I am not speaking out of bitterness. But now the time has come for you to think whether you can retain this social order when the world has gone to such an extent that it is sending man into outer space. You are still wedded to caste prejudices! Whether it is advisable, is for you to consider. I am not speaking out of bitterness. I am speaking out of my love for these people. I am speaking out my desire to see that this country regains that lost glory and greatness. That is my desire. It was so during Buddha's time. Let those days come back. That is my desire. I have got every reason to be bitter enough, but I have removed that bitterness because I have accepted Buddha's creed. I am free from any bitterness.

I have heard some people saying that this is a disruptive movement. I

am surprised to hear that. I was extremely sorry to hear the hon. friend who said that the Buddhist movement is a disruptive movement. The point is, what is there to disrupt? The Hindu society is a heterogeneous society. It is already completely disintegrated and there is no more scope for further disintegration. What is there for disintegration? Ours is an attempt to integrate the disintegrated society. We are not against any religion—that I make clear. But we are wholly opposed to the caste system, because we think that caste is unnatural, caste is anti-social, caste is anti-national, caste is disruptive and we want it to go.

Shri Padam Dev (Chamba): Can you definite caste?

Shri D. A. Katti: That is your job.

So, Sir, we are opposed to this caste system and we attempt in our own way to abolish it, instead of nourishing this monster. If what we do in that direction is termed as disruptive movement, we are not responsible for it. On the contrary, I pity such people, who say we are anti-nationalist. Not only am I surprised at it, but I am shocked to hear it. We are Indians first; our blood is Indian blood, and this blood owes a duty to this land in which we are born. Our loyalty and honesty are historical truths. We have never betrayed this land at any time, in spite of the worst kind of treachery practised against us. We cannot be charged like that.

Having placed all these facts before the House, I appeal to the Government and to the House to accept this Resolution. Acceptance of this resolution will not place any burden on the exchequer. You should not withdraw what you have given. Government have two responsibilities in this matter. One is safeguarding the interests of the weaker sections; the other is fulfilling the provisions of the Constitution. Thereby they will be serving the cause of Buddhism to some extent.

If they refuse to accept the Resolution, Government will be committing a breach of the Constitution. A similar resolution was moved in 1957; but it was negatived. If this Resolution is going to be negatived again, I would not mind. But history will record that you penalise these people for having embraced Buddhism; history will record that the Government of India tried to perpetuate untouchability, though untouchability has been abolished by the Constitution.

I do not know what the hon. Minister has brought with her, but I think she is going to perform a very unpleasant job. She is bound by the decisions of the Government; she cannot influence the decision of Government. Therefore, I am not going to blame her if she does not accept it, even though she may be fully convinced of the genuineness of our demands. But in case of non-acceptance of this Resolution, I will certainly blame Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. This is the time for him to prove that he is a humanitarian first and then a Brahmin; that he is a socialist first and then a Brahmin.

We believe that concessions do not bless either the giver or the taker. Let that day come as early as possible. That is the only desire. With these words I move this resolution.

Mr. Chairman: Resolution moved:

"This House of opinion that all the Constitutional safeguards except those relating to the reservation of seats in the legislatures, granted and provided to the Scheduled Castes, be extended to the Buddhist converts from the Scheduled Castes."

There are two amendments to this Resolution. Shri Shree Narayan Das may move his amendment.

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga): I beg to move:

"This House is of opinion that a Committee be appointed to consider
195(Ai)LSD—8.

der the desirability and the Constitutional feasibility of granting Constitutional safeguards other than those relating to the reservation of seats in Legislatures, to the Buddhist converts from the Scheduled Castes as granted and provided to the Scheduled Castes."

Mr. Chairman: The amendment tabled by Shri Maniyangadan seems to be out of order, for the simple reason that it widens the scope of the original resolution. The original resolution relates only to the facility being granted to converts to Buddhism. This amendment seeks to give facilities to the converts to every religion. Therefore it is beyond the scope of the resolution and I think it is out of order.

Shri N. R. Ghosh (Cooch-Behar): Mr. Chairman, too much heat has been introduced into this discussion. There was no necessity for it. The hon. Member who moved the resolution has said certain things which were not necessary for his purpose. He need not have brought in the question of Hindu castes and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His special pleading for Buddhism and his philippics against all things connected with Hinduism could have been avoided. These are not pertinent to his resolution.

But as he has referred to article 46 of the Constitution, with all humility I shall ask him to read that article carefully. It says:

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

It is quite right. He has discarded caste and cannot legally invoke it.

17.36 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

My hon. friend has stated again and again that the Scheduled Castes are not Hindus and that anybody who do-

[Shri N. R. Ghosh.]

es not believe in caste is not a Hindu. I would just for his information tell him that Rabindranath Tagore was a Hindu of Hindus, but he did not believe in caste. He was a Brahmo. Millions of Vaishnavites who do not believe in caste are Hindus and they are proud of being Hindu. Even among those people who actually do not discard caste in public in that way, there are persons who now actually intermarry with other castes. Therefore his denunciation is misconceived and all his tall propositions are not correct.

But the main question, divorced of all emotion and heat, is whether the Scheduled Castes who changed their religion should, through the back door, be allowed to rejoin the Scheduled Castes again? His resolution actually boils down to that.

Now, that is neither reasonable nor just. If we go into the history of this reservation, and if my hon. friend has taken care to go into the basic principles which run throughout our Constitution, he will find it is this that no man or woman should suffer on account of the fact that he or she belongs to any particular caste or to any particular religion or to any particular community. Our Constitution aims at a casteless, classless society. Articles 15, 16, 335 and 341 are also relevant articles to be taken into consideration in this connection.

As a matter of fact, the basic principle of making certain reservations in respect of Scheduled Castes was this, that there was the sin of untouchability in our society. We are not proud of it. We have discarded it, we have legislated against it, and millions of people have made agitations against it. In spite of all that, it has not wholly disappeared we cannot go behind the fact. There were certain people who, on account of untouchability, were under certain handicaps. For the time being, all sorts of promotional activities for their education, for their economic development and so on are to

be allowed. That has been allowed by the Constitution. But if certain people change their religion and go out of Hinduism altogether, it cannot be said that they any longer suffer from any of these handicaps or difficulties. I have no quarrel with anybody who wants to change his religion and to embrace Buddhism. Lord Buddha is one of our Avatars. If anybody wants to accept Buddhism, it is quite all right and he is quite welcome; but at the same breath to lay a claim, when they no longer suffer from any handicaps, when they no longer suffer from any of these difficulties, that they must have all these special facilities, which for the time being are extended to the scheduled caste, that is something queer. There is no justice in it; there is no reason in it. I would submit, Sir, that millions and millions of people perhaps who belonged to the scheduled castes embraced Islam; most of the converts to Christianity also perhaps belonged to the scheduled castes. Today if all these people come and say, we are all Mohammadans and Christians, but still we belong to the scheduled castes. I believe it is a contradiction in terms. It is illogical and there is no fairness in that. It has dangerous potentialities. It threatens our integration. This resolution will widen its scope.

At the same time, we should remember the background of this scheduled caste. This was something which was introduced by the British people to drive a wedge in the Hindu society.

Shri B. K. Galkwad: He did not say that. We are not proud of calling ourselves as scheduled castes.

Shri N. R. Ghosh: He did not say that; but perhaps he never meant that. If the logic which impelled my learned friend to move this Resolution is to be followed, then all the millions of Mohammadans and Christians also could claim the same privileges. They may also say, that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is a very bad man he does not

like Islam; he does not like Christianity and that is why he is not extending the privileges which were granted by the Constitution to the scheduled caste. I submit it is something fantastic. I don't want to use any strong words, which my friend used. I submit that he wants to come out of the fold of Hinduism and he wants to come out of the fold of scheduled caste, but through back-door he wants to rejoin the scheduled caste. That actually seems to be his real object. I would submit that the present Resolution comes within the mischief not only of the letter of the Constitution but also its spirit.

Shri D. A. Katti: There is no reason for him to close the front door.

Shri N. R. Ghosh: I will remind my friend that ours is a secular secular State; we are bound by the Constitution and our objective is to have a classless and casteless society. I shall be proud of the day when the caste Hindus will discard their titles.

Shri B. K. Gaikwad: They are not going to do that.

Shri N. R. Ghosh:...when they will be known merely as Hindus. Shri Ramachandra never had a title and neither Shri Krishna. A day may come when there will be a complete integration of all the Hindus. In my best of dreams I would welcome that thing. I want complete integration. As I was going to submit, this scheduled caste business, this grouping of several castes, was the act of foreign Government with a sinister motive. When you create groups in a particular caste, you actually increase its mischief potential and try to perpetuate casteism, which is a thing we want to shun, which is a thing we want to get rid of. I would submit that we should guard against this.

Shri B. K. Gaikwad: When the Constitution was framed, the Britishers were not here. What is the use of blaming the Britishers?

Shri N. R. Ghosh: My friend has never cared to go through the Consti-

tution. If he had done it, he would have known that the basic principle running through the whole of the Constitution is that there should be a secular State, a casteless State, there should be complete integration of Indians as Indians and nothing else. That is the basic principle. These safeguards are only temporary measures. These are only provisional measures. These are only exceptions, for the time being, to the general rule. I would submit that my friends are claiming these privileges which are actually given on social grounds to a particular caste by the Constitution for the time being. They claim them, not on account of the fact that they are suffering from any social difficulty, not on account of the fact that they are suffering from any handicap, but on account of a spirit of gain and profit. They want all these privileges, of the scheduled castes though they are no longer the Scheduled castes. I think that if they were proud of their new religion, they would not have claimed these. Besides Dr. Ambedkar attained his high position not because of any special privilege which was extended to his caste, but on account of his individual merit. As I understand it, a day is coming when every man will be considered on the individual merits of his case. If a person is poor, no matter whether he is a Brahman or he is a *chamar*, whether he belongs to the lowest or highest rung in the ladder of caste, the case will be considered on its own merits, and not because he belongs to a particular brand or a particular caste or a particular community or a particular class, for that sort of thing handicaps integration and is illogical. This sort of prop. this sort of help which is being given now, though it is provisional and it is only for the time being, is not known in any other part of the world. There are people who are not so much advanced in education as other people are. But, I believe that in the world, nobody can attain the same level of education or the same level of civilisation as the others. However, it is the duty of the State to give all sorts of basic

[Shri N. R. Ghosh.]

facilities and to extend all the help to everyone who belongs to the State. That is the thing which we want, and this is the thing which the Constitution safeguards.

If my hon. friend thinks that because he has embraced Buddhism, he can abuse Shri Jawaharlal Nehru or the caste-Hindus and that they will be frightened into giving all these benefits to which he is not entitled, according to the Constitution, he is committing a mistake.

Shri B. K. Galkwad: That is wrong logic what he said was that this was a weaker section, and as such, they should be given these benefits, and not because they are Buddhists.

Shri N. R. Ghosh: I would submit that if we accept this resolution, we shall be opening a flood-gate. We cannot then stop the claims of the innumerable people who have gone out of Hinduism and become Christians or Mohammedans. Besides, it would definitely jeopardise our integration.

We have got every sympathy for the people who are economically backward or who are socially backward, and we should do everything possible for them. For instance, untouchability is there in our country, but our Constitution does not allow it, and our Government have been doing everything possible to ruthlessly root it out. As a matter of fact, we have passed legislation against it and untouchability will disappear in course of time. My hon. friend may know that many people are Arya Samajists and they do not believe in caste; many of them belong to the Scheduled Castes, and still they have not come forward to claim any special privileges though they can. Why should these neo-Buddhists then claim any special privileges?

Shri Amjad Ali (Dhubri): But they did it.

Shri S. K. Galkwad: My hon. friend does not know Arya Samajists are claiming such privileges.

Shri N. R. Ghosh: If the neo-Buddhists can base their claim on the fact that they are backward classes, then, certainly, our Government will give every sort of consideration in their favour as allowed by the constitution. But after having gone out of Hinduism if they want to get all the privileges of the Scheduled Castes without accepting caste, then, I think that it is neither legal nor just, nor fair.

I would ask this House to guard against what my hon. friend is trying to do; he is trying to foster and widen this new sort of casteism; through the back-door, he is trying to perpetuate and nourish the caste system by moving this resolution.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, Shri Braj Raj Singh.

Shri M. B. Thakore (Patan): I request that a time-limit may be fixed for the speeches.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Not more than 10 minutes to each Member, and normally about six to seven minutes to each Member.

श्री कचराज सिंह (फिरोजाबाद) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय ,

श्री मधन प्रसाकर (बाग दिल्ही-
रक्षित-अनुमति जातियों) : उपाध्यक्ष
महोदय, मैं भी इस विषय पर बोलना चाहता
हूँ ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : एक वक्ता में एक
सदस्य बोल सकते हैं या दोनों ? मैं ने एक
माननीय सदस्य को बुलाया है ।

श्री कचराज सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय,
मैं इस प्रस्ताव की माबना का स्वागत करता

हू। अभी जो मेरे मित्र कांग्रेस बेंकों से बोल रहे थे उस से मालम होता है कि हिन्दू समाज ने जो पःप किये हैं उन के लिये हम प्रायः-चित्त करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। हम को इन सारी चीजों की पृष्ठभूमि में जाना चाहिये कि क्या उन लोगों को जिन को प्रछूत कहा गया, जिन्हें अनटचेबल कहा गया, जिन को सेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स कहा गया, धर्म परिवर्तन करने नहीं दिया जायेगा। धर्म परिवर्तन आज कोई नया नहीं हो रहा है बुद्धिगत भाइयों के सम्बन्ध में। इस से पहले भी हिन्दू समाज में इस तरह के आन्दोलन हुए हैं जबकि हिन्दू समाज में उस वक्त की आई हुई बुराईयों के प्रति विद्रोह हुआ है और उस विद्रोह ने एक प्रकार से हिन्दू समाज की रक्षा की है, उस को गुप्तार किया है।

आप जानते हैं कि इस देश में हिन्दू समाज की कुछ बुराईयों को दूर करने के लिये गुरुओं का अवतरण हुआ और यद्यपि वे खुद हिन्दू थे लेकिन हिन्दू समाज की बुराईयों को दूर करने के लिये उन्होंने ने एक अलग प्रकार के धर्म की ही रचना कर डाली, और आज उन गुरुओं के समर्थक अपने को हिन्दू धर्म से अलग एक धर्म की शक्त में मानते हैं, जिन को सिख कहा जाता है। हम को चाहिये कि हम इस सारी पृष्ठभूमि में जायें कि क्यों ऐसा हुआ है। क्योंकि कुछ जातियों ने जो दूसरी जातियों का शोषण करती रहीं, सारे हिन्दू समाज के सम्बन्ध में अपना यह अधिकार माना कि वे ही सारे हिन्दू समाज को बनाने की शक्ति कर सकती हैं और जो भी सारा साम हो सकता है उन को ले सकती है। यदि आप इस पृष्ठभूमि में जायेंगे तो वह पता चलेगा कि यह जो कमियाँ आती रही है हिन्दू समाज में उन से निराश हो कर, उन से असन्तुष्ट हो कर, उन को दूर करने के लिये, उन्होंने ने धर्म परिवर्तन किया है। इस धर्म परिवर्तन को अगर रोकना है तो जिन

लोगों को ऐसा लगता है कि हिन्दू समाज की रक्षा के लिये लोगों को न बुद्धिगत बनाया चाहिये न किसी दूसरे धर्म में जाता चाहिये, उन को पहले अपनी तरफ देखना चाहिये कि क्या उन्होंने ने इस तरह के नियम नहीं बनाये, क्या उन की आचार संहिता कुछ इस तरह की नहीं रही जिस के कारण हमारे समाज का एक भाग इस तरह का रहा जो दबा रहा और जिस का शोषण होता रहा, जिस के अधिकारों की हम ने कभी परवाह नहीं की। आज भी, जबकि हमारे संविधान को बने हुए दस वर्ष से ऊपर हो चुके हैं, हम देखते हैं कि हमारे यहां कुछ जातियाँ हैं जो समझती हैं कि उन का ही अधिकार है हिन्दू समाज के नाम पर सारे अधिकार को ले लेने का या उन के नाम पर बोलने का। वह आज भी प्रछूतपन का व्यवहार करती हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कौन ऐसा करता है ?

श्री उज्जराज सिंह : उस वर्ग में मेरी जाति है, आप की जाति है, ब्राह्मणों की जाति है। इसलिये अगर उसे हम दूर करना चाहते हैं तो हमें देखना पड़ेगा कि हम ने जो गलतियाँ की हैं उन के लिये हम प्रायश्चित्त करने को तैयार हैं या नहीं। मैं इस बात को प्रस्ताव नहीं समझता हूँ कि किसी साम मदद को पाने के लिये, किसी स्वार्थ के लिये धर्म परिवर्तन किया जायें। धर्म परिवर्तन हमेशा तभी होना चाहिये जब किसी के विचार बदलें। लेकिन हमारे यहां पर पृष्ठभूमि यह रही है और इसी पृष्ठभूमि के कारण हमारे समाज में लोगों को बुराई की तादाद में धर्म परिवर्तन लोग करते रहे। लेकिन अफसोस की बात, दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि हिन्दू समाज की धारें नहीं जुड़ी।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जब धर्म परिवर्तन होता है तो साम साम में कुछ बुराईयाँ भी

[श्री बजरत्न सिंह]

आती हैं जैसेकि इस देश में जिन लोगों ने धर्म परिवर्तन किया उन्होंने ने एक अलग राष्ट्र बनाने की कोशिश की, और हम ने देखा कि पाकिस्तान बना। उस के पीछे भी एक धार्मिक भावना थी, इस से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता। इसी प्रकार कुछ और भी धर्म परिवर्तन करने वाले लोग हैं जो उस के नाम पर अलग सूबे जैसे नागावंड को बनाने की बात करते हैं, और इसे स्वीकार भी किया गया है।

श्री प्रकाशचोर शा श्री (गुडगाव) : प्रश्न यह है कि इस समय जो लोग अपना धर्म परिवर्तन कर के इन्डिस्ट हो गये हैं उन हो क्यों धार्मिक सुविधायें न हों, जब दूसरे हरिजनों को वे प्राप्त हैं। जो प्रश्न आप उठा रहे हैं वह बिल्कुल दूसरी चीज है।

श्री बजरत्न सिंह : मैं तो सिर्फ उस की पृष्ठभूमि बतला रहा था। और जब पृष्ठभूमि समझाई जा रही है तो मेरे मित्र को यह आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये कि धार्मिक सुविधायें मिलें या न मिलें। मैं उन पर आ रहा हूँ। जब धार्मिक सुविधाओं की बात आती है तो मैं कह सकता हूँ कि इस वाः यहां पर कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। मैं नहीं समझता कि कोई धर्म परिवर्तन कर लेगा इसलिए कि वह धनवान हो जाय या उसे सब सुविधायें प्राप्त हो जायें। मैं समझता हूँ कि धर्म परिवर्तन धर्म तीर से इस के लिये जरूरी नहीं है? धर्म अलग चीज है और धार्मिक स्थिति जो है वह बिल्कुल अलग चीज है।

श्री उमराव सिंह (घोसी) : क्या आज हरिजन भी आपस में एक दूसरे को ऊंचा नीचा नहीं समझे? मैं वक्ता महोदय से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आज एक चमार भी एक डोम के यहाँ खाना खा सकता है, पानी पी सकता है, उस के साथ रह सकता है ?

श्री बजरत्न सिंह : यह कोई दलील नहीं है कि अगर चमार डोम के घर खाना नहीं खा सकता तो ब्राह्मण, जाट, भ्रहीर और दूसरी जातियों के लोगों को भी नहीं खाना चाहिये। यह कोई दलील नहीं हो सकती।

श्री डी० चं० शर्मा (गुरदासपुर) : मैं दोनों घरों में खाना खाने के लिये तैयार हूँ।

उदाहरण महोदय : यहां पर कोई खाना मीठद नहीं है कि खा लिया जायें।

श्री बजरत्न सिंह : मैं निवेदन करना चाहता था कि धर्म परिवर्तन धर्म तीर से किसी धार्मिक नाम के लिये हो सकता है, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता। कोई भी इस बात को नहीं मानेगा चाहे कोई हिन्दू ब्रह्मिष्ठ हो गया हो, चाहे कोई हिन्दू ईसाई हो गया हो, मुसलमान हो गया हो या कोई मुसलमान हो जिसने हिन्दू धर्म स्वीकार कर लिया हो कि इस तरह से उस की धार्मिक ज्ञान धच्छी हो जायेगी। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि टेक्नोलोजी अथवा विज्ञान की रोज चर्चा होती है हमारे सदन में, आस तीर पर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री बिया करते हैं, आज जब युग बदल रहा है, जब रूप एक पादपी को वायु मंडल में भेज सकते हैं, जब इस प्रकार की स्थिति पैदा हो रही है उस वक्त हम बहुत छोटे छोटे प्रपन कम्पाटमेंट बना लें और उन में अपने को सीमित रखें, यह हमारे देश के भविष्य के लिये धच्छ नहीं होगा। जहां तक इस प्रकार की भावनाओं का सवाल है, उन को शांति दिया जाना चाहिये क्योंकि कुछ मित्रों ने अपने समाज के अत्याचारों से निराश हो कर धर्म परिवर्तन कर लिया है। अगर मेरी राय बसती तो मैं उन मित्रों से कहता कि धर्म परिवर्तन करने से धर्म तीर से

कोई उद्देश्य सफल नहीं होता है। आप धर्म परिवर्तन न करें। आप उसी समाज में रहें और जो प्रत्याचार हों उनके खिलाफ लड़ें, लेकिन यहां पर मेरी राय का सवाल नहीं है। उन्होंने निषेध किया है, भले ही किहीं कारणों से निराश हो कर किया या किसी और वजह से किया, लेकिन निषेध किया हुआ है। चूंकि उन्होंने निषेध कर लिया है, धर्म परिवर्तन का, इसलिये उनको जो अधिकार हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान ने दिये हैं, वे अधिकार खत्म हो जाते हैं, इस बात को मैं मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूं। इससे तो यही बात स्पष्ट होगी कि चूंकि उन्होंने हिन्दू धर्म में कौन-कौन से छुट्टी के लिये धर्म परिवर्तन कर लिया है, इसलिये हिन्दू लोग उनसे बदला लेना चाहते हैं। हमलिये मेरा निवेदन होगा कि यदि संविधान में किसी संशोधन को आवश्यकता हो तो उसमें संशोधन किया जावे। हमको यह सोचना चाहिये कि वे लोग हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के उन वर्ग में आते हैं जो पिछड़ा हुआ है, जो दबा हुआ है, जो पददलित है, जो गौशित है, जिसके साथ प्रत्याचार हो रहा है, हरिजन है। यदि उनको हमें दूसरों के बराबर मानना है तो उन्हें हमें विशेष मुविधायें देनी होंगी। अगर किसी का धर्म परिवर्तन हो जाता है तो उसको मुविधायें सुलभ कर दी जायें यह उचित नहीं होगा हम सबको, जो धर्म बड़े दूर है, यह कोटिब करनी चाहिये कि कोई ऐसी स्थिति न आये जिससे लोगों को धर्मपरिवर्तन करने की जरूरत पड़े। अगर कोई भ्रम में पड़ा हो, अगर किसी को कोई धर्म प्यारा न हो, जबदेखी उसको कोई अपने धर्म में माना चाहता हो, तो उस पर भी हमारा-हमारा के लिये रोक लगाई जानी चाहिये और जो भ्रमों बाहे वह अपनी इच्छा के धर्म को मान कर चल सके।

अन्य में मैं फिर कहूंगा कि इस प्रस्ताव की भावना ठीक है और इसका स्वागत किया जाना चाहिये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर माननीय सदस्य अब पांच पांच ही मिनट में तो अच्छा है।

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : पांच मिनट तो बहुत कम हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : मुझे तो बोलना है नहीं, आप दस मिनट लीजिये, पन्द्रह मिनट लीजिये। सूचक इस तरह से बहुत कम सदस्य बोल सकेंगे।

श्री० रणबीर सिंह (रोहतक) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री कट्टी के प्रस्ताव पर जो संशोधन श्री श्रीनारायण दास जी ने दिया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब समय आ गया है कि हम इस बात को सांवे कि जो बात कट्टी साहब ने कट्टी शब्दों में कही, उसमें कोई तथ्य है या नहीं। बहुत सी बातें इस तरह के बहस के दौरान में यहां आई गईं। यहां पर कहा गया कि कायद हिन्दू समाज बीड़ धर्म के फैलाव के कारण परेशानी का हिस्सा करता है। मैं नहीं मानता कि इस देश की सरकार या हमारे देश के नेता खिले जवाहरलाल नेहरू किसी धर्म के फैलाव को रोकने की खातिर खलते हैं, फिर चाहे वह बीड़ धर्म हो, या कोई और धर्म हो। यही नहीं, आप जानते हैं कि आपके ऊपर एक निशानी लगी है जिसे हम भ्रमों का चिह्न कहते हैं। वह हमको बीड़ों की देन है। वह हमारे देश की एक खास निशानी है। हमारा देश उस पर फटा करता है और उस पर हर हिन्दुस्तानी फटा करता है, चाहे वह हिन्दू हो या मुसलमान हो या सिख हो। तो आज हम किसी भाई की इस बात को कैसे मान सकते हैं कि हिन्दू समाज या सरकार बीड़ धर्म के फैलाव से परेशान है मैं कहता हूँ कि जिन्होंने यह प्रस्ताव पेश किया है उन में से भी कुछ भाई ऐसे हो सकते हैं जो कि यह चाहते हैं कि उनके लिये मैजिस्ट्रेट के में सीटों का संरक्षण कायम रखे जाये तो क्या वे भाई उनके खिलाफ यह बात कह सकेंगे कि ये लोग बीड़ धर्म के फैलाव नहीं चाहते और उसके खिलाफ हैं। तो अगर कोई भाई उनसे मुवर्तामक राय रखते हैं तो उन के बारे में कट्टी शब्द कहना सही नहीं है।

[जी० रणवीर सिंह]

इस देश के धन्दर सिङ्गुलर समाज बनाने का फैसला पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की सोशलिज्म में हुआ है और कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेता उस फैसले को मानते हैं और उसी के अनुसार इस देश का विधान बनाया गया है और उस विधान के बनाने में बड़ा हिस्सा डा० अम्बेडकर ने लिया था जो कि हमारे इन साथी के शिष्यासी गुरु थे और आज भी वे उनकी प्राण शिष्यासी गुरु मानते हैं। अगर विधान में कोई बात उनके हितों के खिलाफ होती तो डा० अम्बेडकर को वह मंजूर न होती। और अगर विधान में कोई गलत चीज है तो उसकी चुनौती दी जा सकती है। इस काम को करने के लिये देश में बहुत वकील मिल सकते हैं, आज भी देश में वकीलों की कमी नहीं है। अगर हमारे साथी यह समझते हैं कि डा० अम्बेडकर के बराबरी के वकील नहीं हैं, तो न सही लेकिन काम तो बना ही सकते हैं, आज भी इस देश के धन्दर सारा काम चल ही रहा है। तो आज इस देश के विधान के धन्दर सबदीनी कराना है तो उस काम को प्रस्तावक महोदय किसी दूसरे वकील से भी करवाने का प्रयत्न कर सकते हैं, पर जहां तक सरकार का सम्बन्ध है, उसकी नीति बिल्कुल साफ है, वह किसी के साथ किसी धर्म को बिना पर कोई पक्षपात नहीं करना चाहती।

आप जानते हैं कि हमारे पिछड़ी जातियों के भाई इस देश के धन्दर इन १३-१४ साल के धन्दर जो मांगें रखते आ रहे हैं उनमें से एक तो यह है कि पढ़ाई की सुविधा हो, दूसरी यह कि गरीब आदमी को अपने पापों पर लड़े होने की सुविधा मिल सके और तीसरी सुविधा यह चाहते हैं कि उनके लिये नौकरियां सुरक्षित रखी जायें। और चौथी बात है कि लेजिस्लेचरों में उनके लिये स्थान सुरक्षित रखे जायें। लेकिन हमारे प्रस्तावक महोदय और उनके साथी इस चौथी चीज की मांग नहीं करते। वह इस चौथी मांग को छोड़ने के लिये तैयार हैं।

अब जहां तक पहली सुविधा का ताल्लुक है यानी तालीम का, उसमें पिछड़े वर्गों को सुविधाएँ दी जा रही हैं। जहां तक पंजाब का सवाल है पंजाब राज्य में सरकार ने यह फैसला किया है कि हर भाई को जिसकी आमदनी थोड़ी है, यानी सौ रुपये माहवार तक है, चाहे वह बौद्ध धर्म का मानने वाला हो या हिन्दू धर्म का मानने वाला हो, चाहे प्रायं समाजी हो, चाहे पंजाबी पढ़ना चाहता हो, चाहे हिन्दी पढ़ना चाहता हो, उसके बच्चों को नवीं जमाघत तक मुफ्त शिक्षा दी जायेगी, उससे कोई फीस नहीं ली जायेगी और प्रायं दसवीं जमाघत के लिये भी यह सुविधा बढ़ाने का विचार है। तो जिस प्रकार की सुविधा शिक्षा के लिये चाही जाती है वह पंजाब प्रदेश में दी जा रही है और दूसरे राज्यों में भी इसी प्रकार की नीति है।

और भी १०० लाख रुपये : इंडिया में नहीं है।

जी० रणवीर सिंह : तो इस बारे में कोई जाति का सवाल नहीं है यह बात गायबबाब साहब भी मानेंगे।

मैं तो समझता था कि वह इस प्रकार का प्रस्ताव लाते कि सिद्धपुल्ल कास्ट और सिद्धपुल्ल द्राइस के पढ़ावा जो रेकवर्ड क्लास के हैं उनको भी इनमें शामिल किया जाए। अगर उस प्रस्ताव का डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब या कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग इत्तिहाफ करते तब तो मैं उनकी बात को समझ सकता था। लेकिन वह तो एक तीसरी जमाघत पैदा करना चाहते हैं। विधान में जो जमाघतें रखी गई हैं उससे वह एक जमाघत और ज्यादा चाहते हैं। वह यह कहते कि जिस तरह से एक जमाघत सिद्धपुल्ल कास्ट और सिद्धपुल्ल द्राइस की है और दूसरी रेकवर्ड क्लासेज की है, उसी तरह उनकी एक जमाघत

भी मानी जाये जो कि धर्म परिवर्तन करके धर्मग हो गए हैं। लेकिन जहां तक लड़ाई का सवाल है पॉलिथामेंट के चुनाव के लिए धीर विधान सभाओं के लिए उसमें से बंधे संरक्षण नहीं चाहते धीर कहते हैं कि उस लड़ाई के तो वे लायक हैं, लेकिन जब नौकरियों का सवाल आता है तो वे कहते हैं कि हम उसके लायक नहीं हैं। उनकी यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। वह एक बीज में अपने आपको लायक मानते हैं और दूसरी बीज में ना लायक मानते हैं। इसलिए मैं जो संशोधन है उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं नहीं चाहता कि हमारे जो भाई बौद्ध धर्म में चले गए हैं उनके दिल में कोई कटुता पैदा हो और सरकार भी इस बात का ध्यान रखेगी, ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है कि किसी भाई के दिल में कटुता न आए। इसलिए मुझे विश्वास है कि जो संशोधन नारायण दास जी ने रखा है उसको प्रस्तावक महोदय भी मान लेंगे और सदन भी इसको स्वीकार कर लेगा।

श्री नवल प्रभाकर : (बाह्य दिल्ली-रहित-धनुसूचित जातियाँ) उपर्युक्त महोदय, जब ये प्रस्ताव रखा गया तो मैंने देखा कि इस देश के अन्दर बहुत सारे धर्म हैं, बहुत सारे मत हैं और उनके मानने वाले भी हैं। धर्म और मत का जो सम्बन्ध है वह आत्मा का सम्बन्ध है, एक आत्मा से जाने का सम्बन्ध है। किन्तु हमारे जो भाई अपने को नवबुद्ध कहते हैं उनका जो तरीका है वह धर्म है। हममें से बहुत सारे भाई हैं जो हरिजन हैं या जिनको धनुसूचित कहा जाता है। धनुसूचित जाति के लोगों में से कुछ धर्ममाजी हैं, धर्ममाजी के सिद्धान्तों को मानते हैं, कुछ ऐसे भी हैं जो सनातन धर्म हैं और भूति पूजा करते हैं और उन धर्म के सिद्धान्तों को मानते हैं और इसी तरह से हमारे यहां बहुत से मतमतान्तर हैं, उनके सिद्धान्तों पर चलते हैं और उन सिद्धान्तों में आस्था रखते हैं। और हमारे जो भाई

नवबुद्ध बने हैं तो उनके बौद्ध रहने में हमको कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। वे महात्मा बुद्ध के उपदेश और उनके बताए हुए सिद्धान्तों पर चलें। लेकिन यह प्रश्न नहीं पैदा होता कि वे यह कहें कि हमें धर्म अधिकार दिए जाएं हममें से जो भाई धर्ममाजी हैं वह कभी भी नहीं कहता कि उसे धर्मग पूरे अधिकार दिए जाएं। वह तो पूरे अधिकारों का उपभोग करता है। उसके लिए जब नौकरी का प्रश्न आता है तो उसको नौकरी भी मिल जाती है। वह अपने आपको बताता है कि वह हरिजन हैं और वह धर्मग जाति से सम्बन्ध रखता है। तो उसको कोई का नाई नहीं होती। हमारे जो भाई बौद्ध हैं अगर उनको बुद्ध धर्म के सिद्धान्त प्रिय हैं तो वे उनके अनुसार चले, अपने घरों में धर्मपथ का पाठ करें, महात्मा बुद्ध ने जो मार्ग बताया है उस पर चले। परन्तु मैंने देखा है कि वह एक नारा है। इस नारे के द्वारा एक जाति विशेष को पाली देने के लिए एक स्ट्रेज तैयार किया गया है और उससे कटुता बढ़ रही है। गुरु से ही हरिजनों के अन्दर इस प्रकार का एक आस फिरका रहा है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हरिजन हजारों मामलों में दबे रहे, पिछड़े रहे और उनके कारण उनके मन में कटुता उभरी और बहुत तेजी से उभरी और वह उसको मूलना नहीं चाहते वह भी मैं मानता हूँ लेकिन उसको वह मूलना नहीं चाहते हैं। उसमें बदले की भावना लेकर अगर हम कोई धर्मग पार्टी बनायें या हम कोई धर्मग नाम लेकर चले हो जायें तो मैं उचित और उपयुक्त नहीं समझता हूँ।

18 Jan.

आप किसी एक धर्म बीज में विश्वास रखते हैं तो आप उस विश्वास को मानियें और उसके ऊपर चलिए और ऐसा आचरण आप कर रहे हैं। मैंने यह देखा है और मैं अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्र की बात तो कह सकना हूँ, सारे देश के लिए भी मैं नहीं कह सकना हूँ,

[श्री नवल प्रभाकर]

मेरे निर्वाचन-क्षेत्र में बहुत सारे भाई जब वह जरूरत समझते हैं तो अपने को बौद्ध कह लेते हैं किन्तु जब नौकरी का प्रश्न आता है तो वे अपने को वही बतलाते हैं जो कि वह है। कोई एक सर्टिफिकेट बनवा लेते हैं यह साबित करने के लिए कि वह बोड्यूल्ड कास्ट के हैं, अनुसूचित जाति के हैं और यह कि अनुसूचित जाति से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं और हम तरह उनको नौकरी मिल जाती है। राज-नैतिक दृष्टि से जब वह देखते हैं कि उनकी जो जगह है स्थान है वहां वह लड़े हो सकते हैं, कामयाब हो सकते हैं तो वह अपने को कहते हैं कि वे बौद्ध हैं। वह लड़ते हैं और जीत भी जाते हैं। जहां पर बहुमत होता है जीत जाते हैं और बहुत सी जगह रह भी जाते हैं। लेकिन जब सीटों के रिजलेशन का समय आता है तो उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बतलाना चाहता हूं कि वह फिर अपनी पार्टी के सिद्धान्त को भूल जाते हैं और वहां पर फिर अपने को अनुसूचित जाति का जाहिर करते हैं और वह लड़ते हैं और लड़े होते हैं। उन भाइयों से मेरा कहना है कि इस तरीके से अपने को गुमराह नहीं करना चाहिए। यह जो आप दो नावों पर सवार होते हैं वह सही चीज नहीं है। अब या तो आप बिलकुल साफ तौर पर कह दें कि हम बौद्ध हैं। एक अलग मत के हैं और अलग हमारा सम्प्रदाय है और हम पोटिन्टिकली अलग हैं और हमारा हिन्दू धर्म में कोई सम्बन्ध और तात्सुक नहीं है। हम ठीक उसी तरह से एक अलग सम्प्रदाय हैं जैसे कि ईसाई और मुसलमान हैं। हमारे उन भाइयों को यह दो तरफा खेल नहीं खेलना चाहिए कि जरूरत समझे तो नौकरी पाने के लिए अपने को बौद्ध जाहिर न करें लेकिन जब समाज के प्रति विरोध और विरोध करने की जरूरत हो तो उस समय जोरों से यह आवाज लगायें कि हम बौद्ध हैं। यह उनकी दो नावों पर सवार होने वाली चीज ठीक नहीं है।

मैं उनसे फिर आग्रह करता हूं और प्रार्थना करता हूं कि यदि आप बौद्ध धर्म अपनाते हैं तो आप उसे अपनायें। बौद्ध धर्म बहुत अच्छा और ऊंचा मत है। आप उसके सिद्धान्तों को मानिये और अपने को उसके अनुसार ढालिये। अपने प्राचरण को उनके अनुसार बनाइये। महात्मा बुद्ध ने जो विनयता सिखाई है आप उस विनयता को लीजिए और उसका पालन कीजिये। लेकिन मैंने देखा है कि आप कार्यक्रम में उन महान सिद्धान्तों को जो कि बौद्ध धर्म सिखलाता है, नहीं अपनाते हैं और न ही उस धर्म के अनुसार प्राचरण करते हैं। बौद्ध धर्म के अनुसार न तो अहिंसा का भाव आपके हृदय में है और न विनीत भाव आपके अन्दर है।

Shri D. A. Kakti: That is not the point that we are discussing now.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं समझता हूं कि माननीय सदस्य ने अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दिया है।

श्री नवल प्रभाकर : जैसी आपकी आज्ञा, मैं स्थान ग्रहण करता हूं।

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, before I go into the merits or demerits of this resolution, I would like to point out that the resolution as it stands at present goes against the Constitution.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may point that out next day.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam): If he is present.

12.35 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, April 15, 1961/Chaitra 25, 1983 (Saka).