

JAI BHASM

Vol. 1 MADRAS : SUNDAY, 13 th APRIL 1947 No. 28



REPRINT



బాబాసాహెబ్
డా॥ బి. ఆర్. అంబేద్కర్
శత జయంతి ఉత్సవాలు

ఫారం ఫర్ దఖిత్ లిటరేచర్

ప్రారంభోత్సవం

జై భీమ్

(పత్రిక-పుస్తకవణి)

ఆవిష్కరణ

తేది :

16-12-1991, సోమవారం సా॥ 5-30 ని॥కు

స్థలం :

ప్రెస్ క్లబ్ - బషిర్ బాగ్, హైద్రాబాద్

జై చీమ్

(పత్రికా-పునర్ముద్రణ)

(బాబాసాహెబ్ డా॥ అంబేద్కర్ తెలివ జన్మదిన ప్రత్యేక సంచిక
తేది.13.4.1947, మద్రాసు)

సంచిక ఆవిష్కరణ :

శ్రీ వసంత మూన్

(సంకలనకర్త "బాబాసాహెబ్ డా॥ బి.ఆర్ అంబేద్కర్ రచనలు-ప్రసంగాలు"
మహారాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వ ప్రచురణలు.టొంబాయి)

"జై చీమ్" పత్రికతో సంబంధం ఉన్న ప్రముఖ
వ్యక్తులకు సన్మానం

ముఖ్య అతిథి :

శ్రీ వి.టి. రాజశేఖర్

(సంపాదకులు "దళిత్ వాయిస్-బెంగుళూరు)

అతిథులు :

శ్రీ ఎం. ఆర్. కృష్ణ
(మాజీ కేంద్ర మంత్రి)

శ్రీ కె.ఆర్. వీరాస్వామి
(మాజీ శాసన సభ్యులు)

కళా ప్రపూర్ణ

శ్రీ ఇ.వి. చిన్నయ్య
(సంపాదకులు 'ప్రజాబంధు పత్రిక')

కార్యక్రమం

స్వాగతం :

డా॥ ఎన్. మాధవరావు
(చైర్మన్, పోరం పక్ దళిత్ లిటరేచర్)

సభాధ్యక్షులు :

శ్రీ బొజ్జా తారకం
ప్రముఖ రచయిత
(అధ్యక్షులు, ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ దళిత్ మహాసభ)

పోరం ఫర్ దళిత్ లిటరేచర్

ప్రారంభోత్సవం

పోరం ప్రారంభకులు :

మహారవి, కళాప్రపూర్ణ, పద్మశ్రీ
డా॥ బోయి భీమన్న

PREFACE

It is my proud privilege to add a brief preface to this reprint of 45 years old journal "JAI BHEEM", Printed in Madras by a small group of Scheduled Caste Employees at Madras during that period in the composite Madras province. Probably they were the first batch of Scheduled Castes Graduates who enjoyed the Government Scholarships and reservations in Government services which are the fruits of labour of Dr. Ambedkar. The later generations are grateful to those dedicated group of these employees for establishing a periodical "JAI BHEEM" in those days.

HISTORY OF THE "JAI BHEEM"

The idea to start the journal "JAI BHEEM" both in English and Telugu was first mooted by late Sri Nandanar Hari. It was at the instance of late Sri Hari, Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who was the Labour Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council, visited Madras in 1944 and toured Andhra Desa. It was a historic event, for the people who had the opportunity to see Dr. B. R. Ambedkar during his tour and they still recall with pride and emotions how enthusiastically he was received all over Andhra and Lakhs of people gave tremendous ovation, where Dr. Ambedkar addressed Public Meetings.

As mentioned above, the idea to start "JAI BHEEM" in English and Telugu by Sri Nandanar Hari took concrete shape at that time when declaration was obtained for the publication of these periodicals. English Jai Bheem was published by late Sri Eli Vadapalli, a great Ambedkarite, who was also a member of the Central Executive Committee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation from Ramachandrapuram, East Godawari District. Sri N. Shivaraj was the Editor and Sri Mahepathi was the Managing Editor of the journal which had a very good circulation. Many people became patrons and subscribers. It had a good reception and received appreciation from many educated and enlightened people all over the Composite Madras state.

The sudden death of our young leader Sri Nandanar Hari in a rail accident at Ongole on 4th October, 1946. Sri O. Mahepathi, Managing Editor left Madras on his appointment as Labour Officer at Calcutta. With the

departure of the two veteran leaders Jai Bheem, faced difficulty and felt helpless. I may mention here that Sri Ogirala Venkatachalam, who was working as Labour conceliation officer at Madras was guiding both the affairs of the Scheduled Caste Employees Welfare Association and also the magazine.

Mrs. Dakshayini Velayudhan wife of Sri R. Velayudhan Information officer at Madras was taken as the Managing Editor of Jai Bheem for some time. But she left and joined the constituent Assembly. Sri Macha Sri Ramulu also took active part at Madras in the publication of 'Jai Bheem' and in the activities of the Andhra provisional Scheduled Castes Welfare Association.

Our Forum planned to take a special interview with the then Managing Editor Sri O. Maheepathi to get more details. But it is our misfortune that this could not materialise as he passed away recently.

Regarding the source of this magazine, I am to state that this "Jai Bheem" was accidentally found in my old bundle of papers. I must have secured it from my maternal uncle Sri Macha Sri Ramulu, who was then an employee in Madras, during fourties. I found Babasaheb's message in this issue very inspiring and I am sure it will continue to inspire our people always.

This message was published in "DALIT VOICE", English Fortnightly, edited by Sri V. T. Rajsekhar from Bangalore on 16th March 1991 and "NALUPU", a Telugu Fortnightly (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Birth Centenary and Mahatma Joti Rao phooley's death Centenary special issue) edited by Sri Bojja Tharakam from Hyderabad on 14th April 1991. Consequently, I received number of letters from Dalit research Scholar's from Various states. In order to meet their demands I thought, it is appropriate to reprint the entire magazine and pass on the heritage of Dr. Ambedkar to the present generation.

A "FORUM FOR DALIT LITERATURE" has been formed with some of the Ambedkarites in Hyderabad city for this purpose. The Forum consist's of Dr. S. Madhava Rao, Dr. M. V. Rajendar, P. Ambedkar, P. Balaraj, Balanarsimha, M. Narayana, Dr. M. Mallesham, V. Ananda Rao, Dr. G. Kishore Roy, D. Ravindrudu and N. Bhaskar Rao. The Forum unanimously decided to reprint the "Jai Bheem" during the Dr. Ambedkar's Birth Centenary year itself, which is very appropriate.

The Forum is stimulated and inspired by the contents of the magazine, particularly (i) Babasaheb's message (ii) All India Scheduled Castes Federation

Executive Committee-1947 Photos (iii) Political resolutions of the Scheduled Castes Passed by the Working Committee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation held at Madras on 23rd Sept. 1944. This heritage of Babasaheb should be preserved and passed on to posterity.

The old journal is reprinted in original, except in the printing get-up. The reader will find here and there some missing words in this reprint, because the words got erased due to the passing of time.

Sri Bh. Tirupathi and Sri Bushi Rama Dass has kindly given us the information about the historical background. The Forum is thankful to them.

The Forum Expresses thanks to Samatha Printers for text printing, Omsai Graphics for cover printing and also to the artist "NAARU" for cover design. The Cover of original Jai Bheem is found missing. That is why the present title cover photo is borrowed from "Babasaheb Ambedkar's Birth Centenary Commemorative Volume-II" Published by Dr. Ambedkar Birth Centenary Celebrations Committee, London. The Forum extend grateful thanks to them.

Sri Gnaneshwar Ganumala a freelance Journalist, prominent Social activist and Secretary Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Memorial Trust, Hyderabad is in charge of the entire printing work of this magazine. Being young and energetic he worked tirelessly to bring out the issue. Without his help and initiative this reprint would not have been brought out. The Forum expresses its deep felt gratitude to him.

JAI BHEEM

Hyderabad.
Date : 6-12-1991

Dr. S. Madhava Rao
Chairman
Forum For Dalit-Literature

JAI BHEEM (Reprint)

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BABASAHEB'S MESSAGE

You have asked me to send you a message on my 55th birthday for your Special Number. It is an unfortunate fact that in India the political leader is placed on the same footing as the prophet. Outside India, people celebrate the birthday of their Prophets. It is only in India that the birthdays of both Prophets as well as the politicians are celebrated. It is a pity that it should be so, Personally, I do not like the celebration of my birthday. I am too much of a democrat to relish man-worship which I regard as perversion of democracy. Admiration, love, regard and respect for a leader, if he deserves them, are permissible and should be enough for both the leader and the followers. But worship of the leader is certainly not permissible. It is demoralising to both. But I suppose this is all beside the point. Once a political leader is placed on the same footing as the Prophet, he must play the role of the Pro-

phet and give a message to his followers in same way as the prophets did.

What message can I give to the Untouchables? I cannot give them a message but I can tell them a tale from Greek Mythology and point out the



moral. This tale is contained in a Homeric Hymn addressed to the Greek Goddess Demeter. This hymn to Demeter relates how the great Goddess, in the course of her wanderings in search of her daughter, came to the court of Keleos. No one recognised the goddess under

the borrowed form of a humble wetnurse; and Queen Metoneira entrusted to her care her latest born child the infant Demophoon after-wards known as Triptolemos.

Every evening, behind closed doors, while the household was asleep, Demeer took little Demophoon out of his comfortable cradle and with apdarent cruelty, though moved in reality by a great love and desirous of bringing him eventually to the state of godhood, laid the naked child on a glowing bed of embers. The child, Demeter, endures the fiery charcoal he gathers strength from the ordeal Something super-human is fostered in his, something robust something beyond all hope glorious. But Metoneira becoming anxious, says the legend, burst suddenly one evening in the room where the experiment was being carried on and guided by her mistaken fears thus aside the goddess at her

work of forging the superman, pushed away the embers and took away the child with the result that she saved the child but lost the superman and eventual god."

What does this tale teach? To my mind, it teaches that greatness can be achieved only by struggle and sacrifice. Neither manhood nor, godhood can be obtained without going through the ordeal of fire. Fire purifies, fire strengthens. So does struggle and suffering. No down-trodden man can achieve greatness unless he is prepared for struggle and suffering. He must be ready to sacrifice the comforts and even the necessities of the present for building up his future. To use the language of the Bible for the race of life all are called but only few are chosen. Why? The reason is obvious. Most down-trodden men fail to achieve greatness in this

race of life because they have not the courage nor the determination to sacrifice the pleasures of the present for the needs of their future.

Can there be a better and a greater message than what is contained in this legend? I can find none. It is the best and the most appropriate message I can think of for the Untouchables. I am aware of their struggle and their sufferings. I am aware that in their struggle for liberty they have suffered more than I have. With all this, I can give them no other message. My message is struggle, and more struggle sacrifice and more sacrifice. It is struggle and struggle alone without counting the sacrifices or sufferings that will bring their emancipation. Nothing else will.

The Untouchables must develop a collective will to rise and resist and must

believe in the sacredness of their task and develop a common determination to achieve their goal. Their task is so great and the purpose so noble that all Untouchables should join in a prayer and say :

"Blessed are they who are alive to the duty of raising those among whom they are born. Blessed are they who vow to give the flower of their days, their strength of soul and body and their mite, to further the campaign of resistance to slavery. Blessed are they who resolve-- come good, come evil, come sunshine come tempest, come honour come dishonour - not to stop until the Untouchables have fully recovered their manhood.

BR Ambedkar

JAI BHEEM

Vol. 1

MADRAS : SUNDAY, 13 th APRIL 1947

No. 28

UNTOUCHABLES' SAVIOUR

APRIL 14th is the birth day of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the saviour of the Untouchables. It is a happy day and a day of rejoicing for the 70 million Untouchables in India. In spite of the mischievous propaganda of the powerful Caste-Hindu Congress and its equally powerful press against Dr. Ambedkar, he has come to be enthroned in the heart of every Untouchable. The latter rightly feels that he owes an inestimable debt of gratitude to the one person in India who fought so valiantly and with such a great measure of success for his emancipation from the age-long social tyranny and oppression of a kind unparelled and unheard of in the history of any other nation in the world.

Vested interests grow not only in Political sphere (called Fascism or by some other name) and in Economic sphere (called capitalism and so on), but also in the religious sphere. The vested interest that had grown in Hinduism is what we call Brahminism.

"It may be your interest to be our masters, but how can it be ours to be your slaves?"

—Thucydide.

The evil effects of Brahminism on Hindu society are the caste system and Untouchability. It is always the case with vested interests in any sphere that the victims of such interests are kept under the thumb

of the beneficiaries of the interests and are made to fight for their oppressors without their knowing it. This fact renders the difficult task of those who fight the vested interests all the more difficult. This is exactly what Dr. Ambedkar is experiencing in his fight against caste system and untouchability. At no time in the history of the world has a social or a religious reformer been able to carry the entire society with him in his march for progress, and there is no reason why Dr. Ambedkar should be an exception.

Though the Caste-Hindus are now singing a chorus of hatred for Dr. Ambedkar, they will ere long, realise the immense contribution he has made

to reform Hinduism and the Hindu society. They are yet to appreciate that, but for Dr. Ambedkar, the entire Untouchable Community would have, by this time, embraced Christianity or Islam, and the difficulties of the Hindus would have been far greater and more complex than what they are at the moment. The absence of mass conversions among the Scheduled Castes in his home Province of Bombay bears ample testimony to this fact. Some interested persons might twist the facts and argue that it is not Dr. Ambedkar but Mr. Gandhi who was responsible for checking the process of wholesale conversions of the Scheduled Castes. But the simple truth is that the dynamic personality of Dr. Ambedkar and his bold and inspiring leadership had instilled a new hope in the suppressed castes who were totally despaired of their emancipation in Hindu society, that they could work out their salvation even while remain-

ing in the Hindu fold. It is therefore a perversion of truth and the height of ingratitude on the part of any Caste-Hindu, however highly placed he may be, to suggest that Dr. Ambedkar is an enemy of Hindus.

Dr. Ambedkar is to-day the leading light and the guiding star and is the only hope for the suppressed humanity. The 70 million Untouchables wish him a long and prosperous life and many more years of service to the cause which is so dear to him and which he has made his life mission.

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Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the greatest untouchable ever born in this sub-continent, is admittedly the tallest natural leader of his people. His eminence is varied. He is a gifted and forcible writer, a brilliant parliamentarian, an astounding polemist, and a versatile erudite. Not intellectual aspirant will fail to be struck by his exceedingly entertaining and exquisite conversations

rich in originality and abound in wit and humour. He is a man of high stature and graceful disposition. He has got an impressive and inspiring personality. He is utterly devoid of profligacy and leading a very austere life with a singleness of purpose—the quest for knowledge. With his enormous resources of profound scholarship and intellectual attainments, Dr. Ambedkar, has devoted his life for devising ways and means for the alleviation of the misery of all suppressed humanity in India. Politically his leadership is remarkable. He has been responsible for the political status of the Untouchables of India.

Dr. Ambedkar's field was never confined to the province of Untouchables. As a scholar his eminence and services override his political field. He has made invaluable contributions for the posterity irrespective of caste or creed, by way of monumental writings. He has already won the admiration and respect

of all thinking elements in India and abroad. He has fearlessly treated all the hitherto untraversed fields of religious, mythological and legendary controversy and passed his masterly and incontrovertible verdicts. He has detonated all the infectious myths shrouding the Hindu Sastras and Sutras. But the pity is that the vested interests and the people obsessed with political prejudices can hardly acknowledge the inestimable services of this intellectual potentate.

many happy returns of the day.

No other leader in India had to fight against such heavy odds as Dr. Ambedkar; and yet he has put up with every difficulty cheerfully in consciousness of the fact that whatever he wanted to do was for the purpose of bringing the eighty millions of oppressed and suppressed people of the Scheduled Castes to the level of other communities. May he live long to see the fulfilment of his cherished desire.

India is on the threshold of great constitutional changes. The statement of the British Premier dated February 20, 1947 declaring the intention of His Majesty's Government to transfer power to Indian hands by June 1948 has made the situation all the more critical. The contest and competition between the Congress and the Muslim League to become the recipients of power are going to exceed all limits of constitutional methods as are now manifest in communal frenzy, riots and bloodshed and loss of life

and property. The Scheduled Castes Federation, the only political organisation of the eighty million Scheduled Castes of India, wants to keep itself aloof and free from any communal turmoil and the civil war that may take place in the country. I can only hope and expect that the Congress and the Muslim League may try to understand and realise each other's position and come to an agreed settlement. The Congress being the majority party should be generous to first offer the terms of settlement appropriate to meet the situation.

J. N. Mandai

—: 0 :—

"People crushed by law and religion have no hopes but from power. If laws and religion are their enemies they will be enemies of religion and laws."

—Burke

MESSAGE

On behalf of the Scheduled Castes of India I offer hearty congratulations to our leader Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on his fifty-fifth birthday and wish him

As a token of our Love and reverence to our great Leader Babasaheb Ambedkar we present this Special Number on the happy occasion of his 55th Birthday.

—Ed.

What They Say

"One can not help admiring the thickest, spectacted Doctor however

violently one may disagree with him, Born the lowest of the low, he has reached the highest of the high positions. Beverley Nichols called him one of the six best brains in India. That may be an exaggeration as most observations of Nichols are. But it can not be denied that Ambedkar is one of the most erudite among Indian leaders India, Britain, the United States, Germany-all these countries have showered the academic honours upon him. Economist and lawyer, professor and author, fighter and politician-there are several facets to his career. It can be truly said of him that he adorned whatever he touched."

—Mr N. G. Jog.
In "Sound"

—:o:—

"Dr. Ambedkar is an intellectual giant and one feels as if gulliver is moving among Lilliputians when he addresses meetings and carrier on talks."

—Free Hindusthan
(April 14, 1946)

—:o:—

Ambedkar is——one of the six best brains in India. He is of the baver school of statesman - an implaceble rea'ist. When he speaks in public he is galvanic, creative and almost embarrassingly to the Point. To compare the average oration of a Congress politician with a speech by Doctor Ambedkar is like comparing a Hindu chant with a fusillade of Pistol shots.

—Beverley Nichols
(in "Verdict On India" 1944)

—:o:—

"We must have a government in which men in power knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This role the British government will never be able to play. It is only a government which is of the people for the people and by the people that will make this possible."

— Dr. Ambedkar at the
First Round Table Conference.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We acknowledge with thanks the supply of many of the photo blocks of the Various workers and Leaders Published in this issue by Missers B. T. Daware and Co. Poona.

"Our thanks are also due to the Various writers who have enriched this issue with their valuable and illuminating articles.

We convey our respectful thanks to Hon'ble Mr. J. N. Mandal for his kind message.

Our grateful Pranama-
ms to Babasaheb Ambedkar for his Birthday message to the people.

—Ed.

—:o:—

He that will not reason
is a bigot
He that Cannot reason
is a fool
He that Dare Not reason
is a slave

—Drummond

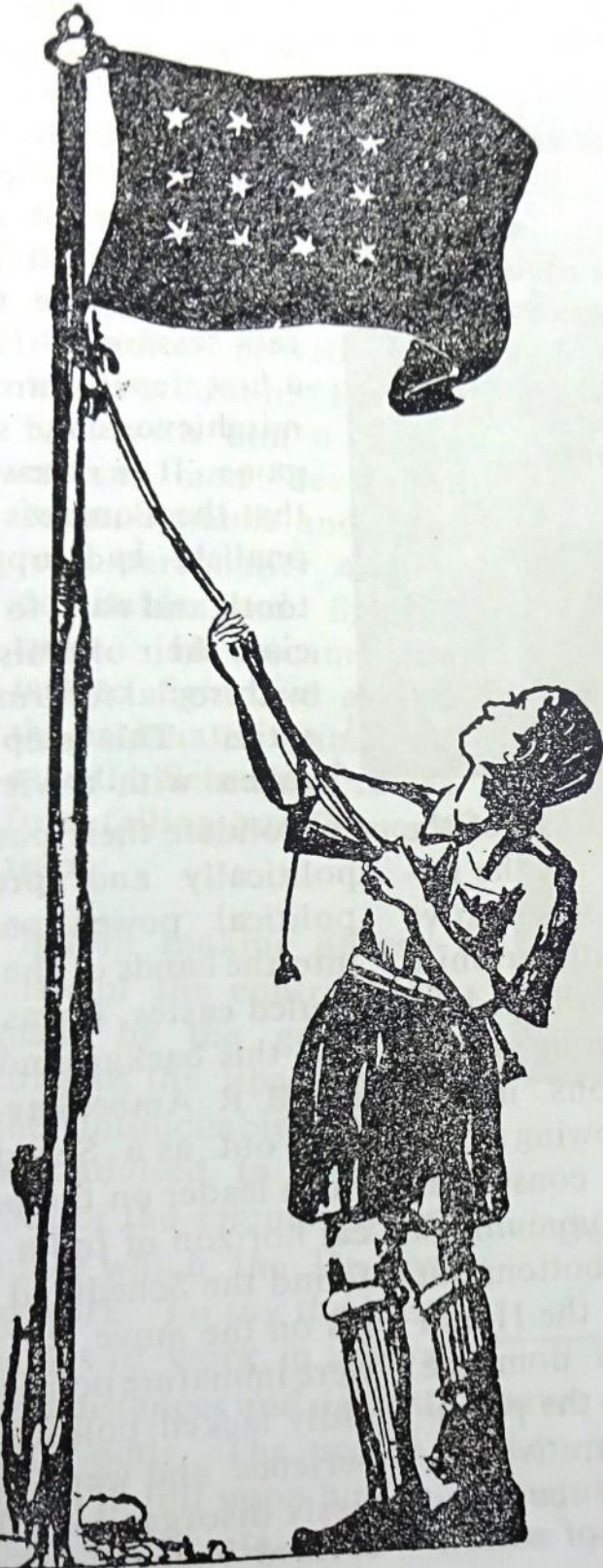
OUR FLAG

1. "Flag of the brave! thy folds shall fly
The sign of hope and triumph high"
Thy stars shall, in our freedom fight
Guide us well, through the murky night.
Thy redness shall be the sign of blood
That for freedom we are ready to shed.
Are we foreigners or are we dogs
To be treated brutally by the Indian Smuts?

2. Flag of the poor, thy folds shall fly
The sign of courage and burning desire
Each Jai Bheem's "eye shall brightly turn"
To Shacks and huts "where thy glories burn"
Our Heads and hearts are filled with hope
Once we rise will never we stop.
In tears we pay to Gangadhar Ramu & Hari
Who gave their lives for thee, thy glory!

3. Flag of the fallen, Round thee we rally
Rise as one man to fly thee bravely!
"Our chains are forged! their clanking"
sounds
On the unhappy India's plains and mounts
"Is life so dear or peace so sweet
As to be purchased at the cost of chains so
tight
The war will come! The war will come!
"Give us liberty" or Give us
"heavenly home"

By Urkad S. R. Athimoolam



Dr. Ambedkar - The Liberator of The Untouchables

In every people's history there occasionally comes a period which is difficult and critical. It is full of pitfalls and dangers of far reaching and graver consequences. It requires a master brain, a mighty hand and a vigorous and forceful personality to handle it successfully. But for such a one the course is bound to be difficult and arduous. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is such a personality among the Scheduled castes.

Hindu protectorate over the Scheduled castes had been given a mortal blow from within and without. Islamic principles of brotherhood and modern civilisation with its principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in blazing terms on its banner, and 'en mass' desertion of Hindu fold by the Scheduled castes had considerably shaken and we-



akened the position of the Hindus. Later on the initiation of representative institutions, with promise to introduce full fledged and self-governing democratic institutions in the country and growing strength increasing consolidation of rival communities had taken the bottom out of the dream of the Hindu Nationalists to dominate and monopolise the political and administrative machinery of the country. The camouflage of nation-

alism, at one time attractive, was thoroughly exposed and discredited. Their hope now lay in reclaiming the Scheduled castes to the Hindu fold. A resolution was adopted at the Congress session of 1917, as a first step, towards this mischievous and selfish game. It is noteworthy that the Congress nationalists had opposed tooth and nail to associate their organisation with social reform activities. This step was taken with a view to

consolidate their position politically and prevent political power passing into the hands of the Scheduled castes. It was against this background that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar emerged out as a Scheduled caste leader on the political horizon of India. He found the Scheduled castes on the move. But they were immature politically, sadly lacked political experience and were hopelessly disorganised. They seemed vaguely aware of

the danger. But there was every possibility of their falling into nationalists' trap and getting their future ruined. They badly needed a leader who could save them from the clutches of the Hindu Nationalists and expose the intrigue of the latter. Dr. Ambedkar proved equal to the occasion. He brought with him a highly critical and developed brain, dynamic and vigorous personality and indomitable and fighting spirit. He became the task to fight and expose the nationalist game and save the Scheduled castes from falling into former's trap.

Before making an estimate of the contribution made by the great Dr. towards the liberation of the Untouchables one is well advised to have an idea of the circumstances under which the Dr. has to work. To say the least he has to work in adverse circumstances and against heavy odds. The people, whom it fell upon him to lead and liberate, were illiterate and ignorant; kept

so, first by the might of the Hindu states and later by the force of traditions. They were thus not in a position to understand the nature of their problems, rendered complex and complicate in the changed modern condition. They were not in a position to know and withstand the political intrigues and diplomatic



The Author

Devendra Kumar
M.A., LL.B.

moves and counter moves. They were easy victim of fraudulent promises and false propaganda. They were a house divided agai-

nst themselves, completely lacking any unifying factor. They were woefully ignorant of the value of organisation and organised political action. There was absolute lack of resources for these things. There was no press to support their cause. To be more precise the regimented press of the country had set itself against the Dr. and the untouchables. There was woeful lack of resources to start new ones. The public at large was unsympathetic and hostile to their political aspirations. The Government was indifferent and hesitant.

These difficulties are of unusual character. These are enough to damp the zeal, shake the determination and defeat the purpose of even the tallest among human beings. But the Dr. went ahead, inspite of them and regardless of personal loss and inconvenience. His sense of duty unbounden love and sympathy for his own people and his determination to fight out injustice where ever and in

whatever form it might be, have been the main driving force in his life. Whatever he has been able to achieve, during his own life are before the public. Any dispassionate person and a seeker after truth can say that they are things on which untouchable India can legitimately be proud of. It is stupid, may mischievous to compare the achievement of the Dr. with that of Gandhi and Jinnah. Their methods of work and circumstances under which they had to work have been completely different.

Of all the achievements of the Scheduled castes, under Doctor's leadership, the moral one is by no means small. The Scheduled castes as a people, when he found them, lacked vision, vigour and confidence. They received all the inhuman treatments and indignities as if they were a part of their being, ordained by some superior being. They were not in a position to revolt against them and reply to them. Now they are fast

becoming a fighting people. They were completely disorganised and divided into as many water tight compartments as there were castes and sub-castes with no feeling which animates and actuates fellow beings. Now the Scheduled castes, from one end of the country to the other, with diversity of language and social divisions, the evil results of Hindu caste system have risen as a man under the banner of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation except a handful of incorrigible optimist and selfish persons they are fast becoming disillusioned of nationalist game and forcing their way out of heavy nationalists trap.

The second achievement a big step towards their liberation, under Dr's leadership, has been that the Scheduled Castes came to assume an independent attitude on problems social political, etc. -concerning them and the country. They no more remain tied to the apron string of certain classes and set of politicians. They emerged out as an independent or-

ganised factor. It is certainly not a fact that the Scheduled Castes were completely inactive or dead before that. They never remained unconcerned and unaffected with the world around them. when during the last quarter of the 19th century social movement, under the care and patronage of Justice Ranade and his colleagues was started in right earnest and social conferences national and provincial, became regular feature of public life, the Scheduled castes took a part, which by no means could be regarded as insignificant. When the leadership of the National Congress refused to allow its pandal to be used by social conference a great agitation arose. The Scheduled Castes took a prominent part in the effigy of the Congress that was taken out on that occasion. When the non-brahmin movement was started in the second decade of the 20th century the Scheduled castes were prominently associated with it from its very start. But the Scheduled castes

were completely identified with these movements. They had no independent stand. Besides these some castes among the Scheduled castes such as Namasudras of Bengal and Mahars of C. P. and Bombay held their conferences and meetings. But they were isolated and occasional events.

Since the introduction of Government of India Act, 1919 the Scheduled Castes being to take an independent attitude. Annual Conference came to be held and demands formulated. In his letter to the Secretary, Government of India, dated 28th July, 1924, the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras wrote that the Depressed classes representatives, in the legislature, "tended to assume a more independent attitude". But much still remained to be done - hesitancy to be cast off, objectives to be clearly defined, policy to be determined and organisational machinery to be set up organise and lead Scheduled Castes' movement, independent

of any outside influences. As everybody knows these are the most difficult and important aspect of any movement. These were the things which a man of Dr. Ambedkar's calibre could do and he did it in his own characteristic way.

The greatest contribution of the great Dr. and in which none else can claim a share in any appreciable degree, is to save the Scheduled Castes being passed, tied hand and foot, to the tender mercy of the native aristocracy of Caste, education and wealth. It is a matter of opinion whether a foreign bureaucracy anxious to maintain the statusquo and indifferent to the lot of the people whom it rules or a native aristocracy with its narrow caste consideration and hostile attitude towards the service classes can be a better protectorate. Much has been said on both sides. But for a Scheduled Caste, conscious of his real interest and that of his community there

can be no choice. Both of these are evils and the Scheduled Castes should be protected from both.

Since the introduction of representative institution in 1892 a process is going on which is nearing its completion to transfer power to the Indian aristocracy. They might not have the intention to do so as the authors of the Joint report so explicitly said, "We have no intention of substituting an oligarchy for the bureaucracy. But inspite of this the process has already been there and as the Acting Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras, in his letter, published as appendix to the South borough Franchise Committee, p. 127, says, referring to the above quoted remark of the authors of the Joint Report. "It is necessary to see whether they have not done so even though without any such intention."

This is a course which is full of injustice and danger. It is an unsatisfactory and improper arrangement. "The first

essential of any scheme of reform," said the Acting Secretary, Government of Madras referring to the Scheduled castes in the letter referred to above, "is that adequate safeguards should be provided for the Government of inarticulate masses of the population." But this 'essential' has been refused with unparelled recklessness and the process has still been going on since the above sane and noble words were written.

With a view to assuage the feelings of the Indians, which was aroused by the composition of Simon Commission the British Government announced to hold a R.T.C. in London in order to know the opinion of the representative Indians on Indian constitutional problems. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Srinivaran were selected on behalf of the Scheduled castes. Numerically the delegation was highly inadequate but it proved equal to the occasion. Mainly due to Dr. Ambedkar. The question of political

safeguards to the Minorities have been a vexed one. There has been much discussion on the point. But in case of Scheduled castes it was much more vexed and difficult in as much as it had still to be recognised as a minority. But in spite of this and in the face of stiff opposition Dr. Ambedkar gained much of his ground.

The great Doctor placed and pleaded the cause of the Scheduled castes with force and vigour in the Round Table Conference. The first and foremost proposal that he placed was that the Scheduled Castes should be recognised as a separate and Independent element from the Hindus. Speaking in the Minorities Committee he said "WE have been called Hindus for political purposes, but we have never been acknowledged socially by the Hindus as their brethren. They have taken to themselves all the political advantage which our voting strength has given to them, but in return we have received nothing." (p 79). The second safeguard that he demanded

and fought for in the Round Table Conference was that the Scheduled Castes should be given adequate control over the executive and legislation of the country--central and provincial. He urged with his characteristic force and eloquence that "the settlement of our problem must be a part of the general political settlement and must not be left over to the shifting hands of sympathy and goodwill of the rulers of the future," (Plenary session of R.T.C., 10th November 1930). Discussing the same point in the presidential address of the 1st A. I. Depressed classes conference, at Nagpur, held on 8th August 1930 he had said that neither the goodwill and sympathy nor the right of appeal to any external authority was of any avail. The best guarantee for a minority was that it should have 'control over the future executive in self-governing India — by means of adequate representation in the legislature of the country.' (Annual Register, 1930 Vol. II p. 370).

The other safeguards that he urged for the protection of the Scheduled Classes were as follows,--(1) Untouchability to be declared illegal for all public purposes; (2) fundamental rights to be incorporated in the constitution which were to invalidate all disabilities and discrimination they were suffering from; (3) legislation against social prosecution on the line of the one in Burma; (4) liability of executive officers to be made effective and real; (5) a right of appeal to higher authority and (6) a separate department at the centre entrusted with the welfare of the Scheduled castes. (Minorities sub-committee Report p. 77).

These safeguards he demanded not with a view to present difficulties in the path of power being transferred to Indians. We know a sinister and mischievous propaganda is being carried on in the country and outside, to misrepresent the great Dr. The reasons are well known to all of us. But

whatever his opponents might say to gain temporary advantage the great Doctor took a bold stand on this issue. In his speech in the plenary session of the R.T.C. he said, "The time when you were to choose and India was to accept is gone, never to return. Let the consent of the people and not the accident of Logic be the touchstone of your new constitution, if you desire that it should be worked out." (p. 129. Proceedings 1st R. T. C.). The reasons why he urged and fought for the safeguards before power was transferred to Indian hands are that the social conditions and mental make up of the people in this country was not such as to ensure safety to the Scheduled castes. Speaking in the Plenary session on 20th Nov. 1930 he said that, "It must be recognised that Indian Society is a gradation of castes forming an ascending scale of reverence and descending scale of contempt a system which gives no scope for the growth of that sentiment of equality and fra-

ternity so essential for a democratic form of government. It must also be recognised that while the *intelligentia* is a very necessary and a very important part of Indian Society, it is drawn from its upper strata...has not shed the narrow particularism of the class from which it is drawn. In other words what the Depressed Classes wish to urge is that the political mechanism must take account of and must have a definite relation to the psychology of the society for which it is devised." (p. 126).

The task of the great Doctor at the R.T.C. was by no means an easy one. He had to contend against heavy odds. The difficulty and opposition that he had to face came not only from the Indian representatives but the British delegation and the Government as well. Living at a different stage of social evolution from that of India the latter had come to develop a belief that a demand for separate representation and separate electorate was definitely a reactionary

move. They were found to resist it at every stage. But the greatest opposition naturally came from the Indian representatives and specially the Hindu part of theirs. The first attack came from Dr. Moonjee and the Hindu delegation. Dr. Moonjee in his speech on 31st Dec. 1930 in the Minorities sub-committee said "Dr. Ambedkar's case is a religious and social question." (p. 42. Minorities sub-committee proceedings). No settlement on communal question was arrived at in the first R.T.C. However, the Scheduled castes were recognised as a minority. The provisions in the Report of the Minorities Sub-committee (p. 158 and 159 Minorities sub-committee proceedings) clearly prove it. Nay it was also provided in the reports that the Scheduled castes could not consent to any self governing constitution for India unless their demands were met in a reasonable manner." (Proceedings p. 159). Now Dr. Moonjee had also grown wiser by that time and on

16th Jan, 1931 he included the Scheduled castes as a minority in the amendment which he sought to propose. (Minorities sub-committee proceedings p. 142). But the most determined opposition came from Mr. Gandhi, the so-called saviour of the Scheduled castes at the time of second R.T.C. on 8th Oct. 1931 clarifying his position that he was not opposed to their representation on the Legislature he said, "what I have said and what I must repeat is that I am opposed to their special representation. (proceedings Federal structure and Minorities sub-committee. p. 1349). He did not leave the matter there. In his letter to Sir S. Hoare, written on 11th March 1932, from Yerwada central Prison, he said that he would undertake a fast unto death if separate electorate was granted to the Depressed classes. This is an example of worst type of coercion and violence by one who himself claims to be the devotee of non-violence and votary of truth.

In spite of all these coercion, threats and machinations the British Government saw the wisdom and force in Doctor's case and in their communal award given on 16th Aug. 1932, they partially met the demands of the Scheduled castes. They agreed in the Communal Award given to create 71 special constituencies where in only Scheduled castes would stand and vote. The Scheduled castes were also entitled to stand for and vote in general constituencies. This arrangement was accepted to avoid segregation of the Scheduled Castes with a view to meet the objection of Mr. Gandhi.

But Mr. Gandhi could not be appeased by such partial measures. He wanted the full. He therefore, in his letter of 18th Aug. 1932 informed the British Prime Minister that he would undertake a fast unto death from 26th Sep. 1932. This was an attack against the Scheduled Castes. There was a provision in the Communal award that if both parties agreed to and pre-

presented a better scheme the British Govt. would substitute it for the original one. Mr. Gandhi's faith centred on it. The British Prime Minister was bewildered at Gandhi's calculated move. He in his letter of 8th Sept. 1932 tried to convince Gandhi of the justness of the case of the Scheduled castes and the rightness of the Government decision. He said, you propose to accept the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure Joint Electorates to Depressed Classes with other Hindus because that is already provided, nor to maintain the unity of the Hindus, which is also provided but solely to prevent the Depressed classes, who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities to-day, from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the Legislatures, which will have a dominating influence over their future."

A storm was let loose. A worst type of coercion and intimidation began a direct result of Gandhi's letters about which he wrote to the Prime Minister on 18th Aug. "I want, if you make it possible, public opinion to be affected by any letters. Hence my request for their early publication." Hurried conferences were organised. The need of the moment was to save the life of the saint, and at every cost. Dr. Ambedkar, in this critical situation, agreed to substitute joint electorate with reserved seats for separate constituencies if 196 seats were allotted to Scheduled Castes in the provincial legislatures all through India, they were allowed representation on local bodies, in public services and a decent sum set apart for their education from public exchequer. Even in this gravest hour worst type of business too much exacting and unscrupulous-to keep themselves in advantage was carried on by the Caste Hindus. However, after a good deal of discussion, debating and bargaining an agree-

ment was reached and was signed on 24th Sept. 1932. The separate representation of the Scheduled Castes was still retained although Mr. Gandhi had started his fast with a proposal that "the Scheduled Castes representatives should be elected by general electorates and common franchise" (his letter to the British Prime Minister, 18th August, 1932). 148 seats (now 151 with the creation of Orissa as a separate province) in provincial legislature, 18 percent of the general seats at the centre were reserved for the Scheduled Castes. Apparently it looks like a generous agreement in favour of the Scheduled Castes. It is anything but that. Whatever was conceded by the left hand has been taken away by the right. Congress has succeeded in getting such persons returned in the seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes, who can easily be pawns in its game of power politics. It is a standing shame and disgrace that the cause of the Scheduled Castes has suffered

most at the hands of these so called representatives of the Scheduled Castes.

Side by side a more subtle attack against the political demands of the Scheduled Castes was carried on. A franchise committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Lothian, was set up to determine the scope of the franchise in the country. Provincial franchise committees were setup consisting of mostly non officials. The Provincial Franchise Committees tried to exclude a number of castes hitherto included among the Scheduled castes. Nay, U.P. committee made a mischievous distinction of rural and Urban classes. This was a game to decrease the quantum of Scheduled castes representation. Dr. Ambedkar was a member of the Central Franchise Committee. He in his note, submitted on 2nd May and published on p. 202-11 of the proceedings of Franchise Committee vol. i-iii exposed this unscrupulous game and vigorously

pleaded that the real test of untouchability was not physical but national and physical both.

Thus Dr. Ambedkar has secured and preserved the political status of the Scheduled castes, almost unaided, from three continued attacks—firstly in the R.T.C. from the Hindu representatives, Congress and Hindu Maha Sabha, secondly from Mr. Gandhi at the time of Poona Pact and thirdly, from the Hindu members of the Franchise Committee. The fourth one has been hurled by the British Government and the Nationalist Hindus jointly. If the Scheduled Castes lose their case it would be at the instance of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi, because they are now in a dominant position.

The fourth contribution of the great Doctor, equally great, has been his repeated and continued attempts to secure the representation of the Scheduled castes in public services. Pleading as to why the Scheduled castes should be adequately represented in

the public services he said, in his presidential speech, at 1st All India Depressed Classes Conference, at Nagpur on 8th of August 1930 that "The power to administer the law is not less important than the power to make laws. And the spirit of the legislator may easily be violated if not nullified by the machinations of the administrator". (Annual Register 1930, vol. ii) Moreover no statute is complete and exhaustive in modern days. Every law leaves a good deal of statutory authority in the hands of the Administrator. The welfare of the people largely depends on how this discretionary statutory authority is used.

The fifth contribution of the great Doctor towards the liberation of the Scheduled castes is his efforts in connection with the education of the Scheduled castes. He has always attached a great importance on it. Among the safe guards that he demanded at the R.T.C. he included one that a decent sum should be spent, out of public exchequer towards the education of

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the Scheduled Castes. At the time of Poona pact he insisted on it and got it included in the terms of the agreement that "In every province out of the educational grant, an adequate sum should be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of the Depressed Classes" (CI.9). The Provincial governments manned by the Congress have moved in that direction with a snails pace. They may claim credit for this but it lies elsewhere for having get the ball going. And when the great Dr. became member of the Governor General's Executive Council he persuaded. His Excellency to set apart a sum of Rs. Three lakhs, an equivalent sum granted to the Benaras Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University, for the technical education of the Scheduled Caste students. Despite opposition from every quarter he has recently started the Siddharth College at Bombay which has become, in the first year of its existence, one of the best colleges of the city.

The sixth contribution, but by no means small, is the foundation of A. I. Scheduled Castes Federation. Within a few years of its foundation the Federation has become the only representative body of the Scheduled Castes in India. There have been some unsurmountable difficulties in its way. They still require to be conquered. It demands constructive thinking, organisational capacity, singular devotion and readiness to sacrifice a'l from the educated youngmen of the community. A good start has been given.

The above is an incomplete and in exhaustive picture of what the great Doctor, whom I and a large number of people of my way of thinking regard as the saviour of the Scheduled Castes of India, has done. No complete and authoritative picture can be prepared about the activities of a man who is still and working for the cause has so singularly and spoused.

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The True Faith of A Nationalist

"However strong and however filth be the abuses which the Congress press chooses to shower on me, I must do my duty. I am no worshipper of idols. I believe in breaking them. I insist that if I hate Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. I dislike them I do not hate-it is because I love India more. That is the true faith of a nationalist. I have hopes that my countrymen will some day learn that the country is greater than the men, that the worship of Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Jinnah and service to India are two very different things and may even be contradictory of each other."

—Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR
(In his preface to the Book
"Ranade, Gandhi & Jinnah")

Dr. Ambedkar As A Psycho - Analyst

NEXT only to Mr. Jinnah Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is the most hated and the most loved man in the country, the Mahatma having become a legend. He is the unrivalled leader of the millions of the Scheduled Castes, the Untouchables, who idolise him. He is a thorn by the side of the higher castes of Hindus who think that he lends point and strength to the onslaught of Mr. Jinnah on Hindudom. But, curiously enough, there is unanimity of opinion, among friends and foes alike of Dr. Ambedkar, about his eminence as a scholar. His opinions may be anathema to some and the gospel to some others but the data on which he based his opinions are granted to be unassailable. He is one of the most learned men of this century. In fact his scholarship is his handicap in public life. A successful politician must be agile and nimble witted. He must not be te-

thered to principles and must know how to trim his opinion to suit the political wind. But Dr. Ambedkar is the opposite. He is massive and categorical. He does not change. He stands up against the political gale and braves the storm. He does not love power. He is a lover of books. He is a recluse. He makes a pronouncement as a duty, and cares not a

By

S. RAMANATHAN
Ex-Minister of Madras

brass farthing what people think about him. He does not propagandise. He thinks that truth will catch like the fire. The man Ambedkar must be kept in the foreground if we would understand his books. He would protest that his personality does not colour his works. But the student of his works could not realise the significance and the full import of the thesis unless he

has first understood the author.

Dr. Ambedkar's latest book on "Who were the Shudras" would certainly create a sensation whether the press in India notices it or not. The press, which is a monopoly of the upper castes, would try to drown this book by their withering silence. They will not succeed because the book touches a tender spot in the body politic. The body will react though the moan may be muffled.

What is the thesis that Dr. Ambedkar has presented to the public in this book? It is easily stated, so very easily indeed that it sounds stale. Dr. Ambedkar says that the Shudras who are the lowest of the low castes among the Hindus were originally a section of Kshatriyas. There need be nothing sensational or gave about such a statement. What if it were true? Why should a statement of this fact evoke such conflicting emotions?

Why should it create elation in some and hatred in others? It is not the fact itself that creates the reaction but the background and the methods by which the fact was hidden hitherto and the motives that induced the hiding that are really important.

Dr. Ambedkar's account of the degradation of the Shudras reminds one of the tradition in Malabar that the Nayadis, the lowest of the low castes, who are not merely untouchables but whose very sight pollutes, were once Nambudiris, the highest among the Brahmins. The Nayadis are today denied the right of way along streets and thoroughfares, have no right to work or to earn a living. They are compelled to live in forests and earn their livelihood by begging without being seen — raising a noise, carefully hiding themselves in the fields adjoining roads, so that passers—by may drop their coppers on leaves or on pieces of cloth spread by the

way—side. The coppers are latter on collected when no high born is in sight and are passed on to the next higher castes among the untouchables who are permitted to go to the bazaars and act as middle men for the shopping of the Nayadis, of course, for a fair commission on the purchases! This horrible fate of Nayadis is ascribed by tradition to their rebellion against the orthodoxy of the dominant section of Nambudiris and the consequent sentence of ex-communication passed against them by that dominant section as punishment for the rebellion.

The thesis of Dr. Ambedkar is that the shudras were subjected to a similar sentence of ex-communication by the Vedic Brahmins. The political and social effects of Dr. Ambedkar's thesis will be far reaching. The central problem in India is the arrogant assumption of superiority by those born in the so-called higher castes and the consequent status of inferiority to which the so-called lower castes are condemned. The political and economic organisation of society in India is

based on this superiority myth. Dr. Ambedkar's exposure of the deliberate and malicious design which originally brought about this myth will put heart and fresh vigour in the fighters for social freedom in India. After all a psychological complex can be cured only by a rational understanding of the events which led to the complex involving the reconstruction of past episodes. That is the method of psycho-analysis. Dr. Ambedkar's effort is therefore a kind of psychotherapy intended to cure the bulk of Hindu society which consists of shudras of their inferiority complex so that they may realise their self-respect and struggle to gain their status on a footing of equality with the higher castes. Such psychological levelling up involves a mass movement and Dr. Ambedkar has furnished the impetus for such a mass movement. The communal problem which is the chief obstruction in the way of India's attainment of freedom cannot be resolved until that mass upheaval for levelling up and levelling down the castes materialises. Let us hope that Dr. Ambedkar's effort will lead eventually to that upheaval.

BABA AS I KNOW HIM

— "POLONIUS"

TO those who have not had the good fortune of knowing Dr. Ambedkar at close quarters. He is likely to appear as an austere and almost an uninspiring personality. But those who are privileged to know him intimately have known all along how very humane he is. The milk of human kindness throbs and pulsates in all his veins. He may have an utter disgust and hatred for the Brahmanical hierarchy; a social and religious system, because he and his people have suffered untold hardships and disabilities at its hands but that does not mean that he is sworn enemy of all the Brahmins as such. As a matter of fact, he has some valued and admiring friends among the Brahmins and other Caste Hindus. Paradoxical as it may seem the late Pt. Salvia, who was an orthodox and die hard Brahmin, used to like and ad-

mire Dr. Ambedkar very much for his learning and for the right views.

Having tasted poverty and social tyranny in his childhood and early youth. Dr. Ambedkar is a great friend of the poor and the exploited people. One day (when he was an Executive councillor) at New Delhi, while returning from Office in the evening he saw huddled up in a street corner an old man in tattered clothes groaning with pain. He was so moved by the sight of the unfortunate creature, that he took him home in his car, gave him food shelter and clothing and arranged for his medical treatment. When the man became well, he employed him in his own household. During his stay in New Delhi his bungalow used to be the daily visiting place of scores of inferior Government servants, menials, labourers and others whose grievances he heard in rapt attention and redres-

sed them. So much so that his bungalow came to be known locally as "Insaf ki kothi" or "House of Justice" When he vacated office in Delhi his first care was to provide suitable jobs and housing accommodation for all his staff and household establishment from the private secretary downward to the sweeper.

Dr. Ambedkar's hobbies are books, gardening and dogs, in the descending order of attachment. Books (both reading and writing) are not only a hobby but have become an all-absorbing passion. His collection of books is probably the richest and the most varied in this country. He revels in reading books and he enjoys writing them. He is a voracious reader. One day I questioned him how he managed to read so many books. He said that by constant reading he had acquired a knack which enabled him to cull

the substance of a book and discard its frills and embellishments. He once told us that the three books over which he had wept were the "Life of Tolstoy", "Les Misérables" by Hugo and Hardy's "Far From the Maddening crowd". His devotion to books is so great that he studies late into the early hours of the morning every night. In the art of writing he is the master of a very forceful and original style. He marshals his facts very ingeniously and his logic is masterly and disarming. He does not believe in mincing words but likes to call a spade, a spade. He once remarked that a good writer or speaker should always aim at dropping a bomb-shell "which would shock up the generally indifferent and apathetic public and provoke thought in them. His writings and speeches contain many of such bomb—shells."

As regards gardening, his garden in Delhi was easily the best and most picturesque, a fact which was commented upon by

the "Daily Mail" of London. He likes dogs very much probably because they are so faithful and attached to him. He once narrated how he sobbed like a child over the death of a pet dog which died of an accident.

Dr. Ambedkar is also fond of good pictures and good clothes. In Delhi he had a huge collection of pictures some of which were master pieces. He has a highly developed aesthetic taste and can at once discern a good picture from a bad one. He had an argument once with a "Nationalist" over clothes. Said the "Nationalists." Dr. You should discard the western dress and wear the national dress. Where upon Dr. Ambedkar asked innocently. "But what is the national dress". "The dress that our ancestors used to where". To which the learned Doctor gave the reply!". You cannot give preference to some ancestors over the others and if you go to the very first i. e. Adam and Eve well, they did not wear any clothes. Would you follow them? The Nationalist was so much dumb

founded at this unexpected reply that he at once changed the topic of his conversation.

Dr. Ambedkar has got a great dislike for the "political vagabonds" of our community. He once remarked that, but for these blacklegs, who are bartering away the rights and interests of the community for their petty personal gains. We would have won the battle for our political emancipation long ago. When somebody remarked that they were poor people and had to fill their bellies somehow, he stated that he could understand this attitude in normal times but at the present time of crisis when the future of the untouchables for generations to come is at stake, he could not but condemn the behaviour of these people. He added: One man fight his adversaries in a straight battle but it is very difficult to deal with traitors in one's own camp."

Dr. Ambedkar's political mot to this is: In public life I will not do a thing which I cannot defend publicly!! Throughout his life he has never deviated from this principle. How many other public men can honestly claim to be the adherents of this principle?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

The Saviour of A Suppressed People

DO you know any wonderful Indian Historical figure who has built a house for preserving books, when he himself was not blessed with a convenient residence? Sons of wealth and princes of power may boast of possessing palatial houses and royal residences, erected for a show of pelf and power. But Dr. Ambedkar is perhaps the first and only son of India who has shared the joy with some of the western scholars of erecting a house for books and thereby a monument to the memory of the great thinkers, law-givers and scholars of the ages gone by.

A Man of Great Gifts

Dr. Ambedkar is a man of brain-power, of industry, of self-control and of self respect and is the steersman of his own destiny. Says the proverb, the strong man and the water-

fall channel their own path. And in no other life can this truth be so distinctly exemplified as in the life of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. By his great gifts, force of character and sense of duty, he has built a dynamic personality that exercises an inevitable in-



fluence over a section of humanity that has been suppressed in the bygone ages in India.

The Basic Want

To the uplift of these

downtrodden miserables many a pioneer reformer has devoted his life. Great men like Dayananda,

By
Prof. DHANANJAY

Shraddhanand and Savarkar preachers of Prarthana Samaj and promoters of Brahma Samaj, Princes of Kolhapur and Baroda rendered a signal service to the cause but none stirred in the hearts of these people so powerful an emotion of confidence, hope and aspiration for their own salvation as Dr. Ambedkar has done. Not that the noble services of the above mentioned galaxy and the life long efforts of men like the late Karmaveer Shinde, Prof. Mate. Mr. Anantrao Gadre in Maharashtra were and are less valuable. Their efforts lacked some thing else. There was a sense of dependency and guardianship and that was the basic want.

The noble service and genuine sincerity of some sprang up from humane hearts or from the inhuman social suppression or from the foresight that aimed to build up the Hindu Nation on an invincible foundation of oneness and unity of the Hindus. These silent victims therefore looked to some inspired soul amongst themselves and their prayer was answered in the birth of Dr. Ambed-

One of the women of the family happened to go by the way where he stayed, to the river for washing purposes. She at once recognised him. The head of the family entreated him to bless his house with a visit. But he would not. He blessed him and said that a boy would be born in the family who would stamp his name on history. The blessing was realised in the form of Dr. Ambedkar.

help of the Maharaja of Baroda and prosecuted his studies in India and America. After graduating from the University of Bombay, he proceeded to America and studying day and night, he passed his M. A. and took his Degree of Doctor in Sociology in the Columbia University, where two thousand students congratulated him on his brilliant success. From America, he went to England and

REACHED HEIGHT BY TOILING DAY & NIGHT

kar, the voice and embodiment of six to seven crores of humanity insulted.

Dr. Ambedkar, fondly styled by some as the Booker Taliaferro Washington, was born of a military man, Subhedar Ramji Maloji Ambedkar at Mahu in Central India in the year 1891. One unapocryphal story goes that one of his ancestors had turned a sanyasin, who some years later returned to his native place with a group of sanyasins.

Brilliant Educational Career

His primary education was completed in Dapoli, a taluka town in the Ratnagiri District; his native place Ambed, a hamlet in the neighbourhood of Dapoli. At Satara he received his instructions upto English Std IV and was matriculated in 1903 through the Elphinstone High School, Bombay. It was through the sincere efforts of the late Mr. K. A. Keluskar that he secured the

joined the London University, but he was called back by the Diwan of Baroda. According to his bond he was to serve the state for three years; but the unbearable insults inflicted upon him by the officers and clerks compelled him to leave Baroda. Through the influence of Lord Sydenham, he secured the post of a Professor in the Sydenham college, Bombay, with a view to enabling himself to go to London to complete his course in law

and his thesis. He lived in a room in the Improvement Trust Chawl gave a definite amount of his salary to his wife for running the household and accumulating the rest for some time, left for London where he took D. Sc. in economics and commerce and was called to the Bar in 1923.

The Height by Great Men Reached & Kept

All that is great in men

He had purchased nearly five thousand books and entrusted them to the care of a friend, who was to bring them to India. While in London he pored over books in the British Museum from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m. To save time he did not take his lunch or dinner. Only breakfast was sufficient. Thus London Museum has nurtured Mazzini, Marx, Savarkar and Dr. Ambedkar. All through this career he toi-

assent and pays one's respect to the man.

Insulting Environment

During his High School days the current of his spirit was poisoned by the insulting environment. Sanskrit, the Devabhasha was denied to him. How can an untouchable get this chosen key to the Vedas? Milton says that childhood shows the man as morning shows the

A MODERN SIDHARTHA OF RAJAGRIHA

comes through work and Dr. Ambedkar is a peculiar example that bears out this truth. When a High School boy, he used to go to bed early and studied from midnight to early dawn. After having a nap in the morning, he went to school without food. A neighbour, who worked in the Fort area on his way dropped his meal in the school. In America he used to study 18 hours a day and spend his leisure in searching for and buying old books.

led, struggled, and strived to equip himself for the coming struggle with the best armoury available. He became a barrister-at-law so that he might earn his living honourably and independently and work for the welfare of the untouchables. So Ambedkar is a life that releases a film of profound learning, valiant self respect, unbounded ambition, great thoughts, towering intellect, ceaseless industry and stainless moral career. Like an automatic machine, one nods

sun. It is said that letters cut into the bark of a young tree grow with age! All such dry refusals and illtreatment flamed his hate against Hinduism. He experienced the inhuman treatment under which the whole class was smarting. And he decided to give a clarion call to the untouchables to wipe out the signs of humanity.

Gives Clarion Call

To achieve this he conducted a weekly-

Janata 'the People.' He convinced them that he was their saviour. He travelled, wrote, spoke, advised, expostulated and motivated the class. The time to test the organisation came when the question of the Mahad tank affair arose. They wanted to assert their right of sharing the water of public tank with other Hindus. Fifteen thousand men gathered in response to the clarion call of their

unity. Boycott was prevailing and food was not available. Ambedkar refused to take good food and par took dry bread and gram with his men. He showed his inherited martial spirit and the scholar was returned into a general.

Nasik offered him a second chance for asserting his lead. Some 12 thousand men gathered under his banner proclaiming

and bruises on his body ran to the hospital to enquire after the health of his wounded men. The hold, he secured in this way over the community, made his future plans workable, dignified and irresistible.

Fluke Revolution

Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj had forecast that Ambedkar would be a great leader, and here he

A Great Scholar Wielding A World Shaking Pen

leader. The Municipality upheld their claim. The struggle reached while heal. The collector intervened, and proclaimed section 144 and in order to avoid fight on the two fronts Ambedkar postponed the struggle and proved his bonafides in the court and won his object.

Mahad and Nasik Struggles

Mahad organised the scattered forces of the untouchables. They learnt the lesson of discipline, order and the strength of

equality, freedom and the rights of men. The untouchables wanted to assert their right of drawing the chariot of Kalaram along with the other Hindus. There was a disturbance in the procession. Ambedkar walked dauntlessly through the shower of stones. Some one advised him to run away from the scene. He roared he would prefer to die in the action and hated the piece of advice. The police dispersed the procession. Ambedkar with scratches

was so. His voice was now audible over thousands of miles. None could suppress its echoes. He was called to the R.T.C. where he impressed all with his assiduous study, power of argument and intellectual force. His herculian efforts succeeded in bringing the Depressed classes into the political picture of Hindusthan. Separate electorates he secured in the new scheme of things and returned. He says it was a fluke and almost bloodless revolution, the waves

of which had started since the days of Mahad Struggle and ended in a triumph of giving them rights of citizenship.

Poona Pact

But his bold stand and unbending resolve had crossed swords with the boundless ego imperialism of Mr. Gandhi. Gandhi, who accepted the Communal Award in toto

ran to save his life. Some appealed to Dr. Ambedkar's good sense, few ill-treated him and many threatened him but they had not experienced the stuff of his mettle. Nothing could shake him from his unextinguishable resolve and courageous stand. In the teeth of inflamed opinion and in the presence of sinking Gandhi the discussions were held. Anxieties amounted to high

Province.	Com- munal Award.	Poona Pact
Bombay	10	15
Madras	18	30
Bengal	—	30
Assam	4	7
C. P.	10	20
Bihar, Orissa	7	21
Punjab	—	8
U. P	12	20
	61	151

A REALISTIC PATRIOT

and yielded to the anti national and antagonistic group of the Muslims, wanted to lower down Dr. Ambedkar in public estimation. If he wanted to dislodge separate entity of the untouchables, a part of the Award, he ought to have entered upon a fast unto death for the rejection of the whole Award. But he had gone even to the length of offering blank cheque to the Muslims. Gandhi declared his fast and the Pandits, patriots and poets

pitch. The Mahatma silently told Dr. Ambedkar that his life was in his hands, still he was unmoved. His lieutenants were in confusion. Some suggested him to yield and save himself but roared he, if they hanged him on the nearest pole, he would never barter away the rights of his people. At last Gandhi put his conditions before him and after much discussion he signed the pact. He secured seats for the Depressed classes more than what the number offered by the Award.

The condition was laid down that the candidates primarily elected by the Scheduled Castes should be finally elected by the joint votes of Scheduled castes and the other Hindus. Look at the figures of the Poona Pact and you will at once understand why Poet Tagore, desired that the pact should be effected with post haste, condemned the same when it affected Bengal.

The recent route of Ambedkarites at the polls

questions the correctness or otherwise of the step was if the victory at Poona that vanquished him in these second elections to the Provincial Assemblies in his absence from the field? Especially in Bombay the Depressed classes have shown by their overwhelming votes how they have reposed implicit confidence in his leadership. That fire and faith is undying. Intoxi-

strong nature and these traits are sharpened by the bitter experience that has made himself-assertive and unbending. Men of strong convictions and invincible determination cannot assume skindeep pleasing gestures and fine phrases. Ambedkar shares this characteristic with Dr. Johnson and Luther. He shares the virtues and failings of his class from which he sprang. He lashes his opponents

away such Prime Ministers." Enraged at this insulting words, Ambedkar vehemently replied, "If Mr. Patel repeats his words, I will beat him with my shoes?"

His majestic high forehead is an index to the height of his ambition which is climbing to positions of authority and continue achievements. The firm protruding chin shows his courageous determination and the

A Man of Strong Conviction and Superb Courage

cated with the recent victory at the polls. Gandhi wants to live in their locality and dislodge Ambedkar. But he will catch a Tarter!!

His Personality

He is sober, reticent and a little stiff in his person, Society; he does not seek. He shuns it. Some say he is a compound of rudeness and obstinacy. The fact is that he is a man of robust and

with his tongue, and covers them with burning insult. In peculiar circumstances, he is curt and caustic. "I hear that the turncoat has been given a ticket by the Congress. What is that ticket? It is nothing less than a belt around the neck of a dog in the city". Welcoming Mr. Kher during the days of First Ministries, Mr. Vallabhai Patel said "We welcome you as the deciple of Gandhi and Congress. Otherwise we would have kicked

strong nose stands like a rudder to the ship of a stormy life. His eyes are full of unquestionable thirst for knowledge and the ears narrowing downwards show the narrow mouth of his purse. His face is free, powerful and gives an appearance of an intellectual force innocent of wine and smoking.

He is Theirs

In his private life he may be found in a dhoti and a simple shirt. He

mixes with his men whenever possible and when he is on tour, he shares their dry bread and sleeps soundly on a blanket. One visit from him brings a change over untouchables. They have shown a surprising improvement in manners and their ways of living. He sweetly expostulates with them and advises the women folk—“Live a clean and virtuous life. Whatever the condition of your clothes, see that they are clean. Don't give food to those who are drunkards. They may be your husbands, brothers or sons. Live as the women of Marathas and Brahmins live. Don't fail to send your children to school.”

Time is Knowledge

He is not a man who tries to be always in the press. Nor does he like to dig out a mountain with a scraper for the more love of action. To a business man time is money; to Dr. Ambedkar time is knowledge. The time factor is a legend

revolving around his round face. None can encroach upon his time. During the days of Poona Pact, Mr. A. V. Thakkar sought his interview. Ambedkar was engrossed in studying a murder case. Terrified by the consequences of the fast unto death, he desired to speak the matter through and so wanted one hour. Ambedkar was not willing to spare more than fifteen minutes. The conversation abruptly ended over the question of number of minutes.

Pouring over Books

The first and greatest love of his life is books. He reads morning, noon and night. Night disappears, morning approaches buzzing in the half-awakened buildings nearby begins, still the scholar is at one with the book. He desires to be away from the clang of the bell, clatter of the cart, stroke of the hammer and splutterings and prowling of the taxi. His ultimate hope is to sit speaking with the great thinkers and law givers of all ages

in a library built in a dense forest. In search of divine light and elevating himself to the secret of Eternity? One can not stretch one's imagination to the range of his vision.

World-Shaking Pen

As an author, Dr. Ambedkar stands at a formidable height and the pen he wields is strong enough to shake the world. The depth, strength and grandeur of knowledge are oceanic. Like the motto of voltaire his is the motto always at work. He pours his conscience into his work, force into his words and heat into his writing. These splendid qualities have a marvellous effect upon his readers so much so that his pen often benumbs the reasoning of his readers. His 'Evolution of Provincial Finance', 'The Problem of the Rupee' are introduced by the well known economists of England and America. He was once called to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and it was no wonder



Mr. N. Sivaraj
M.L.A (Central) President- A.I.S.C.F



Mr. J.H. Subbaiah
President - A.I (States) S.C.F



Mr. P.N. Raj Bhoj
General Secretary - A.I.S.C.F



Hon'ble Mr. J.N. Mandal
Law Member - Interim Govt.



Mr. R. R. Bhole



Hon'ble Mr. J. N. Mandal



Mr. J. H. Subbaiah



Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

All India
Scheduled Castes Federation



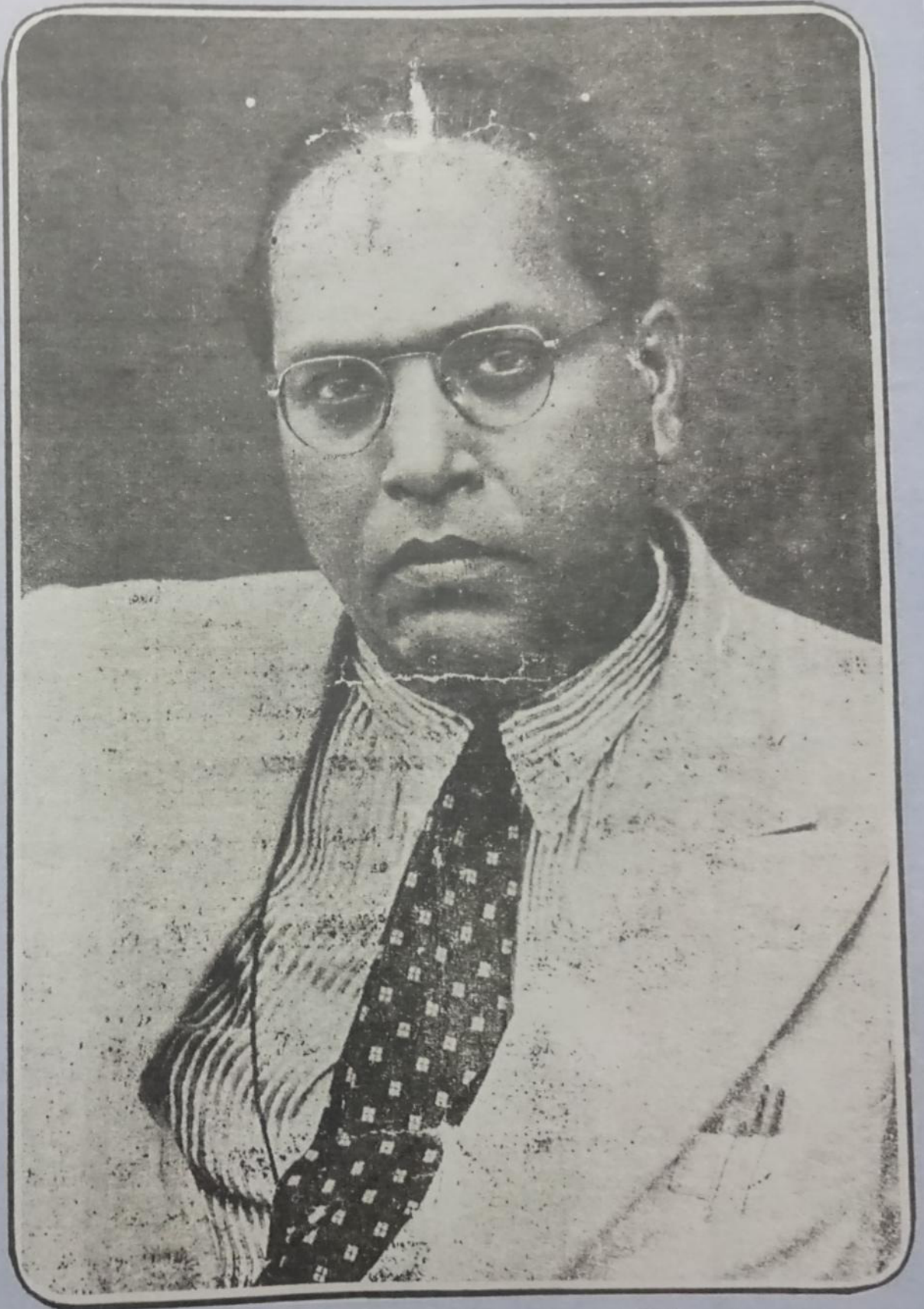
Mr. Pyarelal Kureel (U.P.)



Mr. Seth Kishan Das



Mr. Eli Vadapalli



Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

that every member of the Committee had a copy of the 'Provincial Finance' in his hand. His lectures on Economics at the Sydenham College were so impressive, instructive and popular that students of economics from other colleges attended them with special permission.

His more important work is the minute of dissent to the Report of the Simon Commission. This work gives an idea of his incessant efforts, range of his vast reading, independence of thought and his inexhaustible capacities. The effect was irresistible. The so called Nationalist Press to whom he was a subject of denunciation and vituperation sang his praises and gave him nation wide fame.

Paralytic Book

But the 'Thoughts on Pakistan', his magnum opus spreads paralytic germs over the brains of some Hindu leaders and it must be woefully admitted that what Rajaji

could not achieve in years Dr. Ambedkar's book did in months. Though he says in the introduction that (his) the aim is to explain and not to convert, yet he has put up the matter with the skill of the studious Barrister in him, taken his readers into confidence and in the end the empty headed and weak readers with a paralytic attack in their brain. He hurls missiles after missiles at the readers from his endless armoury. He tells you that 'coercion as an alternative to Pakistan, is therefore unthinkable (P. 4); Geographical conditions are not decisive in the world today (P. 63) 'and he convinces his readers that they can 'make good the defect' by creating artificial boundaries (P. 63); and if you concede Pakistan you can 'get rid of the Muslim preponderance in the Indian Army' (F. 93) and so it is possible that some day the Muslims for Communal considerations and Hindus for financial considerations may join hands to abolish the Central Govt. (P. 8), can you

doubt the trend and tone and their effect?

Wilful Denunciation

Dr. Ambedkar is nothing less than an iconoclast. At Mahad the Manusmriti was burnt because it does not read the spirit of present times. According to him the work is unjust.

In the course of a speech the Doctor said, "We fully know what will happen to us if we became Mussalmans, Christians or Sikhs. On our being converted, none will be Nawabs, or Sardars or Popes. Wherever we go fight for our destiny is in store for us." It is quite clear from this speech that his main was to break off the shackles of slavery and the cry of an unquenchable thirst for equality, freedom and right of citizenship for the Scheduled castes.

A Valiant Maharashtrian

As the spirit of a true and valiant Maharashtrian dominates his heart,

he can never be unpatriotic and faithless to his country. Every inch of his stout body is full of patriotism. Though he does not wilfully and obstinately call himself a Hindu, he prides himself on his being a Maharashtrian. Proudly he said somewhere that no Maharashtrian student worth the name in a foreign land would be ever an informant or a C.I.D. He proudly presided over the function performed in honour of the dethroned and dislodged Dr. Khare in Bombay. In the ultimate recess of his heart where one hides his secret sense of honour and respect, he has treasured filial love for the Great Gautama and he has named his house after his glorious palace. A flood of moving ideas touch his heart and his sparkling eloquent eyes experience strange emotions.

A Realistic Patriot

Inaugurating the last election campaign in Bombay on 17th Feb. 1946 he said, "The Sche-

duled Castes were not asking for a territorial division like the Muslims. All that they wanted was a fair deal. For centuries past they had been suppressed but now they refused to be exploited". This stand is no doubt for a United India. His struggle is for equality, freedom and economic emancipation of the Scheduled classes. Speaking in the Bombay Assembly in 1939 he emphasised his views that whenever a question would arise between his self interest and the interests of his country he would gladly subordinate his ambition to the welfare of the Country but if a tussle crops up between the interests of his classes and those of the nation he would fight for the interests of the former to the last drop of his blood. This sounds a bit strange, a little ill-logical and misleading. All what he means is that he will strive for the welfare of the Depressed classes in a united India. On the outbreak of the recent Great War, he had issued a statement not flamboyant but quite realistic. Says he, "India

has no 'locus standi' in the making of events that bring war. She has no 'locus standi' in the making of terms which often instead of ending war only adjourn war. Her duty is to be present only when war is on. Such a position is, to say the least anomalous and unfair to a country like India. While it is in the interest of the Indian people to co-operate with Great Britain in this war with Germany, the British also must recognise that they owe certain duties to India, the fulfilment of which cannot long be postponed. The first and foremost duty of the British towards India is to take steps to prepare Indians to defend their country. The second duty of the British towards India is to assure her of the status she is to occupy in the British Empire". Those who were prepared to serve India under the leadership of the Viceroy will not make way faces at this practical stand.

Gandhism A Dark Age In India

Next to Savarkar, Ambedkar and Roy are the two leaders who did not fail a victim to the saintly sychophancy. They are not meant to sign and march with any body and everybody. It requires strong convictions and superb courage to swim against the stream. Any dead fish can swim with the currents. He says "If I join the Congress I will attain my rightful place in it. But Gandhi's Congress is not for the welfare of the poor and hence I am not willing to join it. Pt. Nehru and Subhash bent before the personality of Gandhi but it never impressed me." He styles Gandhi Era as the Dark Age of India. While replying to the address given by the Sholapur Municipality he said, "In the Political situation that has grown up in this Country, there has grown the habit among the people of paying homage to only one politi-

cal organisation, the Congress. On account of the deification of this odd organisation, it has become difficult for other public men to serve the country in their own way to obtain a hearing, much less a respectful hearing. Many are hiding themselves. Others are on their way to join the Congress. And they are making this move not because they have faith in the Congress, but because they think that it would not be possible for them to have any locus standi without joining it." Those, who vehemently condemned Hitler and Mussolini in season and out of season do not to'erate any other party opposing the Congress and they threaten that those who are not with it are against India. Do not these budding Nazis condemn themselves?

It is unfortunate for the treasure of world literature that Tilak, Savarkar and Ambedkar could not wield their mighty pens in full splendour. Fight for Freedom exhausted the

erudite career of the first, the unusually long in carceration and the undying struggle for freedom sacrificed the pen of the second. Ambedkar owes his undeveloped literary world prominence to Gandhi's stubborn intolerance and Jinnah owes his formidable prominence to Gandhis service attitude towards the Muslims.

What will be the Doctor's future in this upsurging waves of Fascism in India? Whatever be the political situation, every Government will see that he is in it. Otherwise a man of Dr. Ambedkar's mental vigour and moral courage will be a threat, a danger to it. The best brain of our country is almost out of the Congress. The Congress has outgrow its strength and after the diabolically dynamic lead of Gandhi, it will be a divided house full of turn coats, jobhunters and popularity seekers.

Self made Ambedkar's morning was dusty, his noon was bright and his evening will be golden as matter of course!

—Free Hindusthan

A DEVIL'S ISLAND

HINDUISM is no religion. It is a social order of which the caste system is the corner stone. You cannot imagine Hinduism minus caste system. Then it will not be Hinduism but something very different like Brahma Samaj or Arya Samaj, which are but Associations of people who might be described as social reformers.

The social order known by the name Hinduism has been the curse of India. By the rigid division of the Indian community into castes and condemning the bulk of the community into a state of perpetual slavery, wretchedness, the Hindu society became a devil's Island of which the "Twice Born" became the owners and prison keepers.

This small privileged class has claimed their position as a matter of divine right founded in

birth and as unalterable. By virtue (or may be, by the curse) of birth, the rest of the community is to live and die in degrading toil and squalor. The sanction for this abominable system which has been persisting throughout ages lay in the Vedas and the Shastras like the Manudharma Shastra.

Curiously enough the victims too have come to hold in those ungodly

By

A. K. PILLAI
Bar-at-law

scriptures a pathetic belief bordering on religious fervor. This seems to be the most hopeless aspect of their moral and material degradation. Only by a mighty revolution does it appear to be ever possible to jolt these down-trodden millions out of their placid pathetic faith in Hinduism. Even their outstanding

leaders are often found too deeply enmeshed in the age-long faith. It must be got rid of and destroyed lock, stock and barrel. Otherwise the potentially great community of the Scheduled Castes will ever remain at the level of the 'Harijans' to be fostered for sustained and subtle exploitation by the caste Hindus.

Without the hundreds of millions of the untouchables and the other toiling masses of Shudras proletariat and peasantry, where would the Hindus be in this sub-continent? They will not have been the brute majority by means of which they are today a veritable menace to the freedom and progress of India. The real issue of India's democratic freedom is ultimately involved in the liberation of the untouchables and the Shudras. And that liberation must come from within their own

ranks. The Indian National Congress is but a fraudulent name for the political organisation of the small minority of the propertied and privileged classes, mostly of the "Twice - Born" Hindus. Under false pretences, this really small minority has been to pass for, and be accepted as, the largest and most powerful majority in the country. The Hindu nationalist leaders look so tall and conspicuously eminent, because they stand on the giant shoulders of the Nama shudra and shudra masses. The latter have however been oblivious of this central—fact of Indian history.

Following a recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee which demanded partition of the Punjab to spite the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabhis of Bengal met in conference at Calcutta and made a similar demand for the partition of Bengal. The sponsors of the demand bombastically claimed a pure

Hindudom in Bengal so that, they argued, the people there might be able to live the Hindu way of life!

One need only ask the Nama shudras and shudras of Bengal the poor girls, the orphans and the widows even in the caste Hindu ranks, to find out what the Hindu way of life is. They can tell from first hand experience. The record of the Hindu Society towards women has all along been the blackest, observed Dr. Deshmukh in the central Assembly the other day. But the members of the Scheduled castes know a still blacker record in the way the Hindu Social order treated them. The hundreds of millions who fled from this social order and embraced Islam and Christianity are so many millions of living voices denouncing Hinduism as inhuman.

Gandhi's "Har-ijan" prasthan was designed to camouflage the vile inhumanity of Hindu social order and nail the unsuspecting millions down to their Manu made slavery. It needs a good deal of

checks to call these victims of slavery by the name of Harijans, the children of God! What kind of a god. He must be obviously so helpless in the face of such cruel and age-long exploitation of his favoured children.

Recently there was a revealing incident reported from Conjeevaram the city of temples. A few temples were thrown open to the "Harijans" but the tank was closed. Under the Congress regime an order under section 144 was promulgated prohibiting the untouchables using the tank. Questions were asked in the Assembly and the Congress Premier felt rather awkward. So he personally interceded in the matter and got the Hindus to agree to the untouchables using the wrong end of the tank! Whether in the village or even in the tank, the pasriahs must remain tied to their paracheri.

The few amenities which the untouchables enjoy today, including some limited right to appointments are all the out-come of two centuries of Foreign rule and in spite of the Hindu Shastras.

Glimpses of The Life of Dr. Ambedkar

The last quarter of the nineteenth century produced a number of great reformers, statesmen, and scholars in this country. This period has got more importance to the Untouchables and to the Shudras, because the saviour of the Untouchables and the inspirer of the Shudra community was born on 14th April 1891 at Mohw in Central India. He is Dr. Ambedkar. He was the last and the fourteenth son of his father. His birth was in itself a great moment to his parents. The astrologer predicted about his greatness. The relatives and other admirers of his worthy father, Subedar Ramji, did not believe in the prediction. The educated untouchable can, very easily, imagine the root of their disbelief at that time. The people, who have been suppressed in the name of so-called God, oppressed

in the name of religion, depressed in the name of the Hindu re-birth theory, crushed by the exploitation and in the so-called Karm-theory, could not imagine a great and prosperous life for their own children. It was not even possible to think of it. The religious tyranny was then at

In response to our request Mr. Shankarananda Shastri has consented to write "Glimpses of Dr. Ambedkar's Life", Mr. Shastri is one of those who know Dr. Ambedkar intimately and follow implicitly. We will Publish this in a series in 'JAI BHEEM'. Here is the first of the series.

—Ed.

it's height. The political slavery was in tact.

The exploitation of the innocent untouchables was the order of the day. If any untouchable spoke against the act of oppression perpetrated in the name of so called God, his

tongue was cut off (Ucchharance jihwachhedah). If any body listened something about his betterment, melted lead was

By

S. N. SASTRI
M.A., M.O.L.

poured into his ears (Shravane tra pujatu pariporanam). He, who struggled to enrich his mind with human thoughts, was put to death (Dharana tchharira bhedah Brahma sootram, shankarbhashyam). He, who collected the wealth by the sweat of his brow, was beheaded, disabled, disarmed, maimed, and delogged and what not (Manusmriti, ch. 10st. 129.)

The sun never laughed over the unfortunates. The moon never shone over the unhappy people. Even the stars felt shy to twinkle over the oppressed. The sky was overruled by the Brahmanic tyranny. This was the state of affairs when our

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great Saviour Dr. Bheem-
rao Ramji Ambedkar
was born.

Young Ambedkar was educated in the Village School at Dapoli, Satara District, Bombay, and at the Elphinston High School and Elphinston College Bombay up to 1912. When he was hardly 10 years he was so intelligent and hard working, he topped the list in the examinations. The teacher however used to discredit his merits. One day young Ambedkar, feeling very thirsty, went to a well to drink water. He was objected by the boys to draw water to quench his thirst. He questioned them as to why he was not allowed to drink water from the well. The proud Caste Hindu boys gave the reply saying that he (Ambedkar), an untouchable cannot draw water from the well of the Caste Hindus. Another instance among many similar experiences runs as follows. While at High School, his School

was closed for a summer, and he, along with his elder brother was going in a train to his father who was living in Koregaon in Satara District. The train arrived at the station. The town, his father's place, was 12 miles from the Station. The day was very hot. Young Ambedkar was feeling thirsty. He and his brother went to the stall and asked for water. The Station Master was pleased to offer water to those fair looking boys. But of curiosity enquired into their caste. Ambedkar told his caste. The result was that he was denied water and was asked to go elsewhere. The boys then hired a cart to the town. Ambedkar was awfully feeling thirsty. They saw a village at a distance. But the cartman told them that they were all Caste Hindus. They cannot be given water there too. The cart man stopped his cart near about a dirty pond. He asked the boys to quench their thirst by drinking the water from the pond. Young Ambedkar was shocked at the sight

of the dirty pond. It was so dirty that even the animals would not have drunk water from it. He refused and remained thirsty till they completed their journey. This incident created a painful impression and more curiosity in the young tender mind. No sooner did he reach his father's place he questioned his father why these Hindus refuse them water to drink. The father tried in his usual manner to console this young and inquisitive mind telling that they were born untouchables. So they were denied privileges on this Brahmanic earth. This increased this inquisitiveness more and more.

Usually in the Schools the intelligence is praised by the teachers. The abilities of young boys are admired by friends. Proficiency is rewarded by scholarships etc. But it was just the reverse in case of Ambedkar. His intelligence, his abilities and his deep - thinking were not only not praised, admired or rewarded by any Hindu teacher but he

was looked down with hatred and prejudice. In this atmosphere of hatred, and prejudice. Ambedkar did not lose his courage. The more he was hated, the more he was resolute in his quest for knowledge and studies. After he had completed his High School course, his parents along with the young Ambedkar, moved down to Bombay for his further education. He was graduated from the Elphinston College, Bombay in 1912. He was given a scholarship to study Economics and Sociology at the Columbia University by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda. Before his departure he worked as a probationary Lieutenant in Baroda infantry. After passing the M. A. and Ph.D., degrees at the Columbia University where he studied from 1913 to 1916, he spent a year in London doing research in India Office Library and keeping term for the Bar at the Gray's Inn. He returned to India in 1917 and went straight to Baroda to serve the Ma-

haraja to repay his debt which he owed to him for his higher education abroad. It was on 20th October of 1917 he reached Baroda. Before attending the office as Probationary Lieutenant in Baroda infantry, he went on searching for a shelter through out the city of Baroda for his residence. No Hindu could dare give shelter to him, a born untouchable. The tonga was hired before the sun-rise. Until sun-set Ambedkar strove to get a shelter for himself somewhere in the city. On the disclosure of his identity the landlords who offered their house in the first instance refused accommodation in their buildings. The sun was setting and the tonga wala was losing his patience and strength to drive his horse to the indefinite destination. While driving the tonga his eyes fell on a wooden Board. With a timid heart he sought the permission of his customer to make his final effort in a Parsee Dharmshala. He stopped the horse. The animal, though it had no tongue to

speak, laughed over the irony of fate of a highly educated young scholar. At last the old driver succeeded in getting a room in the Parsee Dharmshala for Ambedkar. The great worry was over. The next day he went to attend his office. A hell was created against his entry in the office. It was against the Brahmanic preaching that a Hindu should work under an Untouchable officer though a superior officer. According to the injunctions of the so-called Vedas and Smritis how a 'born' superior could work under the 'born' inferior. So all the subordinates revolted against Ambedkar. The revolt was silent in action. The Caste Hindus non-co-operated with their learned officer. He was hated even by the menials, not to speak of the so-called intelligensia of the Community! He was insulted at every stage. No respect was shown for his high knowledge. No love was exhibited for his high ability. No regard was paid for his

gratefulness to the Maharaja of Baroda. No body recognised his scholarship. None admired his deep thinking. Hatred was the reward for his talents. The action and the behaviour of the subordinates was malicious in its intent. The social contempt towards the Untouchable was so strong in the blood of the Hindus in the office that it was even inconcievable in the world of beasts and barbarians. The news about his entry into Parsee Dharmashala spread in the city like wild fire. After two days, several caste people armed with lathis gathered before the Parsee Dharmashala to punish the great Doctor for his entry into the Dharmashala. He was questioned repeatedly by the furious mob as how he dared to pollute the Dharmashala? There was pin—drop silence. The cool minded and learned Doctor gazed at the murderous faces with curious eyes. The furious mob raised their lathis to beat

him. Meanwhile an old Parsee gentleman entreated the heartless mob to spare his life and give him a chance to vacate the room before the sun-set. The furious mob then melted away. The Parsee Community, which brought the message of love, equality, and brotherhood to India from Iran, has also been involved in the Brahmanic tyranny. It was un imaginable to the pure, simple and curious mind of Ambedkar. The whole city of Baroda was on one side and the Doctor was alone on the other side. The ruler with all his army, fire arms, police, executive and judicial powers could not dare to protect the life of a gratefulman who went there out of sheer human duty towards him. He failed to protect the most elementary right of a human being? Had he dared to do it perhaps the so — called heavenly Brahmin Gods would have cursed him. He might have been declared unfit for the rulership of the state and had been deprived of “devine” right to secure a place in

the next invisible world, controlled and supervised by the Hindu Gods. The Maharaja, failed to extend his help to save the life and honour of the Great Doctor under his own kingship. This was an irony of fate. As a child he was not allowed to take water from the wells and tanks to quench his thirst. The facilities allowed to a common man for education, were denied to him. Even with his high and top-rank qualifications there was no room for him in the hearts of the Diehard Hindus. None gave him a shelter. It was a riddle to him and to all the past and coming generations of untouchables. It was mysterious in it's conception of the human beings. These experiences made him determined to solve this problem by his own Tapasya and self sacrifice.

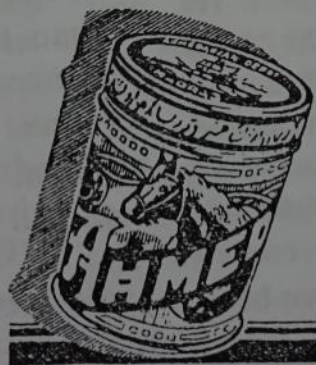
He left Baroda state for ever and settled down in Bombay. He was appointed as Professor of political economy at the

Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics at Bombay. He gave his evidence before the South bourge Committee in 1918. He toured all over the country, conducted meetings in different parts of the country and exhorted the people to rise from their slumber of ignorance and to fight for the fundamental rights. He founded the Depressed Class institutions (Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha). The main aim of this institution was to help the advancement of higher education among the Depressed Classes by instituting scholarships and establishing hostels at different centres of education. Again he left for abroad for his further education. He remained at the university of Bonn in Germany for a short time. From this place he proceeded to London. He took the Degree of D.Sc., in Economics and Commerce at the University of London. He was

called to the Bar while he was in London. He returned to India in the month of April 1923. He studied all books which were within his reach in the libraries of the Universities when he was abroad. He witnessed no dramatic clubs and no cinema houses. He wasted no time in tittle-tattling with any one. He was a constant reader of the books. His constant persistence and perseverance brought him nearer to the fulfilment of his aim. He was fully equipped with the knowledge to solve the riddle of the untouchables when he landed on the Indian

shores in 1923. A right royal reception was accorded to him in Bombay by the age long-tyrannised untouchables. Addressing the mammoth gathering on 23rd April 1923 he gave his message of Liberty and Equality.

He demanded the sacrifices for achievement of the human rights. His message echoed and re-echoed in the ears of the audience. The message roused the spirit in the hearts of the untouchables. They decided to sacrifice every thing to achieve their rights and justice in social life under the able leadership of their leader, Ambedkar.



HORSE BRAND AHMED ANJAN (Regd.)

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**AHMED ANJAN DEPOT.
MADRAS 14.**

Caste System and Country's Progress

Mr. Gandhi, who is reputed to be the ardent saviour of the Untouchables is himself a glorious pillar of unshaken orthodoxy. He is the very corner stone of customs and conventions. He wants to retain the 'Chaturvarna System' and at the same time wants to wipe out untouchability which is deep-rooted in the Indian soil. This task is impossible for him. He wants all people to become Bhangis. Then why should "Harijans" alone do scavenging? Let every member of the society do by turn. Why should they depend upon a certain section of the community for that wretched work. So long as the Untouchables do this kind of menial work they are considered inferior to the other sections of the Society. It is not uncommon to Mr. Gandhi's nature to bless the Untouchables to be slaves

for ever. His empty philosophy has no place in modern era. He never practices whatever he preaches. He is a dreamer of dreams. He is a visionary of visions. And never a doer of deeds.

Why should they not throw open hotels to Untouchables? A leper or a

By

J. BILLAIYA

B. A

consumptive patient has an easy access to a Caste Hindu hotel but not an Untouchable. A dog can enter hotels but not an Untouchable, because the dogs do not come under the category of Untouchables.

Are they not polluted by breathing the air which passes over the bodies of Untouchables? Are they not polluted by drinking the water touched by the

Untouchables in the river? Are they not polluted by wearing the shoes made by the Untouchables? Are they not polluted by walking on the ground tread by the Untouchables? Are not their eyes polluted by seeing the unfortunate Untouchables? Are not their ears polluted by hearing the words of the Untouchables. Then, where is the safeguard to their stainless purity? Swami Vivekananda, the spiritual star of India, said to his Caste Hindu disciples:—

"Never mind if they have not read a few books like you. If they have not acquired your tailor—made civilization. What do these matter? But they are the backbone of the nation in all countries. If these lower classes stop work, where will you get your food and clothing from? If the sweepers of Calcutta stop

work for a day, it creates a panic; and if they strike for three days, the whole town will be depopulated by the outbreak of epidemics. And you regard them as low-class people and vaunt about your own culture." He further said, "And you glory in your Vedas and Vedanta. A nation that cannot provide for its simple food and clothing, which al-

ways depends on others for its subsistence-what is there for it to vaunt about? Throw your religious observances overboard for the present and be first prepared for the struggle for existence. People of foreign countries are turning out such golden results from the raw materials produced in your country and you like asses of burden are only carrying their load."

No wonder the western countries are materially advancing day by day because there is no such a thing as caste system to block the country's progress. In India from the revered leader like Mr. Gandhi down to the barber the stigma of caste distinction saturated their blood. These clouds of Communal distinctions cannot but hide the dawn of 'Swaraj'.

—: o :—

"Your wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted and I say that the British Government statuated with the best motives and principles will always remain powerless to effect any change so far as your particular grievances are concerned. No body can remove your grievances as well as you can, and you cannot remove them unless you get political power in your own hands. No share of this political power can come to you so long as the British Government remains as it is."

—Dr. Ambedkar at the Depressed classes conference held at Nagpur 1930.

OUR MARTYRES

In memory of those martyres, known and unknown, who have laid down their lives in the Scheduled Castes struggle for freedom and emancipation, having fallen victims of goondaism, both Congress and Caste Hindu and Police bullets, this page is inscribed.



Nandanar Hari



Ramdas Dongre

Ramdas Dongre (Nagpur):—Bravely he posed to the Police bullets during the firing in connection with the election to a Labour seat in the C. P. and Perar Legislative Assembly at Indore Nagpur, in April 1946.

Gangadharan (Madras):—Leading a procession on the occasion of the 54th Birthday celebration of our revered Leader on 4-4-1946. He was stoned by goondas and breathed his last on the 20-4-1946 in the General Hospital, Madras.

B. J. Deorkhkaru (Bombay) (Photo not available):—A prominent worker as he was Mr. Deorkhkaru was stabbed by goondas on January 8th 1947 during communal disturbances in Bombay.

Nandanar Hari (Andhra):—Energetic youth Hari died in a Rail accident on 4-10-1946 on his way to Ramachandrapuram to start Satyagraha in Andhradesa.

Chouksaji (Photo not available):—Chouksaji was the victim of Congress goondaism in Bombay during Primary Elections in January 1946. He was stabbed on his way home from the Polls.

STUDENTS PAGE :**“ Educate, Agitate And Organise . . . ”**

The sorry plight of our untouchable sisters and brothers in this country brings home to us the urgent necessity for an organised effort and express action. All these ages, our forefathers,

talk of equality and freedom what is our lot? It is for the youth of the country to throw off the shackles and initiate action. For this the youth of the Scheduled castes must organise. With this object

delegates' Federations were formed in various districts and provinces. And to consolidate all these Scheduled Castes Student's Federations the first All India Scheduled Castes Students Conference was



Some of the delegates to the All India Scheduled Castes Students Federation Conference held at Nagpur, December, 1946.

(Photo : A. L. Majumdar)

“ I am not opposed to National Government or Swaraj or Independence. If I could have an assurance that all will have equal opportunities for education and other things I shall fight for Independence.”

— Dr. Ambedkar, in his reply to the civic address at Madras— 22-9-1944.

fathers and ourselves, in this country have been and are the victims of social tyranny and inhuman oppression. Even in this twentieth century when we hear so much

of bringing together the Scheduled castes students of the country and to put up an organised effort to help ourselves and to do some constructive work, the Scheduled Castes Stu-

held at Bombay in the month of May 1945 and formed the All-India Scheduled Castes Students Federation, with the object of improving our educational, cultural and

economic interests and to bring unity among the Scheduled Castes students all over the country.

The Second session of the A. I. S. C. S. F. was held at Nagpur on the 25th, 26th and 27th of December 1946. To confess the truth from Bombay to Nagpur we did not travel long in the path of progress and activity during the interceding one and a half years. But it must be admitted that lack of sufficient finances and effective organisation at the centre were at the root of inactivity. The Conference at Nagpur was unique in its nature. The record gathering the number of delegates representing various provincial organisations, the enthusiasm, zeal and determination with which the students conducted the conference all gather momentum and give a fillip to the Scheduled Castes student's movement.

Though the seeds of the A.I.S.C.S.F. were sown

at Bombay the real substance was supplied at Nagpur. In the Nagpur Conference a shape was given to the students movement and the constitution of the A.I.S.C.S.F. was considered and adopted and an executive was elected. It is hoped that the executive will strive its best to organise the unorganised portions and give a lead to the provincial organisations. Mean while every provincial organisation should see that it mobilises all its strength and resources to build up strong students organisations in the provinces under the banner of A. I. S. C. S. F. Today we stand at cross roads of our destiny and the future fate of our community and the country at large is hanging in the balance. If we fail to assert ourselves and secure our legitimate rights the future of us, the youngmen will be sealed and we will have to throb under thralldom of slavery. Therefore every Scheduled Caste student should deem it his bounden duty to organise his student brethren and

his community for the freedom struggle and for the liberation of the down trodden.

Regarding the constructive work of the students Dr. Ambedkar has laid down the basic ideals of our work in his message to the Nagpur Conference. Wherein he says that our boys should learn two things first to prove that given the opportunities they are inferior to none in the intelligence and capacity, secondly to prove they are not merely to tread the path of personal happiness but to lead their community to be free, to be strong and to be respected. Further the aims and objects of the All India Scheduled Castes Students Federation reveal the nature of the work that a Scheduled Castes Students should undertake. These are the aims and objects of our All India Students Federation. The activities of the All India Scheduled Castes Students Federation shall be guided with a view to :

(A) organise the Scheduled Castes students of India into a compact body.

(B) Develop corporate life amongst them and to discard all activities and undertakings that accentuate caste consciousness among them.

(C) Safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes Students of India.

(D) Create a cultural atmosphere among them by encouraging

(G) Co-ordinate the activities of the Scheduled Castes Students for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes people and the country.

(H) Formulate the public opinion in favour of the Scheduled Castes movement.

(I) Undertake all such matters subject, to the approval of the Working Committee which may appropriately belong to

hearts for liberty, equality and fraternity—be a fruit bearing one. Let those words of our saviour Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar ever ring in our ears “Educate, agitate and organise and have faith in yourselves and never lose hopes. If we all work together and strive together we will not fail, for our cause is the cause of justice and the cause of humanity.”

Know Truth as Truth & Untruth as Untruth

—Buddha

moral and intellectual education and by bringing them in touch with the cultural and political movement of the present day.

(E) Encourage physical culture in order to improve the health and physique of the Scheduled Castes Students.

(F) Safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes people.

the general sphere of the life of the Scheduled Castes Students.

Let us not forget that our fate and future depend upon, our activities, upon our organisation and our preparation for the ordeal, with an eye to our requirements and handicaps on our way to remove.

Let this movement—a march of our troubled

Sisters and brothers, here is a call for you—a call for unity and action. Today we have a task to perform, a promise to fulfill and a role to play.

Organise yourselves and serve the community. If you organise and stand unite you will win.

“Arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached”

—EMPIT

DHIR BABA AMBEDKAR

—Savarny Dharma Theertha B.A., LL.B.

When I think of the lonely battle Dr. Ambedkar has been fighting with the furious forces of Caste Hindu Imperialism, the picture that comes to my mind is that of a heroic father battling with the gigantic waves of an angry sea in a mighty effort to save his drowning children. To the down-trodden untouchables of India sunk to their shoulders in enforced servitude and utter darkness and poverty, he is indeed a heroic father, a Dhir Baba.

Dr. Ambedkar is one of the greatest men of India has never produced in recent centuries. But few of the present generation can understand the tremendous significance of the great work he has initiated, and even his best admirers are often sceptical of his wisdom and success. I was myself in that category some years ago. But

every year that passes me confirms in the conviction that Ambedkar's plan alone can lead the many millions of the Scheduled Castes to their liberation from the satanic grip of the most brutal tyranny ever imposed on mankind. His lot will probably be like that of the great martyrs of history who have had to sacrifice themselves for the good of generations unborn, with however the inner conviction that they had to use the dormant spiritual forces of an enslaved people and set them on their own legs to fight through the terrible darkness that surrounded them to the light of freedom and self-respect dimly visible through long years of bitter struggle ahead. Like those great souls of religion and history Dr. Ambedkar too is moved by an undying faith in the ultimate success of his mission — the redemption of the Untouchables from the

curse of the Hindu way of thought and life.

It has been said of Mahatma Gandhi that his greatest achievement is that he instilled courage in to the hearts of an unarmed subject people to shake off the cowardice born of two centuries of loss of freedom and defy the mightiest empire in the world. But it can be said of Ambedkar that he is the first and probably the only person who has had the courage to openly challenge this glorified Gandhi movement when all the world was singing its foolish panegyrics. He defied the defier of the world's mightiest empire. He put new life into a large community of sixty millions which had become economically, intellectually and spiritually paralysed through thousands of years of soul-crushing slavery. He has performed the miracle of mass rejuvenation of this vast humanity sunk in

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utter despair. Today he and his followers can stand up against the wiles of Caste Hindu imperialism with almost super human courage and claim their human right to freedom and equality more stoutly denied by Gandhiji and his followers than the British Imperialist ever denied the right of Indians to independence.

Dr. Ambedkar has had to pass through very hell. In comparison with the trials, humiliations and daily persecutions he has endured, the prison life of the Congress, celebrities was but a pic-nic. Any one less stout of heart and less inspired in vision would have quailed before the infamy and opposition heaped upon him by the Caste Hindus. But his mission gains in strength in spite of temporary set-backs. A people wakened from their age-long stupor hereditary servility are gathering round his banner with all the passion born of a holy indignation against their

oppressors and a desperate resolve to reassert their self-respect and freedom. No lover of human progress can watch this spiritual struggle of a downtrodden people except with spell-bound admiration or help heaving a sig of prayer for its speedy and successful termination. The meanest thing done by the Hindu Congress is the calculated effort to sabotage this renaissance by petty doles of money and official preference scattered here and there to wean away its workers.

Gandhiji in his devotion to his political party and his political goal, has not hesitated to exploit every superstition and weakness of his Hindu followers in order to organise them for a supreme effort to capture power. Faith in Caste, Idolatry Cow-worship, demonstrative asceticism, advertised prayers, adumbrated fasts, mystic vision and inner call, and scores of other tricks of the

Hindu priest and the Hindu Sanyasin have been invoked in aid by Gandhiji with a view to capturing the emotional allegiance and ensuring the blind submission of the credulous Hindu masses. Probably he did it in the traditional way of Hindu teachers of the past without any conscious intention other than that of the people's political emancipation. But the actual effect of his religiosity and reactionary preachings has been the further decline of the people in intellectual freedom and integrity and the fostering of hypocrisy in their private and public life. The greatness of Ambedkar's characters is in this that he has not sacrificed his enlightened convictions nor pondered to the superstitions and follies of his ignorant followers to win temporary success. He has not made servile chelas of his admirers in order to make himself a worshipped being. He has not turned their unfolding spirits backward towards fantastic ideolo-

gies. His influence was always directed in the direction of their growing self reliance and progressive outlook.

Gandhiji's opposition to the claims of Dr. Ambedkar and his party will go down in history as one of the cruellest injustices perpetrated by the Caste Hindu—an injustice which denounces them as unworthy to be trusted with the destinies of their weaker countrymen. Ambedkar is the touchstone of Gandhiji's success as a Hindu leader. In the

degree Gandhiji understands, appreciates and concedes the demands of the Scheduled Castes under Ambedkar's leadership will he justify his claim to have made an honest attempt to atone for the past sins of his community. In the degree Gandhiji wins the goodwill of Ambedkar and his followers will be his success in equipping India for true freedom. In the degree Gandhiji makes his cause one with Ambedkar's, will he represent also the cause of Indian unity; because the

Untouchables represent the terrible wickedness of Hindu culture and their contentment and emancipation will by the logic of that revolution synchronise with the contentment of all the persecuted and insulted minorities of India.

Let us all pray that Dhir Baba Ambedkar, the heroic father of the drowning Scheduled Castes children may be blessed with wisdom and long life to fulfill his great mission.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. THE MENACE OF HINDU IMPERIALISM.
By Swami Dharma Theertha B. A., LL.B.
Price Rs. 6-8-0; Published by Messrs Har Bhagwan & Co.
51, Krishnanagar, Lahore (Punjab)
2. ANNIHILATION OF CASTE, By Dr. B. R. Ambedkar; Price Rs. 1-8-0; Published by Messers Har Bhagwan & Co.
3. NEW LIGHT ON THE INDIAN PROBLEM
By Swami Dharma Theertha; Published by Har Bhagwan Happy Home Publications, Lahore.

Political Demands of The Scheduled Castes

The following are the Resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation held in Madras on the 23rd Sept. 1944 under the Presidentship of Mr. Sivaraj, B.A., B.L., M.L.A., outlining the safeguards for the Untouchables in the new Constitution.

RESOLUTION NO. 3.

Nature of Constitutional Safeguards.

The Working Committee declares that no Constitution shall be acceptable to the Scheduled Castes unless:—

- (a) it has the consent of the Scheduled Castes;
- (b) it recognizes the Scheduled Castes as distinct and separate element;
- (c) it contains within itself provisions for securing the following purposes:—
 - (1) For earmaking a definite sum in the Budgets of the Provincial and

Central Governments for the Secondary, University and Advanced Education of the Scheduled Castes.

(2) For reservation of Government lands for separate settlements of the Scheduled Castes through a Settlement Commission.

(3) For Representation of the Scheduled Castes according to their needs, numbers and importance.

- (i) in the Legislature,
- (ii) in the Executive,
- (iii) in Municipalities and Local Boards,
- (iv) in the Public Services
- (v) in the Public Service Commissions.

(4) For the recognition of the above provisions as fundamental rights beyond the powers of the Legislature or the Executive to amend or alter or abrogate.

(5) For the appointment of an Officer similar in status to that of the Auditor-General appointed under Section 166 of the Government of India Act of 1935 and removable from office in like manner and on the like grounds as a judge of the Federal Court to report on the working of the provisions relating to Fundamental Rights.

RESOLUTION NO. 5

Revision of the Constitution.

The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation is of opinion that the provisions in the existing

Constitution relating to minority representation are not based on any intelligible principle. The Committee finds that as the system now stands, some minorities have not received even their population ratio of representation, while other minorities have been given weightage over and above their population ratio as a concession to their claims based on historical and military importance. The Working Committee regards the recognition of such claims to be harmful to the interests of other minorities and inconsistent with the ideal of social and political democracy, which is the goal of all Indians and that they should never be tolerated. In this connection, the Committee wishes to draw attention to the fact that the principle of giving weightage to specially selected minorities has been condemned by the authors of the Montagu-Chemsford Report and also by the Simon Com-

mission. The Committee demands that in view of the fact that the next Constitution of India will be for India as a Dominion, the provisions of the Constitution relating to minorities should be revised and should be brought in accord with the principle of equal treatment of all minorities.

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Representation in the Legislature and in the Executive :—

The Working Committee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation desires to state in categorical and emphatic terms that the Scheduled Castes will not tolerate any discrimination between one community and another in the matter of representation and will insist upon their claim for seats in the Provincial and Central Legislature and in the Provincial and Central Executive being adjudged in the same manner and by the same principles

that may be made applicable to the claims of the Muslim Community.

RESOLUTION NO. 7

Electorates :—

The Working Committee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation is of opinion that the experience of the last election held under the Government of India Act has proved that the system of joint electorates has deprived the Scheduled Castes of the right to send true and effective representatives to the Legislatures and has given the Hindu Majority the virtual right to nominate members of the Scheduled Castes who are prepared to be the tools of the Hindu Majority. The Working Committee of the Federation therefore demands that the system of joint electorates and reserved seats should be abolished and the system of separate electorates be introduced in place thereof.

RESOLUTION NO. 8

Frame Work of Executive Government:—

The Working Committee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation takes note of the fact that not only all wealth, property, trade and industry are in the hands of the Majority Community, but even the whole administration of the State is controlled by the Majority Community whose members have monopolised all posts in the State services both superior and inferior. The Working Committee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation regards this as the most dangerous situation which cannot but cause great apprehension to the minority communities since the combination of these circumstances gives the majority the fullest power to establish its strangle hold upon the minorities. This fear of a stranglehold is greatly augmented by the Constitutional provisions relating to the Executive

contained in the Government of India Act of 1935 which permits majority in the Legislature to form a Government without reference to the wishes of the minorities.

The Working Committee of the All India Scheduled castes Federation feels that while; in the absence of an alternative system, the Parliamentary system of Government may have to be accepted, the Committee is definitely opposed to the system of Parliamentary cabinet in as much as it automatically vests Executive authority in the Majority Community and thereby strengthens the hold of the Majority Community which has entered into the steel frame of the administration and thus has become a source of great danger to the minorities. The working Committee has therefore, come to the conclusion that the system of parliamentary cabinet is not suited to Indian conditions and that a different system under which Executive Government would be formed in consultation

with the wishes of the Minorities must be designed to give them a better sense of security.

The Working Committee insists that the Executive in the Provinces as well as in the Centre should be constituted in the following manner:—

(i) The Executive should consist of a Prime Minister and other ministers drawn from general community and from minority communities in a proportion to be specified in the Constitution.

(ii) The Prime Minister and Ministers drawn from the general community shall be elected to the Executive by the whole house by single transferable vote.

(iii) The Ministers representing the minority communities shall be chosen by the members representing the different communities by single transferable vote.

(iv) The Members of the Legislature, shall answer questions, vote and take part in debates.

(v) Any vacancy in the Executive shall be filled in accordance with rules governing the original appointments.

(vi) The period for which the Executive shall hold office shall be co-terminus with the life of the Legislature.

RESOLUTION NO. 9

PUBLIC SERVICES

While it is desirable to plan for a Government which will be a Government of Laws and not of men; it cannot be forgotten that no matter who Government is organised, it must remain a Government of men. That being so, whether Government is good or bad—as distinguished from a merely efficient Government—and how far the Administration of public affairs will be non-political and impartial must depend upon the spirit and outlook and sense of justice of the men who are appointed to administer the Law. The Working Com-

mittee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation is convinced that the Scheduled Castes can never get protection, justice or sympathy from the present Administration which is controlled by men full of caste consciousness, narrow mindedness absence of sense of justice and having a hatred and contempt for the Scheduled Castes. The Working Committee therefore, demands that the Constitution must recognise the rights of the Scheduled Castes to reservation in the Public Services in the same proportion as may be applied to the claims of the Muslim Community.

RESOLUTION NO. 10

PROVISION FOR EDUCATION.

The Working Committee of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation feels that unless persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes are able to occupy posts which carry executive authority, the Scheduled Castes must continue

to suffer, as they have been doing in the past all the injustices and indignities from the hands of the Government and the Public. The Working Committee therefore regards the spread of higher and advanced education among the Scheduled Castes as of vital importance to them. But, it cannot be denied that such advanced education is beyond the means of the Scheduled Castes. The Committee regards it as essential that a definite liability in this behalf should be imposed on the State to provide funds for that purpose and demands that the Constitution should impose an obligation upon the Provincial Governments and the Central Government to set apart adequate sums as may be specified by the Constitution, exclusively for advanced education of the Scheduled castes in their annual budgets and to accept such provision as first charge on their revenues.

RESOLUTION NO. 11

SEPARATE
SETTLEMENTS

The Working committee of the All India Scheduled castes Federation holds:—

(a) that so long as the Scheduled castes continue to live on the outskirts of the Hindu village, as an alien people, with no source of livelihood and

and oppression of the caste Hindus, which may take a worse form under Swaraj, and to enable the Scheduled castes to develop to their fullest manhood, to give them economic and social security as also to pave the way for the removal of untouchability, the working committee demands that the constitution should provide—

(1) For the transplantation of the Scheduled

(3) All Government land which is cultivable and which is not occupied and land which may be reclaimed shall be handed over to the Commission to be held in trust for the purpose of making new settlements of the Scheduled Castes.

(4) The Commission shall be empowered to purchase new land under the Land Acquisition

What do the Untouchables Want?

in small numbers as compared to Hindus, they will continue to remain Untouchables and subject to the tyranny and oppression of the Hindus and will not be able to enjoy free and full life, and—

(b) that for the better protection of the Scheduled castes from the tyranny

castes from their present habitations and form separate Scheduled caste Villages away from and independent of Hindu villages.

(2) For the settlement of the Scheduled Castes in new villages a provision shall be made by the Constitution for the establishment of a Settlement Commission.

Act from private owners to complete the scheme of settlements of the Scheduled Castes.

(5) The Constitution shall provide that the Central Government shall grant to the Settlement Commission a minimum sum of rupees five crores per annum to carry out their duty in this behalf.

United Provinces Scheduled Castes Federation

SATYAGRAHA DIARY

The main aim of this movement is to have the Separate electorates, abolition of the "Begar system" (forcible Labour) in the whole of U. P. and get the educational concessions. It is learnt that a number of representation were made by the U. P. S. C. Federation for redressal of their grievances to which govt. did not give any reply.

The Satyagrah was started on 25th March 1947.

25th—Mr. Kannaujilal The Dictator accompanied by fourteen strong satyagrahis from Farukhabad was arrested. The news about their arrest was published as follows:

A "king" was arrested in Lucknow yesterday (Tuesday).

He was accompanied by a troop . . . 14 strong . . .

all defying restrictions under section 144 cr. P.C. The accused, when rounded up gave their father's name as "Depressed Class Uplift" and the residence as "Bheem Nagar".

The batch was sent to council chamber by the U. P. S. C. Federation. Its leader said "WE are the real rulers of the country every one of our leader is a king. I am king number-1. Other kings will continue the agitation". The party demonstrated against the congress ministry before the council chamber.

26th Dr. Manikchand from Agra, the veteran leader of the untouchables, the second dictator was arrested along with 40 satyagrahis (25 from Agra and 15 from Cawnpore).

27th . . . Three batches were arrested.

1. Mr. Nathilal, from Agra, The Dictator, was arrested along with 30 Satyagrahis.

2. Mr. Chokhelal, from Ferojabad, The dictator, was arrested along with 29 satyagrahis.

3. Mr. Ramswaroop from Ferojabad, The dictator, was arrested along with 8 satyagrahis. This batch was arrested in the varandah of the council chamber.

28th . . Mr. Asharafilal from Allahabad, the dictator, was arrested along with 25 satyagrahis.

29th . . . Five batches were arrested. 80 satyagrahis were arrested. The Dictators . . 1. Mr. Baboolal from Agra 2. Mr. Dularal 3. Mr. Rikhilal.

30th . . . no satyagrah.

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30, Faiz Bazaar, Delhi.

31st Mr. Gopichand the President of the S. C. F. Agra, The dictator, was arrested along with 31 satyagrahis.

Due to Satyagrah Council meeting was adjourned till 8th of April, The Satyagraha was also postponed till 8th April.

The Slogans:

- Do or die
- We want Separate Electorates.
- Down with the joint electorate system.

WANTED

Wanted agents and Correspondents in all important Centres all over India, Ceylon & Burma.

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—Down with the present ministry.

—Down with the "Harijan" M.L.A.'s.

The U. P. Scheduled Castes resumed Satyagrah again on 8th April 1947. There were about 300 arrests both men and women.

It is stated that about six Scheduled Castes were on hunger strike Lucknow Jail.

Mr. P. N. RAJ BHOJ

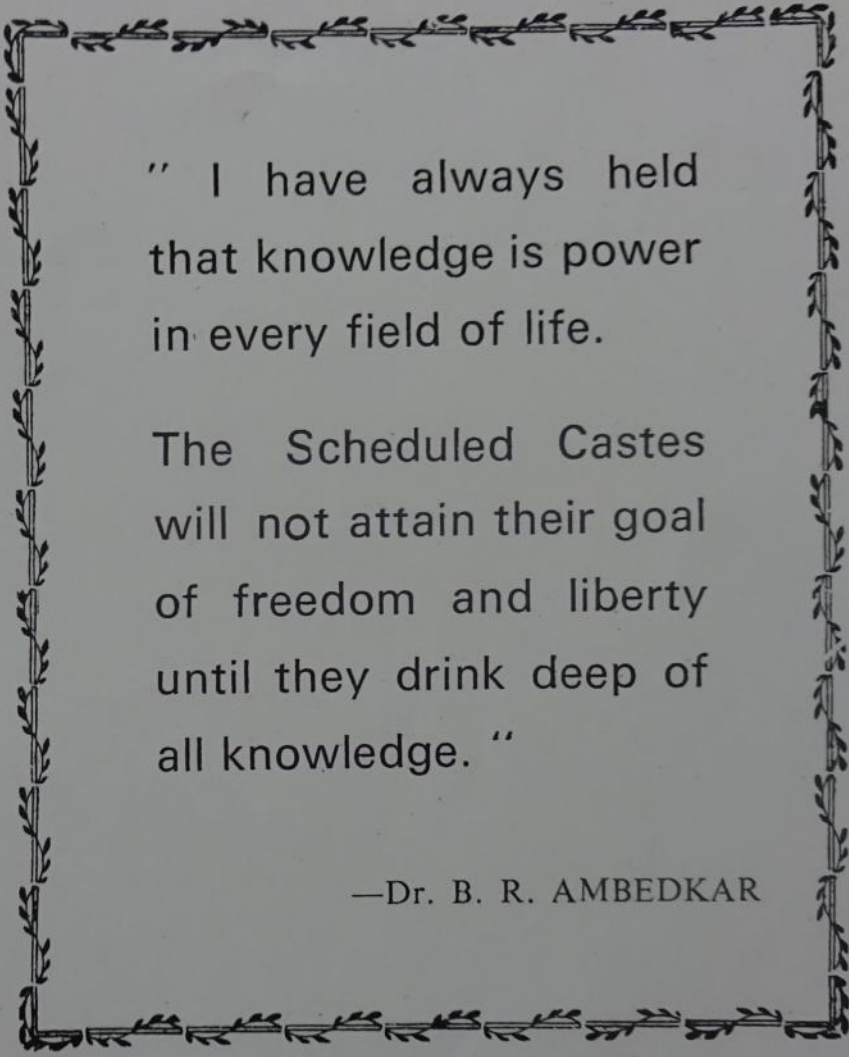
Mr. P. N. Raj Bhoj Secretary, All India Scheduled Castes Federation toured the riot of Punjab and conferences with leaders and workers of the Scheduled Castes of the Province.

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POLITICS AND PHILOSOPHY

Politics is a form of human activity. Human life must be guided by a philosophy. That philosophy may change from time to time. But there are certain values, certain principles, which transcend time and space. Otherwise we shall have to lose faith in the progress of humanity. How can we judge that civilisation is a progress from barbarism? There must be something common to barbarism and civilisation. We can judge that this or that thing distinguishes civilisation as a greater human endeavour, and therefore civilisation is a progress from barbarism.

—M. N. Roy



“ I have always held
that knowledge is power
in every field of life.

The Scheduled Castes
will not attain their goal
of freedom and liberty
until they drink deep of
all knowledge. “

—Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR

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