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**REPRESENTATION RELATING TO THE  
GRIEVANCES OF THE  
WATANDAR MAHARS, MANGS ETC.**

“The Bombay Government levied additional taxes on the Mahar Vatanis. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had been fighting that problem since 1927. But now instead of relieving the poor from the serfdom, the Government added salt to their injuries by the levy of additional taxes. The Mahars, Mangs and Vethias in Maharashtra and Karnatak met in Conference at Haregaon, District Ahmednagar in the middle of December 1939 to voice their grievances under the Presidentship of Dr. Ambedkar.”<sup>1</sup>

On 16th December 1939 addressing the Conference of 20,000 Mahars, Mangs and Vethias, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar assured that he would submit the representation to the Government relating to their grievances. Accordingly he prepared and submitted the representation, dated 14th July 1941 which is as follows :—Editors.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ROGER LUMLEY  
G.C.S.I.E., T.D., GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.  
MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

I beg to submit the following representation relating to the grievances of the Watandar Mahars, Mangs and Vethias, known as Inferior Village Servants, in this Presidency, for favour of Your Excellency’s kind consideration and necessary action—

1. These grievances arise out of the new policy initiated by the Government of Bombay relating to the Watandars called Inferior Village Servants. They affect them in two vital matters, namely :—

- (i) Heavy reduction of their remuneration, and
- (ii) Substantial increase of their Duties.

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<sup>1</sup>: Keer, Pp. 330-331.

2. In the matter of their remuneration the new policy proceeds on the assumption that the remuneration to the village Mahavs was excessive and that the same should be reduced. This was directed to be done either by imposing *Judi* (a levy in cash) upon their *Inam* lands where none existed before or by increasing the *Judi* in cases where the same was already being levied.

3. In the matter of their duties the Government of Bombay issued Government Resolution No. 7420/33 in the Revenue Department, dated 13-9-1938, in which they have set out the duties which the Mahars, Mangs and Vethias will hereafter be required to perform the duties specified in the Resolution number 19 in all.

4. To protest against the injustice of this policy a Conference of the Mahars, Mangs and Vethias was held at Haregaon in the Ahmednagar district on 16th November\* 1939 under my Presidentship. In that Conference certain Resolutions were passed. These Resolutions were forwarded to Your Excellency for favourable consideration and issue of necessary order by Your Excellency's Government. For ready reference I have annexed hereto copies of the said Resolutions as Appendix I.

5. These Resolutions were also placed by Mr. B. K. Gaikwad, M.L.A., at a meeting of the Backward Class Board held on 7th June 1940. Copy of the proceedings of the meeting relating to these items are hereto annexed as Appendix II.

6. With great respect I am constrained to say that the Government have so far not given their proper consideration to the resolutions passed by the said Conference. More than a year and a half has elapsed since I forwarded the resolutions and yet there has been no modification of the policy of the Government either in the matter of the levy of the *Judi* or in the matter of revision of the long and onerous list of obligatory duties required to be performed by the Inferior Village Servants. On the contrary, the policy of collecting *Judi* has been going on apace and even pots and pans of poor and indigent families of the Inferior Village Servants are being attached under the process of the Court and many of these families have been rendered quite destitute.

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\* Month should be read as December— Janata : 9th and 23rd December 1939.

It is for these reasons that I am submitting this Memorial to Your Excellency with fervent hopes that Your Excellency will be pleased to give this matter your most careful, kind and sympathetic consideration and grant the much-needed and long-awaited relief to the Inferior Village Servants.

### **I. Reduction of Remuneration**

7. First, I propose to deal with the question of the levy of *Judi*. This policy is for the present made applicable to the *Inam* lands of the Mahars only. It may be extended to others in course of time. In the matter of the levy of *Judi* on the *Inam* lands of Mahars, I do not know the precise reasons which have led Government to embark upon the policy of reducing the remuneration of the Mahars. They are, however, understood to be two.

8. In the first place the increase in *Judi* is sought to be justified by Government on the ground that there has been a reduction in the number of Officiating Mahars. It is said that this policy of reduction in remuneration by an increase of *Judi* on the *Inam* lands held by the Mahars is only a consequence of the policy of reducing the number of Officiating Mahars.

9. At the outset I wish to draw Your Excellency's attention to the fallacy underlying this reason. As a matter of fact there has been no reduction in the actual number of the Officiating Mahars at all either in general or in any particular village. The number of Officiating Mahars has remained the same. What has, however, happened is that the Watan Registers were corrected and brought in accord with facts. At one time in the Watan Register of every village the number of Officiating Mahars shown was very large. The Mahars did not object to it and that for two reasons. In the first place the number shown on the Register was a nominal one and the actual number on daily duty was much smaller. Secondly, it was in the interest of a Mahar to have his name shown in the Register in as much as it served as a proof to show that he was a Watandar, entitled to Watan office as well as to Watan property. When owing to the self-respect movement started by the Mahars, there grew up an antagonism in every village between the Mahars and the Villagers. The Village Officers started making misuse of the Watan Register and called for service the full quota of the Mahars mentioned in

the Register, although not one-tenth of the registered number was ever before required for service. The Taluka Officers sided with the Village Patil and demanded the whole number of Mahars, specified in the Register to be their duty for all time. This practically meant a conscription of the whole Mahar population of the village for Government service. The Mahars refused to submit to this extortionate and unjust demand, as it was impossible for the whole lot of the Mahars mentioned in the Register to be on duty for all time as the income of the *Inam* land assigned to them was not adequate for the maintenance of them all and a large majority were obliged to eke out their livelihood by doing odd jobs. The Watandar Mahars therefore carried on an agitation for the correction of the Watan Registers by a reduction in the number of Officiating Mahars. In this, they succeeded and the number of Mahars was reduced. But as I have said this is no reduction in the number of Officiating Mahars. It is only a correction of a wrong Record. To call it a reduction is either to forget facts or to misunderstand them. What has happened is the correction of an incorrect Watan Register. That being the case I cannot understand how Government can, on that account, justify their policy of making reduction in the remuneration of the Mahars by the levy of a *Judi* or an increase in the *Judi*.

10. Assuming, however, that there has been a reduction in the number of Officiating Mahars an assumption not justified by fact I respectfully submit that it is not easy to understand how Government can, on that account, proceed to reduce their remuneration by the levy of *Judi* or by an increase in the *Judi*. In adopting this course it appears to me that no or little consideration has been given to an important circumstance which has a great bearing on the question at issue, namely, that Watan property falls in a special class and although it may be called remuneration, the rule of "no work no salary" or "so much work, so much pay" has never been applied by Government in dealing with Watandars and their Watans.

11. In this connection I wish to draw Your Excellency's attention to the following facts showing how other Watandars have been treated by Government under similar circumstances. When the British took possession of this part of the country they found

that the Maratha Government had made a very prodigal use of its power of alienating the right of the State to claim assessment in favour of private individuals and had created a very large class of alienated lands popularly called *Inams*, the holders of which were designated as Inamdars and Watandars. These *Inams* fell into four classes namely (1) Personal, (2) Devasthan, (3) Political and (4) Non-Political and were all hereditary *Inams*. From the point of view of service these *Inams* fell into two classes : (A) *Inams* which formed a remuneration for service to the State and (B) *Inams* which were gifts and for which no service was required to be rendered to the State. The Personal and Devasthan *Inams* belonged to the class of non-service *Inams*, while Political and Non-Political *Inams* belonged to the class of Service *Inams*.

12. During the first 23 years of the British Rule (1818-1841) the enormous extent of the claims made by individuals to hold lands as *Inam* was not realised by the British Government. It was in 1841 that the question of examining these claims was taken up. In 1843 a Committee of two was appointed to inquire into the alienated lands of the Southern Maratha Country. The inquiry by the Committee appointed in 1843 proceeded for a period of nine years, till 1852, when the Committee was transformed into the Inam Commission and its proceedings were given a legal status by Act XI of 1852. By this Act, Government were empowered to appoint Inam Commissioners with Assistant Commissioners "to investigate the titles of persons holding or claiming against Government the possession or enjoyment of *Inams* or *Jahagirs*, or any interest therein, or claiming exemption from the payment of land Revenue." The operations of the Commission were very slow and did not extend to Gujarat. It was finally decided to abolish the system of inquiry by the Commission and to substitute for it a system of "Summary Settlement" to be extended over the whole Presidency. This system of Summary Settlement was carried into effect by two Acts, namely, Act II of 1863 which applied to the so-called "New Provinces" of the Deccan, Khandesh and Southern Maratha country, and Act VII of 1863 which was applied to the so-called "Old Provinces" of Gujarat and the Konkan,

(A) NON SERVICE *INAMS*

13. The terms of the Summary Settlement Acts applied only to two classes of *Inams* (1) Personal and (2) *Devasthan Inams*, *i.e.*, to Non-Service *Inams*. The main principles underlying the Settlement Acts were as follows :—

(a) The conversion of all Personal *Inams* (also spoken of as *Warshasans*) whether adjudicated by the Inam Commission or not, into transferable freehold.

(b) The imposition of a quit rent or *Nazarana* upon such lands on account of such conversion the amount of which was fixed :

(i) By Act II of 1863 at 4 annas for every rupee of the full assessment, plus a *Nazarana* equal to an additional one anna in the rupee, and

(ii) By Act VII of 1863, at 2 annas in the rupee without *Nazarana*.

14. The extent of the annual loss which Government has suffered on account of the relinquishment of its right to full assessment by the settlement effected by these Acts was by no means small as will be clear from the following figures :-

*Annual Loss to Government on Non-Service Inam Lands held as Personal and Devasthan Inams*

Division	Assessment on alienated lands less quit rents ( <i>Judi</i> )	Rs.	a.	p.
I Northern Division	...	1,26,529	15	1
II Central Division	...	2,86,292	2	3
III Southern Division	...	2,02,827	3	6
Total :		Rs. 6,15,649	4	10

15. As stated before the terms .of the Summary Settlement Act applied only to Non-Service *Inams*, *i.e.*, to Personal *Inams*, and *Devasthan Inams* only. They did not apply to Service *Inams*, *i.e.*, the Political *Inams* and Non-Political *Inams*. They were expressly excluded from their operation and reserved for separate treatment.

(B) SERVICE *INAMS*

16. (I) *Political Inams* : These *Inams* comprised the class of *Inams* called “*Jehagirs*” and “*Saranjams*.” They were grants made by the State for the performance of Civil and Military services, or for the maintenance of the personal dignity of nobles and high officials who had rendered services to the State in the past. A settlement of these *Political Inams* was effected by the British Government on the principle of settlement in the case of *Personal Inams*, *viz.*, they were continued hereditarily for one or more generations according to the date at which the original grant had been made, although they were exempted from the obligation to render service to Government. The result is that these *Saranjamdars* are receiving grants in the form of Cash Allowances from Government Treasury without rendering any service whatsoever to Government. The loss sustained by Government on account of *Saranjams* is represented by the Cash Allowances paid to the *Saranjamdars* annually from the Government Treasury. The following table shows the annual loss suffered by Government on this account :

Annual Loss to Government on Account of *Saranjams*

District	Cash Payment to <i>Saranjamdars</i>		
	Rs.	a.	P-
Poona .. .. .	34,091	11	11
Sholapur .. .. .	10,651	13	9
Ahmednagar .. .. .	30,590	12	5
Satara .. .. .	25,447	9	3
Khandesh .. .. .	38,714	5	5
Bijapur .. .. .	11,738	12	1
Nasik .. .. .	47,037	10	4
Belgaum .. .. .	32,875	12	4
Ratnagiri .. .. .	1,079	2	3
Kolaba .. .. .	1,655	10	6
Dharwar .. .. .	30,091	0	3
Southern M.C. .. .. .	3,378	15	1
Satara Political Agency .. .. .	158	8	0
Total .. .. .	2,67,501	11	7

17. There are altogether 104 *Saranjamdars* in the Presidency. This means that each *Saranjamdar* is receiving annually Rs. 2,500 on an average without rendering any service to Government. I might mention that out of the 104 *Saranjamdars*, 54 are Brahmins, 38 are Marathas, 7 are Musalmans, 3 are Kayasthas. 1 is a Paradeshi Rajput and 1 is a Mahar.

18. (II) *Non-Political*—The holders of Non-Political *Inams*, included (1) the District Officers and (2) Village Officers, who were employed by the Peshwas in the matter of Revenue collection and Administration.

### (1) DISTRICT OFFICERS :

19. The District Officers formed a class which comprised the old hereditary officials known as Desais, Deshmukhs, Deshpandes etc; who constituted the Taluka agency of the Peshwa Government for the collection of the Revenue and which was replaced by the British Government by the agency of *Mamlatdars* and *Mahalkaris*. The principle adopted for making a settlement with them was that of “Commutation of Service” by which they were allowed to retain the greater part of their allowances, a levy of some amount varying from 3 to 8 annas only in the rupee being made as commutation and also as a cure for possible defect of title.

20. The annual loss sustained by Government on account of this settlement with the District Officers is given below :—

*Annual Loss to Government on Service Inam Lands held by District Officers whose Offices have been abolished*

Division	Assessment on lands less quit Rent		
	Rs.	a.	p.
I Northern Division	Rs. 1,04,753	1	9
II Central Division	Rs. 3,16,602	7	9
III Southern Division	Rs. 3,93,189	15	8
Total Rs.	8,14,545	9	2

## (2) VILLAGE OFFICERS

21. The Village Officers were divided into the following sub-divisions :-

- (i) Those useless both to Government and to the Community.
- (ii) Those useful to the Village Community.
- (iii) Those useful to Government.

22. *Those useless both to the Government and to the Community*—This Class of *Inams* comprised of village servants such as the *Potdar*, who, besides being a village Silversmith used to assay all the money paid, either to Government or to individuals or the *Chaugula*, who was a kind of Assistant to the Patel and also had care of the Kulkarni's record. On the commutation of their *Inams*, lands held by this class of servants were settled on the following terms :—

- (i) In the Old Provinces – the full survey assessment was imposed.
- (ii) In the New Provinces – half of the full survey rate was taken.

In both areas, the lands were converted into transferable freehold.

23. *Those useful to the Village Community*—This class of *Inam* comprises village servants, such as Kumbhars, Sutars, etc., who still perform services to the village community. The settlement arrived at in their case was as follows :-

- (i) In the Old Provinces – The lands held were assessed at either half or quarter of the Survey assessment according as the service performed was more or less useful to the community.
- (ii) In the New Provinces - The land held was assessed at quarter the assessment.

The lands of this class of Village Officers being held subject to service, were made non-transferable.

24. The annual loss sustained by Government on account of the settlement made with this class of village servants will be clear from the figures given below :-

*Annual Loss to Government on Service Inam Lands held by Village Servants useful to Community on account of Commutation is shown below :*

		Rs.	a.	p.
I Northern Division	...	Rs. 79,177	0	0
II Central Division	...	Rs. 72,343	5	1
III Southern Division	...	Rs. 64,256	15	3
	Total	Rs. 2,15,777	4	4

25. *Village Officers useful to Government* – These comprised the following three classes (1) Patil, (2) Kulkarni and (3) Mahar.

26. In the case of these Village Officers they were not released from the obligation to serve. There was no commutation effected with them as was done in the case of other hereditary Officers for the obvious reason that they were an essential part of the administrative machinery. They were as much indispensable to the British as they were to the Peshwa Government which preceded it.

27. From this survey the following facts emerge :-

- (i) The Holders of Personal and *Devasthan Inams* do not render any service to the State. They are allowed by the British Government to retain the grants made to them by the Peshwa Government and enjoy the same from generation to generation without any obligation as to service. The loss to Government on their account comes annually to Rs. 6,15,649-4—10.
- (ii) The holders of Political *Inams* have been relieved by the British Government from the obligation to serve the State. But the emoluments assigned to them have been continued. Their descendants are enjoying these emoluments from generation to generation. The loss suffered by Government on their account comes annually to Rs. 2,67,501-11-7.

- (iii) The District officers of the Peshwa Government, the Desais and Deshpandes render no kind of service to the British Government. Their *Inam* lands, which were granted to them by the Peshwa Government as remuneration for services, have been continued to them by the British Government subject to a small deduction in the form of a *Judi*. This was not merely a pension to those with whom the settlement was made by the British Government for lifetime. It has also become a hereditary pension to their descendants who could lay no kind of claim to such a grant. Here again the amount of annual loss is Rs. 8,14,545-8-4.
- (iv) The Village Servants who had become useless both to the village community as well as to Government were freed from the obligation to serve. But their emoluments were not wholly resumed. They retained their *Inam* lands and in some cases paid full assessment and in others only half of the assessment.

28. These instances will show that the Government of Bombay has always treated *Watan* and *Inam* property as falling in a special class. It has never regarded it as a mere matter of remuneration for service and even in cases where it bore the character of remuneration it never applied the principle of “no work no pay.”

29. The policy now adopted in the case of levying *Judi* on the Mahar *Watan* lands is a complete departure for which there is no precedent.

30. To prove the utter inequity and injustice of treating *Watan* property of Mahars as mere remuneration I beg to draw attention to the Kulkarni *Watan*. The Kulkarni *Watan* fell in the class of *Watans* belonging to village Servants useful to Government which class included three *Watans* that of (1) the Patil, (2) the Kulkarni and (3) the Mahar. The Kulkarni *Watan* as a hereditary *Watan* continued up to 1914. In 1914 by Government Resolution No. 5070, dated 30th May 1914, the Kulkarni *Watan* was commuted and the Kulkarni was relieved of the obligation to

render service to Government. The terms on which this commutation took place were as follows :-

- (1) Payment in perpetuity to the representative Watandars, their heirs lineal, collateral, or adopted so long as any male heir to Watan lineal, collateral or adopted shall be in existence, of cash allowance equal to one-third of the *Akarni* (remuneration for collecting land revenue) and the *Potgi* paid for the year 1913-14.
- (2) Continuance to the present holders and their heirs, lineal or adopted, so long as any male heir, lineal, collateral or adopted shall be in existence of all Watan lands subject to the payment of existing *Judi* and when this amount is less than full assessment, an additional amount not exceeding one sixteenth of the full assessment subject to the condition that the additional levy together with the existing *Judi* shall not exceed the amount of full assessment on the land for the time being.
- (3) The land will remain liable to the provision of sections 10, 11, 11A and 12 of the hereditary Village Offices Act, but may be excluded from the operation of the above sections by the Collector.
- (4) The continuance of the cash allowance as also the Watan lands is made subject to the continuance of the holders as faithful subjects of the British Government.
- (5) A fractional part of a rupee is to be compulsorily purchased at twenty times its value and when the fractional part is annas 14 or more the recipient may purchase at twenty times the difference to make the rupee.

31. Of all the Watandars, the Kulkarni has been given the benefit of the most favoured nation clause. He is relieved from the obligation to serve. He does not serve, yet he retains his land which is subject only to *Judi* and is allowed to receive in perpetuity 1/3rd of the *Akarni* and *Potgi* payable to him by Government in 1913-14. Besides, although the right of the Kulkarni to serve hereditary was liquidated by Government under

the scheme of commutation, still Government has, by its Resolution, given him a preferential right to be employed as a *Talati*, an agency created by Government to replace the Kulkarni.

32. Now the question that I would like to raise is this : If the principle or policy on which Government rely is “no service no pay” or “as much service so much pay,” why is it that the said principle was not applied by the British Government in the case of (i) *Warshasandars*, (ii) *Inamdars* and *Jahagirdars*, (iii) Hereditary District Officers, (iv) other Village Officers and (v) the *Kulkarnis*, who have all been relieved from the obligations to serve but who have been allowed to retain a substantial portion of their emoluments ? Comparing the treatment given to the other Watandars and particularly the treatment given to the Kulkarni, the treatment given to the Mahars stands in a cruel contrast. The limit of discrimination against the Mahars cannot go beyond. Why is this principle applied only to the Mahars ? What is the explanation of this invidious discrimination ? I confess my inability to find any. On the contrary, I venture to suggest that the principle sought to be applied to the Mahars is a wrong principle and that the policy adopted in dealing with the other Watandars was the right principle. According to the law prevalent under the Peshwa Government, Watan property was not only heritable but it was also alienable. So that a Watandar could alienate his office as well as his Watan property. Watan property was of the nature of private property and a Watandar was its owner who could do with it as he could with his own. This was the law upto 1827 when the Bombay Government by Regulation XVI of 1827 declared for the first time the Watan property as inalienable and forbade its alienation by any sole incumbent of the office or any co-sharer of such office out of the family for a term exceeding his life time.

33. That being the view of Watan property it can be said that Government could not have acted otherwise than it did without giving great violence to the sentiment which prevails in the country among Watandars in the matter of the Watan lands. My respectful contention is that *Maharki Watan* is in no sense distinguishable from other Watans and if in the commutation of these Watans Government has not applied the policy of “no

service no pay,” or the policy of “so much work, so much pay” there is no justification why it should be applied to the *Maharki Watan*.

34. Another reason advanced for the increase of *Judi* is the necessity of making better provision for the remuneration of another class of Inferior Village Servants. In his letter No. LA 26-F, Revenue Department, dated 11th November 1938, addressed to Mr. B.K. Gaikwad, M.L.A., Mr. M. J. Desai Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Revenue Department, in justification of increased *Judi*, states :-

“3. The standard minimum remuneration of a Mahar in the Central Division is land of which the *nuksan* is Rs. 10/- to Rs. 20/- according to the size of the village or cash allowance from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. There are still many inferior village servants who do not get even this remuneration. Provision of increased emoluments for badly paid inferior village servants has been proceeding steadily. One source from which it has been made has been the reduction of the emoluments of those whose remuneration is considerably in excess of the scale.”

35. From this extract it becomes clear that one reason and perhaps the real reason for reducing the remuneration of the Mahars by increasing the *Judi* is to make provision for the better remuneration of other Inferior Village Servants. There can be no doubt that all Inferior Village Servants are grossly ill-paid and the Mahars are no better paid than other Inferior Village Servants having regard to the duties they have to perform. But assuming that there is a case for increasing the remuneration of other Inferior Village Servants, I must respectfully submit that the policy adopted by Government for carrying it out is worse than that of robbing Peter to pay Paul and is contrary to the declared policy of Government and to the provisions of the *Watan Act*.

36. In the matter of increase of *Judi* there are several Government Resolutions which lay down the terms and conditions under which Government have reserved the right to increase the *Judi* all of which have been referred to, summarised

and explained by Col. W. C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner N. D. in his letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, dated 23rd July 1877 and which is printed as Appendix IV (c) in vol. II of the Bombay Survey Settlement Manual by R. G. Gordon, I.C.S., at pp. 496-505.

37. It appears that there was some doubt with regard to the principle underlying this Resolution of the Bombay Government No. 6141 of 1st November 1875 in which the position of the Government with regard to the increase in *Judi* was laid down. Colonel Anderson felt it necessary to explain the same. The Explanation given by him in para 4 of his letter is reproduced below :-

“4. The principle of the Government Resolution No. 6141 of the 1st November 1875 is clear - it was intended to hold the emoluments of the *Watan* applicable to the last rupee to the remuneration of the Officiator as fixed from time to time, *but it was not desired to make money out of the surplus emoluments* (of a *Watan*).....” (*Italics mine*).

38. So far as the Survey Settlement Manual goes there has been no subsequent Resolution by Government disputing this interpretation of the Resolution of 1875 as given by Col. Anderson. Nor has there been any Resolution modifying the terms of the Resolution of 1875, that being so the Resolution of 1875 and its interpretation by Col. Anderson stand as the last and final pronouncement by the Government on the question of increase of *Judi*. I, therefore, submit that I am justified in saying that the present increase in the *Judi* of the *Maharki Watan* lands to remunerate other *Watan*dars is a direct violation of the Resolution referred to above.

39. The Resolution lays down two distinct limitations on the power to increase *Judi*, namely: (1) that *Judi* shall not be increased for making *i.e.*, for general finance of the Government and (2) and that *Judi* will be increased only if it becomes necessary to increase the remuneration of the Officiator. The main question that arises is: - Is increase of *Judi* on the *Maharki Watan* for increasing the remuneration of the *Mahar* Officiators? If it was, I concede that no objection to its increase on *Maharki* lands could be taken. But it is not. Admittedly the increase of

*Judi* on Maharki lands is intended to provide increase of remuneration to Bhills, Ramoshis and other Inferior Village Servants. Now by no stretch of imagination or by any far-fetched construction of the law relating to Watans can it be said that the Bhills, Ramoshis and other Inferior Village Servants Officiators who are officiating for the Mahar Watandars of a village.

40. In launching upon this policy of increasing *Judi* to provide better remuneration for Bhills, Ramoshis and other Inferior Village Servants, it seems to have been forgotten that under the Watan Act each Watan is a distinct and a separate Watan; that separate emoluments are attached to separate Watans; that the benefits of these separate emoluments are separately enjoyable only by families who are Watandars of that Watan and that a Watandar of a Watan cannot transfer his right to hold office and his right to the Watan property to any person who is not a Watandar of the same Watan. A *Patilki Watan* is separate from a *Maharki Watan* and both were separate from the *Kulkarni Watan* when it was in existence. A Patil could not transfer his right in the *Patilki Watan* to a Mahai; nor a Mahar his to a Patil. That the *Judi* on the Watan land could be increased only to pay an increase in the remuneration of the Officiator officiating for the Watandars of the same Watan is a mere corollary of the rule of law that any transfer of a Watan property to a person who is not a Watandar of the same Watan is illegal. It could not have been possible for Government to levy an increase of *Judi* on *Patilki Watan* to pay the Mahars. It could not have been possible for Government to levy a *Judi* on *Kulkarni Watan* to pay the Patil. For the same reason I submit that that is not open to Government to tax the *Maharki Watan* lands to pay for Bhills, Ramoshis and other Inferior Village Servants.

41. On the grounds stated above I have no hesitation in saying that this levy of *Judi* is the most arbitrary and illegal act on the part of Government.

42. In this connection I would like to place before Your Excellency the state of affairs which exists in some parts of this Presidency in the matter of the remuneration of the Mahars. The remuneration of the Mahars comes from three sources : (1) *Inam* Land, (2) *Baluta* from the villagers which is an annual payment in kind made by the villager to the Mahar and (3) cash payment

from the Government Treasury. The first and the last are not to be found in each district. There are many districts in which the Mahars have no *Inam* land and no cash allowance. It is only the second, namely, the *Baluta* which is found all over the Presidency and forms the principal mode of remuneration to the Mahars. The number of such villages is by no means small. In Belgaum District there are 317, in Bijapur District there are 543, in Dharwar District there are 572 and in Sholapur there are 463 villages in which there are no lands and in which the main source of income is *Baluta* to be collected from the villagers. The same is the condition in the Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts. This list of villages wherein *Baluta* is the only source of remuneration to the Mahars is not a complete list. But from the data available it is clear that while in some villages the Mahars are mainly dependent upon *Baluta*, in other villages they are entirely dependent upon it for their remuneration.

43. With regard to the *Baluta* as a mode of remunerating the Mahars, I would like in the first place to draw Your Excellency's attention to the vicious character of this mode of remuneration. The Mahars are Government servants, Government takes service from them; but for their remuneration Government refers them to the villagers. Such a system of treating Government servants will be deemed to be very strange, if not disgraceful. The practice is certainly unbecoming to any Government which calls itself civilised.

44. This vicious system of *Baluta* results in stark injustice to the Mahars in the matter of their remuneration. Government takes into its calculation the payment of *Baluta* by the villagers to the Mahars in fixing the total remuneration of the Mahars. But it is the universal experience that the Mahars never get the *Baluta*. The reason is obvious. The relations between the Mahars and the villagers are never cordial. There is no village where there is no conflict between the Mahars and the villagers. Often it happens that the relation between the Mahars and the villagers remain friendly and the Mahars work for the whole year for the villagers as well as for Government in the hope that they will get their *Baluta* from the villagers. But something happens just at the

harvest season which creates strained relations between the Mahars and the villagers, with the result that the villagers refuse to pay the Mahars their *Baluta*. Coupled with their natural desire to evade the payment of *Baluta* is this state of enmity between the Mahars and the villagers which is a feature common to all villagers in the Presidency and which is responsible for the failure of *Baluta* system. The result is that the Mahar works in the hope of getting the *Baluta* but never gets it. The Mahar has no power to compel payment of *Baluta*. He is a minority in the village and is entirely dependent upon the village. In this conflict it is he who has to suffer. What makes this injustice so unbearable is the conduct of the Government officers, who take service from the Mahars, but who never help them to recover the *Baluta* from villagers. There is provision in law whereby the Revenue authorities have power to convert the *Baluta* into cash payment and recover the same from the villagers along with the land revenue and pay it to the Mahars. But a large majority of the Government officers have consistently refused to use these powers to relieve Mahars from this injustice for the fear of annoying the villagers.

45. The *Baluta* system at one time applied to all the village-servants. It applied to the Patil and the Kulkarni as well as to the Mahars. But Government discontinued the *Baluta* system so far as the Patil and the Kulkarni were concerned from the year 1844 and substituted in its place the system of cash payment from Government Treasury. The reason given was that the Patil and Kulkarni might—by force of the authority they possessed—recover from the villagers more than their quota of *Baluta*. If this reason was a good reason for abolishing the system of payment through *Baluta* to the Patil and the Kulkarni the reason for not applying it to the Mahars is a better reason. If the Patil and Kulkarni were strong enough to recover more the Mahars are too weak to recover any. Government seems to have considered only the interests of the villagers. They have never considered the interests of the Mahars. If they had, they would have abolished so precarious a system of remuneration as *Baluta* for the Mahars as well or would have made some provision for securing prompt payment of the *Baluta* to the Mahars. It is wrong for Government to have left the Mahars to be paid by a third party

like the villagers between whom and the Mahars had no direct contractual relation exists and at the same time not prepared to exercise any pressure to see that payment is made by the third party.

46. The question is, therefore, pertinent. The Patil is not asked to depend on *Baluta*. The Kulkarni, while he was a village servant, was also not made to live on *Baluta*. Why then is the helpless Mahar alone asked to serve Government and look for the payment to the villagers with no legal means open to him for its enforcement? It is time that Government did justice by taking the responsibility of remunerating the Mahars on its own shoulders.

47. As to the cash payment as a source of remuneration, the sums fixed by Government as remuneration to Mahars are the paltriest that can be conceived of. They were fixed somewhere about 1869. Remunerations of other Government servants fixed in those days have since been increased considerably from time to time. In fairness and justice to the Mahars it cannot be denied that an increase in their remuneration is long overdue.

## II. INCREASE OF DUTIES OF INFERIOR VILLAGE SERVANTS.

48. The Government of Bombay have passed Government Resolution No. 7420/33 of the Revenue Department dated 13-9-1938 containing a list of duties to be performed by Mahars, Mangs, Vethiyas in this Presidency which impose upon them an intolerable burden and which it is impossible for these Watandars to bear. The duties prescribed in the Government Resolution came in for a good deal of angry criticism in the Haregaon Conference. The Resolutions passed in the Conference, which are appended to this Memorial, state the objections of the Inferior Village Servants to the duties prescribed by Government.

49. The contention of these Watandars is that they should not be called upon to perform duties listed at item Nos. 1, 3, 5, 9, 13 and 19 without payment of extra remuneration in the form of daily wages of not less than annas eight whenever they are called upon to perform these duties. In this I am sure, there is justice on their side. I have received several complaints from the Watandars of this Province that the Village and the Taluka

officers require the Watandars to render private service to them, such as taking a private chit to distant village, under the pretext that such service also falls under one or other of the above mentioned items. In this connection, I further beg to state that almost all Government Officers are paid Travelling and Subsistence Allowances whenever they go outside their headquarters and, therefore, it is in the fitness of the things that these Watandars, who are also Government servants, should also be given proper allowance whenever they are asked to go outside their village to compensate them for the extra expenditure they have to incur.

50. With regard to Duty No. 2 mentioned in the Government Resolution referred to above, these Watandars say that it should be confined to call the *Khatedars* by "*Bataki*" or "*Davandi*" and should not be extended to running several times after the recalcitrant *Khatedars*. In this connection, I may bring to Your Excellency's kind notice that in several instances the Watandars have to expose themselves to the risk of being assaulted and entangled by the recalcitrant *Khatedars*. In order to avoid all such contingencies, the only solution is the one proposed above.

51. With regard to Duty No. 7 mentioned in the Government Resolution referred to above which compels the Watandars to give to the village officers information about births and deaths in a village, they claim exemption. For the reasons stated below these Watandars should be exempted from doing this duty and the persons concerned should be compelled to give information of births and deaths to the Village Patil as is done in all Municipal Areas. Sometimes the Watandars boycotted by the so-called touchable villagers and are not allowed to enter the village, In such cases, it becomes impossible for the Watandars to get the necessary information, especially about births and deaths in the village and the Watandars, in consequence, are punished with a fine for no fault of their own.

52. Duty No. 15 of the said Resolution calls upon the Watandars to remove unclaimed dead bodies. In my opinion this is a duty to be discharged by the Police. The Watandars, therefore, should be exempted from performing that service.

### III. CONCLUSION

53. In conclusion, I beg to state that the grievances referred to in this Memorial are crying for redress. I have no complete information regarding the amount of *Judi* so far recovered from the Mahars. From the figure relating to Nasik district which have been supplied to me it appears that in the Nasik district alone the amount of *Judi* levied on *Maharki* lands so far under the new policy comes to about Rs. 2,201-4-11 per year. This has produced a great tension and I am afraid that if the grievances are not redressed the *Watandar Mahars* may go on a strike as per last resolution of the Haregaon Conference. I had advised them to suspend action in the hope that Government will alter their policy and do justice to them. But nothing has so far been done. I, therefore, request Your Excellency to treat this question as urgent and redress the wrong which is being done to these *Watandars* by the new policy launched by Government. If the *Mahar Watandars* affected by this policy go on a strike or come in conflict in the matter of the recovery of *Judi* by attachment of their property which I hear is going on in some places, the responsibility thereof will be on Government alone, inasmuch as the *Mahar Watandars* will have ground to say that they have tried to get their grievances redressed by constitutional means and failed.

54. I would respectfully urge that the policy adopted by Government in dealing with the Inferior Village Servants should be suspended. The issues involved are very large and controversial. They cannot be settled by the executive action of Your Excellency's Advisers, however competent they be. They can be settled only by the vote of the Legislature after all sides had the opportunity of putting their case. This is not possible now owing to the suspension of the Legislature. But the question is an old one and can wait for its solution. I am sure that the *Mahars* and other Inferior Village Servants will prefer to wait for a just and agreed solution.

‘RAJGRIHA’ DADAR,  
HINDU COLONY,  
BOMBAY - 14  
14th July 1941

I beg to remain,  
Yours Excellency's  
most obedient servant,  
B. R. AMBEDKAR.

## APPENDIX I

### Resolutions Passed at the Haregaon Conference

#### Resolution No. 1 :-

This Conference of Watandar Mahars and Mangs, Vethias and other Inferior Village Servants strongly protests against the policy of enhancing *Judi* on Mahar Inam lands recently brought into operation in the Province under which an addition to the *Judi* out of all proportion has been made on already poverty-stricken Watandar Mahars and Mangs and demands that the same policy be withdrawn immediately and the levy made thereunder be cancelled inasmuch as the said policy is contrary to the underlying principles of the Hereditary Village Offices' Act and is also harsh and unjust.

#### Resolution No. 1 A :-

This Conference resolves that the G. R. No. 7420/33, R. D. dated 13th September 1938, containing a list of duties to be performed by the Mahars and Mangs imposed an intolerable burden which it is impossible for the Watandars to bear. This Conference is of opinion that these Watandars should not be called upon to perform duties listed as item Nos. 1, 3, 5, 9, 13 and 19 without the payment of extra remuneration in the form of daily wages of not less than annas eight whenever they are called upon to perform these duties.

#### Resolution No. 1 B :-

This Conference is of opinion that these Watandars be exempted from discharging duty No. 15 for the same is in the opinion of the Conference the duty of the Police.

#### Resolution No. 1 C :-

This Conference is of opinion that the duty No. 2 should be confined to call villagers by *Bataki* and not be extended to running after several times after a recalcitrant villager.

#### Resolution No. 2 :-

This Conference is of opinion that the *Maharki Watan* be commuted on the same principles as were made applicable to the

Watan of the village servant useful to the community by Mr. Gordon in 1863 and they be relieved from the obligation to render service to the Government and the village community.

**Resolution No. 3 :-**

This Conference wishes to bring to the notice of Government that there are innumerable villages in the Presidency where the Mahars are compelled to render the services free of cost. The Conference further asserts the necessity and urgency of Government assuming the responsibility for ensuring the payment of remuneration to the Inferior Village Servants. The Conference takes this opportunity to warn Government that if no steps are taken within six months in this direction, this Conference will be constrained to advise such Mahars to refuse to render any services to Government.

**Resolution No. 4 :-**

This Conference recommends to the Government to appoint a Committee consisting of the Representatives of Watandar Mahars in the Provincial Legislature to revise the orders of the suspension and fines passed by the Revenue Officers of this Province and give effect to such order in accordance with the decisions of this Committee.

**Resolution No. 5 :-**

This Conference authorises the members of the Scheduled Class in the Bombay Legislative Assembly to wait upon His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to represent the grievances of the Watandar Mahars and the Mangs expressed in this Conference.

**Resolution No. 6 :-**

This Conference appoints a Committee of the following gentlemen to give necessary effect to the Resolutions passed by the Conference and further this Conference empowers the Committee to advise and take such action as may be necessary in furtherance of the object of the resolution.

## APPENDIX II

*Extract from the Proceedings of 23rd Backward Class Board Meeting held in the II Advisor's Room, Secretariat, Bombay, on 7th June 1940 at 11 a.m.*

### **Resolution No. 6 :-**

This Board strongly protests against the policy enhancing *Judi* on *Mahar Inam* lands recently brought into operation in the Province of Bombay under which an addition to the *Judi* out of all proportion has been made on the already poverty-stricken Watandar Mahars, Mangs and Vethiyas and demands that the same policy be withdrawn immediately and the levy made thereunder be cancelled as much as the said policy is contrary to the underlying principle of the Hereditary Village Offices' Act, and is also harsh and unjust. Mr. B. K. Gaikwad's proposal No. 2 was discussed and adopted with slight modification as Resolution No. 7. As regards the rate of payment of daily allowance, it was suggested that a Mahar or Vethiya should be given a daily allowance of annas 6 whenever he is sent out of his village to perform Government duties.

(Mr. B. K. GAIKWAD)

### **Resolution No. 7 :-**

This Board resolves that the Government Resolution No. 7420/ 33 of the Revenue Department, dated 13-9-1938, containing a list of duties to be performed by Mahars, Mangs, Vethiyas, impose upon them an intolerable burden which is impossible for these Watandars to bear. This Board is, therefore, of opinion that these Watandars should not be called upon to perform duties listed at item Nos. 1,3, 5, 9, 13 and 19 without payment of extra remuneration in the form of daily wages of not less than annas six whenever they are called upon to perform these duties.

- (a) The Board is of opinion that Watandars be exempted from discharging duty No. 15 as it is, in the opinion of the Board, a duty that should be discharged by the Police.
- (b) The Board is of opinion that No. 2 should be confined

to call the Khatedars by “Bataki” or “Davandi” and not be extended to running several times after recalcitrant *Khatedars*.

- (c) The Board is of opinion that the Watandar Mahars, Mangs, Vethiyas be exempted from discharging duty No. 7 and the persons concerned should be compelled to give information of births and deaths to the Village Patil as is done in all Municipalities.

(Mr. B.K. GAIKWAD)

**Resolution No. 8 :-**

This Board wishes to bring to the notice of Government that there is innumerable villages in the Province of Bombay where the Mahars, Mangs and Vethiyas are compelled to render Government services without any remuneration.

This Board, therefore, strongly recommends to Government that no services should be demanded from the Inferior Village Servants without giving them proper and adequate remuneration.

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## APPENDIX III

Inferior Village Servants

Duties of

GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

REVENUE DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 7420/33

Bombay Castle, 13th September 1938.

Government Memorandum, No. 7420-F/33, dated the 27th

January 1938 to the Commissioner, N. D.  
C. D.  
S. D.

Letter From the Commissioner, N.D., No. W. T. N. 1062, dated the 25th February 1938.

Letter From the Commissioner, CD., No. W. T. N. 2/27, dated the 22nd March 1938.

Letter From the Commissioner, S.D., No. W. T. N. 860, dated the 26th April 1938.

RESOLUTION :—Requests have frequently been made to Government to have the duties of Inferior Village Servants useful to Government defined so that they may know exactly what is required of them and not be made to render personal services to Government officers. Orders have been issued in paragraph 5 of Government Circular Memorandum, Political and Reforms Department, No. 1581/34, dated 25th August 1937, that no personal service should be accepted by Government servants without payment. The statement attached hereto describes the duties of the different classes of Inferior Village Servants.

2. The Oriental Translator to Government should be requested to translate the Statement into Gujarati, Marathi, Kanare and Urdu and to furnish the translations to the Manager, Government Central Press, for printing. The Manager should supply-printed copies of the translations to the Collectors in accordance with their requirements, which should be communicated direct

to him within one month of the date of this resolution. Copies of the printed translations should be supplied to every Talati and Patil. A copy should also be placed prominently in every village *chavdi*. In villages where there are no *chavdis* the copies should be displayed in some other public place.

3. The cost of printing the translations should be debited, for the purpose of press proforma account, to the head "25 General Administration."

By order of the Governor of Bombay.

M. J. Desai,

Deputy Secretary to Government.

**Accompaniment to Government Resolution, Revenue Department, No. 7420/33, dated 13th September 1938**

STATEMENT SHOWING LISTS OF THE DUTIES OF  
DIFFERENT CLASSES OF INFERIOR VILLAGE  
SERVANTS

*Duties of Mahars, Dheds, Vethias, Bhangis and Madhavis*

- (1) To carry Government remittances to the Sub-treasury.
- (2) To call the villagers at the *chavdi* to pay Government dues.
- (3) To carry the village *daftar* to and from the taluka kacheri.
- (4) To keep a watch on government money and office records at the village and on property attached for recovery of Government dues.
- (5) To take Government *tapal* to and from the taluka office and to take Government post officers on tour, where there are facilities for transport.
- (6) To accompany village officers and touring officers at the time of crop and boundary mark inspection, and to show roads to officers and other travellers.
- (7) To take news of births and deaths to village officers.
- (8) To carry distrained moveable property to the village *chavdi*.

- (9) To summon persons on whom notices, etc., are to be served and assist the Police Patil in serving summonses issued by Magistrates, Police, etc.
- (10) To carry chains and cross-staff, plane table and other instruments of the measurers to the field for Government work.
- (11) To accompany the Police Patil and Police at the time of the night round where there are no *jaglyas* appointed to do the work.
- (12) To publish Government orders in the village by beat of drums.
- (13) To take impounded cattle to the kacheri for auction when necessary.
- (14) To assist the vaccinator in collecting children for vaccination.
- (15) To help in the disposal of unclaimed dead bodies found in a village and to help the police in the removal of dead bodies for *post-mortem* examination wherever called upon by the police to do so.
- (16) To help the Police Patil in case of accidental deaths and fires and outbreaks of epidemics and epizootics.
- (17) To report movements of members of the criminal tribes and criminals and to assist the police in investigation of and prevention of the commission of crimes,
- (18) To keep guard over prisoners in the Police Patil's custody.
- (19) To set up camp offices in the village.

*Duties of Ramoshis or Ravaniyas and Vartaniyas*

- (1) To be present at the chavdi at the time of the collection of the land revenue.
- (2) To accompany Mahars or Dheds carrying remittance to the taluka headquarters.
- (3) To render assistance to Government officers on duty in the village for Government work.
- (4) To watch property attached for recovery of Government dues.

- (5) To call villagers in the collection season when necessary.
- (6) To do a round at night and help the police in patrolling on night duty in the arrest of criminals, in the detection of crime and at the time of inquests on accidental deaths.
- (7) To assist in the prevention of the commission of thefts and other offences.
- (8) To report the movements of criminal tribes and notorious criminals to the Police Patil and about criminal offences and accidents, etc.
- (9) To carry the daftar of village officers.
- (10) To assist the village officers at the time of the recovery of land revenue.
- (11) To accompany the village officers at the time of the crop inspection.
- (12) To Keep guard over persons in the custody of Police Patil.

#### *Duties of Chaugulas and Naikwadis*

- (1) To carry the daftar of the village officers.
- (2) To assist the village officers at the time of the recovery of the land revenue.
- (3) To accompany the village officers at the time of the crop inspection.
- (4) To keep the village *chavdi* clean and light the lamps there.

#### *Duties of Jaglyas*

- (1) To keep watch at night, to find out all arrival and departures, to observe strangers and to report all suspicious persons to the Police Patil.
- (2) To trace a thief by footsteps.
- (3) To assist the police in the investigation of crime.
- (4) To accompany remittances from the village to the taluka.
- (5) To accompany village officers at the time of crop and boundary marks inspection.

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*Duties of Talbadas and Kolis*

- (1) To clean the *chavdi* by sweeping and cowdunging it and to light lamp in it.
- (2) To assist village officers in the work of crop and boundary marks inspection.
- (3) To make *bandobast* when Government officers camp in the village so far as the public duties of these officers require it.

*Duties of Samadis or Walikars, Talwars, Holkars and Ugranis*

- (1) To help the village officers in the collection of Government revenue.
- (2) To help the Police Patil in serving summonses, etc., issued by magistrates and the police.
- (3) To keep watch over the village records and public money, or "*Muddemal*" in cases when there is occasion for it to be done at the village.
- (4) To escort the remittances of treasury or money to the taluka or mahal sub-treasury.
- (5) To carry the post of the village and touring officers from place to place where there are no other facilities for its transport.
- (6) To do night patrolling in the village.
- (7) To keep guard over prisoners in the Police Patil's custody.
- (8) To show the way to touring officers from village to village where there are no roads, at walking pace, to the minimum extent necessary to give adequate directions.
- (9) To report information about births and deaths to the Police Patil.
- (10) To call villagers to the village chavdi when they are required for Government work.
- (11) To accompany village officers and other officers on field inspections.
- (12) To assist vaccinators in collecting children for vaccination.

- (13) To carry village records from village to taluka and *vice versa*.
- (14) To assist village officers when on tour in the village in the performance of their public duties.
- (15) To keep the village *chavdis* clean.
- (16) To set up camp offices in the village.

*Duties of Barkers*

- (1) To keep the village *chavdi* clean.
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## 7

### **\*Why Indian Labour is Determined to Win the War**

#### *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Broadcast from Bombay Station of All India Radio*

“Labour is aware that, if this is a war against the New Nazi Order, it is not a war for the Old Order. It is a war on both the Old Order and the Nazi Order. Labour is aware that the only compensation for the cost of this war is the establishment of a New Order in which liberty, equality, and fraternity will not be mere slogans but will become facts of life,” said the Hon’ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Member for Labour, Government of India, broadcasting recently on “Why Indian Labour is determined to win this War” from the Bombay Station of A.I.R.

Here is the full text of Dr. Ambedkar’s broadcast :

There is to be a series of broadcasts by persons who are connected with and interested in Labour. My talk tonight is the first of this series. The subject of my talk is of a general sort. It is to serve as an introduction to the series. The title I have chosen for the subject is ‘Why Indian Labour is determined to win this War’. There is one fact which must arrest the attention of all. It relates to the attitude of Indian Labour towards the War. In the midst of this sudden surge of non-co-operation with and opposition to the war effort which we are witnessing in India, Labour has been actively co-operating in the prosecution of the war. Of this there can be no question. This, Labour has done and is determined to do notwithstanding the many efforts that are being made to dissuade it from doing.

#### **What Labour Wants**

During the war Labour has secured many gains and will no doubt secure many more. As pointed out by me recently, Labour has obtained

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\*Indian Information, January 1, 1943, pp. 16-19.

security through legislation. It has obtained the right to safety, care and attention, through the conditions of welfare which have been enforced by the Central Government upon the Employers for the benefit of Labour. But, if Labour is determined to do its utmost to accelerate the war effort, it is not simply because of the lure of these immediate gains. There are other and stronger reasons which are at the base of this determination. Labour is not content with securing merely fair conditions of work. What Labour wants is fair conditions of life. Let me explain what Labour means by fair conditions of life.

### **Liberty, Equality, Fraternity**

Labour wants liberty. There is perhaps nothing new in this. What is new is Labour's conception of liberty. Labour's conception of liberty is not merely the negative conception of absence of restraint. Nor is Labour's conception of liberty confined to the mere recognition of the right of the people to vote. Labour's conception of liberty is very positive. It involves the idea of Government by the people. Government by the people, in the opinion of Labour, does not mean Parliamentary Democracy.

Parliamentary Democracy is a form of Government in which the function of the people has come to be to vote for their masters and leave them to rule. Such a scheme of Government, in the opinion of Labour, is a travesty of Government by the people. Labour wants Government which is Government by the people in name as well as in fact. Secondly, liberty as conceived by Labour includes the right to equal opportunity and the duty of the State to provide the fullest facilities for growth to every individual according to his needs.

Labour wants equality. By equality Labour means abolition of privileges of every kind in law, in the civil service, in the Army, in taxation, in trade and in industry : in fact the abolition of all processes which lead to inequality.

Labour wants fraternity. By fraternity it means an all-pervading sense of human brotherhood, unifying all classes and all nations, with "peace on earth and goodwill towards man" as its motto.

### **The Nazi New Order**

These are Labour's ideals. They constitute the New Order, the establishment of which alone can save humanity from destruction. How

can this New Order be established if the Allied Nations lose the war? That is the supreme question which Labour knows it would be fatal to shirk or to avoid. Can this New Order be established by sitting idle and refusing to fight? Labour believes that Victory for the Allied Nations is the only hope of such a New Order coming into being. If the Allies fail, sure enough there will be a New Order. But the New Order will be no other than the Nazi Order. It will be an Order in which liberty will be found to be suppressed, equality denied, and fraternity expurgated as a pernicious doctrine.

This is by no means the whole of the Nazi New Order. There are parts of the Nazi Order which must compel every Indian to give anxious thought to its dangers, no matter what his religion, his caste and his political faith. The most important part is the one which enunciates the creed of racial gradation. This is the principal dictum in the Nazi Order. The Nazis regard the German Race as the Race of Superman. They are pleased to place the other White Races below the German race. But to the Brown Races—and Indians are included in this category—they give the last place in the gradation. As though this is not humiliating enough, the Nazis have declared that the Brown Races shall be the serfs of the German and the White Races. They are not to have education, they are not to have any liberty—political or economic.

### “A Direct Menace”

The fury with which the British Government has been denounced by Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* for having given Indians education and political liberty, is quite well-known. The Nazi ideology is a direct menace to the liberty and freedom of Indians. Given this fact, there is the strongest reason why Indians should come forward to light Nazism. No one who compares the Nazi Order with the New Order which Labour has in view, can have any doubt that Labour, in making up its determination to fight for the Allies and to defeat and destroy Nazism, has taken up a position which is the only position which all sensible people can take. There are, however, people who refuse to take this view.

There are some who think that they do not mind a Nazi victory' and the coming of the New Nazi Order. Fortunately, not many of these are to be found in the country. Those who take this view are not serious

themselves. Nobody takes them seriously. They are embittered politicians who will not be satisfied unless they are allowed to dictate their way and whose motto is "all or nothing"

There are pacifists who argue that all wars are wrong. They argue that the troubles of the world are largely due to the wars that have devastated and defaced human civilisation which men have built up at the cost of so much human effort. This is true. But in spite of all this, Labour refuses to accept pacifism as a principle of life. Wars cannot be abolished by merely refusing to fight when attacked. Peace obtained by surrender to the forces of violence is not peace. It is an act of suicide for which it is difficult to find any justification. It is a sacrifice of all that is noble and necessary for maintaining a worthy human life to the forces of savagery and barbarism.

Surrender is not Labour's way to abolish war. Only two things will, in the opinion of Labour, abolish war. One is to win the war and the other is to establish a just peace. In the view of Labour both are equally important. Labour holds that the origin of war does not lie in man's thirst for blood. The origin of war is to be found in the vile peace that victors often impose upon the vanquished. According to Labour, the duty of the pacifist is not to sulk and to refuse to fight when war is on. Labour believes that the duty of the pacifist is to be active and alert both when the war is on and also when the terms of peace are being forged. The pacifist fails to do the right thing at the right time. The pacifists are active against war when war is on. They are inactive and indifferent when the war is over and peace is being made. In this way pacifists lose both, war as well as peace. If Labour proposes to fight this war, it is because pacifism is not the Labour's way of abolishing war.

### **French Revolution Recalled**

There are pessimists who say that there is no guarantee that victory will be followed by a New Order. There is perhaps room for this pessimism. The New Order, which is the ideal of labour, has its roots in the French Revolution. The French Revolution gave rise to two principles—the principle of self-government and the principle of self-determination. The principle of self-government expresses the desire of the people to rule itself rather than be ruled by others whether the

rulers be absolute monarchs, dictators, or privileged classes. It is called 'democracy'.

The principle of self-determination expresses the desire of a people united by common ideals and common purposes to decide, without external compulsion ; its political status—whether independence, interdependence, or union with other peoples of the world. This is called nationalism. The hope of humanity was centred on the fructification of these principles. Unfortunately, after a lapse of nearly 140 years, these principles have failed to take root. The old regime has continued either in all its nakedness or by making sham concessions to these two principles. Barring a few countries, there was neither self-government nor self-determination in the world. All this, of course, is true. But this is no argument against the attitude taken by labour—namely, that the preliminary condition for the establishment of the New Order is victory over the forces of Nazism. All that this means is that Labour must be more vigilant and that the war must not stop with victory over Nazis, but there must be no peace unless there is victory over the Old Order wherever it is found.

### **Labour And Nationalism**

More serious opponents of Labour are, of course, the Nationalists. They accuse Labour of taking an attitude which is said to be inconsistent with and injurious to Indian nationalism. Their second objection is that Labour agrees to fight for the war without getting any assurances about India's independence. These are questions so often posed and so seriously argued that it is necessary to state what labour thinks of them.

As to nationalism, Labour's attitude is quite clear. Labour is not prepared to make a fetish of nationalism. If nationalism means the worship of the ancient past—the discarding of everything that is not local in origin and colour—then Labour cannot accept nationalism as its creed. Labour cannot allow the living faith of the dead to become the dead faith of the living. Labour will not allow the ever expanding spirit of man to be strangled by the hand of the past which has no meaning for the present and no hope for the future : nor will it allow it to be cramped in a narrow jacket of local particularism. Labour must constantly insist upon renovating the life of the people by being ever ready to borrow in order to repair, transform and recreate the body

politic. If nationalism stands in the way of this rebuilding and reshaping of life, then Labour must deny nationalism.

Labour's creed is internationalism. Labour is interested in nationalism only because the wheels of democracy—such as representative Parliaments, responsible Executive, constitutional conventions, etc.—work better in a community united by national sentiments. Nationalism to Labour is only a means to an end. It is not an end in itself to which Labour can agree to sacrifice what it regards as the most essential principles of life.

### **Independence : A Wrong Approach**

As to independence, Labour fully recognises its importance. But Labour thinks that there is a wrong approach to the question of independence and a misunderstanding about its importance. The independence of a nation *ex hypothesi* does not tie it up to any particular form of government or organisation of society. External independence is quite compatible with internal slavery.

Independence means nothing more than that a nation has liberty to determine its form of government and its social order without dictation from outside. The worth of independence depends upon the kind of government and the kind of society that is built up. There is not much value in independence if the form of government and the order of society are to be those against which the world is fighting today. Labour thinks that more emphasis ought to have been placed on *New India*—and less on *'Quit India'*. The appeal of a New India with a New Order is bound to be greater than the appeal of independence. Indeed the vision of a New Order in a New India would very greatly strengthen determination to win freedom. Such an approach would certainly have stopped the many embarrassing questions which are being asked, namely, freedom for what and freedom for whom.

Secondly, immediate realisation of independence as a condition for support to the war effort, Labour finds it difficult to understand. This condition marks a sudden development in the attitude of some people to the war effort, and could be justified only if there was any sudden conspiracy to rob India of her right to freedom. But there is no evidence of any such conspiracy. Nor can such conspiracy, if there were any, succeed no matter who the conspirators are. In the view of Labour no

one can deprive India of her right to freedom if she demands it with the combined strength of united people. If India's independence is in the balance, it is because of disunity among Indians. The enemies of India's independence are Indians and no others.

### **Labour And War**

Labour's attitude to this war is framed after a full realisation of what is involved in the war. Labour is aware that it must win the war as well as peace if war is to be banished from the world. Labour is aware that it is not enough to defeat the Nazis and to destroy the possibilities of the New Nazi Order, it is not a war for the Old Order. It is a war on both the Old Order and the Nazi Order. Labour is aware that the only compensation for the cost of this war is the establishment of a New Order in which liberty, equality, and fraternity, will not be mere slogans but will become facts of life. But the question of all questions is how can the hope of this New Order materialise? On this question Labour is quite emphatic. Labour insists that for the materialisation of all these ideals there is one condition that is primary—and that is success in the war. Without success in the war there can be no self-government and self-determination for India. Without victory in the war, independence will be idle twaddle. This is the reason why Labour is determined to win this war.

### **Two Features Of Present War**

This war is full of potentialities for good. It promises to give birth to a New Order. Labour finds that this war is different from other wars. There are two features which distinguish it from other wars. In the first place, this war is not altogether a war for the division of the world's territory amongst the most powerful nations of the world as the preceding wars have been. In this war the division of the world's territory is not the only cause. This is a war in which there is a conflict of ideologies relating to the forms and systems of Government under which humanity is to live. In the second place this war is not altogether a mere war as other wars have been. Its object is not merely to defeat the enemy, to march on to his capital and to dictate a peace. This war besides being a war is also a revolution—a revolution which demands a fundamental change in the terms of associated life—a replanning of the society. In this sense it is a people's war, and if it is not, it could and should be made into a people's war.

Given these facts, Labour cannot be indifferent to this war and to its outcome. Labour is aware how the efforts in the past for the establishment of a New Order have been frustrated time and again. That is because democracy, after it was brought into being, was left in Tory hand. If the people of the world take care to see that this mistake is not committed again in future, Labour believes that by fighting this war and establishing the New Order the world can be made safe for democracy.

### **Correct Leadership**

The country needs a lead and the question is who can give this lead. I venture to say that Labour is capable of giving to the country the lead it needs. Correct leadership apart from other things, requires idealism and free thought. Idealism is possible for the Aristocracy, though free thought is not. Idealism and free thought are both possible for Labour. But neither idealism nor free thought is possible for the middle-class. The middle-class does not possess the liberality of the Aristocracy, which is necessary to welcome and nourish an ideal. It does not possess the hunger for the New Order, which is the hope on which the labouring classes live. Labour, therefore, has a very distinct contribution to make in bringing about a return to the sane and safe ways of the past which Indians had been pursuing to reach their political destiny. Labour's lead to India and Indians is to get into the fight and be united. The fruits of victory will be independence and a New Social Order. For such a victory all must fight. Then the fruits of victory will be the patrimony of all, and there will be none to deny the rights of a united India to share in that patrimony.



## 19

### \* First Session of Plenary Labour Conference

#### *Dr. Ambedkar on Social Security*

Following is the full text of the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Member for Labour, at the first session of the Plenary Labour Conference in New Delhi, Monday, September 6 :—

I welcome you to the first session of the Plenary Labour Conference. Thirteen months ago, on August 7 last year, the representatives of the Provincial Governments, Indian States, Employers and Employees were invited by the Government of India to meet in Delhi in a Tripartite Labour Conference.

The motive for calling such a Conference was twofold. For a long time the conviction had gained ground that the industrial problems and problems of Labour Welfare could not be solved unless the three parties—Government, Employers and Employees—developed a sense of responsibility towards one another, showed more respect for the views of one another and agreed to work in a spirit of give and take and that there was not much chance of such a sense of mutual respect and responsibility growing up so long as one was engaged in talking at the other. A plan to bring them together and to let them talk to each other across the table was felt to be necessary for the realization of this purpose.

Although the idea of such Tripartite Organization was there, it is doubtful if it would have taken concrete shape so quickly if the war had not made the maintenance of Labour Morale an urgent and immediate necessity. The war has hastened the implementation of the Tripartite Organization in another way.

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\* Indian Information, September 15, 1943, pp. 143-44.

## **Bold Policy**

Under the stress of the war, the Government of India was called upon in increasing degree to deal with industrial problems and problems of Labour Welfare and I am glad to be able to say that it did not hesitate to take a very bold line of action.

It undertook the task of converting unskilled men by giving them technical training and establishing numerous training schools.

It introduced two new principles in the prevailing Labour Code which are of far-reaching importance and which mark a significant departure from tradition.

It took upon itself as its duty and responsibility the right to prescribe fair wages and fair conditions of service.

It also took upon itself as its duty and responsibility to compel employers and employees to submit their disputes to arbitration. This is not all. The Government of India undertook the responsibility for ensuring the welfare of Labour, not merely by directing what should be done for the well-being of the workers but also by appointing an agency of its own to see if the directions issued by it are carried out or not.

This bold policy was taken on its own initiative and judgment. It was, however, felt that it would be better for the Labour policy of the Government of India if a machinery was created to enable it to obtain advice from Provincial and State Governments, from Employers and Employees to enable it to act confidently in the discharge of the new duties which had fallen upon it.

## **Two Bodies Constituted**

It was for this double purpose that the Tripartite Labour Conference was called. It was put to the Conference whether the time had not arrived for establishing a permanent and a representative body to discuss industrial problems of Labour Welfare both in their legislative and administrative aspects and also to advise the Government of India as to the most satisfactory line of action in dealing with those problems. The representatives who were then present unanimously accepted the proposal and resolved to constitute two bodies, one bigger to be called the Plenary Labour Conference and the other smaller to be called the Standing Labour Committee.

The Tripartite Labour Conference has its genesis in the exigencies of war. But I am happy to say that it is to last beyond the war. It is going to be an institution which will have a permanent place in the economic structure of the country.

Nobody, I am sure, will have any doubt as to the wisdom of the decision taken in favour of having such a representative forum for the discussion of industrial and labour problems. A survey of the work done during the last 13 months will be sufficient to remove it.

Since August 7, 1942, when these two bodies came into being there have been three meetings of the Standing labour Committee. The Agenda of the first meeting of the Standing Labour Committee comprised subjects such as Wartime Labour Legislation, Problems of production such as settlement of disputes, absenteeism, Hours of work, Industrial Fatigue, Health Research Boards, Earnings of Labour, Dearness Allowances, Profit Bonuses, Savings, Questions of Welfare, Cost-price grain shops, Joint Committee for A.R.P. and Welfare work ; and Rounding-off Wage Payments in view of the shortage of small coins.

The Agenda for the second meeting covered subjects like : Supply of Essential food articles to Labour, Joint Adjudication under Defence of India Rule 81-A, and Deferred Bonuses.

The third meeting was devoted to the consideration of a fair wage clause in Government Contracts, Joint Production Committees, Appointment of Labour Officers in Industrial undertakings, Working of the Defence of India Rule 81-A, Establishment of Employment Exchanges, and Collection of Statistics under the Industrial Statistics Act.

This will give an idea of the very wide range of the subjects which have been discussed by the Standing Labour Committee. It has not been possible to come to unanimous decisions on matters which have been discussed.

### **Extremely Useful**

But the discussions have been extremely useful and the Government of India having been greatly benefitted by them. Owing to want of unanimity the Government of India could not take positive action on most of the matters that were discussed. But where there has been

unanimity the Government of India has not been slow to accept those decisions and give effect to them. In support of this I would refer here to certain items such as the War Injuries (Compensation Insurance) Act and the National Service (Technical Personnel Amendment) Ordinance. Other instances would be the Industrial Statistics Act and the Employment Exchanges Scheme. Action in consonance with the decisions of the Conference under both these will be taken very soon.

### **Fundamental Change In Outlook**

There may be many to whom this progress may appear to be very meagre. To them I would say that theirs is the wrong perspective. There are no short cuts to progress and one cannot be sure that short cuts will be right cuts. Progress by peaceful means is always a slow process and to impatient idealists like myself it is sometimes painfully slow. In an old country like India, with no tradition of collective action and no trace of social conscience progress is bound to be slower. No one need be disheartened by this. For to my mind what matters is not so much the rate of progress as the nature of the outlook.

Looking at the Tripartite Conference from this point of view I have no hesitation in saying that the great achievement of the Tripartite Conference is the fundamental change it has brought about in the outlook of Government and of Employers and of Employees on labour problems. No one who has participated in these Conferences could have failed to sense it. Assured of a healthy and wholesome change in the outlook we can confidently hope for acceleration in the rate of our progress.

### **ITEMS ON AGENDA**

The Agenda of this Plenary Labour Conference include eight items. They are:—

- (i) Involuntary unemployment, due to shortage of coal, raw materials etc.
- (ii) Social Security; Minimum wages.
- (iii) Principles of fixing dearness allowance.
- (iv) Provisions for standing orders on the lines of the provisions in Chapter V of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, in large industrial concerns.

- (v) Adoption of the Rules of Procedure for the Plenary Conference.
- (vi) Setting up of Tripartite Organizations in Provinces.
- (vii) Representation of Labour in the Legislatures and other Bodies.
- (viii) Model Rules for Provident Funds.

Of these items, there are two the importance of which I am sure will not escape you. I refer to Social Security and the Representation of Labour. They are inseparable. What is significant is that they are inescapable. They are matters of serious consideration all over the world and the Beveridge Report is only one instance of the general interest which the problem has aroused all over the world. We in India cannot shut our eyes to them. It is not for me to tell you how you should deal with them or what would be the correct attitude to take in regard to them. But you will permit me to make two observations which are germane to the issues which they cover. The first is this.

### **Two Contradictions**

Those who are living under the capitalistic form of industrial organization and under the form of political organization called Parliamentary Democracy must recognize the contradictions of their systems. The first contradiction is between fabulous wealth and abject poverty not in its simple form but in its aggravated form in which we see it, wealth to those who do not work and poverty for those who do.

The second contradiction lies between the political and the economic systems. In politics, equality ; in economics, inequality. One man one vote, one vote one value is our political maxim. Our maxim in economics is a negation of our political maxim. There might be differences of opinion in the matter of resolving these contrasts. But there can be no difference of opinion on the point that these contradictions do exist.

It is true these contradictions, though glaring, passed unnoticed by the mass of the people. But today the situation has changed and the contrasts which even the *keenest* was not aware of are now brought home even to the *dullest*.

The second observation I wish to make is this. Ever since the basis of social life was changed from status to contract insecurity of life has

become a social problem and its solution has occupied the thoughts of all those who believe in the betterment of human life. There has been an enormous energy spent in enunciating the rights of man and the different sorts of freedom which must be regarded as his inalienable birthright. All this, of course, is very good, very cheering. What I wish to say is that there will be very little security unless and until, to use the words of the Report of the Economic Group of the Pacific Relations Conference, these rights are translated into terms which the common man can understand, namely, peace, a house, adequate clothing, education, good health, and, above all, the right to walk with dignity on the world's great boulevards without the fear of a fall.

### **For Dignified Existence**

We, in India, cannot fail to recognize these problems or bypass them. We must be prepared for the revaluation of values. It will not be enough to make industrial development of India as our goal. We shall have to agree that any such industrial development shall be maintained at a socially desirable level. It will not be enough to bend our energies for the production of more wealth in India. We shall have to agree not merely to recognise the basic right of all Indians to share in that wealth as a means for a decent and dignified existence but to devise ways and means to insure him against insecurity.

Before I conclude there is one matter to which I would like to make reference. Discussions at our meetings have sometimes tended to be rather discursive and unbusinesslike.

I have no intention to be over-critical in this matter, but I would ask delegates to be as brief as possible and to keep to the point at issue. I do not wish to restrict the opportunities of any delegate to participate in the discussion and to make his contribution but I would ask you to remember that what we want to get at is the view of the delegate. He is welcome to explain his views. But the statement of his views need not always be accompanied by an elaborate chain of reasoning, at any rate where the reasoning is of the obvious kind. I am sure every one of you is as anxious as I am to make our proceedings thoroughly businesslike and thereby avoid laying ourselves open to the charge which Carlyle levelled against the House of Commons.

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**SCHEDULED CASTES' EMANCIPATION  
—DRAFT MANIFESTO—**

“An Executive Committee Meeting of All India Scheduled Castes Federation was held at the Residence of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar at New Delhi on 6th Oct. 1951 to decide the Election Manifesto.”<sup>1</sup>

In that meeting a decision was taken, not to have alliance with Congress, Hindu Maha Sabha, R.S.S., Communist Party and Jan Sangh. The power to have the alliance with other Politicat Parties was delegated to the adhoc committee comprising Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, N. Shivraj and Bapusaheb Rajbhoj. It was also decided that the *adhoc* Committee would take the appropriate decisions.

“The emphasis was given to make the ‘Samata Sainik Dal’ of ‘Scheduled Castes Federation’ stronger and effective.”

“The manifesto prepared by ‘Scheduled Castes Federation’ was approved unanimously. The press wrote columns after columns speculating about the proposed manifesto. Indians and Western Journals welcomed the manifesto released on 7th October 1951 which was unique, unparalled and outspoken.”<sup>2</sup>

The copies of manifesto were circulated to the representatives of news papers well in advance. Accordingly the leading news paper ‘The Times of India’ dated October 3rd, 1951 reacted under the above title which is as follows :—

“... Seeking to fight the battle against poverty on two fronts, the Federation, it is understood, will advocate birth control to limit population and urge measures for increased and intensified agriculture and industrial production. The Federation considers rapid industrialization as very essential but is of a view that agriculture would continue to be the foundation of Indian economy. As regards administration, the Federation will press for the creation of linguistic provinces. It will insist on stringent action against corruption and black-marketing in all phases of life, particularly against Ministers or Officers who are corrupt. The Federation will advocate reduction of expenditure in the army, re-levy of the salt tax, abolition of prohibition

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<sup>1</sup> : Khairmode, Vol. 10, P. 147.

<sup>2</sup> : Janata, October 13th, 1951.

and nationalisation of Insurance. As regard the foreign policy, the manifesto is expected to emphasize that India's first duty should be to herself. It will urge the reversal of the present policy which is stated to have converted India's friends into her enemies and the prevailing antagonism between the United States and India, is mentioned as an instance ....."<sup>1</sup>

**To the Men and Women of India who are expected to think before they vote. To the men and women of India who are expected to believe that public good should come before selfish gain.**

## **ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES FEDERATION**

Scheduled Castes Federation is an All-India Political Party of the Scheduled Castes, established by the Scheduled Castes. In the following pages an attempt is made to set out (1) its Principles, (2) its Policy, (3) its Programmes and (4) its terms of Co-operation with other political parties.

**by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar**

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<sup>1</sup>: The Times of India, dated 3rd October 1951, under title—'Scheduled Castes' Emancipation : Draft Manifesto'

Reprinted, Khairmode, Vol. 10, P. 147.

## Principles of the Party

1. The attitude of the Party in public affairs will be governed by the following principles :-

- (1) It will treat all Indians not only as being equal before the law but as being entitled to equality and will accordingly foster equality where it does not exist and uphold it where it is denied.
- (2) It will regard every Indian as an end in himself with a right to his own development in his own way and the State as only a means to that end.
- (3) It will sustain the right of every Indian to freedom-religious, economic and political— subject to such limitations as may arise out of the need for the protection of the interests of other Indians or the State.
- (4) It will uphold the right of every Indian to equality of opportunity subject to the provision that those who have had none in the past shall have priority over those who had.
- (5) It will keep the State ever aware of its obligation to make every Indian free from want and free from fear.
- (6) It will insist on the maintenance of liberty, equality and fraternity and will strive for redemption from oppression and exploitation of man by man, of class by class and of nation by nation.
- (7) It will stand for the Parliamentary System of Government as being the best form of Government both in the interest of public and in the interest of the individual.

2. There are two considerations which should be borne in mind in assessing the implication and sincerity behind these principles. The first consideration is that these principles though adopted by the Federation are for the benefit of all the down-trodden humanity in India. The Federation in that sense cannot be accused of being a communal organization. It may be that it is not open to all, nonetheless it is out to serve all and co-operate with all who prove worthy of co-operation.

3. There may not be anything new in the Principles of the Scheduled Castes Federation. They will be found in the manifestoes of most political parties. But there are two considerations which distinguish the Federation from other Political Parties. The first consideration is that the principles of the Federation are not adopted by the Federation merely to look politically respectable or merely to delude the voters. They are natural to the Federation. They are borne out of the social condition of the Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Castes Federation cannot exist without adopting these principles and without holding up to those principles and living up to them. The principles of the Scheduled Castes Federation are the life book of the Scheduled Castes Federation. They are not the external marks of a political faith. They are the outward register of the inward feeling. They are not cloak worn for the purpose of winning the election. Many parties may adopt these principles. But no party can be so true to the principles as the Scheduled Castes Federation. This is the second consideration in valuing the principles of the Federation.

### **The Policy of the Party**

4. The policy of the Party will be to try to give effect to the principles set out above. The policy of the Party is not tied to any particular dogma or ideology such as Communism, or Socialism, Gandhism, or any other ism. The Party will be ready to adopt any plan of social and economic betterment of the people irrespective of its origin and provided it is consistent with its principles. Its outlook on life will be purely rational and modern, empiricist and not academic.

### **The Programme of the Party**

#### **I. Old Problems**

5. The programme of any Political Party in India must be integrally connected with the legacy left by the British. The legacy of the British has its credit side, and also its debit side. On the credit side must be reckoned (1) a uniform system of law, (2) a uniform system of justice, and (3) a uniform system and administration. On the debit side must be reckoned (1) maintenance of the archaic

social system prevalent among the people of the country, (2) maintenance of the privileged class in education and in the Services, both Civil and Military, (3) complete neglect of the Untouchables, of the Backward Classes and of the Tribal People, (4) impoverization of the country.

### **A. Problem of Raising the Backward Classes**

6. The Scheduled Castes Federation will fight for the raising of the Backward Classes, the Untouchables and the Tribal people both in the matter of Education and Services. This will receive topmost priority in the plan of action by the Federation and will be treated as fundamental. Neither delay or want of means will be allowed to stand in the way of carrying this part of the Programme into effect. The sort of Education which the Scheduled Castes Federation has in mind with regard to these classes is not primary education, not even Secondary Education. What it has in mind is advanced education of such high order, both in this country and outside, which will enable these classes to fit themselves for taking hold of administration. Similarly, in the matter of services, the Scheduled Castes Federation will insist on reservation, subject to minimum qualifications, so long as these classes are not able to find their place in the Civil and Military services of the country. Today there is rampant a worst sort of communalism in the Civil and Military services of the country by the higher classes. The services have become the monopoly of a few communities. When the lower classes are trying to break this monopoly by demanding that they who are at present excluded from services, are decried as communalists. The Scheduled Castes Federation will not allow this perverted logic to stand in the way of the non-privileged classes in the way of the fulfilment of their demand for occupying their rightful place in the affairs of this country.

7. The Scheduled Castes Federation believes that the gulf between the higher classes and the lower classes in this country is already very great. This gulf has already created a good deal of enmity between them. The murders, arsons and loot that were committed by members of the lower classes against members of the higher classes in 1948 in certain parts of India after the murder of Mr. Gandhi shows how deep rooted this enmity is.

The Scheduled Castes Federation is firmly of opinion that to remove the cause of this enmity is to give the lower classes the higher education and to open to them the door of services is the only solution of this problem. The artificial distinction between higher classes and lower classes based on birth must come to an end soon. But it cannot come to an end except by raising the lower classes to the level of the higher classes in the matter of education.

### **B. The Problem of Poverty**

8 (7) The economic condition of India has been described by the Planning Commission in very realistic terms. It says :-

- (i) The population of the Indian Union (excluding Jammu and Kasmir) has increased from 235.5 million in 1901 to 356.9 million in 1951—an increase of about 52 per cent over the half-century. The rate of increase for the first two decades was relatively low, but it has risen since then. Between 1921 and 1931, the increase was 11 per cent; for 1931-41, it was 14.3 per cent; and, for 1941-51, it was 13.4 per cent.
- (ii) There has been very little change in the occupational structure, despite considerable development of industries. In 1911, about 71 per cent of the working population was engaged in agriculture. For 1948, the National Income Committee puts this figure at about 68.2 per cent. Agriculture affords employment for only a part of the year, so that a large proportion of the workers engaged in this occupation are more or less idle for the rest of the year. There is thus a great deal chronic underemployment in the country.
- (iii) Sown area per person has shown a steady tendency to decline. For British India, sown area per person went down from 0.88 acre in 1911-12 to 0.72 acre in 1941-42. For 1948, i.e., after partition, the estimated sown area per person in the Indian Union works out at 0.71 acre. Evidence as to the trend of yields per acre is not

conclusive. From some of the published figures available, it would appear that in respect of certain food crops, at any rate, the trend has been downward. It is difficult to assess the over-all trend of productivity in agriculture, but the broad picture that emerges suggests conditions of stagnation in this respect.

8. The Problem of poverty is thus a double edged problem. From one point of view it is a problem of more production both in Agriculture and in Industry. From another point of view, it is a problem of controlling the excessive growth of population. Both sides are equally important. The Scheduled Castes Federation proposes to fight the battle against poverty on both the fronts.

9. For the purpose of reducing population, it would advocate an intensive propaganda in favour of birth-control among the people. It will advocate the opening of birth control clinics in different parts of the country. It regards the growing rate in the increase of population in the country so grave an evil that it would not hesitate to advocate more drastic methods of controlling it.

10. For the purpose of increasing production, the Scheduled Castes Federation will not be bound by any dogma or any pattern. The Pattern of industrial enterprise will be a matter regulated by the needs of the time and circumstances. Where national undertaking of an industry is possible and essential, the Scheduled Castes Federation will support national undertaking. Where private enterprise is possible and national undertaking not essential, private enterprise will be allowed. Looking at the intense poverty of the people of this country no other consideration except that of greater production and still greater production can be the primary and paramount condition. A pre-conceived pattern of industry cannot be the primary or paramount consideration. The remedy against poverty is more production and not the pattern of production. Once reservation, the Scheduled Castes Federation must however make. Any scheme of production must in the view of the Scheduled Castes Federation remain subject to one overriding consideration namely that there should be no exploitation of the working classes.

11. While the rapid industrialisation of the country is very essential in the opinion of the Federation agriculture is bound to remain the foundation of India's economy. Any scheme of increased production which does not take into account the re-construction of Indian agriculture is doomed to disappointment.

12. The Federation holds that for increased production in agriculture the following plan must be adopted :—

- (i) Agriculture must be mechanised. Agriculture in India can never become prosperous so long as the method of cultivation remains primitive.
- (ii) To make mechanised farming possible, cultivation on small holdings must be replaced by large farms.
- (iii) To increase the yield, there must be provision for adequate manuring and for the supply of healthy seeds.

13. It is not possible for the average agriculturist to adopt this plan and work upon it. He has no means to bear the cost involved in the plan. The Scheduled Castes Federation believes that the plan should be put into effect by the State. The first item in this plan should be the responsibility of the State. The State should supply all the mechanized equipment to the farmer on hire and at a rental to be recovered along with the land revenue.

14. With numerous small holdings, the problem of creating large scale farms becomes very difficult. But the problem must be solved either by introducing Co-operative farms or collective farms.

15. Although India is an agricultural country, there are a vast number of people who are just landless labourers, who are ekeing out a miserable living and who are exploited by cultivators and majority of whom are Untouchables and other backward classes. There is no need why this body of landless labourers should be left to their fate resulting in their misery

and in the poverty of the country. This is all the more regrettable because the situation is not beyond remedy. In this connection the following figures relating to available land in India are very instructive :

Total Geographical area	811	million acres.
Total area under agriculture	577	million acres
Total area under forest	84	million acres
Cultivable waste	93	million acres
Uncultivable waste	93	million acres
Current fallow	62	million acres
Net land under agriculture	244	million acres

From these figures it is quite clear that there are 93 million acres of land which is cultivable waste and which can be brought under cultivation. Surely, it cannot be beyond modern science to reclaim this vast amount of cultivable waste land and make it available for cultivation. The Scheduled Castes Federation will take up this question.

16. The prosperity of the agriculturist must depend upon the maintenance of forest belts spread over the country. Without forests belts proper degree of rainfall will not be assured and agriculture in India will continue to be the gamble in rain as it has always been in the past. The Federation would urge for more and more afforestation of the uncultivable waste land.

17. Agriculture in the narrow sense of the term can never be a profitable pursuit. It must be supplemented by subsidiary industries which are called cottage industries. But no cottage industry worth the name will be possible without an adequate supply of electricity. Generation of electricity is in the opinion of the Scheduled Castes Federation the foundation of economic prosperity of India and the Scheduled Castes Federation will strive for the realization of the river valley projects, the purpose of which is to produce irrigation, to produce electricity and to stop floods.

18. Just as land has been neglected so also landless labourers have been neglected. The Federation will reserve land out of uncultivated land or reclaimed land for the

benefit of landless labourers and will also introduce for them the principle of minimum wages.

## II. New Problems

19. So far the manifesto has dealt with the way the Scheduled Castes Federation proposes to deal with the old problems which the British left as a legacy to India. Since Independence, new problems have come up. They fall into two divisions—

- (A) Problems of Internal Administration, and
- (B) Problems of Foreign Relations

### A-Problems of Internal Administration

20. Among the problems of Internal Administration the glaring ones are :—

- (i) The Problem of Linguistic Provinces;
- (ii) The Problem of restoring purity of Administration ;
- (iii) The Problem of Control and Black-marketeers;
- (iv) The Problem of Inflation and the distress due to rising cost of living.

21. The Problem of Linguistic Provinces is most urgent. The quarrels within linguistic units in the States of Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay have made it impossible for democracy to work. There must be social peace among various linguistic units if our constitution is to work on purely political considerations. For that purpose Linguistic States is the only remedy. The Federation will press for the creation of Linguistic States.

22. . The Scheduled Castes Federation believes that corruption in administration is wholly the creation of the Congress. The Congress imply does not believe in punishing the corrupt. Charges have been made by members of the Congress itself against congress ministers of corruption and graft not in one State but in many states. The Congress High Command did not even think it necessary to make inquiries. Instead of making inquiries into these charges

and punishing the guilty Ministers the Congress High Command has suppressed those who have made such charges thereby openly protected the corrupt and the dishonest. When Ministers at the top are corrupt how could officers below fail to be corrupt? The Federation will urge stern action against ministers or officers who are corrupt and raise the standard of administration which has fallen so low during and owing to the Congress regime.

23. The problem of control and Black-marketeers is also the result of the close association between the Congress and Big Business. The Congress throughout its life has been financed by Big Business and is reared upon the support of Big Business. From what has recently been revealed to be happening in the State of U. P. this association between the Congress and Big Business bids fair to continue. Congress is prepared to sell Big Business power in exchange for election fund and Big Business is ready to buy power by giving money to Congress to run its election. Much of the remedy lies in the hand of the Voter himself. If he realizes that he must not support a candidate who is backed by Big Business he will greatly help to solve the problem. The Federation which is miles away from Big Business will see to it that the Big Business does not run the Government of country.

24. The problem of inflation seems to have come to stay. It is allowed to despoil the life of the people. It has never been given the consideration it deserves. The Federation will press for its immediate solution.

### **B- Problems of Foreign Policy**

25. It is a fact that on the date of India's Independence all nations were the friends of India and wished her well. Today the situation is just the reverse. India has no friends. All nations are her adversaries, if not actual enemies. This ghastly change in the situation is the result of the Foreign Policy of the Congress Government. This change of front by foreign nations towards India within the last three years is due to India's policy regarding Kashmir, regarding the admission of Communist China in the United Nations Organisation and in regard to the Korean War.

26. On the Kashmir issue, the policy adopted by the Congress Government is not acceptable to the Scheduled Castes Federation. This policy if continued will lead to a perpetual enmity between India and Pakistan, and the possibility of war between the two countries. The Scheduled Castes Federation believes that it is essential for the good of both countries that they should be good and friendly neighbours. For this purpose the proper policy to adopt towards Pakistan should be based upon two considerations. (1) There should be no talk about the annulment of the partition of India. Partition should be accepted as a settled fact not to be reopened and that the two countries to continue as two separate sovereign States. (2) That, Kashmir to be partitioned— the Muslim area to go to Pakistan (subject to the wishes of the Kashmiries living in the Valley) and the non-Muslim area consisting of Jammu and Ladhak to come to India.

27. This policy has the best chance of producing friendly relations between the two countries, and the Scheduled Castes Federation will press for its acceptance.

28. The other centre of our foreign policy which has made other nations our enemies is China. India is made to fight her battle for entry in the United Nations Organisation as a permanent member thereof. This is an extraordinary thing. Why should India fight the battle of China when China is quite capable of fighting her own battle? This championing of the cause of Communist China by India has been responsible for the prevailing antagonism between India and America with the result that it has become impossible for India to obtain financial and technical aid from America.

29. We refused Dominion Status. We became an Independent Country. Subsequently we agreed to remain in the British Commonwealth— and yet our relations with the other countries is not at friendly.

30. In our foreign policy we have not been able to make a distinction between Capitalism and Parliamentary Democracy. The dislike of Capitalism is understandable. But we take care that

we do not weaken Parliamentary Democracy and help Dictatorship to grow. It would be like throwing the baby out of the bath but in emptying it of dirty water.

31. India's first duty should be to herself. Instead of fighting to make Communist China a permanent member of the U. N. O. India should fight for getting herself recognised as the permanent member of the U. N. O. Instead of doing this, India is spending herself in fighting the battle of Mao as against Chaing kai Shek. This quixotic policy of saving the world is going to bring about the ruination of India and the sooner this suicidal foreign policy is reversed the better for India. Before championing the cause of Asiatic countries, India must strive every nerve, must seek every aid to make herself strong. Then only will her voice be effective. This will be the line of Foreign Policy that the Scheduled Castes Federation will pursue.

### III. Question of Resources :

33. Programme is not a mere matter of words or ideas. If it is to be put into action, it is necessary to find the necessary finance. Nobody will take a Party's programme seriously unless and until the Party is able to show how it is going to foot the bill.

34. Although the amount required for the programme set out by the Federation is by no means small, the financial problem is not unmanageable. The Scheduled Castes Federation suggests the following ways of raising finances for the development of the country :-

- (i) Reduction of Expenditure over the Army.
- (ii) Re-levy of the Salt tax.
- (iii) Abolition of prohibition and the saving of Excise Revenue,
- (iv) Nationalisation of Insurance.

35. The total revenues of the Government of India are about Rs. 350 crores out of this the Army is eating up more than 50 per cent of the Revenues or nearly Rs. 180 crores per annum. This is a colossal expenditure on defence in a country where people are dying of starvation. On the basis of the settlement of the Kashmir issue in the way suggested in the Manifesto and the change in the

foreign policy and creation of friendly relations with other foreign nations, there should be no risk in reducing the defence expenditure by Rs. 50 crores per year.

36. There is no reason why the levy of the Salt tax should not be resumed. The giving up of the levy of the Salt tax was a concession to mere sentiment. It has not made Salt cheap. Instead salt has become very dear. The only thing that has happened is that the State has lost a valuable source of revenue which used to produce Rs. 11 crores of revenue per year and which has seriously handicapped the State in advancing the development of the country. The incident of the tax on the people will be nothing even if it is levied at a rate which will produce Rs. 30 crores per year.

37. Prohibition is sheer madness. Its progress must not only be arrested but it must be immediately abolished. It has produced more evils than those it was intended to stop. Manufacture of liquor has become a cottage industry. Formerly only men drank liquor. Now women and children also drink because liquor is manufactured in every home in the presence of women and children. It has produced more crime and worst soil of demoralisation of the lower classes.

38. From the point of view of conserving the resources of the State it is a huge waste. The excise revenue of Part 'A' States in 1945-46 was Rs. 51.67 crores. In 1950-51, it was 25.23 crores. The Budget estimates for 1951-52 is 24.95 crores. The figures for 1945-46 includes the prepartitioned Punjab and Bengal. Nevertheless, broadly the statement can be made that the loss on account of prohibition in part 'A' States is of the order of Rs. 25 crores a year. This does not, however, take into account the possible rise in excise revenue that might have taken place in the absence of prohibition.

39. For Bombay, excise revenue in 1946-47 was Rs. 9.74 crores. In 1950-51, it was 1.20 crores and the budget estimates for 1951-52 is 1.05 crores. The loss in excise revenue thus works out of about Rs. 8.7 crores a year.

40. The excise revenue in Madras was Rs. 16.80 crores in 1945-46. It declined to .50 crores in 1950-51. For 1951-52 the budget estimate is .36 crores. The loss in excise revenue in consequence of prohibition thus works out at Rs. 16 crores.

41. In the U. P. excise revenue in 1947-48 was Rs. 7.06 crores. For 1950-51, it was Rs. 5.93 crores and the budget estimate for 1951-52 is Rs. 5.84 crores. The loss thus works out at Rs. 1.2 crores.

42. The excise revenue in Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Bengal also shows some fall.

43. The loss in excise revenue for Bombay and Madras alone works out at almost Rs. 25 crores which is also the approximate decline in the excise revenue in part 'A' States taken together.

44. These figures are incomplete. They do not contain any data for part 'B' States. For they are not available. They also do not contain any data if the expenditure on enforcement in consequence of the adoption of the policy of prohibition.

45. From the point of equity, there is no justification for prohibition. The cost of prohibition is borne by the general public. Why should the general public be made to pay the cost of reforming a lakh or two of habitual drunkards who could never be reformed? Why should the general public be made to pay the cost of prohibition when the other wants of the public such as education, housing and health are crying for remedy? Why not use the money for development plans? Who has greater priority, the Drunkard or the Hungry? There are pertinent questions to which there is no answer except arrogance and obstinacy. Whatever happens, the policy of prohibition must be reversed and this colossal waste of public money should be put a stop to and the resources utilised for advancing general welfare.

46. As regards nationalization of Insurance it is the most profitable source of money as the following figures show :-

Total number of Insurers registered in 1950 under the Insurance Act	339
Total number of Life Insurance Policies effected in 1949	33,03,000
Sum Insured	7,39,49,00,000
Annual Income by way of Premium	37,18,00,000
Total Invested in Government Securities as required	8,64,16,000
Expenses of Management	29.2 per cent of the premium income.

47. From these figures it will be seen that the total money in the hands of the Life Insurance Companies per annum is 37 crores. Unlike Bank deposits they are not demand deposits. Not being demand deposits they can be easily invested in long term development projects. It is true that Insurance Companies invest their monies in Government Securities so that it may be said that in the last resort it is the Government which gets the Insurane money. But this is no answer to nationalization of Insurance. For the amount invested in Government Securities is very small, 9 crores out of 37 crores. Secondly, Government has to pay interest on these securities which is a needless burden on the tax-payer. Thirdly, Insurance Companies eat up annually 29 p.c. of the income from premium which came to 11 crores out of 37 crores for the year 1949. This is intolerable waste of money. All this could be stopped by nationalization.

48. The Scheduled Castes Federation will not only press for nationalization of Insurance ; it will make Insurance compulsory for all State and Private Employees. Compulsory Insurance will give security to the individual and funds for the Government for further development.

49. To sum up under the scheme set out by the Federation the available resources for the development of the country will come to-

(1) From the Army Budget	..	Rs. 50 crores
(2) From the Salt Revenue	..	Rs. 30 crores
(3) From Excise	..	Rs. 25 crores
(4) From Life Insurance	}	Figures not available.
(5) From compulsory Insurance of State and Private Employees		

50. The sources indicated can be depended upon to provide enough funds for the development of the country.

#### **IV. Co-operation between Scheduled Castes Federation and other Political Parties**

51. Mere Organization does not make a party. A party means a body of people who are bound by principles. Without principles a party cannot function as a party for in the absence of principles there is nothing to hold the members of it together. A party without principles is only a caravanserai. The Scheduled Castes Federation will not, therefore, ally itself with a Political Party which has not laid down its principles and whose constitution does not demand a pledge from its members to stand by those principles and whose principles are not in antogonism with these of the Federation.

52. It is not enough to have political ideals. What is necessary is the victory of ideals. But the victory of ideals can be ensured only by organized parties and not by individuals. For these reasons the Federation will not support independent candidates who belong to no party except in exceptional cases.

53. Secondly, the Scheduled Castes Federation would like to work in co-operation with the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes. For they are more or less in the same position as the Scheduled Castes. These classes unfortunately have not developed that degree of political consciousness which the Scheduled Castes have by reason of political and social activity of the Scheduled Castes Federation during the last twenty years. The Constitution of Free India has made the Backward Classes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes virtually the masters of the country.

Hitherto the minority of Caste Hindus have made themselves the rulers of the country. The fear of the Scheduled Castes Federation is that the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes by reason of their want of consciousness may fall a prey to the minority of Caste Hindus and continue to be their slaves instead of becoming masters of their own. The Scheduled Castes Federation's first concern is to help these Classes to get on their feet. If they so wish, the Scheduled Castes Federation would be prepared to change the name and call itself the Backward Classes Federation so as to include both sections in a common organization. If this is not possible, the Scheduled Castes Federation would be ready and willing to forge a working alliance with such organizations.

54. As regards other Political Parties, the Scheduled Castes Federation's attitude can be easily defined. The Scheduled Castes Federation will not have any alliance with any reactionary Party such as the Hindu Mahasabha or the R. S. S.

55. The Scheduled Castes Federation will not have any alliance with a Party like the Communist Party the objects of which are to destroy individual freedom and Parliamentary Democracy and substitute in its place a dictatorship.

56. The Scheduled Castes Federation does not believe in totalitarianism and, therefore, will not join a political party which is already totalitarian and which will not permit an opposition party to grow.

57. The Scheduled Castes Federation is equally opposed to the growth of multiplicity of Political Parties. The ideal of the Scheduled Castes Federation is to have two parties. That alone can give stability to the State and Freedom to the individual. The Federation will strive to bring about a two party system in this country. Such an ideal, however, does not seem to be realizable within the short time available from now and the coming general election. For the moment what is possible is to form an All India Party consisting not of individual members but of different political parties as units all having a common basis in Political principles and bound by common

discipline but each having its own autonomy in the matter of its internal organization and the setting up of candidates on some agreed basis and reciprocal obligation to support one another's candidate subject to a committee of approval. In short, the Party should be some what on the lines of the British Labour Party which is a Federal Party.

58. The Scheduled Castes Federation is prepared to be a unit of such a Federal Party if Parties such as the K.M.P. Party, the Socialist Party, the Justice Party and where no such Parties exist other Parties on the following terms and conditions :

- (i) Every Party to such an alliance must have its principles set out in clear terms;
- (ii) The principles of such a Party should not be opposed to the principles of the Scheduled Castes Federation;
- (iii) The Party seeking alliance must pledge its support for the social and economic uplift of the Scheduled Castes;
- (iv) The Party must agree to permit the Scheduled Castes Federation to function as an autonomous unit within the Federal Organization in the matter of its internal affairs; and
- (v) The Party must not be affiliated to any Party which is not recognized by Federal Party as a unit of its own.

59. With regard to individuals who seek the aid of the Scheduled Castes Federation in Election they would be required to become Associate Members of the Federation and sign a pledge to the effect that they accept the principles, the policy, the programme and the discipline of the Federation.

## 20

### \* Labour and Parliamentary Democracy

*[Speech delivered at the concluding session of the All India Trade Union Workers' Study Camp held in Delhi from 8th to 17th September 1943 under the auspices of the Indian Federation of Labour.]*

I appreciate very much the kind invitation of your Secretary to come and address you this evening. I was hesitating to accept this invitation and for two reasons. In the first place I can say very little which can bind the Government. Secondly I can say very little about Trade Unionism in which you are primarily interested. I accepted the invitation because your Secretary would not take a ' No ' from me. I also felt that this was probably the best opportunity I can have to speak out my thoughts on Labour organization in India which have been uppermost in my mind and which I thought may even interest those who are primarily interested in Trade Unionism.

The Government of human society has undergone some very significant changes. There was a time when the government of human society had taken the form of autocracy by Despotic Sovereigns. This was replaced after a long and bloody struggle by a system of government known as Parliamentary Democracy. It was felt that this was the last word in the frame work of government. It was believed to bring about the millennium in which every human being will have the right to liberty, property and pursuit of happiness. And there were good grounds for such high hopes. In Parliamentary Democracy there is the Legislature to express the voice of the people; there is the Executive which is subordinate to the Legislature and bound to obey the Legislature. Over and above the Legislature and the Executive there is the Judiciary to control both and keep them both within

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prescribed bounds. Parliamentary Democracy has all the marks of a popular Government, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is therefore a matter of some surprise that there has been a revolt against Parliamentary Democracy although not even a century has elapsed since its universal acceptance and inauguration. There is revolt against it in Italy, In Germany, in Russia, and in Spain, and there are very few countries in which there has not been discontent against Parliamentary Democracy. Why should there be this discontent and dissatisfaction against Parliamentary Democracy? It is a question worth considering. There is no country in which the urgency of considering this question is greater than it is in India. India is negotiating to have Parliamentary Democracy. There is a great need of some one with sufficient courage to tell Indians "Beware of Parliamentary Democracy, it is not the best product, as it appeared to be."

Why has Parliamentary Democracy failed? In the country of the dictators it has failed because it is a machine whose movements are very slow. It delays swift action. In a Parliamentary Democracy the Executive may be held up by the Legislature which may refuse to pass the laws which the Executive wants, and if it is not held up by the Legislature it may be held up by the Judiciary which may declare the laws as illegal. Parliamentary Democracy gives no free hand to Dictatorship, and that is why it is a discredited institution in countries like Italy, Spain and Germany which are ruled by Dictators. If Dictators alone were against Parliamentary Democracy it would not have mattered at all. Their testimony against Parliamentary Democracy would be no testimony at all. Indeed Parliamentary Democracy would be welcomed for the reason that it can be an effective check upon Dictatorship. But unfortunately there is a great deal of discontent against Parliamentary Democracy even in countries where people are opposed to Dictatorship. That is the most regrettable fact about Parliamentary Democracy. This is all more regrettable because Parliamentary Democracy has not been at a standstill. It has progressed in three directions. It has progressed by expanding the notion of Equality of Political rights. There are very few countries having Parliamentary Democracy which have not adult suffrage. It has recognized the principle of Equality of Social and Economic opportunity.

And thirdly it has recognised that the state cannot be held at bay by corporations which are anti-social in their purpose. With all this, there is immense discontent against Parliamentary Democracy even in countries pledged to Democracy. The reasons for discontent in such countries must obviously be different from those assigned by the dictator countries. There is no time to go into details. But it can be said in general terms that the discontent against Parliamentary Democracy is due to the realization that it has failed to assure to the masses the right to liberty, property or the pursuit of happiness. If this is true, it is important to know the causes which have brought about this failure. The causes for this failure may be found either in wrong ideology or wrong organization, or in both. I think the causes are to be found in both. As an illustration of wrong ideology which has vitiated Parliamentary Democracy I can only deal with only two. I have no doubt that what has ruined Parliamentary Democracy is the idea of freedom of contract. The idea became sanctified and was upheld in the name of liberty. Parliamentary Democracy took no notice of economic inequalities and did not care to examine the result of freedom of contract on the parties to the contract, should they happen to be unequal. It did not mind if the freedom of contract gave the strong the opportunity to defraud the weak. The result is that Parliamentary Democracy in standing out as protagonist of Liberty has continuously added to the economic wrongs of the poor, the downtrodden and the dis-inherited class. The second wrong ideology which has vitiated Parliamentary Democracy is the failure to realize that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy. Some may question this proposition. To those who are disposed to question it, I will ask a counter question. Why Parliamentary Democracy collapsed so easily in Italy, Germany and Russia? Why did it not collapse so easily in England and the U. S. A.? To my mind there is only one answer—namely, there was a greater degree of economic and social democracy in the latter countries than it existed in the former. Social and economic democracy are the tissues and the fiber of a Political Democracy. The tougher the tissue and the fiber, the greater the strength of the body. Democracy is another name for equality. Parliamentary Democracy developed a passion for liberty. It never made even a nodding acquaintance with

equality. It failed to realize the significance of equality, and did not even endeavour to strike a balance between Liberty and Equality, with the result that liberty swallowed equality and has left a progeny of inequities.

I have referred to the wrong ideologies which in my judgment have been responsible for the failure of Parliamentary Democracy. But I am equally certain that more than bad ideology it has bad organization which has been responsible for the failure of Democracy. All political societies get divided into two classes—the Rulers and the Ruled. This is an evil. If the evil stopped here it would not matter much. But the unfortunate part of it is that the division becomes stereotyped and stratified so much so that the Rulers are always drawn from the Ruling Class and the class of the Ruled never becomes the Ruling class. People do not govern themselves, they establish a government and leave it to govern them, forgetting that is not their government. That being the situation. Parliamentary Democracy has never been a government of the people or by the people, and that is why it has never been a government for the people. Parliamentary Democracy, notwithstanding the paraphernalia of a popular government, is in reality a government of a hereditary subject class by a hereditary ruling class. It is this vicious organization of political life which has made Parliamentary Democracy such a dismal failure. It is because of this that Parliamentary Democracy has not fulfilled the hope it held out the common man of ensuring to him liberty, property and pursuit of happiness.

The question is who is responsible for this ? There is no doubt that if Parliamentary Democracy has failed to benefit the poor, the labouring and the down trodden classes, it is these classes who are primarily responsible for it. In the first place, they have shown a most appalling indifference to the effect of the economic factor in the making of men's life. Someone very recently wrote a book called the 'End of the Economic Man'. We cannot really talk of the End of the Economic Man for the simple reason that the Economic Man was never born. The common retort to Marx that man does not live by bread alone is unfortunately a fact. I agree with Carlyle that the aim of civilization can not be merely to fatten men as we do pigs. But we are far off from that stage. The labouring class far from being fat like pigs are starving, and one wishes that they thought of bread first and everything else afterwards.

Marx propounded the doctrine of the Economic interpretation of History. A great controversy has raged over its validity. To my mind Marx propounded it not so much as doctrine as a direction to Labour that if Labour cares to make its economic interests paramount, as the owning classes do, history will be a reflection of the economic facts of life more than it has been. If the doctrine of Economic interpretation of History is not wholly true it is because the labouring class as a whole has failed to give economic facts the imperative force they have in determining the terms of associated life. The Labouring classes have failed to acquaint itself with literature dealing with the government of mankind. Everyone from the Labouring Classes should be acquainted with Rousseau's Social contract, Marx's Communist Manifesto, Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the conditions of Labour and John Stuart Mill on Liberty, to mention only four of the basic programmatic documents on social and governmental organization of modern times. But the labouring classes will not give them the attention they deserve. Instead labour has taken delight reading false and fabulous stories of ancient kings and queens and has become addicted to it.

There is another and a bigger crime which they have committed against themselves. They have developed no ambition to capture government, and are not even convinced of the necessity of controlling government as a necessary means of safeguarding their interests. Indeed, they are not even interested in government. Of all the tragedies which have beset mankind, this is the biggest and the most lamentable one. Whatever organization there is, it has taken the form of Trade Unionism. I am not against Trade Unions. They serve a very useful purpose. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that Trade Unions are a panacea for all the ills of labour. Trade Unions, even if they are powerful, are not strong enough to compel capitalists to run capitalism better. Trade Unions would be much more effective if they had behind them a Labour Government to rely on. Control of Government must be the target for Labour to aim at. Unless Trade Unionism aims at controlling government, trade unions will do very little good to the workers and will be a source of perpetual squables among Trade Union Leaders.

The third besetting sin of the labouring classes is the easy way which they are lead away by an appeal to Nationalism. The working classes

who are beggared in every way and who have very little to spare, often sacrifice their all to the so-called cause of Nationalism. They have never cared to enquire whether the nationalism for which they are to make their offerings will, when established, give them social and economic equality. More often than not, the free independent national state which emerges from a successful nationalism and which reared on their sacrifices, turns to be the enemy of the working class under the hegemony of their masters. This is the worst kind of exploitation that Labour has allowed itself to be subjected to.

If the working classes have to live under a system of Parliamentary Democracy then it must devise the best possible means to turn it to their benefit. As far as I can see, two things are necessary if this object is to be achieved. First thing to do is to discard mere establishment of Trade Unions as the final aim and object of Labour in India. It must declare that its aim is to put labour in charge of Government. For this it must organize a Labour Party as a political party. Such a party will no doubt cover Trade Unions in its organization. But it must be free from the narrow and cramping vision of Trade Unionism, with its stress on the immediate gain at the cost of ultimate benefit and with the vested right of Trade Union officials to represent Labour. It must equally dissociate itself from communal or capitalistic political parties such as the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress. There is no necessity for Labour to submerge itself in the Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha or be the camp followers of either, simply because these bodies claim to be fighting for the freedom of India. Labour by a separate political organization of its ranks can serve both the purposes. It can fight the battle of India's freedom better by freeing itself from the clutches of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. It can prevent itself from being defrauded in the name of nationalism. What is most important is that it will act as a powerful check on the irrationalism of Indian politics, Congress politics is claimed to be revolutionary. That is why it has secured a large number of followers. But it is also a fact that Congress politics has brought nothing but frustration. The reason is Congress politics is so irrational and it is irrational largely because Congress has no rival. A Labour Party in India would be most welcome corrective to this irrationalism which has dominated Indian politics for the last two decades. The second thing for Labour

in India to realize is that without knowledge there is no power. When a Labour Party is formed in India and when such a party puts forth its claim to be installed on the Gadi before the electorate, the question, whether Labour is fit to govern, is sure to be asked. It would be no answer to say that Labour could not govern worse or display greater bankruptcy in home or foreign affairs than the other classes. Labour will have to prove positively that it can govern better. Let it not also be forgotten that the pattern of Labour Government is a very difficult one than that of the other classes. Labour government cannot be a government of *laissez faire*. It will be a government which must essentially be based on a system of control. A system of control needs a far greater degree of Knowledge and training than a *laissez faire* government does. Unfortunately, Labour in India has not realized the importance of study. All that Labour leaders in India have done, is to learn how best to abuse Industrialists. Abuse and more abuse has become the be-all and end-all of his role as a labour leader.

I am therefore very glad to find that the Indian Federation of Labour has recognized this defect and has come forward to open these study circles for the Labouring Classes. They are going to be the most effective means of making Labour fit to govern. I hope the Federation will not forget the other necessity namely to inaugurate a Labour Party. When this is done, the Federation will deserve the thanks of the Labouring Classes to have raised them to the status of a governing class.

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## PART II

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### India and The Pre-requisites of Communism

*We are reproducing here the text of Chapter One and Two of 'The Hindu Social Order'. This Chapter seems to be a part of the book entitled 'India and Communism'. From the contents on the first page of the typed script, we find that Dr. Ambedkar had divided the whole book "India and Communism" into three parts. The first part was captioned as 'The Prerequisites of Communism'. This part was to have three Chapters but we could not find any of these Chapters in Dr. Ambedkar's papers. So far as the part Two is concerned which is titled "India and the Pre-requisites of Communism", only Chapter Four entitled, "Hindu Social Order" has been found in a well bound register. This Chapter has two sub-titles as follows:—*

*I—Hindu Social Order: Its Essential Principles, and II—The Hindu Social Order: Its Unique Features. No other chapters on the subjects mentioned in the table of contents of this book were found. In all, there are 63 foolscap typed pages.—Editors.*

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## CHAPTER 2

### The Hindu Social Order: Its Essential Principles

#### I

What is the character of the Hindu Social Order? Is it a free social order? To answer this question, some idea of what constitutes a free social order is necessary. Fortunately, the matter is not one of controversy. Since the days of the French Revolution there is no difference as to the essentials of a free social order. There may be more but two are fundamental. Generally speaking, they are two. The first is that the individual is an end in himself and that the aim and object of society is the growth of the individual and the development of his personality. Society is not above the individual and if the individual has to subordinate himself to society, it is because such subordination is for his betterment and only to the extent necessary.

The second essential is that the terms of associated life between members of society must be regarded by consideration founded on liberty, equality and fraternity.

Why are these two essentials fundamental to a free social order?

Why must the individual be the end and not the means of all social purposes? For an answer to this question, it is necessary to realise what we precisely mean when we speak of the human person. Why should we sacrifice our most precious possessions and our lives to defend the rights of the human person? No better answer to this question can be found than what is given by Prof. Jacques Maritain. As Prof. Maritain in his essay on "The Conquest of Freedom"<sup>1</sup> says:—

"What do we mean precisely when we speak of the human person? When we say that a man is a person, we do not mean merely that he is an individual, in the sense that an atom, a blade of grass, a fly, or an elephant is an individual. Man is an individual who holds himself in hand by his intelligence and his will; he exists not merely in a physical fashion. He has spiritual super-existence through knowledge and love, so that he is, in a way, a universe in

<sup>1</sup> Freedom—Its Meaning by Ruth Nanda Kishen. p. 214.

himself, a microcosmos, in which the great universe in its entirety can be encompassed through knowledge. By love he can give himself completely to beings who are to him, as it were, other selves. For this relation no equivalent can be found in the physical world. The human person possesses these characteristics because in the last analysis man, this flesh and these perishable bones which are animated and activated by a divine fire, exists 'from the womb to the grave' by virtue of the existence itself of his soul, which dominates time and death. Spirit is the root of personality. The notion of personality thus involves that of totality and independence, no matter how poor and crushed a person may be, he is a whole, and as a person subsistent in an independent manner. To say that a man is a person is to say that in the depth of his being he is more a whole than a part and more independent than servile. It is to say that he is a minute fragment of matter that is at the same time a universe, a beggar who participates in the absolute being, mortal flesh whose value is external and a bit of straw-into which heaven enters. It is this metaphysical mystery that religious thought designates when it says that the person is the image of God. The value of the person, his dignity and rights, belong to the order of things naturally sacred which bear the imprint of the Father of Being, and which have in him the end of their movement."

Why is Equality essential ? The best exposition of the subject is by Prof. Beard in his essay on 'Freedom in Political Thought' and I shall do no more than quote him. Says Prof. Beard<sup>1</sup> :

"The term 'Equality' is unfortunate, but no other word can be found as a substitute. Equality means 'exactly the same or equivalent in measure, amount, number, degree, value, or quality'. It is a term exact enough in physics and mathematics, but obviously inexact when applied to human beings. What is meant by writers who have gone deepest into the subject is that human beings possess, in degree and kind, fundamental characteristics that are common to humanity. These writers hold that when humanity is stripped of extrinsic goods and conventions incidental to time and place, it reveals essential characteristics so widely distributed as to partake of universality. Whether these characteristics be called primordial qualities, biological necessities, residues or any other name matters little. No one can truthfully deny that they do exist. It is easy to point out inequalities in physical strength, in artistic skill, in material wealth, or in mental capacity, but this too is a matter of emphasis. At the end it remains a fact that fundamental

<sup>1</sup> Freedom — Its Meaning—pp. 11-13.

characteristics appear in all human beings. Their nature and manifestations are summed up in the phrase 'moral equality'.

Emphasis must be placed on the term 'moral'. From time immemorial it has been the fashion of critics to point out the obvious facts that in physical strength, talents, and wealth, human beings are not equal. The criticism is both gratuitous and irrelevant. No rational exponent of moral equality has even disputed the existence of obvious inequalities among human beings, even when he has pointed out inequalities which may be ascribed to tyranny or institutional prescriptions. The Declaration of Independence does not assert that all men are equal; it proclaims that they are 'created' equal.

In essence the phrase 'moral equality' asserts in ethical value, a belief to be sustained, and recognition of rights to be respected. Its validity cannot be demonstrated as a problem in mathematics can be demonstrated. It is asserted against inequalities in physical strength, talents, industry, and wealth. It denied that superior physical strength has a moral right to kill, eat, or oppress human beings merely because it is superior. To talents and wealth, the ideal of moral equality makes a similar denial of right. And indeed few can imagine themselves to have superior physical strength, talents and wealth will withhold from inferiors all moral rights. In such circumstances government and wealth would go to superior physical strength; while virtue and talents would serve the brute man, as accomplished Greek slaves served the whims, passions and desires to Roman conquerors. When the last bitter word of criticism has been uttered against the ideal of moral equality, there remains something in it which all, except things, must accept and in practice do accept, despite their sheers and protests. A society without any respect for human personalities is a band of robbers."

Why is Fraternity essential?

Fraternity is the name for the disposition of an individual to treat men as the object of reverence and love and the desire to be in unity with his fellow beings. This statement is well expressed by Paul when he said 'Of one blood are all nations of men, There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female; for yet are all one in Christ Jesus.' Equally well was it expressed when the Pilgrim Fathers on their landing at Plymouth said: "We are knit together as a body in the most sacred covenant of the Lord ..... by virtue of which we hold ourselves tied to all care of each others' good and of the whole." These sentiments are of the essence of fraternity. Fraternity strengthens socialties and gives to each individual a stronger personal

interest in practically consulting the welfare of others. It leads him to identify his feelings more and more with their good, or at least with an even greater degree of practical consideration for it. With a disposition to fraternity he comes as though instructively to be conscious of himself as being one who of course pays a regard to others. The good of others becomes to him a thing naturally and necessarily to be attended to like any of the physical conditions of our existence. Where people do not feel that entireness of sympathy with all others, concordance in the general direction of their conduct is impossible. For a person in whom social feeling is not developed cannot but bring himself to think of the rest of his fellow-beings as rivals struggling with him for the means of happiness when he must endeavour to defeat in order that he may succeed in himself.

What is Liberty and why is it essential in a free social order?

Liberty falls under two classes. There is civil liberty and there is political liberty. Civil liberty refers to (1) liberty of movement which is another name for freedom from arrest without due process of law (2) liberty of speech (which of course includes liberty of thought, liberty of reading, writing and discussion) and (3) liberty of action.

The first kind of liberty is of course fundamental. Not only fundamental it is also most essential. About its value, there can be no manner of doubt. The second kind of liberty which may be called freedom of opinion is important for many reasons. It is a necessary condition of all progress intellectual, moral, political and social. Where it does not exist the status quo becomes stereotyped and all originality even the most necessary is discouraged. Liberty of action means doing what one likes to do. It is not enough that liberty of action should be formal. It must be real. So understood, liberty of action means effective power to do specific things. There is no freedom where there are no means of taking advantage of it. Real liberty of action exists only where exploitation has been annihilated, where no suppression of one class by another exists, where there is no unemployment, no poverty and where a person is free from the fear of losing his job, his home and his food as a consequence of his action.

Political liberty consists in the right of the individual to share in the framing of laws and in the making and unmaking of governments. Governments are instituted for securing to men certain unalienable rights such as life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Government must, therefore, derive its powers from those whose rights it is charged with the duty to protect. This is what is meant when it is said that the existence, power and authority of the Government must be derived from the consent of the governed. Political liberty is really a deduction

from the principle of human personality and equality. For it implies that all political authority is derived from the people that the people are capable of directing and controlling their public as well as private lives to ends determined by themselves and by none else.

These two tenets of a free social order are integrally connected. They are inseverable. Once the first tenet is admitted, the second tenet automatically follows. Once the sacredness of human personality is admitted the necessity of liberty, equality and fraternity must also be admitted as the proper climate for the development of personality.

## II

How far does the Hindu social order recognise these tenets? The inquiry is necessary. For it is only in so far as it recognizes these tenets that it will have the title to be called a free social order.

Does the Hindu social order recognise the individual? Does it recognise his distinctiveness his moral responsibility? Does it recognise him as an end in himself, as a subject not merely of disabilities but also of rights even against the State? As a starting point for the discussion of the subject one may begin by referring to the words of the exodus where Jehova says to Ezekiel:—

“Behold! all souls are mine; as the soul of the Father, so also the soul of the son is mine; the soul that sinneth, it shall die ..... the son shall not bear the iniquity of the Father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked upon him.”

Here is emphasized the distinctiveness of the individual and his moral responsibility. The Hindu social order does not recognise the individual as a centre of social purpose. For the Hindu social order is based primarily on class or Varna and not on individuals. Originally and formally the Hindu social order recognized four classes: (1) Brahmins, (2) Kshatriyas (3) Vaishyas and (4) Shudras. Today it consists of five classes, the fifth being called the Panchamas or Untouchables. The unit of Hindu society is not the individual Brahmin or the individual Kshatriya or the individual Vaishya or the individual Shudra or the individual Panchama. Even the family is not regarded by the Hindu social order as the unit of society except for the purposes of marriage and inheritance. The unit of Hindu society is the class or Varna to use the Hindu technical name for class. In the Hindu social order, there is no room for individual merit and no consideration of individual justice. If the individual has a privilege it is not because it is due to him personally. The privilege goes with the class, and if he is

found to enjoy it, it is because he belongs to that class. Contrawise, if an individual is suffering from a wrong, it is not because he by his conduct deserves it. The disability is the disability imposed upon the class and if he s found to be labouring under it, it is because he belongs to that class.

Does the Hindu social order recognize fraternity ? The Hindus like the Christians and the Muslims do believe that men are created by God. But while the Christians and the Muslims accept this as the whole truth the Hindus believe that this is only part of the truth. According to them, the whole truth consists of two parts. The first part is that men are created by God. The second part is that God created different men from different parts of his divine body. The Hindus regard the second part as more important and more fundamental than the first.

The Hindu social order is based on the doctrine that men are created from the *different parts* of the divinity and therefore the view expressed by Paul or the Pilgrim Fathers has no place in it. The Brahmin is no brother to the Kshatriya because the former is born from the mouth of the divinity while the latter is from the arms. The Kshatriya is no brother to the Vaishya because the former is born from the arms and the latter from his thighs. As no one is a brother to the. other, no one is the keeper of the other.

The doctrine that the different classes were created from different parts of the Divine body has generated the belief that it must be divine will that they should remain separate and distinct. It is this belief which has created in the Hindu an instinct to be different, to be separate and to be distinct from the rest of his fellow Hindus. Compare the following rules in the Manu Smriti regarding the Upanayan or the Investiture of a body with the sacred thread:—

II. 36. “In the eighth year after conception, one should perform the initiation (Upanayan) of a Brahmani in the eleventh after conception (that) of a Kshatriya but in the twelfth that of a Vaishya.”

II. 41. “Let students according to the order (of their castes), wear (as upper dressed) the skins of black antelope, spotted deer, and he-goats and (lower garments) made of hemp, flex or wool.”

II. 42. “The girdle of a Brahmana shall consist of a triple cord of Munga grass, smooth and soft (that) of a Kshatriya, of a bowstring, made of Murva fibres (that) of a Vaishya of hempen threads.

II. 43. “If Munga grass (and soforth) be not procurable, (the girdles) may be made of kusa, Asmantaka, and Balbaga (fibres) with

a single threefold knot, or with three or five (knots according to the custom of the family.”

II. 44. “The sacrificial string of a Brahmana shall be made of cotton (shall be) twisted to the right, (and consist) of three threads, that of a Kshatriya of hempen threads, and that of a Vaishya of woolen threads.

II. 45. “A Brahmana shall carry according to sacred law a staff of Bilva or Palasa, a Kshatriya of Vata or Khadira; and a Vaishya of Pillu or Udumbara.”

II. 46. “The staff of a Brahmana shall be made of such length as to reach the end of his hair; that of a Kshatriya to reach his forehead; and that of a Vaishya to reach the tip of his nose.”

II. 48. “Having taken a staff according to his choice having worshipped the Sun and walked round the fire, turning his right hand towards it (the student) should beg alms according to the prescribed rule.”

II. 49. “An initiated Brahmana should beg, beginning his request with the word *lady* (bhavati); a Kshatriya placing the word *lady* in the middle, but a Vaishya placing *it* at the end of the formula.”

On reading this one may well ask the reasons for such distinctions. The above rules refer to students or what are called Bramhacharia ready to enter upon the study of the Vedas. Why should there be these distinctions ? Why should the ages of Upanayana of the Brahmin boy differ from that of the Kshatriya or Vaishya? Why should their garments be of different kind ? Why should their materials of girde cords be different? Why should the material of strings be different? Why should their staves be of different trees ? Why should their staves differ in length? Why in uttering the formula for asking alms they should place the word ‘Bhavathi’ in different places? These differences are not necessary nor advantageous. The only answer is that they are the result of the Hindu instinct to be different from his fellow which has resulted from the belief of people being innately different owing to their being created from different parts of the divine body.

It is also the Hindu instinct due to the same belief never to overlook a difference if it does exist but to emphasize it, recognize it and to blazen it forth. If there is caste its existence must be signalized by a distinguishing head-dress and by a distinguishing name. If there is a sect it must have its headmark. There are 92 sects in India. Each has a separate mark of itself. To invent 92 marks each one different from the other is a colossal business. The very impossibility of it would have made the most ingenious person to give up the task. Yet, the Hindus

have accomplished it as may be seen from the pictorial representation of these marks given by Moore in his Hindu Pantheon.

The most extensive and wild manifestation of this spirit of isolation and separation is of course the caste-system. It is understandable that caste in a single number cannot exist. Caste can exist only in plural number. There can be castes. But there cannot be such a thing as a caste. But granting that theoretically castes must exist, in plural number how many castes should there be? Originally, there were four only. Today, how many are there? It is estimated that the total is not less than 2000. It might be 3000. This is not the only staggering aspect of this fact. There are others. Castes are divided into sub-castes. Their number is legion. The total population of the Brahmin castes is about a crore and a half. But there are 1886 sub-castes of Brahmin caste !! In the Punjab alone, the Saraswat Brahmans are divided into 469 sub-castes. The Kayasthas of Punjab are divided into 890 sub-castes!! One could go on giving figures to show this infinite process of splitting social life into small fragments. The splitting process has made a social life quite impossible. It has made the castes split into such small fragments that it has marital relationship consistent with the rule of excluded degrees quite impossible. Some of the Baniya sub-castes count no more than 100 families. They are so interrelated they find it extremely difficult to marry within their castes without transgressing the rules of consanguinity.

It is noteworthy that small excuses suffice to bring about this splitting of castes into sub-castes. Castes become sub-divided into sub-castes by reason of change of location, change of occupation, change in social practices, change due to pollution, changes due to increased prosperity, changes due to quarrel and changes due to change of religion. Mr. Blunt has given many instances to illustrate this tendency among the Hindus. There is no space to reproduce all except one which shows how ordinary quarrels lead to the splitting one caste into sub-castes. As stated by Mr. Blunt<sup>1</sup>:—

“In Lucknow there was a sub-caste of Khatika consisting of three *ghols or groups*, known as Manikpur, Jaiswala and Dalman. They inter-married, ate together, and met together in panchayat under the presidency of their *Chaudharis* or headmen. Twenty years ago each group had one Chaudhri, but now Jaiswala have three and Manikpur two. The quarrel was as follows. Firstly a woman (her ghol is not given) peddled fruit about the streets. The brethren ordered her to desist from the practice, which is derogatory to the caste's dignity; women should only sell in shops. Her husband and

<sup>1</sup>“The Carte system of Northern India” pp. 51-56.

she proved contumacious; and finally their own ghol, acting singly, outcasted the man. The Dalmu ghol, however, dissenting from this action admitted the husband to communion with themselves upon payment of a fine of Rs. 80 in lieu of excommunication. Secondly a man (the ghol, again is not given) was excommunicated by his own ghol, acting alone; and while his case was under trial, the Jaiswala Chaudhri invited him to dinner by mistake. Thereupon, the three ghols, acting in concert, fined the Chaudhri Rs. 30. Lastly, fines had accumulated and it was decided to hold a *Katha* (sacred recitation). The Dalmu Chaudhri said he preferred to have his share of money; but the Manikpur Chaudhri (who seems to have kept the joint purse) refused, taking up the attitude that there was going to be a *Katha* to which the Dalmu people could come or not as they liked. The matter at this stage was brought into court; meanwhile the three ghols ceased to inter-marry, so that one endogamous sub-caste split into three quarrels, ghol was pitted against ghol.

If in any caste a group should adopt some new or unusual worship of which other members do not approve, one would expect that group to break off and become an endogamous sub-caste. That such sub-castes are uncommon is due to the tolerance about what and with whom he eats and whom he marries. We do, however, find that the Mahabhiras and Panchipriya sub-castes amongst Telis, Koris and the Namakshalis amongst Barhais, Bhangis and Kadheras.”

How do these castes behave towards one another. Their guiding principle is ‘be separate’, do not intermarry ‘do not interdine’ and ‘do not touch’. Mr. Blunt<sup>1</sup> has well described the situation when he says:

“A Hindu sits down to a meal either alone or with his caste fellows. The women cannot eat with the men; they wait till their lords have finished. So long as the meal or a part of it consists of *Kachcha* food (as it usually does, since Chapatis appear at most meals), the man must dine with the precautions of a magic ceremony. He sits within a square marked off on the ground (chauka) inside which is the *Chulha* or cooking place. Should a stranger’s shadow fall upon this square, all food cooked within it is polluted and must be thrown away. In camp, Hindu servants may be seen, each well apart from the rest, each within his own chauka, cooking his food upon his own mud oven and eating alone.....

“Rules regarding the acceptance of water are on the whole the same as those regarding the acceptance of a pakka food, but with

a tendency to greater laxity. The vessel in which the water is contained affects the question. A high caste man will allow a low caste man to fill his *lota* (drinking vessel) for him; but he will not drink from the *lota* of that low caste man. Or a high caste man will give anybody (save Untouchables) a drink, by pouring water from his own *lota* into that of the drinker; all the men employed at stations to supply railway travellers with water are Barhais, Baris, Bharbhunjas, Halwais, Kahars, and Nais; and of course from higher castes still.

Rules regarding smoking are stricter. It is very seldom that a man will smoke with anybody but a caste fellow; the reason, no doubt is that smoking with a man usually involves smoking his pipe, and this involves much closer contact even than eating food which he has prepared. So stringent is this rule, indeed, that the fact that Jats, Ahirs, and Gujars will smoke together has been regarded as a ground for supposing that they are closely akin. Some castes, the Kayastha for instance, differentiates between smoking in narial fashion in which the hands are closed round the pipe and the smoke is drawn in without putting the stem actually in the mouth—and smoking in the usual way. Little need be said on the subject of vessels. There are rules laying down what sort of vessels should be made, but they are rather religious than social. Hindus must use brass or alloy (although the use of alloy is hedged about by numerous and minute injunctions, and if such vessels become impure, the only remedy is to get them remoulded). The risk of pollution makes it imperative for every man to have a few vessels of his own. The minimum consists of a *lota* (drinking vessel), *batna* (cooking pot), and *thali* (dish). Better class folk add a *Katora* (spoon) and *Gagra* (Water pot). For feasts, the brotherhood usually keep a set of larger vessels of all kinds, which they lend to the host; these are bought with the proceeds of fines, and are common property.”<sup>1</sup>

What fraternity can there be in a social order based upon such sentiments? Far from working in a spirit of fraternity the mutual relations of the castes are fratricidal. Class consciousness, class struggle and class war are supposed to be ideologies which came into vogue from the writings of Karl Marx. This is a complete mistake. India is the land which has experienced class consciousness, class struggle. Indeed, India is the land where there has been fought a class war between Brahmans and Kshatriyas<sup>2</sup> which lasted for several

<sup>1</sup> In the Northern India the bar to eating together applies only when the food is *kachcha* food. In Southern India the bar is complete and applies even when the food is *pucca* food. *Kachcha* food is food cooked in water. *Pacca* food is food cooked in ghee.

<sup>2</sup> See my book ‘Who were the Shudras?’

generations and which was fought so hard and with such virulence that it turned but to be a war of extermination.

It must not be supposed that the fratricidal spirit has given place to a spirit of fraternity. The same spirit of separation marks the Hindu social order today as may be seen from what follows:

Each class claims a separate origin. Some claim origin from a Rishi or from a hero. But in each case it is a different Rishi or a different hero having nothing to do with the Rishis and heroes claimed by other castes as their progenitors. Each caste is engaged in nothing but establishing for itself a status superior to that of another caste. This is best illustrated by rules of hypercommensality and rules of hypergamy. As pointed out by Mr. Blunt<sup>1</sup>:

“It is essential to realize that in respect of the cooking taboo, the criterion is the caste of the person who cooks the food, not the caste of the person who offers it. It follows, therefore, that a high caste Hindu can eat the food of a man of any caste, however low, if his host possesses a cook of suitable caste. And that is why so many cooks are Brahmins. The Hindu draws a distinction between kachcha food, which is cooked in water and pucca food which is cooked with ghee (clarified butter). This distinction depends on the principle that ghee, like all the products of the sacred cow, protects from impurity, and since such protection is the object of all food taboos, this convenient fiction enables the Hindu to be less particular in the case of pucca food than of kachcha food, and to relax his restrictions accordingly:

Speaking of hypergamy, Mr. Blunt<sup>2</sup> says:—

“The custom of hypergamy introduces an important modification into the marriage laws of many castes. Where it prevails, the exogamous groups are classified according to their social position; and whilst a group of highest rank will take brides from it, it will not give brides to a group of lower rank. The law is found most highly developed amongst Rajputs but it is observed by many other castes..... Indeed amongst all Hindus there is probably a tendency towards hypergamy.”

What is it that has behind these rules regarding hyper-commensality and hypergamy ? Nothing else but the spirit of high and low. All castes are infested with that spirit and there is no caste which is free from it. The Hindu social order is a ladder of castes placed one above the other together representing an ascending scale of hatred and a descending scale of contempt.

<sup>1</sup> ‘The Caste system of Northern India’ pp. 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ‘The Caste system of Northern India’.

This spirit has exhibited itself in the proverbs coined by one caste with the object of lampooning another caste. It has given rise even to literature by authors of low castes suggesting filthy origin of the so-called high caste. The Sahyadrikhand is the best illustration of it. It is one of the Puranas which form part of the Hindu sacred literature. It is a Purana of a style quite different from the traditional puranas. It deals with the origin of the different castes. In doing so, it assigns noble origin to other castes while it assigns to the Brahmin caste the filthiest origin.

Does the Hindu social order recognise equality? The answer must be in the negative. That men are born equal is a doctrine which is repugnant to the Hindu social order. In the spiritual sense it treats the doctrine as false. According to the Hindu social order though it is true that men are the children of Prajapati the Creator of the Universe, they are not equal on that account. For, they were created from the different parts of the body of Prajapati. The Brahmins were created from the mouth, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs and Shudras from his feet. The limbs from which they were created being of unequal value the men thus created are as unequal. In the biological sense, the Hindu social order does not bother to examine whether the doctrine is founded in a fact. If it was not a fact, i.e., men were not equal in their character and natural endowments of character and intelligence so much the better. On the other hand, if it was a fact, i.e., men were equal in character and natural endowments, so much the worse for the doctrine. The Hindu social order is indifferent to the doctrine as a fact. It is equally indifferent to it as an ethical principle. It refuses to recognise that men no matter how profoundly they differ as individuals in capacity and character, are equally entitled as human beings to consideration and respect and that the well-being of a society is likely to be increased if it so plans its organization that, whether their powers are great or small, all its members may be equally enabled to make the best of such powers as they possess. It will not allow equality of circumstances, institutions and manner of life. It is against equalitarian temper.

### III

If the Hindu social order is not based on equality and fraternity, what are the principles on which it is based? There is only one answer to this question. Though few will be able to realize what they are, there is no doubt as to their nature and effect on Hindu society. The Hindu social order is reared on three principles. Among these the first and foremost is the principle of graded inequality.

That the principle of graded inequality is a fundamental principle is beyond controversy. The four classes are not on horizontal plane, different but equal. They are on vertical plane. Not only different but unequal in status, one standing above the other. In the scheme of Manu, the Brahmin is placed at the first in rank. Below him is the Kshatriya. Below the Kshatriya is the Vaishya. Below Vaishya is the Shudra and below Shudra is the Ati-shudra or the Untouchable. This order of precedence among the classes is not merely conventional. It is spiritual, moral and legal. There is no sphere of life which is not regulated by this principle of graded inequality.

One can substantiate this by numerous illustrations from the Manu Smriti. I will take four illustrations to prove the point. They will be the law of slavery, law of marriage, law of punishment and law of Samskaras and law of Sanyas. The Hindu law recognised slavery as a legal institution. Manu Smriti recognised seven kinds of slaves. Narada Smriti recognised fifteen kinds of slaves. These differences as to the number of slaves and the classes under which they fall is a matter of no importance. What is important is to know who could enslave whom. On this point, the following citations from the Narada Smriti and the Yajnavalkya Smriti are revealing:

*Narada Smriti*: V. 39. "In the inverse order of four castes slavery is not ordained except where a man violates the duties peculiar to his caste. Slavery (in that respect) is analogous to the condition of a wife."

*Yajnavalkya Smriti*: XVI. 183 (2). "Slavery is in the descending order of the Varnas and not in the ascending order."

Recognition of slavery was bad enough. But if the rule of slavery had been left free to take its own course it would have had at least one beneficial effect. It would have been a levelling force. The foundation of caste would have been destroyed. For under it, a Brahmin might have become the slave of the Untouchables and the Untouchables would have become the masters of the Brahmin. But it was seen that unfettered slavery was an equitarian principle and an attempt was made to nullify it. Manu and his successors therefore while recognising slavery ordian that it shall not be recognized in its inverse order to the Varna system. That means that a Brahmin may become the slave of another Brahmin. But he shall not be the slave of a person of another Varna, i.e., of the Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra, or Ati-Shudra. On the other hand, a Brahmin may hold as his slave anyone belonging to the four Varnas. A Kshatriya can have a Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra and Ati-Shudra as his slaves but not one who is a Brahmin. A Vaishya can have a Vaishya, Shudra and Ati-Shudra as his slaves but not one who is a Brahmin or a Kshatriya. A Shudra can hold a Shudra and

an Ati-Shudra, as his slaves but not one who is a Brahmin, Kshatriya or a Vaishya. Ati-Shudra can hold an Ati-Shudra as his slave but not one who is a Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya or Shudra.

Another illustration of this principle of graded inequality is to be found in the Laws of marriage. Manu says:—

III. 12. “For the first marriage of the twice-born classes, a woman of the same class is recommended but for such as are impelled by inclination to marry again, women in the direct order of the classes are to be preferred.”

III. 13. “A Shudra woman only must be the wife of a Shudra; she and a Vaishya, of a Vaishya; they two and a Kshatriya of a Kshatriya; those three and a Brahmani of a Brahmin.”

Manu is of course opposed to inter-marriage. His injunction is for each class to marry within his class. But he does recognize marriage outside the defined class. Here again, he is particularly careful not to allow inter-marriage to do harm to his principle of inequality among classes. Like slavery he permits inter-marriage but not in the inverse order. ‘A Brahmin when marrying outside his class may marry any woman from any of the classes below him. A Kshatriya is free to marry a woman from the two classes next below him, namely, the Vaishya and Shudra but must not marry a woman from the Brahmin class which is above him. A Vaishya is free to marry a woman from the Shudra class which is next below him. But he cannot marry a woman from the Brahmin and the Kshatriya class which are above him.

The third illustration is to be found in the Rule of Law as enunciated by Manu. First as to treatment to be given to witnesses. According to Manu, they are to be sworn as follows:

VIII. 87. “In the forenoon let the judge, being purified, severally call on the twice-born, being purified also, to declare the truth, in the presence of some image, a symbol of the divinity and of Brahmins, while the witnesses turn their faces either to the north, or to the east.”

VIII. 88. “To a Brahmin he must begin with saying ‘Declare’; to a Kshatriya, with saying ‘Declare the truth’; to a Vaishya admonishing him by mentioning his kine, grain or gold; to a Shudra, threatening him with the guilt of every crime that causes loss of caste.”

Take the punishment of offences as laid down by Manu. To begin with, punishment for defamation:

VIII. 267. “A soldier, defaming a priest, shall be fined a hundred panas; merchant thus offending, a hundred and fifty, or two hundred; but for such an offence a mechanic or servile man shall be whipped.”

VIII. 268. "A priest shall be fined fifty if he slanders a soldier; twenty-five if a merchant and twelve if he slanders a man of the servile class."

Take the offence of insults. The punishment prescribed by Manu is as follows:

VIII. 270. "A Shudra who insults a Dvija with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit for he sprang from the lowest part of Brahma."

VIII. 271. "If he mentions their names and classes with contumely, as if he says, 'Oh Devadatta, thou refuse of Brahmin'; an iron style, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red into his mouth."

VIII. 272. "Should he, through pride, give instructions to Brahmins concerning their duty; let the king order some hot oil to be dropped into his mouth and his ear."

Punishment for the offence of abuse. Manu says:

VIII. 276. "For mutual abuse by a Brahmin and a Kshatriya, this fine must be imposed by a learned king; the lowest on the Brahmin and the middlemost on the soldier."

VIII. 277. "A Vaishya and a Shudra must be punished exactly in the same manner according to their respective castes, except the slitting of the tongue of the Shudras. This is the fixed rule of punishment."

Punishment for the offence of assault. Manu propounds:

VIII. 279. "With whatever limb a Shudra shall assault or hurt a Dvija that limb, of his shall be cut off, this is in accordance of Manu."

Punishment for the offence of arrogance. According to Manu:

VIII. 281. "A Shudra who shall insolently place himself on the same seat with 9 man of high caste, shall either be branded on his hip and be banished or the King shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock."

VIII. 282. "Should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both his lips to be gashed; should he urinate on him, his penis; should he break wind against him, his anus."

VIII. 283. "If he seizes the Brahmin by the locks or likewise if he takes him by the feet, let the king unhesitatingly cut off his hands, or by the beard, or by the throat or by the scrotum."

Punishment for the offence of adultery. Says Manu.

VIII. 359. "A man who is not a Brahmin who commits actual adultery ought to suffer death; for the wives, indeed of all the four classes must ever be most especially guarded."

VIII. 366. "A Shudra who makes love to a damsel of high birth, ought to be punished corporally; but he who addresses a maid of equal rank, shall give the nuptial present and marry her, if her father desires it."

VIII. 374. "A Shudra having an adulterous connection with a woman of a twice-born class, whether guarded at home or unguarded shall thus be punished in the following manner; if she was unguarded, he shall lose the part offending and all his property; if guarded everything even his life."

VIII. 375. "For adultery with a guarded Brahmin a Vaishya shall forfeit all his wealth after imprisonment for a year; a Kshatriya shall be fined a thousand panas, and he be shaved with the urine of an ass."

VIII. 376. "But if a Vaishya or Kshatriya commits adultery with an unguarded Brahmin, the king shall only fine the Vaishya five hundred panas and the Kshatriya a thousand."

VIII. 377. "But even these two however, if they commit that offence with a Brahmani not only guarded but the wife of an eminent man, shall be punished like a Shudra or be burned in a fire of dry grass or reeds."

VIII. 382. "If a Vaishya approaches a guarded female of the Kshatriya or a Kshatriya a guarded Vaishya-woman, they both deserve the same punishment as in the case of an unguarded Brahmin female."

VIII. 383. "But a Brahmin, who shall commit adultery with a guarded woman of those two classes, must be fined a thousand panas, and for the offending with a Shudra woman the fine of a thousand panas on a Kshatriya or Vaishya."

VIII. 384. "For adultery by a Vaishya with a woman of the Kshatriya classes, if guarded, the fine is five hundred; but a Kshatriya for committing adultery on a Vaishya woman must be shaved with urine or pay the fine just mentioned."

How strange is the contrast between Hindu and non-Hindu criminal jurisprudence! How inequality is writ large in Hinduism as seen in its criminal jurisprudence! In a Penal Code charged with the spirit of justice we find two things—a section dealing with defining the crime and a section prescribing a rational form of punishment for breach of it and a rule that all offenders are liable to the same penalty. In Manu, what do we find? First an irrational system of punishment. The punishment for a crime is inflicted on the organ concerned in the crime such as belly, tongue, nose, eyes, ears, organs of generation etc., as if

the offending organ was sentiment having a will for its own and had not been merely a survivor of human being. Second feature of Manu's Penal Code is the inhuman character of the punishment which has no proportion to the gravity of the offence. But the most striking feature of Manu's Penal Code which stands out in all its nakedness is the inequality of punishment for the same offence. Inequality designed not merely to punish the offender but to protect also the dignity and to maintain the baseness of the parties coming to a Court of Law to seek justice; in other words to maintain the social inequality on which his whole scheme is founded.

The principle of graded inequality has been carried into the economic field. "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need" is not the principle of Hindu social order. The principle of the Hindu social order is: "From each according to his need. To each according to his nobility." <sup>1</sup>Supposing an officer was distributing dole to a famine stricken people. He would be bound to give greater dole to a person of high birth than he would to a person of low birth. Supposing an officer was levying taxation. He would be bound to assess a person of high birth at a lower rate than he would to a person of low birth. The Hindu social order does not recognise equal need, equal work or equal ability as the basis of reward for labour. Its motto is that in regard to the distribution of the good things of life those who are reckoned as the highest must get the most and the best and those who are classed as the lowest must accept the least and the worst.

Nothing more seems to be necessary to prove that the Hindu social order is based on the principle of graded inequality. It pervades all departments of social life. Every side of social life is protected against the danger of equality.

The second principle on which the Hindu social order is founded is that of fixity of occupations for each class and continuance thereof by heredity. This is what Manu says about occupations of the four classes.

"I. 87. But in order to protect this universe, He, the most resplendent one, assigned separate (duties and) occupations, to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet.

I. 88. To Brahmanas he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda) sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms).

I. 89. The Kshatriya he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts to offer sacrifices to study (the Veda) and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures."

<sup>1</sup> The illustrations given above are not merely drawn from imagination. They are facts of history. The differentiation between high and low was recognised by law in the time of the Peshwas. The differentiation about dole exists even now in the Bombay Presidency and was defended by a Congress Minister. *These Remarks are not applicable today*—Editors.

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“I. 90. The Vaishya to tend cattle to bestow gifts to offer sacrifices to study (the Veda) and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures.”

I. 91. One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the Shudra, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes.”

These rules regarding the occupations of the different classes are further amplified by Manu as will be seen from the following citations from his Smriti:

“I. 88. To Brahmans he (Swayambhu Manu) assigned the duties of reading the Veda, of teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms if they be rich, and if indigent of receiving of gifts.

I. 89. To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Veda, to shun the allurements of sensual gratification, are in a few words, the duties of a Kshatnya.

I. 90. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largeness, to sacrifice, to read the scriptures, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land are prescribed or permitted to a Vaishya.

I. 91. One principal duty the supreme Ruler assigns to a Shudra; namely, to serve the beforementioned classes, without depreciating their worth.

X. 74. Let such Brahmans as are intent on the means of attaining the supreme godhead, and firm in their own duties, completely perform in order, the six following acts.

X. 75. Reading the Vedas, the teaching others to read them, sacrificing, and assisting others to sacrifice, giving to the poor if themselves have enough, and accepting gifts from the virtuous if themselves are poor, are the six prescribed acts of the firstborn class.”

“X. 76. But, among those six acts of a Brahman three are his means of subsistence; assisting to sacrifice, teaching the Vedas and receiving gifts from a purehanded giver.

X. 77. Three acts of duty cease with the Brahman and belong not to the Kshatriya, teaching the Vedas, officiating at a sacrifice and thirdly receiving presents.

X. 78. Those three are also (by the fixed rule of law) forbidden to the Vaishya since Manu, the Lord of all men, prescribed not those acts to the two classes, military and commercial.

X. 79. The means of subsistence peculiar to the Kshatriya are bearing arms, either held for striking or missile; to the Vajshya, merchandise, attending on cattle, and agriculture; but with a view to the next life, the duties of both are alms giving, reading and sacrificing.”

Every member must follow the trade assigned to the class to which he belongs. It leaves no scope for individual choice, individual inclination. An individual under the Hindu social order is bound to the profession of his ancestor. It is an inexorable law from which he cannot escape.

The principle does not stop with fixity of occupation. It grades the several occupations in terms of respectability. This is what Manu says:—

“X. 80. Among the several occupations for gaining a livelihood the most commendable respectively for the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas are the teaching of the Vedas, defending the people and trade.

The third principle on which the Hindu social order is founded is the fixation of people within their respective classes. There is nothing strange or peculiar in the fact that the Hindu social order recognizes classes. There are classes everywhere and no society is without them. Families, cliques, clubs, political parties, nay communities, gangs engaged in criminal conspiracies, business corporations which prey upon the public are to be found in all societies in all parts of the world. Even a free social order will not be able to get rid of the classes. What a free social order aims to do is to prevent isolation and exclusiveness being regarded by the classes as an ideal to be followed. For so long as the classes do not practise isolation and exclusiveness they are only non-social in their relations towards one another. Isolation and exclusiveness make them anti-social and inimical towards one another. Isolation makes for rigidity of class consciousness, for institutionalizing social life and for the dominance of selfish ideals within the classes. Isolation makes life static, continues the separation into a privileged and underprivileged, masters and servants.

Not so much the existence of classes as the spirit of isolation and exclusiveness which is inimical with a free social order. What a free social order endeavours to do is to maintain all channels of social endosmosis. This is possible only when the classes are free to share in an extensive number of common interests, undertakings and expenses, have a large number of values in common, when there is a free play back and forth, when they have an equable opportunity to receive and to take from others. Such social contacts must and does dissolve custom, makes for an alert and expanding mental life and not only occasion but demand reconstruction of mental attitudes. What is striking about the Hindu social order is its ban on free inter-change and inter-course between different classes of Hindu society. There is a bar against inter-dining and inter-marriage. But Manu goes to the length of interdicting ordinary social intercourse. Says Manu:

IV. 244. "He, who seeks to preserve an exalted rank, must constantly form connections with the highest and best families, but avoid the worst and the meanest.

IV. 245. Since a priest, who connects himself with the best and the highest of men, avoiding the lowest and worst, attains eminence; but sinks by an opposite conduct, to the class of the servile.

IV. 79. Not let him tarry even under the shade of the same tree with outcaste *for the great crimes*, nor with Chandalas, nor with Puccasas, nor with idiots, nor with man proud of wealth, nor with washermen and other vile persons, nor with Antyevasins."

The Hindu social order is opposed to fraternity. It does not admit the principle of equality. Far from recognising equality it makes inequality its official doctrine. What about liberty? So far as choice of occupation goes, there is none. Everyone has his occupation determined for him. Only thing left to do is to carry it on. As to freedom of speech it exists. But it exists only for those who are in favour of the social order. The freedom is not the freedom of liberalism which was expressed by Voltaire when he said "I wholly disapprove of what you say and will defend to the death your right to say it. "This is clear from what Manu has to say about Logic and dialectics.

"IV. 29-30. No guest must stay in his house without being honoured according to his ability, with a seat, food, a couch, water, or roots and fruits.

Let him not honour even by a greeting heretics, men who follow forbidden occupations, men who live like cats, rogues, logicians (arguing against the Veda) and those who live like herons.

II. 10. But by Sruti (Revelation) is meant the Vedas and by Smriti (tradition) the Institutes of the sacred law; those two must not be called into question in any matter, since from those two the sacred law shone forth.

II. 11. Every twice-born man, who, relying on the Institutes of dialectics, treats with contempt those two sources (of the law), must be cast out by the virtuous as an atheist and a scorner of the Veda. II. 12. The Veda, the sacred tradition, the customs of virtuous men, and one's own pleasure, they declare to be visibly the fourfold means of defining the sacred law." The reasons for this are made manifest by Manu who says:

II. 6. "The whole Veda is the (first) source of the sacred law, next the tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know the (Veda further) also the customs of holy men, and (finally) self-satisfaction :

II. 7. Whatever law has been ordained for any (person) by Manu; that has been fully declared in the Veda; for that (sage was) omniscient.”

In this freedom there is not freedom for dialecticians, no freedom for logicians to criticise the social order which means there is no freedom at all.

What about liberty of action ? In the sense of effective choice, there is no room for it in the Hindu social order. The Hindu social order leaves no choice to the individual. It fixes his occupation. It fixes his status. All that remains for the individual to do is to conform himself to these regulations.

The same must be said with regard to political liberty. The Hindu social order does not recognise the necessity of a representative government composed of the representatives chosen by the people. Representative Government rests on the belief that people must be governed by law and law can be made only by the representative of the people. The Hindu social order recognises the first part of this thesis which says that people must be governed by law. But it denies the second part of the thesis which says that law can be made only by the representatives chosen by the people. The tenets of the Hindu social order is that the law by which people are to be governed is already made and is to be found in the Vedas. Nobody has a right to add to and subtract from it. That being so, a representative assembly of the people is unnecessary. Political liberty which is liberty to frame laws and to make and unmake Government is futility for which there is no place in the Hindu social order.

To sum up, the Hindu social order is an order based on classes and not on individual. It is an order in which classes are graded one above the other. It is an order in which the status and functions of the classes are determined and fixed. The Hindu social order is a rigid order. No matter what changes take place in the relative position of an individual his social status as a member of the class he is born in relation to another person belonging to another class shall in no way be affected. The first shall never become the last. The last shall never become the first.



## CHAPTER 3

### The Hindu Social Order: Its Unique Features

So far the discussions were confined to describing the essentials of the Hindu social order. Besides its essentials, the Hindu social order has some unique features. These unique features are as important as the essentials. No study of the Hindu social order which does not make any reference to them can be regraded as complete or accurate.

What are these special features ? The special features of the Hindu social order are three in number. Of these three, the most striking is the worship of the superman. In this respect the Hindu social order is nothing but Nietzsche's Gospel put in action. Nietzsche himself never claimed any originality for his theory of the superman. He admitted and avowed that he borrowed it from the Manu Smriti. In his treatise, called *Anti-Christ* this is what Nietzsche said:—

“After all, the question is, to what end are falsehoods perpetrated? The fact that, in Christianity, 'Holy' ends are entirely absent, constitutes my objection to the means it employs. Its ends are only bad ends; the poisoning, the calumination and the denial of life, the contempt of the body, the degradation and self-pollution of man by virtue of the contempt of sin,—consequently its means are bad as well. My feelings are quite the reverse when I read the law book of Manu, an incomparably intellectual and superior work, which it would be a sin against the spirit even to mention in the same breath with the Bible. You will guess immediately why it has a genuine philosophy behind it. In it, not merely an evil smelling Jewish distillation of Rabbinism and superstition—it gives something to chew even to the most fastidious psychologist. And, not to forget the most important point of all, it is fundamentally different from the very kind of Bible; by means of it the noble classes, the philosophers and the warriors guard and guide the masses; it is replete with noble values, it is filled with a feeling of

perfection with saying yea to life, triumphant sense of well-being in regard to itself and to life,—the Sun shines upon the whole book. All those things which Christianity smothers with its bottomless vulgarity; procreation, women, marriage are here treated with earnestness, with reverence, with love and confidence. How can one possibly place in the hands of children and women, a book that contains those vile words;’ to avoid fornication let every man have his wife, let every woman have her own husband..... It is better to marry than to burn. And is it decent to be a Christian so long as the very origin of man is Christianised—that is to say, befouled, by the idea of the immaculate conception.”

Nietzsche never got any respectful or serious hearing in his own country. In his own words, he was ‘sometimes defied as the philosopher of the aristocracy and squiarchy, sometimes hooted at, sometimes pitied and sometimes boycotted as an inhuman being.’ Nietzsche’s philosophy had become identified with will to power, will to violence and denial of spiritual values, sacrifice, servility to and debasement of the common man in the interest of the Superman. His philosophy with these high spots had created a feeling of loathsomeness and horror in the minds of the people of his own generation. He was utterly neglected if not shunned and Nietzsche himself took comfort by placing himself among the ‘posthumous men’. He foresaw for himself a remote public, centuries after his own time to appreciate him. Here too Nietzsche was destined to be disappointed. Instead of there being any appreciation of his philosophy the lapse of time has only augmented the horror and loathing which people of his generation felt for Nietzsche. Having regard to the vile nature of Nietzsche’s philosophy some people may not be ready to believe that the Hindu social order is based on the worship of the Superman.

Let the Manu Smriti speak on this point. This is what Manu says with regard to the position of the Brahmin in the Hindu social order.

I. 93. “As the Brahmana sprang from Prajapati’s (i.e. God’s) mouth, as he was first-born, and as he possesses the Veda, he is by right the Lord of this whole creation.”

I. 94. “For the self-existent (Swayambhu) i.e. God having performed austerities, produced him first from his own mouth, in order that the offerings might be conveyed to the Gods and Manes and that this universe might be preserved.”

I. 95. “What created being can surpass him, through whose mouth the Gods continually consume the sacrificial viands and the Manes the offerings to the dead.”

I. 96. "Of created beings the most excellent are said to be those which are animated, of the animated those who subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent mankind, and of the men the Brahmans."

Besides the reason given by Manu the Brahman is first in rank because he was produced by God from his mouth, in order that the offerings might be conveyed to the Gods and manes, Manu gives another reason for the supremacy of the Brahman. He says:

I. 98. "The very birth of a Brahmana is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law (Veda) for he is born to (fulfil) the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman (God.)"

I. 99. "A Brahmana coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the Lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law." Manu concludes by saying that:

I. 101. "The Brahmana eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, bestows but his own in alms; other mortals subsist through the benevolence of the Brahmana." Because according to Manu:

I. 100. "Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana; on account of the excellence of his origin the Brahmana is, indeed, entitled to it all." Being a deity the Brahman is above law and above the king. Manu directs:

VII. 37. "Let the king, rising early in the morning, worship Brahmanas who are well-versed in the threefold sacred science and learned (in polity) and follow their advice."

VII. 38. "Let him daily worship aged Brahmans who know the Veda and are pure....."

Finally Manu says:

XI. 35. "The Brahman is (hereby) declared to be the creator (of the world), the punisher, the teacher, (and hence) a benefactor (of all created beings) to him let no man say anything unpropitious, nor use any harsh words." Manu ordains that:

X. 3. "From priority of birth, from superiority of origin, from a more exact knowledge of scripture, and from a distinction in the sacrificial thread, the Brahman is the lord of all classes."

The Brahmin or the Superman of the Hindu social order was entitled to certain privileges. In the first place, he could not be hanged even though he might be guilty of murder.<sup>1</sup> Manu says:

<sup>1</sup>This immunity was continued by the British Government up to 1837. It was in 1837 the Penal Law was amended whereby the Brahman for the first time became liable to capital punishment for murder. The immunity still exists in Indian States. In Travancore the Dewan who is a Brahmin adopted an ingenious method of meeting public criticism of this continuance of this privilege, instead of hanging the Brahmans he abolished capital punishment altogether.

VIII. 379. "Ignominious tonsure is ordained, instead of capital punishment, for a Brahmin adulterer where the punishment of other classes may extend to loss of life."

VIII. 380. "Never shall the king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes; let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure, and his body unhurt."

XI. 127. "For a Brahmin killing intentionally a virtuous man of the Kshatriya class, the penance must be a fourth part of that ordained for killing a priest; for killing a Vaishya, only an eighth; for killing a Shudra, who had been constant in discharging his duties a sixteenth part."

XI. 128. "But, if a Brahmin kills a Kshatriya without malice, he must, after a full performance of his religious rites, give the priests one bull together with a thousand cows."

XI. 129. "Or he may perform for three years the penance for slaying a Brahmin, mortifying his organs of sensation and action, letting his hair grow long, and living remote from the town, with the root of a tree for his mansion."

XI. 130. "If he kills without malice a Vaishya, who had a good moral character, he may perform the same penance for one year, or give the priests a hundred cows and a bull."

XI. 131. "For six months must, he perform this whole penance, if without intention he kills a Shudra, or he may give ten white cows and a bull to the priests."

VIII. 381. "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmin; and the king, therefore must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest."

VIII. 126. "Let the king having considered and ascertained the frequency of a similar offence, the place and time, the ability of the criminal to pay or suffer and the crime itself, cause punishment to fall on those alone, who deserve it."

VIII. 124. "Manu, son of the self-existent, has named ten places of punishment, which are appropriated to the three lower classes, but a Brahmin must depart from the realm unhurt in any one of them."

The Brahmin has been given by the Manu Smriti other privileges. In the matter of marriage in addition to his marrying a woman of his own class he is entitled<sup>1</sup> to enter into wedlock with a woman of any of the classes lower to him without being bound to the woman by the tie of marriage or conferring upon the children the right to his status or to his property. He had the Manu III. 12-13. This privilege is recognised by Courts in India.

power to punish his wrongdoer without resort to court<sup>1</sup>. He could take the property of the common man (the Shudra) without compensation and without reference to court if the same was necessary for the performance of his religious duties<sup>2</sup>. If he discovers a hidden treasure he was free to appropriate the whole<sup>3</sup> of it without giving the usual share to the king 'since he was the lord of all' and was entitled to claim half<sup>4</sup> if it was discovered by another. He was entitled to whole amount accumulated from legal fines from a king whose death was due to some incurable disease.<sup>5</sup> He was exempt from taxation<sup>6</sup>. He was entitled to compel the king to provide for his daily food and to see that he did not starve<sup>7</sup>. His property was free from the law of escheat.<sup>8</sup>

The superman of the Hindu Social order is not bound by the rules as to occupation if he is in distress.

Manu says:—

X. 81. "Yet a Brahman, unable to subsist by his duties just mentioned, may live by the duty of a soldier; for that is the next in rank."

X. 82. "If it be asked, how he must live, should he be unable to get a subsistence by either of those employments; the answer is, he may subsist as a mercantile man, applying himself in person to tillage and attendance on cattle."

X. 83. "But a Brahman and a Kshatriya, obliged to subsist by the acts of a Vaishya, must avoid with care, if they can live by keeping herds, the business of tillage, which gives great pain' to sentient creatures, and is dependent on the labour of others, as bulls and so forth."

X. 84. "Some are of opinion, that agriculture is excellent but it is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame, for the iron mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

X. 85. "If, through want of a virtuous livelihood, they cannot follow laudable occupations, they may then gain a competence of wealth by selling commodities usually sold by merchants, avoiding what ought to be avoided."

X. 102. "The Brahmana, having fallen into distress, may receive gifts from any person whatever; for by no sacred rule can it be shown, that absolute purity can be sullied."

<sup>1</sup> Manu XI. 31—This privilege has been abolished.

<sup>2</sup> Manu XI. 32.—This privilege no longer exists.

<sup>3</sup> Manu VIII. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Manu VIII. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Manu IX. 323.

<sup>6</sup> Manu VII. 133.

<sup>7</sup> Manu VII. 134.

<sup>8</sup> Manu IX. 189

X. 103. "From interpreting the Veda, from officiating at sacrifices or from taking presents, though in modes generally disapproved, no sin is committed by priests in distress; for they are as pure as fire or water."

The privileges of the superman are not at all counterbalanced by an obligation towards the common man. Indeed the superman has no duty towards the common man.

He is not bound to do charity for the uplift of the Common man. On the other hand, to receive charity is the monopoly of the Superman. For any other person to receive charity is a sin. To the Common man (Shudra) who is born to serve the Superman man, the Superman is not at all required to be a good employer and is not bound to keep him well-fed, well clothed and well-housed. His obligations in this behalf as laid down by Manu are stated below:

X. 124. "They must allot to him (Shudra) out of their own family property a suitable maintenance after considering his ability, his industry and the number of those whom he is bound to support."

X. 125. "The remnants of their food must be given to him, as well as their old clothes, the refuse of their grain, and their old household furniture."

The rise of the Common man is antagonistic to the supremacy of the Superman. In order to keep the Superman satisfied, happy and secure the Hindu social order takes special care to keep the Common man in a state of perpetual degradation.

Manu insists on the Shudra doing nothing but service:

X. 122. "But let a Shudra serve Brahmanas."

X. 121. "If a Shudra unable to subsist by serving Brahmanas seeks a livelihood, he may serve Kshatriyas, or he may also seek to maintain himself by attending on a wealthy Vaishya."

I. 91. "One occupation only the lord prescribed to the Shudra, to serve meekly even these other three castes."

And why? Manu does not hesitate to give the reason. He says :

X. 129. "No superfluous collection of wealth must be made by a Shudra, even though he has power to make it, since a servile man, who has amassed riches, becomes proud, and, by his insolence or neglect, gives pain even to Brahmanas."

The common man is not permitted to acquire learning. The following are the injunctions of Manu:

I. 88. "To the Brahmanas he (the creator) assigned *teaching* and *studying* the Veda."

I. 89. "The Kshatriya he (the creator) commanded to *study* the Veda."

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II. 116. "He who shall acquire knowledge of the Veda without the assent of his preceptor incurs the guilt of stealing the scripture, and shall sink to the region of torment."

IV. 99. "He (the twice-born) must never read the Veda...in the presence of the Shudras."

IX. 18. "Women have no business with the text of the Veda."

IX. 199. "A twice-born man who has.... (improperly) divulged the Veda (ie., to Shudras and women) commits sin, atones for his offence, if he subsists a year on barley."

In those texts there are embodied three distinct propositions. The Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas can study the Vedas. Of these the Brahmins alone have the right to teach the Vedas. But in the case of the Shudra he has not only to study the Vedas but he should not be allowed to hear it read.

The successors of Manu made the disability of the Shudra in the matter of the study of the Veda into an offence involving dire penalties. For instance, Gautama says:

III. 4. "If the Shudra intentionally listens for committing to memory the Veda, then his ears should be filled with (molten) lead and lac; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue should be cut off; if he has mastered the Veda his body should be cut to pieces. "

To the same effect is Katyayana.

The common man (Shudra) is not allowed the benefit of the sacrament of initiation. It is the second birth that helps towards the moral and material advancement of the individual.

The common man is denied the right to have a name conveying dignity. Manu says:

II. 30. "Let the father perform or cause to be performed the Namadheya (the rite of name of the child), on the tenth or twelfth (day after birth), or on a lucky lunar day in a lucky muhurth under an auspicious constellation.

II. 31. "Let (the first part of) a Brahman's name (denote something) auspicious, a Kshatriya name be connected with power, and a Vaishya with wealth, but a Shudra's (express something) contemptible."

II. 32. "(The second part of) a Brahman's name shall be a word implying happiness, of a Kshatriya (a word) implying protection, of a Vaishya (a term) expressive of thriving and of a Shudra's (an expression) denoting a service."

The Superman will not tolerate the Shudra to have the comfort of a high-sounding name. He must be contemptible both in fact and in name.

A Hindu's life is divided into periods. The first period is called Brahmacharya, the stage of a student. The second period is called Grahasthashram, the stage of married life. The third period is called Vanasprastha, the stage of detachment from worldly life. The fourth period is called Sanyasa which is complete severance from the affairs of the world which is tantamount to civil death. The common man is denied the right of becoming a Sanyasi. It is difficult to understand why. Obviously for the benefit of the Superman. A Shudra by becoming a Sanyasi ceases to render service to Superman. A Shudra by becoming a Sanyasi reaches God or Brahma which is an invasion of the privileges of the Superman.

The citations from Manu prove that the Hindu social order is openly and avowedly devised and intended for the good of the Superman. In it everything is ordained for the Superman. The Superman is the Brahmin and the common man is the Shudra. The Superman has rights and no duties. Everything is at the disposal of the Superman, everything must be ascribed in the interests of the Superman. The counterpart of the same feature is the degradation of the common man. As against the Superman the common man has no right to life, liberty, property or pursuit of happiness. He must be ready to sacrifice everything for the sustenance of the life and dignity of the Superman. The Hindu social order prescribes that such sacrifice should be made willingly by the common man. Indeed, it inculcates that the common man should respond to such call for sacrifice in the interest of the Superman as his supreme duty.

Can there be any doubt that Zarathustra is a new name for Manu and that 'Thus spake Zarathustra' is a new edition of the Manu Smriti?

If there is any difference between Manu and Nietzsche, it lies in this. Nietzsche was genuinely interested in creating a new race of men which will be race of Superman as compared with the existing race of men. Manu, on the other hand, was interested in maintaining the privilege of a class who had come to arrogate to itself the claim of being Superman. Nietzsche's Supermen were Supermen by reason of their worth. Nietzsche was a genuine disinterested philosopher. Manu, on the contrary, was a hireling engaged to propound a philosophy which served the interests of a class, born in a group and whose title to being Superman was not to be lost even if they lost their virtue. Compare the following texts from Manu.<sup>1</sup>

X. 81. "Yet, a Brahmin, unable to subsist by his duties just mentioned, may live by the duty of a soldier; for that is the next rank."

<sup>1</sup> The correct description of the Brahmin would be the Supermost Superman. For below him and above the common man there are the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. But since the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas are only superiors and not supermen it is unnecessary to change the nomenclature.

X. 82. "If it be asked, how he must live, should he be unable to get a subsistence by either of those employments; the answer is, he may subsist as a mercantile man, applying himself to tillage and an attendance on cattle."

Manu adds:

IX. 317. "A Brahmin, be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity."

IX. 319. "Thus, though the Brahmins employ themselves in all (sorts) of mean occupation, they must be honoured in every way; (for each of them is a very great deity.)"

Nietzsche's praise of the Manu Smriti is undeserved. For when he says that according to its scheme "the noble classes, the philosophers and the warriors guard and guide the masses", he is either making a positively untrue statement or that he has not read it correctly. Under the Manu Smriti the superman has rights against the common man but he has no duties towards the common man.

Manu's degraded and degenerate philosophy of Superman as compared with that of Nietzsche is therefore far more odious and loathsome than the philosophy of Nietzsche. Such is the social order which the Hindus regard as a pearl without price and which Mr. Gandhi is proud to offer as a gift from the Hindus to the world.

Another special feature of the Hindu social order relates to the technique devised for its preservation. The technique is twofold.

The first technique is to place the responsibility of upholding and maintaining the social order upon the shoulders of the King. Manu does this in quite express terms.

VIII. 410. "The King should order each man of the mercantile class to practise trade or money-lending or agriculture and attendance on cattle; and each man of the servile class to act in the service of the twice-born."

VIII. 418. "With vigilant care should the King exert himself in compelling merchants and mechanics to perform their respective duties; for, when such men swerve from their duty they throw this world into confusion."

Manu does not stop with the mere enunciation of the duty of the King in this behalf. He wants to ensure that the King shall at all times perform his duty to maintain and preserve the established order. Manu therefore makes two further provisions. One provision is to make the failure of the King to maintain the established order an offence for which the King became liable for prosecution and punishment like

a common felon. This would be clear from the following citations from Manu:—

VIII. 335. “Neither a father, nor a preceptor, nor a friend, nor a mother, nor a wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest must be left unpunished by the King if they adhere not with firmness to their duty.”

VIII. 336. “Where another man of lower birth would be fined one pana, the King shall be fined a thousand, and he shall give the fine to the priests, or cast it into the river, this is a sacred rule.”

The other provision made by Manu against a King who is either negligent or opposed to the established order is to invest the three classes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas with a right to rise in armed rebellion against the King.

VIII. 348. “The twice-born may take arms, when their duty is obstructed by force; and when, in some evil time, a disaster has befallen the twice-born classes.”

The Right of rebellion is given to the three higher classes and not to the Shudra. This is very natural. Because it is only the three upper classes who would benefit by the maintenance of this system. But supposing the Kshatriyas joined the king in destroying the system what is to be done? Manu gives the authority to the Brahmins to punish all and particularly the Kshatriyas.

XI. 31. “A priest, who well knows the laws, need not complain to the king of any grievous injury; since, even by his own power, he may chastise those, who injure him.”

XI. 32. “His own power, which depends on himself alone, is mightier than the royal power, which depends on other men; by his own might, therefore, may a Brahmin coerce his foes.”

XI. 33. “He may use, without hesitation, the powerful charms revealed to Atharvan, and by him to Angiras; for speech is the weapon of a Brahmin; with that he may destroy his oppressors.”

IX. 320. “Of a military man, who raises his arm violently on all occasions against the priestly class, the priest himself shall be the chastiser; since the soldier originally proceeded from the Brahmin.”

How can the Brahmins punish the Kshatriyas unless they can take arms? Manu knows this and therefore allows the Brahmins to arm themselves to punish the Kshatriyas.

XII. 100. “Command of armies, royal authority, power of inflicting punishment, and sovereign dominion over all nations, he only well deserves, who perfectly understands the Veda Sastra i.e., who is a Brahmin.”

The second technique devised for the maintenance and preservation of the established order is quite different from the first. Really speaking, it is this which constitutes a special feature of the Hindu social order.

In the wake of the preservation of the social order from violent attack it is necessary to bear in mind three considerations. The outbreak of a revolution is conditioned by three factors: (1) the existence of a sense of wrong; (2) capacity to know that one is suffering from a wrong and (3) availability of arms. The second consideration is that there are two ways of dealing with a rebellion. One is to prevent a rebellion from occurring and the other is to suppress it after it has broken out. The third consideration is that whether the prevention of rebellion would be feasible or whether the suppression of rebellion would be the only method open, would depend upon the rules which govern the three pre-requisites of rebellion.

When the social order denies opportunity to rise, denies right to education and denies right to use arms, it is in a position to prevent rebellion against the social order. Where on the other hand, a social order allows right to education, and permits the use of arms, it cannot prevent rebellion by those who suffer wrongs. Its only remedy to preserve the social order is by suppression of rebellion by the use of force and violence. The Hindu social order has adopted the first method. It has fixed the social status of the lower orders for all generations to come. Their economic status is also fixed. There being no disparity between the two, there is no possibility of a grievance growing up. It has denied education to the lower orders. The result is that no one is conscious that his low condition is a ground for grievance. If there is any consciousness it is that no one is responsible for the low condition. It is the result of fate. Assuming there is a grievance, assuming there is consciousness of grievance, there cannot be a rebellion by the lower orders against the Hindu social order because the Hindu social order denies the masses the right to use arms. Other social orders such as those of the Muslims or the Nazis, follow the opposite course. They allow equal opportunity to all. They allow freedom to acquire knowledge. They allow the right to bear arms and take upon themselves the odium of suppressing rebellion by force and violence. To deny freedom of opportunity, to deny freedom to acquire knowledge, to deny the right of arms is a most cruel wrong. Its results Manu mutilates and emasculates man. The Hindu social order is not ashamed to do this. It has, however, achieved two things. It has found the most effective, even though it be the most shameless method of preserving the established order. Secondly, notwithstanding the use of

most inhuman means of killing manliness, it has given to the Hindus the reputation of being very humane people. The Nazis had indeed a great deal to learn from the Hindus. If they had adopted the technique of suppressing the masses devised by the Hindus they would have been able to crush the Jews without open cruelty and would have also exhibited themselves as humane masters.

The third special feature of the Hindu social order is that it is a Divine order designed by God himself. As such it is sacred, not open to abrogation, amendment, not even to criticism. For the purpose of removing any doubt that may be lurking in the minds of anybody about the Divine character of the Hindu social order, attention is invited to the following verses from the Bhagvat Gita and the Manu Smriti. Shri Krishna one of the Hindu Gods, whose word is the Bhagvat Gita says:—

IV. 13. “I myself have created the arrangement of the four castes (into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras), consistently with the differences in their qualities and actions. It is, I who am the Maker of it.”

XVIII. 41-44. “O, Parantapa! the respective duties of Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaishyas (tradesmen) and Shudras (menials) have been individually fixed with reference to the qualities arising from their inherent natures, that is, from Prakriti. The inherently natural duties of a Brahmin are peace, self-restraint, religious austerities, cleanliness, quietness, straightforwardness (humanity). Knowledge (that is, spiritual knowledge), Vijnana (that is Imperial knowledge) and *Astikya-budhi* (that is belief in a future world). The inherently natural duty (karma) of the Kshatriya is bravery, brilliance, courage, intentness, not running away from the battle, generosity, and exercising authority (over subject people) ‘*goraksya*’ (that is the business of keeping cattle), and *vanijya* (that is, trade) is the inherently natural duty of the Vaishya; and in the same way, *service* is the inherently natural duty of the Shudra.”

Krishna forbids propaganda against the Hindu social order. He says:—

III. 26. “As the ignorant act with attachment to action so a wise man wishing to keep the people to their duties, should not shake the convictions of the ignorant who are attached to action, but acting with devotion (himself) should make them apply themselves to all action.... A man of perfect knowledge should not shake these men of imperfect knowledge in their convictions.”

When the Hindu social order breaks down, Krishna does not want the people to undertake the work of reform. He asks them to leave the

task to him. This is evident from the following admonition contained in the Bhagvat Gita. Says Krishna :—

IV. 7-8. “O! Bharata, whenever Righteousness declines and Unrighteousness becomes powerful, then I Myself come to birth. I take birth in different Yugas for protecting the Righteous and destroying the Unrighteous and for establishing Righteousness.”

It is not only a special feature of the Hindu social order. It is an extraordinary feature. An examination of consecrations will show that there are instances where society has consecrated inanimate beings and inculcated on the minds of its members the religious belief that they are sacred. There are cases where stones, rivers, trees are made Gods and Goddesses. There are instances where society has consecrated living things and inculcated on the minds of its members the religious belief that they are sacred. But there are no instances where a particular social order has been consecrated by Religion and made sacred. The primitive world had its clan order and its tribal order. But the clan or the tribal order was only a social order and was never consecrated by religion and made sacred and inviolate. The ancient world countries like Egypt, Persia, Rome, Greece, etc., each had its social order in which some were free and some were slaves, some were citizens, some were aliens, some of the race, some of another. This class order again was only a social order and was never consecrated by religion and made sacred and inviolate. The modern world has its order, in some it is Democracy, in some Facism, in some Nazism and in some Bolshevism. But here again the order is only social order. It is not consecrated by religion and made sacred and inviolate.

Nowhere his society consecrated its occupations—the ways of getting a living. Economic activity has always remained outside the sanctity of religion. Hunting society was not without a religion. But Hunting as an occupation was not consecrated by religion and made sacred. Pastoral society was not without religion. But pastorage was not consecrated by religion and made sacred. Farming as an occupation did not become consecrated by religion and made sacred. Feudalism with its gradations, with its Lords, villains and serfs was a purely social in character. There was nothing sacred about it.

The Hindus are the only people in the world whose social order—the relation of man to man is consecrated by religion and made sacred, eternal and inviolate. The Hindus are the only people in the world whose economic order—the relation of workman to workman, is consecrated by religion and made sacred, eternal and inviolate.

It is not therefore enough to say that the Hindus are a people with a sacred code of religion. So are the Zorastrians, Israelites, Christians

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and Muslims. All these have sacred codes. They consecrate beliefs and rites and make them sacred. But they do not prescribe, nor do they consecrate a particular form of social structure—the relationship between man and man in a concrete form—and make it sacred inviolate. The Hindus are singular in this respect. This is what has given the Hindu social order its abiding strength to defy the ravages of time and the onslaught of time.

The orthodox Hindu will accept this as an accurate description of the Hindu social order. It is only the reformer who is likely to demur. He would say that since the advent of the British, this is all a description of a dead past. One need not be perturbed by this view. For it contains a fallacy. It omits to take note of the fact that institutions which have died as creeds sometimes continue, nevertheless survive as habits. No one can deny that the Hindu social order has become the habit of the Hindus and as such is in full force.

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## CHAPTER 4

### Symbols of Hinduism

*There are 37 pages under this title. The chapter seems incomplete. However this relates to the topic No. 7 of the original plan. All these pages are tagged along with the pages of "India and Communism" into One register. We are reproducing the text of this typed copy along with the table of contents written by Dr. Ambedkar.*

*A photo copy of the plan of a proposed book 'Can I be a Hindu?' is also reproduced from the original (moth-eaten).—Editors*

Is there anything peculiar in the social organization of the Hindus? An unsophisticated Hindu who is unaware of investigations conducted by scholars will say that there is nothing peculiar, abnormal or unnatural in the organization of the Hindu society. This is quite natural. People who live their lives in isolation are seldom conscious of the peculiarities of their ways and manners. People have gone on from generation to generation without stopping to give themselves a name. But how does the social organization of the Hindus strike the outsiders, the non-Hindus? Did it appear to them as normal and natural as it appears to the Hindus?

Megasthenese who came to India as the ambassador of the Greek King Seleukos Nicator to the Court of Chandragupta Maurya some time about the year 305 B.C. did feel that the social organization of the Hindus was of a very strange sort. Otherwise, he would not have taken such particular care to describe the peculiar features of the Hindu social organization. He has recorded:

“The population of India is divided into seven parts. The philosophers are first in rank, but form the smallest class in point of

number. Their services are employed privately by persons who wish to offer sacrifices or perform other sacred rites, and also publicly by the kings at what is called the Great Synod, wherein at the beginning of the new year all the philosophers are gathered together before the king at the gates, when any philosopher who may have committed any useful suggestion to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declares it publicly. If anyone is detected giving false information thrice, the law condemns him to be silent for the rest of his life, but he who gives sound advice is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions. The second caste consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population, and are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in its tumults, or for any other purpose. It therefore not unfrequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen drawn up in array of battle, and fighting at risk of their lives, while other men close at hand are ploughing and digging in perfect security, having these soldiers to protect them. The whole of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce.

The third caste consists of herdsmen and hunters, who alone are allowed to hunt, and to keep cattle and to sell draught animals or let them out on hire. In return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls which devour the seeds sown in the fields, they receive an allowance of grain from the king. They lead wandering life and live under tents.

The fourth class, after herdsmen and hunters, consists of those who work at trades, of those who vend wares, and of those who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay tribute, and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armourmakers and shipbuilders receive wages and their victuals from the king, for whom alone they work. The general in command of the army supplies the soldiers with weapons, and the admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandise.

The fifth class consists of fighting men, who when not engaged in active service, pass their time in idleness and drinking. They are maintained at the king's expense, and hence they are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies.

The sixth class consists of the overseers, to whom is assigned the duty of watching all that goes on, and making reports secretly to the king. Some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.

The seventh class consists of the Councillors and assessors of the king. To them belong the highest posts of government, the tribunals of justice, and the general administration of public affairs.

No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher, who for his virtue is allowed this privilege.”

Alberuni who wrote an account of his travels in India some time about 1030 AD must have been struck by the peculiarity of the Hindu social organization. For he too has not omitted to make a note of it in the record of impressions he made. He observed:—

“The Hindus call their castes varna i.e. colours, and from a genealogical point of view they call them jataka i.e., births. These castes are from the very beginning only four.

I. The highest caste are the Brahmins of whom the books of the Hindus tell that they were created from the head of Brahma. And a Brahma is only another name for the force called nature, and the head is the highest part of the animal body, the Brahmana are the choice part of the whole genus. Therefore the Hindus consider them as the very best of mankind.

II. The next caste are the Kshatriyas, who were created, as they say, from the shoulders and hands of Brahma. Their degree is not much below that of the Brahmana.

III. After them follow the Vaisyas, who were created from the thigh of Brahma.

IV. The Sudras, who were created from his feet.

Between the latter two classes there is no very great distance. Much, however, as these classes differ from each other, they live together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings.

After the Sudra follow the people called Antyaja, who render various kinds of services, who are not reckoned amongst any caste, but only as members of a certain craft or profession. There are eight classes of them who freely intermarry with each other, except the fuller, shoemaker and weaver, for no others would condescend to

have anything to do with them. These eight guilds are the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver. The four castes do not live together with them in one and the same place. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but outside them.

The people called Hadi, Doma (Domba), Candala, and Badhatau (sic) are not reckoned amongst any caste or guild. They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They are considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupations. In fact, they are considered like illegitimate children; for according to general opinion they descend from a Sudra father and a Brahmani mother as the children of fornication; therefore they are degraded outcaste.

The Hindus give to every single man of the four castes characteristic names, according to their occupations and modes of life, eg., the Brahman is in general called by this name as long as he does his work staying at home. When he is busy with the service of one fire, he is called *ishtin*; if he serves three fires, he is called *Agnihotrin*; if he besides offers an offering to the fire, he is called *Dikshita*. And as it is with the Brahmana, so is it also with the other castes. Of the classes beneath the castes, the Hadi are the best spoken of, because they keep themselves free from everything unclean. Next follow the Doma, who play on the lute and sing. The still lower classes practise as a trade killing and the inflicting of judicial punishments. The worst of all are the Badhantan, who not only devour the flesh of dead animals, but even of dogs and other beasts.

Each of the four castes, when eating together, must form a group of themselves, one group not being allowed to comprise two men of different castes. If, further, in the group of the Brahman there are two men who live at enmity with each other, and the seat of the one is by the side of the other, they make a barrier between the two seats by placing a board between them, or by spreading a piece of dress, or in some other way; and if there is only a line drawn between them, they are considered as separated. Since it is forbidden to eat the remains of a meal, every single man must have his own food for himself, for if anyone of the party who are eating should take of the food from one and the same plate, that which remains in the plate becomes, after the first eater has taken part, to him who wants to take as the second, the remains of the meal as such is forbidden.”

Alberuni did not merely content himself with recording what struck him as peculiar in the Hindu social organization. He went on to say:—

“Among the Hindus institutions of this kind abound. We Muslims, of course, stand entirely on the other side of the question, considering all men as equal, except in piety; and this is the greatest obstacle which prevents any approach or understanding between Hindus and Muslims.”

Duarte Barbosa who was a Portuguese official in the service of the Portuguese Government in India from 1500 to 1571 has left a record of his impressions of Hindu society. This is what struck him in. Speaking of the kingdom of Gujerat:

“And before this kingdom Guzerate fell into the hands of the Moors. A certain caste of Heathen whom the Moors called Resbutos (Rajputs) dwelt therein, who in those days were the knights and wardens of the land, and made war wheresoever it was needful. These men kill and eat sheep and fish and all other kinds of food; in the mountains there are yet many of the them, where they have great villages and obey not the king of Guzarate, but rather wage daily war against him; who, do what he may, is yet not able to prevail against them, nor will do so, for they are very fine horsemen, and good archers, and have besides divers other weapons to defend themselves withal against the Moors, on whom they make war without ceasing; yet have they no king nor lord over them. And in this kingdom there is another sort of Heathen whom they call Baneanes, who are great merchants and traders. They dwell among the Moors with whom they carry on all their trade. This people eat neither flesh nor fish nor anything subject to death; they slay nothing, nor are they willing even to see the slaughter of any animal; and thus they maintain their idolatry and hold it so firmly that it is a terrible thing. For often it is so that the Moors take to them live insects or small birds, and make as though to kill them in their presence, and the Baneanes buy these and ransom them, paying much more than they are worth, so that they may save their lives and let them go. And if the King or a Governor of the land has any man condemned to death, for any crime which he has committed, they gather themselves together and buy him from justice, if they are willing to sell him, that he may not die. And divers Moorish mendicants as well, when they wish to obtain alms from this people, take great stones wherewith they beat upon their shoulders and bellies as though they would slay themselves before them, to hinder which they give them great alms that they may depart in peace. Others carry knives with which they slash their arms and legs, and

to these too they give large alms that they may not kill themselves. Others go to their doors seeking to kill rats and snakes for them, and to them also they give much money that they may not do so. Thus they are much esteemed by the Moors. When these Baneanes meet with a swarm of ants on the road they shrink back and seek for some way to pass without crushing them. And in their houses they sup by daylight, for neither by night nor by day will they light a lamp, by reason of certain little flies which perish in the flame thereof; and if there is any great need of a light by night they have a lantern of varnished paper or cloth, so that no living thing may find its way in, and die in the flame. And if these men breed many lice they kill them not, but when they trouble them too much they send for certain men, also Heathen, who living among them and whom they hold to be men of a holy life, they are like hermits living with great abstinence through devotion to their gods. These men house them, and as many lice as they catch they place on their own heads and breed them on their own flesh, by which they say they do great service to their Idol. Thus one and all they maintain with great self restraint their law of not killing. On the other hand they are great usurers, falsifiers of weights and measures and many other goods and of coins; and great liars. These Heathen are tawny men, tall and well-looking gaily attired, delicate and moderate in their food. Their diet is of milk, butter, sugar and rice, and many conserves of divers sorts. They make much use of dishes of fruit and vegetables and pot herbs in their food. Wheresoever they dwell they have orchards and fruit gardens and many water tanks wherein they bathe twice a day, both men and women; and they say when they have finished bathing that they are clear of as many sins as they have committed up to that hour. These Baneanes grow very long hair, as women do with us, and wear it twisted up on the head and made into a knot, and over it a turban, that they may keep it always held together; and in their hair they put flowers and other sweet scented things.

They use to annoint themselves with white sandalwood mixed with saffron and other scents. They are very amorous people. They are clad in long cotton and silken shirts and are shod with pointed shoes of richly wrought cordwain; some of them wear short coats of silk and brocade. They carry no arms except certain very small knives ornamented with gold and silver, and this for two reasons; first because they are men who make but little use of weapons; and secondly, because the Moors defend them.”

And there is here another class of Heathen whom they call Brahmenes, who are priests among them and persons who manage

and rule their houses of prayer and idol-worship, which are of great size and have great revenues; and many of them also are maintained by alms. In these houses are great numbers of wooden Idols, and others of stone and copper and in these houses or monasteries they celebrate great ceremonies in honour of these idols, entertaining them with great store of candles and oil lamps, and with bells after our fashion. These Brahmans and Heathen have in their creed many resemblances to the Holy Trinity, and hold in great honour the relation of the Triune Three, and always make their prayers to God, whom they confess and adore as the true God, Creator and maker of all things, who is three persons and one God, and they say that there are many other Gods who are rulers under him, in whom also they believe. These Brahmans and Heathen wheresoever they find our churches enter them and make prayers and adorations to our Images, always asking for Santa Maria, like men who have some knowledge and understanding of these matters and they honour the Church as is our manner, saying that between them and us there is little difference. These men never eat anything subject to death, nor do they slay anything. Bathing they hold to be a great ceremony and they say that by it they are saved."

Speaking of the Kingdom of Calicut, Barbosa says:—

"There is also in this same kingdom of Calicut a caste of people called Brahmenes who are priests among them (as are the clergy among us) of whom I have spoken in another place."

"These all speak the same tongue, nor can any be a Brahmene except he be the son of a Brahmene. When they are seven years of age they put over their shoulder a strip of two fingers in breadth of untanned skin with the hair on it of a certain wild beast which they call Cryvamergam, which resembles a wild ass. Then for seven years he must not eat betel for which time he continues to wear this strap. When he is fourteen years old they make him a Brahmene, and taking off their leather strip they invest him with the cord of three strands which he wears for the rest of his life as a token that he is a Brahmene. And this they do with great ceremonial and rejoicings, as we do here for a cleric when he sings his first mass. Thereafter he may eat betel, but no flesh or fish. They have great honour among the Indians, and as I have already said, they suffer death for no cause whatsoever, their own headman gives them a mild chastisement. They marry once only in our manner, and only the eldest son marries, he is treated like the head of an entailed estate. The other brothers remain single all their lives. These Brahmenes keep their wives well guarded, and greatly honoured, so that no

other man may sleep with them; if any of them die, they do not marry again, but if a woman wrongs her husband she is slain by poison. The brothers who remain bachelors sleep with the Nayre women, they hold it to be a great honour, and as they are Bramenes no woman refuses herself to them, yet they may not sleep with any woman older than themselves. They dwell in their own houses and cities, and serve as clergy in the houses of worship, whither they go to pray at certain hours of the day, performing their rituals and idolatries.”

“Some of these Brahmenes serve the kings in every manner except in arms. No man may prepare any food for the King except a Brahmene or his own kin; they also serve as couriers to other countries with letters, money or merchandise, passing wherever they wish to go in safety and none does them any ill, even when the kings are at war. These Brahmenes are learned in their idolatry and possess many books thereof. The Kings hold them in high esteem.”

“I have already spoken many times of the Naiyars and yet I have not hitherto told you what manner of men they are. You are to know that in this land of Malabar there is another caste of people called Nayars and among them are noble men who have no other duty than to serve in war, and they always carry their arms withersoever they go, some swords and shields, others bows and arrows, and yet others spears. They all live with the King, and the other great Lords; nevertheless all receive stipends from the King or from the great Lords with whom they dwell. None may become a Nayar, save only he who is of Nayar lineage. They are very free from stain in their nobility. They will not touch anyone of low caste. Nor eat nor drink save in the house of a Nayar. These men are not married, their nephews (sister’s sons) are their heirs. The Nayar women of good birth are very independent, and dispose of themselves as they please with Brahmenes and Nayars, but they do not sleep with men of caste lower than their own under pain of death. When they reach the age of twelve years their mothers hold a great ceremony. When a mother perceives that her daughter has attained that age, she asks her kinsfolk and friends to make ready to honour her daughter, then she asks of the kindred and especially of one particular kinsman or great friend to marry her daughter; this he willingly promises and then he has a small jewel made, which would contain a half ducat of gold, long like a ribbon, with a hole through the middle which comes out on the other side, strung on a thread of white silk. The mother then on a fixed day is present with her daughter gaily decked with many rich jewels, making great rejoicings with music and singing, and

a great assembly of people. Then the kinsmen or friend comes bringing that jewel, and going through certain forms, throws it over the girl's neck. She wears it as a token all the rest of her life, and may then dispose of herself as she wills. The man departs without sleeping with her inasmuch as he is her kinsman; if he is not, he may sleep with her, but is not obliged to do so. Thenceforward the mother goes about searching and asking some young men to take her daughter's virginity; they must be Nayars and they regard it among themselves as a disgrace and a foul thing to take a woman's virginity. And when anyone has once slept with her, she is fit for association with men. Then the mother again goes about enquiring among other young Nayars if they wish to support her daughter, and take her as a Mistress so that three or four Nayars agree with her to keep her, and sleep with her, each paying her so much a day; the more lovers she has the greater is her honour. Each of one of them passes a day with her from midday on one day till midday on the next day and so they continue living quietly without any disturbance or quarrels among them. If any of them wishes to leave her, he leaves her, and takes another and she also if she is weary of a man, she tells him to go, and he does go, or makes terms with her. Any children they may have stay with the mother who has to bring them up, for they hold them not to be the children of any man, even if they bear his likeness, and they do not consider them their children, nor are they heirs to their estates, for as I have already stated their heirs are their nephews, sons of their sisters, (which rule whosoever will consider inwardly in his mind will find that it was established with a greater and deeper meaning than the common folk think) for they say that the Kings of the Nayars instituted it in order that the Nayars should not be held back from their service by the burden and labour of rearing children."

"In this kingdom of Malabar there is also another caste of people whom they call Biabares, Indian Merchants, natives of the land. They deal in goods of every kind both in the seaports and inland, wheresoever their trade is of most profit. They gather to themselves all the pepper and ginger from the Nayars and husbandmen and oftentimes they buy the new crops beforehand in exchange for cotton clothes and other goods which they keep at the seaports. Afterwards they sell them again and gain much money thereby. Their privileges are such that the king of the country in which they dwell cannot execute them by legal process."

"There is in this land yet another caste of folk known as Cuiavem. They do not differ from the Nayars, yet by reason of

a fault which they committed, they remain separate from them. Their business is to make pottery and bricks for roofing the houses of the Kings and idols, which are roofed with bricks instead of tiles; only these, for as I have already said, other houses are thatched with branches. They have their own sort of idolatry, and their separate idols.”

“There is another Heathen caste which they call Mainatos, whose occupation is to wash clothes for the Kings, Brahmenes and Nayars. By this they live, and may not take up any other.”

“There is another lower caste than these which they call Caletis, who are weavers who have no other way of earning save by weaving of cotton and silk clothes, but they are low caste folk and have but little money, so that they clothe the lower races. They are apart by themselves and have their own idolatry.”

“Besides the castes mentioned above, there are eleven others lower than they with whom the others do not associate, nor do they touch them under pain of death; and there are great distinctions between one and another of them, preserving them from mixture with one another. The purest of all these low, simple folk they call Tuias. Their work is mainly that of tending the palm-groves and gathering the fruit thereof, and carrying it away for wages on their backs, for there are no beasts of burden in the land.”

“There is another caste still lower than these whom they call Manen (Mancu in the printed text) who neither associate with others nor touch them, nor do the other touch them. They are washermen for the common people, and makers of sleeping mats from which occupations all but they are barred; their sons must perforce follow the same trade; they have their own separate idolatry.”

“There is another caste in this land still lower whom they call Canaquas. Their trade is making buckles and umbrellas. They learn letters for purposes of astronomy, they are great astrologers, and foretell with great truth things that are to come; there are some lords who maintain them for this cause.”

“There is also another lower caste, also Heathens, called Ageres. They are masons, carpenters, smiths, metal workers and some are goldsmiths, all of whom are of a common descent, and a separate caste, and have their idols apart from other folk. They marry, and their sons inherit their property, and learn their fathers’ trade.”

“There is another caste still lower in this country called Mogerres, they are almost the same as the Tuias, but they do not touch one another. They work as carriers of all things belonging to the Royal

State when it moves from one place to another, but there are very few of them in this land; they are a separate caste; they have no marriage law; the most of them gain their living on the sea, they are sailors, and some of them fishers; they have no Idols. They are as well slaves of the Nayars:

“There is another caste yet lower whom they call Monquer, fishers who have no other work than fishing, yet some sail in the Moors’ ship and in those of other Heathens, and they are very expert seamen. This race is very rude, they are shameless thieves; they marry and their sons succeed them, their women are of loose character, they sleep with anyone whosoever and it is held no evil. They have their own idolatry.”

“In this land of Malabar there is another caste of Heathen even lower than those, whom, they call Betunes. Their business is salt-making and rice growing, they have no other livelihood.”

“They dwell in houses standing by themselves in the fields away from the roads, whither the gentlefolk do not walk. They have their own idolatry. They are slaves of the Kings and Nayars and pass their lives in poverty. The Nayars make them walk far away from them and speak to them from a far off. They hold no intercourse with any other caste.”

“There is another caste of Heathen, even lower and ruder, whom they call Paneens, who are great sorcerers and live by no other means.”

“There is another caste lower and ruder than they, named Revoleens a very poor folk, who live by carrying firewood and grass to the towns, they may touch none, nor may any touch them under pain of death. They go naked, covering only their private parts with scant and filthy rags,, the more part of them indeed with leaves of certain trees. Their women wear many brass rings in their ears; and on their necks, arms and legs, necklaces and bracelets of heads.”

“And there is yet another caste of Heathens lower than these whom they call Poleas, who among all the rest are held to be accursed and excommunicate; they dwell in the fields and open campaigns in secret lurking places, whither folk of good caste never go save by mischance, and live in huts very strait and mean. They are tillers of rice with buffaloes and oxen. They never speak to the Nayars save from a far off, shouting so that they may hear them, and when they go along the roads they utter loud cries that they may be let past, and whosoever hears them leaves the road, and stands in the wood till they have passed by; and if anyone whether man or woman, touches them, his kinsfolk slay them forthwith, and

in vengeance therefore they slay Poleas until they are weary without suffering any punishment.”

“Yet another caste there is even lower and baser called Parens, who dwell in the most desert places away from all other castes. They have no intercourse with any person nor anyone with them; they are held to be worse than devils, and to be damned. Even to see them is to be unclean and outcaste. They eat yams and other roots of wild plants. They cover their middles with leaves, they also eat the flesh of wild beasts.”

“With these end the distinctions between the castes of the Heathen, which are eighteen in all, each one separate and unable to touch others or marry with them; and besides these eighteen castes of the Heathen who are natives of Malabar, which I have now related to you, there are others of outlandish folk merchants and traders in the land, where they possess houses and estates, living like the natives yet with customs of their own.”

These foreigners were not able to give a full and detailed picture of caste. This is understandable. For to every foreigner the private life of the Hindu is veiled and it is not possible for him to penetrate it. The social organism of India, the play of its motive forces, is moreover, regulated infinitely more by custom, carrying according to locality and baffling in its complexity, than by any legal formula which can be picked out of a legal text book. But there is no doubt that caste did appear to the foreigner as the most singular and therefore the most distinguishing feature of Hindu society. Otherwise they would not have noted its existence in the record they made of what they observed when they came to India.

Caste therefore is something special in the Hindu social organization and marks off the Hindus from other peoples. Caste has been a growing institution. It has never been the same at all times. The shape and form of Caste as it existed when Megasthenes wrote his account was very different from what the shape and form it had taken when Alberuni came and the appearance it gave to the Portuguese was different from what it was in the time of Alberuni, But to understand caste one must have more exact idea of its nature than these foreigners are able to give.

To follow the discussion of the subject of caste it is necessary to familiarize the reader with some basic conceptions which underlie the Hindu Social Organization. The basic conception of social organization which prevails among the Hindus starts with the rise of four classes or Varnas into which Hindu society is believed to have become divided. These four classes were named (1) Brahmins, the

priestly and the educated class (2) Kshatriyas the military class (3) The Vaishyas the trading class and (4) The Shudras the servant class. For a time these were merely classes. After a time what were only classes (Varnas) became Castes (Jatis) and the four castes became four thousand. In this way the modern caste system was only the evolution of the ancient Varna system.

No doubt the caste system is an evolution of the Varna system. But one can get no diea of the caste system by a study of the Varna system. Caste must be studied apart from Varna.

## II

An old agnostic is said to have summed up his philosophy in the following words:—

“The only thing I know is that I know nothing; and I am not quite sure that I know that”

Sir Denzil Ibbetson undertaking to write about caste in the Punjab said that the words of these agnostic about his philosophy expressed very exactly his own feelings regarding caste. It is no doubt true that owing to local circumstances there does appear a certain diversity about caste matters and that it is very difficult to make any statement regarding any one of the castes. Absolutely true as it may be, as regards one locality which will not be contradicted with equal truth as regards the same caste in some other area.

Although this may be true yet it cannot be difficult to separate the essential and fundamental features of caste from its non-essential and superficial features. An easy way to ascertain this is to ask what are the matters for which a person is liable to be excluded from caste. Mr, Bhattacharya has stated the following as causes for expulsion from caste. (1) Embracing Christianity or Islam (2) Going to Europe or America (3) Marrying a widow (4) Publicly throwing the sacred thread (5) Publicly eating beef, pork or fowl (6) Publicly eating *kachcha* food prepared by a Mahomedan, Christian or low caste Hindu (7) Officiating at the house of a very low caste Shudra (8) By a female going away from home for immoral purposes (9) By a widow becoming pregnant. This list is not exhaustive and omits the three most important causes which entail expulsion from caste. They are (10) Intermarrying outside caste (11) Interdining with persons of another caste and (12) Change of occupation. The second defect in the statement of Mr. Bhattacharya is that it does not make any distinction between essentials and non-essentials.

Of course, when a person is expelled from his caste the penalty is uniform. His friends, relatives and fellowmen refuse to partake of his hospitality. He is not invited to entertainments in their houses. He cannot obtain brides or bridegrooms for his children. Even his married daughters cannot visit him without running the risk of being excluded from caste. His priest, his barber and washerman refuse to serve him. His fellow castemen sever their connection with him so completely that they refuse to assist him even at the funeral of a member of his household. In some cases the man excluded from caste is debarred access to public temples and to the cremation or burial ground.

These reasons for expulsion from caste indirectly show the rules and regulations of the caste. But all regulations are not fundamental. There are many which are unessential. Caste can exist even without them. The essential and unessential can be distinguished by asking another question. When can a Hindu who has lost caste regain his caste? The Hindus have a system of Prayaschitas which are Penances and which a man who has been expelled from caste must perform before he can be admitted to caste fellowship. With regard to these Prayaschitas or Penances certain points must be remembered. In this first place, there are caste offences for which there is no Prayaschita. In the second place, the Prayaschitas vary according to the offence. In some cases the Prayaschitas involve a very small penalty. In other cases the penalty involved is a very severe one.

The existence of a Prayaschita and the absence of it have a significance which must be clearly understood. The absence of Prayaschita does not mean that anyone may commit the offence with impunity. On the contrary it means that the offence is of an immeasurable magnitude and the offender once expelled is beyond reclamation. There is no re-entry for him in the caste from which he is expelled. The existence of a Prayaschita means that the offence is compoundable. The offender can take the prescribed Prayaschita and obtain admission in the caste from which he is expelled.

There are two offences for which there is no penance. These are (1) change from Hindu Religion to another religion (2) Marriage with a person of another caste or another religion. It is obvious if a man loses caste for these offences he loses it permanently.

Of the other offences the prayaschitas prescribed are of the severest kind, are two—(1) interdining with a person of another caste or a non-Hindu and (2) Taking to occupation which is not the occupation of the caste. In the case of the other offences the penalty is a light one almost nominal.

The surest clue to find out what are the fundamental rules of caste and what caste consists it is furnished by the rules regarding prayaschitas. Those for the infringement of which there is no prayaschita constitute the very soul of caste and those for the infringement of which the prayaschita is of the severest kind make up the body of caste. It may therefore be said without any hesitation that there are four fundamental rules of caste. A caste may be defined as a social group having (a) belief in Hindu Religion and bound by certain regulations as to (b) marriage (c) food and (d) occupation. To this one more characteristic may be added namely a social group having a common name by which it is recognized.

In the matter of marriage the regulation lays down that the caste must be endogamous. There can be no intermarriage between members of different castes. This is the first and the most fundamental idea on which the whole fabric of the caste is built up.

In the matter of food the rule, is that a person cannot take food from and dine with any person who does not belong to his caste. This means that only those who can intermarry can also interdine. Those who cannot intermarry cannot interdine. In other words, caste is an endogamous unit and also a communal unit.

In the matter of occupation the regulation is that a person must follow the occupation which is the traditional occupation of his caste and if the caste has no occupation then he should follow the occupation of his father.

In the matter of status of a person it is fixed and is hereditary. It is fixed because a person's status is determined by the status of the caste to which he belongs. It is hereditary because a Hindu is stamped with the caste to which his parents belonged, a Hindu cannot change his status because he cannot change his caste. A Hindu is born in a caste and he dies a member of the caste in which he is born. A Hindu may lose his status if he loses caste. But he cannot acquire a new or a better or different status.

What is the significance of a common name for a caste? The significance of this will be clear if we ask two questions which are very relevant and a correct answer to each is necessary for a complete idea of this institution of caste. Social groups are either organized or unorganized. When the membership of the group and the process of joining and leaving the groups, are the subject of definite social regulations and involve certain duties and privileges in relation to other members of the group then the group is an organized group. A group is a voluntary group in which members enter with a full knowledge of what they are doing and the aims which the association

is designed to fulfil. On the other hand, there are groups of which an individual person becomes a member without any act of volition, and becomes subject to social regulation and traditions over which he has no control of any kind.

Now it is hardly necessary to say that caste is a highly organized social grouping. It is not a loose or a floating body. Similarly, it is not necessary to say that caste is an involuntary grouping. A Hindu is born in a caste and he dies as a member of that caste. There is no Hindu without caste, cannot escape .caste and being bounded by caste from birth to death he becomes subject to social regulations and traditions of the caste over which he has no control.

The significance of a separate name for a caste lies in this—namely it makes caste an organized and an involuntary grouping. A separate and a distinctive name for a caste makes caste asking to a corporation with a perpetual existence and a seal of separate entity. The significance of separate names for separate castes has not been sufficiently realized by writers on caste. In doing that they have lost sight of a most distinctive feature of caste. Social groups there are and they are bound to be in every society. Many social groups in many countries can be equated to various castes in India and may be regarded as their equivalent. Potters, Washermen, Intellectuals as social groups are everywhere. But in other countries they have remained as unorganized and voluntary groups while in India they have become organized and involuntary i.e, they have become castes because in other countries the social groups were not given name while in India they did. It is the name which the caste bears which gives it fixity and continuity and individuality. It is the name which defines who are its members and in most cases a person born in a caste carries the name of the caste as a part of his surname. Again it is the name which makes it easy for the caste to enforce its rules and regulations. It makes it easy in two ways. In the first place, the name of the caste forming a surname of the individual prevents the offender in passing off as a person belonging to another caste and thus escape the jurisdiction of the caste. Secondly, it helps to identify the offending individual and the caste to whose jurisdiction he is subject so that he is easily handed up and punished for any breach of the caste rules.

This is what caste means. Now as to the caste system. This involves the study of the mutual relations between different castes. Looked at as a collection of caste, the caste system presents several features which at once strike the observer. In the first place there is no inter-connection between the various castes which form a system. Each caste is separate and distinct. It is independent and sovereign in the disposal of its

internal affairs and the enforcement of caste regulations. The castes touch but they do not interpenetrate. The second feature relates to the order in which one caste stands in relation to the other castes in the system. That order is vertical and not horizontal.

Such is the caste and such is the caste system. Question is, is this enough to know the Hindu social organization? For a static conception of the Hindu social organization an idea of the caste and the caste system is enough. One need not trouble to remember more than the facts that the Hindus are divided into castes and that the castes form a system in which all hang on a thread which runs through the system in such a way that while encircling and separating one caste from another it holds them all as though it was a string of tennis balls hanging one above the other. But this will not be enough to understand caste as a dynamic phenomenon. To follow the workings of caste in action it is necessary to note one other feature of caste besides the caste system, namely class-caste system.

The relationship between the ideas of caste and class has been a matter of lively controversy. Some say that caste is analogous to class and that there is no difference between the two. Others hold that the idea of castes is fundamentally opposed to that of class. This is an aspect of the subject of caste about which more will be said hereafter. For the present it is necessary to emphasize one feature of the caste system which has not been referred to hereinbefore. It is this. Although caste is different from and opposed to the notion of class yet the caste-system—as distinguished from caste—recognizes a class system which is somewhat different from the graded status referred to above. Just as the Hindus are divided into so many castes, castes are divided into different classes of castes. The Hindu is caste-conscious. He is also class conscious. Whether he is caste conscious or class conscious depends upon the caste with which he comes in conflict. If the caste with which he comes in conflict is a caste within the class to which he belongs he is caste conscious. If the caste is outside the class to which he belongs he is class conscious. Anyone who needs any evidence on this point may study the Non-Brahmin Movement in the Madras and the Bombay Presidency. Such a study will leave no doubt that to a Hindu caste periphery is as real as class periphery and caste consciousness is as real as class consciousness.

Caste, it is said, is an evolution of the Varna system. I will show later on that this is nonsense. Caste is a perversion of Varna. At any rate it is an evolution in the opposite direction. But while caste has completely perverted the Varna system it has borrowed the class

system from the Varna system. Indeed the Class-caste system follows closely the class cleavages of the Varna system.

Looking at the caste system from this point of view one comes across several lines of class cleavage which run through this pyramid of castes dividing the pyramid into blocks of castes. The first line of cleavage follows the line of division noticeable in the ancient Chaturvarna system. The old system of Chaturvarna made a distinction between the first three Varnas, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the fourth Varna namely the Shudra. The three former were classes as the Regenerate classes. The Shudra was held as the Unregenerate class. This distinction was based upon the fact that the former were entitled to wear the sacred thread and study the Vedas. The Shudra was entitled to neither and that is why he was regarded as the unregenerate class. This line of cleavage is still in existence and forms the basis of the present day class division separating the castes which have grown out of the vast class of Shudras from those which have grown out of the three classes of Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. This line of class cleavage is the one which is expressed by the terms High Castes and Low Castes and which are short forms for the High Class Castes and Low Class Castes.

Next after this line of cleavage there runs through the pyramid a second line of class cleavage. It runs just below the Low Class Castes. It sets above all the castes born out of the four Varnas i.e., the High Castes as well as the low castes above the remaining castes which I will merely describe as the 'rest'. This line of class cleavage is again a real one and follows the well-defined distinction which was a fundamental principle of the Chaturvarna system. The Chaturvarna system as is pointed out made a distinction between the four Varnas putting the three Varnas above the fourth. But it also made an equally clear distinction between those within the Chaturvarna and those outside the Chaturvarna. It had a terminology to express this distinction. Those within the Chaturvarna—high or low, Brahmin or Shudra were called *Savarna* i.e., those with the stamp of the Varna. Those outside the Chaturvarna were called *Avarna* i.e., those without the stamp of Varna. All the castes which have evolved out of the four varnas are called *Savarna Hindus*—which is rendered English by the term *Caste Hindus*—The 'rest' are the *A varnas* who in present parlance spoken of by Europeans as *Non-caste Hindus* i.e., those who are outside the four original castes or varnas.

Much that is written about the caste system has reference mostly to the caste-system among the *Savarna Hindus*. Very little is known about the *Avarna Hindus*. Who are these *Avarna Hindus*, what is their

position in Hindu Society, how are they related to the Savarna Hindus are questions to which no attention has so far been paid. I am sure that without considering these questions no one can get a true picture of the social structure the Hindus have built. To leave out the Class cleavage between the Savarna Hindus and the Avarna Hindus is to relate Grimm's Fairy Tale which leaves out the witches, the goblins and the orges.

The Avarna Hindus comprise three

(INCOMPLETE)

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## PART IV

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### **Buddha or Karl Marx**

*The Committee found three different typed copies of an essay on Buddha and Karl Marx in loose sheets, two of which have corrections in the author's own handwriting. After scrutinizing these, this essay is compiled incorporating the corrections. The essay is divided into sub-topics as shown below:*

#### *Introduction*

- 1. The Creed of the Buddha*
- 2. The Original Creed of Karl Marx*
- 3. What survives of the Marxian Creed*
- 4. Comparision between Buddha and Karl Marx*
- 5. Means*
- 6. Evaluation of Means*
- 7. Whose Means are More Efficacious ?*
- 8. Withering away of the State—Editors.*

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## CHAPTER 18

### Buddha or Karl Marx

A comparison between Karl Marx and Buddha may be regarded as a joke. There need be no surprise in this. Marx and Buddha are divided by 2381 years. Buddha was born in 563 B.C. and Karl Marx in 1818 A.D. Karl Marx is supposed to be the architect of a new ideology-polity—a new Economic system. The Buddha on the other hand is believed to be no more than the founder of a religion which has no relation to politics or economics. The heading of this essay “Buddha or Karl Marx” which suggests either a comparison or a contrast between two such personalities divided by such a lengthy span of time and occupied with different fields of thought is sure to sound odd. The Marxists may easily laugh at it and may ridicule the very idea of treating Marx and Buddha on the same level. Marx so modern and Buddha so ancient! The Marxists may say that the Buddha as compared to their master must be just primitive. What comparison can there be between two such persons? What could a Marxist learn from the Buddha ? What can Buddha teach a Marxist ? None-the-less a comparison between the two is a attractive and instructive. Having read both and being interested in the ideology of both a comparison between them just forces itself on me. If the Marxists keep back their prejudices and study the Buddha and understand what he stood for I feel sure that they will change their attitude. It is of course too much to expect that having been determined to scoff at the Buddha they will remain to pray. But this much can be said that they will realise that there is something in the Buddha’s teachings which is worth their while to take note of.

#### I THE CREED OF THE BUDDHA

The Buddha is generally associated with the doctrine of Ahimsa. That is taken to be the be-all and end-all of his teachings. Hardly any one knows that what the Buddha taught is something very vast; far beyond Ahimsa. It is therefore necessary to set out in detail his tenets. I enumerate them below as I have understood them from my reading of the Tripitaka :—

1. Religion is necessary for a free Society.
2. Not every Religion is worth having.
3. Religion must relate to facts of life and not to theories and speculations about God, or Soul or Heaven or Earth.
4. It is wrong to make God the centre of Religion.
5. It is wrong to make salvation of the soul as the centre of Religion.
6. It is wrong to make animal sacrifices to be the centre of religion.
7. Real Religion lives in the heart of man and not in the Shastras.
8. Man and morality must be the centre of Religion. If not, Religion is a cruel superstition.
9. It is not enough for Morality to be the ideal of life. Since there is no God it must become the law of life.
10. The function of Religion is to reconstruct the world and to make it happy and not to explain its origin or its end.
11. That the unhappiness in the world is due to conflict of interest and the only way to solve it is to follow the Ashtanga Marga.
12. That private ownership of property brings power to one class and sorrow to another.
13. That it is necessary for the good of Society that this sorrow be removed by removing its cause.
14. All human beings are equal.
15. Worth and not birth is the measure of man.
16. What is important is high ideals and not noble birth.
17. Maitri or fellowship towards all must never be abandoned. One owes it even to one's enemy.
18. Every one has a right to learn. Learning is as necessary for man to live as food is.
19. Learning without character is dangerous.
20. Nothing is infallible. Nothing is binding forever. Every thing is subject to inquiry and examination.
21. Nothing is final.
22. Every thing is subject to the law of causation.
23. Nothing is permanent or sanatan. Every thing is subject to change. Being is always Becoming.
24. War is wrong unless it is for truth and justice.
25. The victor has duties towards the vanquished.

This is the creed of the Buddha in a summary form. How ancient but how fresh! How wide and how deep are his teachings!

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## II THE ORIGINAL CREED OF KARL MARX

Let us now turn to the creed of Karl Marx as originally propounded by him. Karl Marx is no doubt the father of modern socialism or Communism but he was not interested merely in propounding the theory of Socialism. That had been done long before him by others. Marx was more interested in proving that his Socialism was scientific. His crusade was as much against the capitalists as it was against those whom he called the Utopian Socialists. He disliked them both. It is necessary to note this point because Marx attached the greatest importance to the scientific character of his Socialism. All the doctrines which Marx propounded had no other purpose than to establish his contention that his brand of Socialism was scientific and not Utopian.

By scientific socialism what Karl Marx meant was that his brand of socialism was *inevitable* and *inescapable* and that society was moving towards it and that nothing could prevent its march. It is to prove this contention of his that Marx principally laboured.

Marx's contention rested on the following theses. They were :—

- (i) That the purpose of philosophy is to reconstruct the world and not to explain the origin of the universe.
- (ii) That the forces which shapes the course of history are primarily economic.
- (iii) That society is divided into two classes, owners and workers.
- (iv) That there is always a class conflict going on between the two classes.
- (v) That the workers are exploited by the owners who misappropriate the surplus value which is the result of the workers' labour.
- (vi) That this exploitation can be put an end to by nationalization of the instruments of production i.e. abolition of private property.
- (vii) That this exploitation is leading to greater and greater impoverishment of the workers.
- (viii) That this growing impoverishment of the workers is resulting in a revolutionary spirit among the workers and the conversion of the class conflict into a class struggle.
- (ix) That as the workers outnumber the owners, the workers are bound to capture the State and establish their rule which he called the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- (x) These factors are irresistible and therefore socialism is inevitable,

I hope I have reported correctly the propositions which formed the original basis of Marxian Socialism.

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### III WHAT SURVIVES OF THE MARXIAN CREED

Before making a comparison between the ideologies of the Buddha and Karl Marx it is necessary to note how much of this original corpus of the Marxian creed has survived; how much has been disproved by history and how much has been demolished by his opponents.

The Marxian Creed was propounded sometime in the middle of the nineteenth century. Since then it has been subjected to much criticism. As a result of this criticism much of the ideological structure raised by Karl Marx has broken to pieces. There is hardly any doubt that Marxist claim that his socialism was inevitable has been completely disproved. The dictatorship of the Proletariat was first established in 1917 in one country after a period of something like seventy years after the publication of his *Das Capital* the gospel of socialism. Even when the Communism—which is another name for the dictatorship of the Proletariat—came to Russia, it did not come as something inevitable without any kind of human effort. There was a revolution and much deliberate planning had to be done with a lot of violence and bloodshed, before it could step into Russia. The rest of the world is still waiting for coming of the Proletarian Dictatorship. Apart from this general falsification of the Marxian thesis that Socialism is inevitable, many of the other propositions stated in the lists have also been demolished both by logic as well as by experience. Nobody now accepts the economic interpretation of history as the only explanation of history. Nobody accepts that the proletariat has been progressively pauperised. And the same is true about his other premises.

What remains of the Karl Marx is a residue of fire, small but still very important. The residue in my view consists of four items :

- (i) The function of philosophy is to reconstruct the world and not to waste its time in explaining the origin of the world.
- (ii) That there is a conflict of interest between class and class.
- (iii) That private ownership of property brings power to one class and sorrow to another through exploitation.
- (iv) That it is necessary for the good of society that the sorrow be removed by the abolition of private property.

### IV COMPARISON BETWEEN BUDDHA AND KARL MARX

Taking the points from the Marxian Creed which have survived one may now enter upon a comparison between the Buddha and Karl Marx.

On the first point there is complete agreement between the Buddha and Karl Marx. To show how close is the agreement I quote below a part of the dialogue between Buddha and the Brahmin Potthapada.

“Then, in the same terms, Potthapada asked (the Buddha) each of the following questions:

1. Is the world not eternal?
2. Is the world finite?
3. Is the world infinite?
4. Is the soul the same as the body?
5. Is the soul one thing, and the body another?
6. Does one who has gained the truth live again after death?
7. Does he neither live again, nor not live again, after death?

And to each question the exalted one made the same reply: It was this.

“That too, Potthapada, is a matter on which I have expressed no opinion”.

28. “But why has the Exalted One expressed no opinion on that?” (Because) “This question is not calculated to profit, it is not concerned with (the Dhamma) it does not redound even to the elements of right conduct, nor to detachment nor to purification from lust, nor to quietude, nor to tranquilisation of heart, nor to real knowledge, nor to the insight (of the higher stages of the Path), nor to Nirvana. Therefore it is that I express no opinion upon it.”

On the second point I give below a quotation from a dialogue between Buddha and Pasenadi King of Kosala :

“Moreover, there is always strife going on between kings, between nobles, between Brahmins, between house holders, between mother and son, between son and father, between brother and sister, between sister and brother, between companion and companion...”

Although these are the words of Pasenadi, the Buddha did not deny that they formed a true picture of society.

As to the Buddha’s own attitude towards class conflict his doctrine of Ashtanga Marga recognises that class conflict exists and that it is the class conflict which is the cause of misery.

On the third question I quote from the same dialogue of Buddha with Potthapada;

“Then what is it that the Exalted One has determined?”

“I have expounded, Potthapada, that sorrow and misery exist!”

I have expounded, what is the origin of misery. I have expounded what is the cessation of misery; I have expounded what is method by which one may reach the cessation of misery.

30. ‘And why has the Exalted One put forth a statement as to that?’

‘Because that questions Potthapada, is calculated to profit, is concerned with the Dhamma redounds to the beginnings of right

conduct, to detachment, to purification from lusts, to quietude, to tranquilisation of heart, to real knowledge, to the insight of the higher stages of the Path and to Nirwana. Therefore is it, Potthapada that I have put forward a statement as to that.'

That language is different but the meaning is the same. If for misery one reads exploitation Buddha is not away from Marx.

On the question of private property the following extract from a dialogue between Buddha and Ananda is very illuminating. In reply to a question by Ananda the Buddha said :

"I have said that avarice is because of possession. Now in what way that is so, Ananda, is to be understood after this manner. Where there is no possession of any sort or kind whatever by any one or anything, then there being no possession whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of possession, be any appearance of avarice?"

'There would not, Lord'.

'Wherefore, Ananda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of avarice, to wit, possession.

31. 'I have said that tenacity is the cause possession. Now in what way that is so, Ananda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no tenacity of any sort or kind whatever shown by any one with respect to any thing, then there being whatever, would there owing to this cessation of tenacity, be any appearance of possession?"

'There would not, Lord.'

'Wherefore, Ananda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of possession, to wit tenacity.'

On the fourth point no evidence is necessary. The rules of the Bhikshu Sangh will serve as the best testimony on the subject.

According to the rules a Bhikku can have private property only in the following eight articles and no more. These eight articles are :—

1. } Three robes or pieces of cloth for daily wear.
2. }
3. }
4. a girdle for the loins.
5. an alms-bowl.
6. a razor.
7. a needle.
8. a water strainer.

Further a Bhikku was completely forbidden to receive gold or silver for fear that with gold or silver he might buy some thing beside the eight things he is permitted to have.

These rules are far more rigorous than are to be found in communism in Russia.

### V THE MEANS

We must now come to the means. The means of bringing about Communism which the Buddha propounded were quite definite. The means can be decided into three parts.

Part I consisted in observing the Pancha Silas.

The Enlightenment gave birth to a new gospel which contains the key to the solution of the problem which was haunting him.

The foundation of the New Gospel is the fact that the world was full of misery and unhappiness. It was fact not merely to be noted but to be regarded as being the first and foremost in any scheme of salvation. The recognition of this fact the Buddha made the starting point of his gospel.

To remove this misery and unhappiness was to him the aim and object of the gospel if it is to serve any useful purpose.

Asking what could be the causes of this misery the Buddha found that there could be only two.

A part of the misery and unhappiness of man was the result of his own misconduct. To remove this cause of misery he preached the practice of Panch Sila.

The Panch Sila comprised the following observations:

(1) To abstain from destroying or causing destruction of any living thing; (2) To abstain from stealing i.e. acquiring or keeping by fraud or violence, the property of another; (3) To Abstain from telling untruth; (4) To abstain from lust; (5) To abstain from intoxicating drinks.

A part of the misery and unhappiness in the world was according to the Buddha the result of man's inequity towards man. How was this inequity to be removed ? For the removal of man's inequity towards man the Buddha prescribed the Noble Eight-Fold Path. The elements of the Noble Eight-Fold Path are:

(1) Right views i.e. freedom from superstition; (2) Right aims, high and worthy of the intelligent and earnest men; (3) Right speech i.e. kindly, open, truthful; (4) Right Conduct i.e. peaceful, honest and pure; (5) Right livelihood i.e. causing hurt or injury to no living being; (6) Right perseverance in all the other seven; (7) Right mindfulness i.e. with a watchful and active mind; and (8) Right contemplation i.e. earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life.

The aim of the Noble Eight-Fold Path is to establish on earth the kingdom of righteousness, and thereby to banish sorrow and unhappiness from the face of the world.

The third part of the Gospel is the doctrine of Nibbana. The doctrine of Nibbana is an integral part of the doctrine of the Noble Eight-Fold Path. Without Nibbana the realization of the Eight-Fold Path cannot be accomplished.

The doctrine of Nibbana tells what are the difficulties in the way of the realization of the Eight-Fold Path.

The chief of these difficulties are ten in number. The Buddha called them the Ten Asavas, Fetters or Hinderances.

The first hindrance is the delusion of self. So long as a man is wholly occupied with himself, chasing after every bauble that he vainly thinks will satisfy the cravings of his heart, there is no noble path for him. Only when his eyes have been opened to the fact that he is but a tiny part of a measureless whole, only when he begins to realize how impermanent a thing is his temporary individuality, can he even enter upon this narrow path.

The second is Doubt and Indecision. When a man's eyes are opened to the great mystery of existence, the impermanence of every individuality, he is likely to be assailed by doubt and indecision as to his action. To do or not to do, after all my individuality is impermanent, why do anything are questions, which make him indecisive or inactive. But that will not do in life. He must make up his mind to follow the teacher, to accept the truth and to enter on the struggle or he will get no further.

The third is dependence on the efficacy of Rites and Ceremonies. No good resolutions, however firm will lead to anything unless a man gets rid of ritualism; of the belief that any outward acts, any priestly powers, and holy ceremonies, can afford him an assistance of any kind. It is only when he has overcome this hindrance, that men can be said to have fairly entered upon the stream and has a chance sooner or later to win a victory.

The fourth consists of the bodily passions.

The fifth is ill-will towards other individuals.

The sixth is the suppression of the desire for a future life with a material body and the seventh is the desire for a future life in an immaterial world.

The eighth hindrance is Pride and ninth is Self-Righteousness. These are failings which it is most difficult for men to overcome, and to which superior minds are peculiarly liable—a Praiseworthy contempt for those who are less able and less holy than themselves.

The tenth hindrance is ignorance. When all other difficulties are conquered this will even remain, the thorn in the flesh of the wise and good, the last enemy and the bitterest foe of man.

Nibbana consists in overcoming these hindrances to the pursuit of the Noble Eight-Fold Path.

The doctrine of the Noble Eight-Fold Path tells what disposition of the mind which a person should sedulously cultivate. The doctrine of Nibbana tells of the temptation or hindrance which a person should earnestly overcome if he wishes to trade along with the Noble Eight-Fold Path.

The Fourth Part of the new Gospel is the doctrine of Paramitas.

The doctrine of Paraimitas inculcates the practice of ten virtues in one's daily life.

These are those ten virtues—(1) Panna (2) Sila (3) Nekkhamma (4) Dana (5) Virya (6) Khanti (7) Suddha (8) Aditthana (9) Metta and (10) Upekkha.

Panna or wisdom is the light that removes the darkness of Avijja, Moha or Nescience. The Panna requires that one must get all his doubts removed by questioning those wiser than himself, associate with the wise and cultivate the different arts and sciences which help to develop the mind.

Sila is moral temperament, the disposition not to do evil and the disposition to do good; to be ashamed of doing wrong. To avoid to do evil for fear of punishment is Sila. Sila means fear of doing wrong.

Nekkhamma is renunciation of the pleasures of the world.

Dana means the giving of one's possessions, blood and limbs and even one's life for the good of the others without expecting anything in return.

Virya is right endeavour. It is doing with all your might with thought never turning back, whatever you have undertaken to do.

Khanti is forbearance. Not to meet hatred by hatred is the essence of it. For hatred is not appeased by hatred. It is appeased only by forbearance.

Suddha is truth. An aspirant for Buddha never speak a lie. His speech is truth and nothing but truth.

Aditthana is resolute determination to reach the goal.

Metta is fellow-feeling extending to all beings, foe and friend, beast and man.

Upekkha is detachment as distinguished from indifference. It is a state of mind where there is neither like nor dislike. Remaining unmoved by the result and yet engaged in the pursuit of it.

These virtues one must practice to his utmost capacity. That is why they are called Paramitas (States of Perfection).

Such is the gospel the Buddha enunciated as a result of his enlightenment to end the sorrow and misery in the world.

It is clear that the means adopted by the Buddha were to convert a man by changing his moral disposition to follow the path voluntarily.

The means adopted by the Communists are equally clear, short and swift. They are (1) Violence and (2) Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Communists say that there are the only two means of establishing communism. The first is violence. Nothing short of it will suffice to break up the existing system. The other is dictatorship of the proletariat. Nothing short of it will suffice to continue the new system.

It is now clear what are the similarities and differences between Buddha and Karl Marx. The differences are about the means. The end is common to both.

## VI EVALUATION OF MEANS

We must now turn to the evaluation of means. We must ask whose means are superior and lasting in the long run. There are, however, some misunderstandings on both sides. It is necessary to clear them up.

Take violence. As to violence there are many people who seem to shiver at the very thought of it. But this is only a sentiment. Violence cannot be altogether dispensed with. Even in non-communist countries a murderer is hanged. Does not hanging amount to violence? Non-Communist countries go to war with non-Communist countries. Millions of people are killed. Is this no violence? If a murderer can be killed, because he has killed a citizen, if a soldier can be killed in war because he belongs to a hostile nation why cannot a property owner be killed if his ownership leads to misery for the rest of humanity? There is no reason to make an exception in favour of the property owner, why one should regard private property as sacrosanct.

The Buddha was against violence. But he was also in favour of justice and where justice required he permitted the use of force. This is well illustrated in his dialogue with Sinha Senapati the Commander-in-Chief of Vaishali. Sinha having come to know that the Buddha I preached Ahimsa went to him and asked:

“The Bhagvan preaches Ahimsa. Does the Bhagvan preach an offender to be given freedom from punishment? Does the Bhagvan preach that we should not go to war to save our wives, our children and our wealth? Should we suffer at the hands of criminals in the name of Ahimsa.?”

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“Does the Tathagata prohibit all war even when it is in the interest of Truth and Justice?”

Buddha replied, You have wrongly understood what I have been preaching. An offender must be punished and an innocent man must be freed. It is not a fault of the Magistrate if he punishes an offender. The cause of punishment is the fault of the offender. The Magistrate who inflicts the punishment is only carrying out the law. He does not become stained with Ahimsa. A man who fights for justice and safety cannot be accused of Ahimsa. If all the means of maintaining peace have failed then the responsibility for Himsa falls on him who starts war. One must never surrender to evil powers. War there may be. But it must not be for selfish ends....”

There are of course other grounds against violence such as those urged by Prof. John Dewey. In dealing with those who contend that the end justifies the means is morally perverted doctrine, Dewey has rightly asked what can justify the means if not the end ? It is only the end that can justify the means.

Buddha would have probably admitted that it is only the end which would justify the means. What else could ? And he would have said that if the end justified violence, violence was a legitimate means for the end in view. He certainly would not have exempted property owners from force if force was the only means for that end. As we shall see his means for the end were different. As prof. Dewey has pointed out that violence is only another name for the use of force and although force must be used for creative purposes a distinction between use of force as energy and use of force as violence needs to be made. The achievement of an end involves the destruction of many other ends which are integral with the one that is sought to be, destroyed. Use of force must be so regulated that it should save as many ends as possible in destroying the evil one. Buddha’s Ahimsa was not as absolute as the Ahimsa preached by Mahavira the founder of Jainism. He would have allowed force only as energy. The Communists preach Ahimsa as an absolute principle. To this the Buddha was deadily opposed.

As to Dictatorship the Buddha would have none of it. He was born a democrat and he died a democart. At the time he lived there were 14 monarchical states and 4 republics. He belonged to the Sakyas and the Sakya’s kingdom was a republic. He was extremely in love with Vaishali which was his second home because it was a republic. Before his Mahaparinirbhan he spent his Varshavasa in Vaishali. After the completion of his Varshavasa he decided to leave Vaishali and go elsewhere as was his wont. After going some distance he looked back

on Vaishali and said to Ananda. "This is the last look of Vaishali which the Tathagata is having". So fond was he of this republic.

He was a thorough equalitarian. Originally the Bhikkus, including the Buddha himself, wore robes made of rags. This rule was enunciated to prevent the aristocratic classes from joining the Sangh. Later Jeevaka the great physician prevailed upon the Buddha to accept a robe which was made of a whole cloth. The Buddha at once altered the rule and extended it to all the monks.

Once the Buddha's mother Mahaprajapati Gotami who had joined the Bhikkuni Sangh heard that the Buddha had got a chill. She at once started preparing a scarf for him. After having completed it she took to the Buddha and asked him to wear it. But he refused to accept it saying that if it is a gift it must be a gift to the whole Sangh and not to an individual member of the Sangh. She pleaded and pleaded but he refused to yield.

The Bhikshu Sangh had the most democratic constitution. He was only one of the Bhikkus. At the most he was like a Prime Minister among members of the Cabinet. He was never a dictator. Twice before his death he was asked to appoint some one as the head of the Sangh to control it. But each time he refused saying that the Dhamma is the Supreme Commander of the Sangh. He refused to be a dictator and refused to appoint a dictator.

What about the value of the means? Whose means are superior and lasting in the long run?

Can the Communists say that in achieving their valuable end they have not destroyed other valuable ends? They have destroyed private property. Assuming that this is a valuable end can the Communists say that they have not destroyed other valuable end in the process of achieving it? How many people have they killed for achieving their end. Has human life no value ? Could they not have taken property without taking the life of the owner?

Take dictatorship. The end of Dictatorship is to make the Revolution a permanent revolution. This is a valuable end. But can the Communists say that in achieving this end they have not destroyed other valuable ends ? Dictatorship is often defined as absence of liberty or absence of Parliamentary Government. Both interpretations are not quite clear. There is no liberty even when there is Parliamentary Government. For law means want of liberty. The difference between Dictatorship and Parliamentary Govt. lies in this. In Parliamentary Government every citizen has a right to criticise the restraint on liberty imposed by the Government. In Parliamentary Government you have

a duty and a right; the duty to obey the law and right to criticise it. In Dictatorship you have only duty to obey but no right to criticise it.

### VII WHOSE MEANS ARE MORE EFFICACIOUS

We must now consider whose means are more lasting. One has to choose between Government by force and Government by moral disposition.

As Burke has said force cannot be a lasting means. In his speech on conciliation with America he uttered this memorable warning :

“First, Sir, permit me to observe, that the use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.”

“My next objection is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource, for, conciliation failing, force remains; but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.

A further objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is the thing which you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest.”

In a sermon addressed to the Bhikkus the Buddha has shown the difference between the rule by Righteousness and Rule by law i.e. force. Addressing the Brethren he said :

(2) Long long ago, brethren, there was Sovereign overlord named Strongtyre, a king ruling in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people. He was the possessor of the celestial wheel. He lived in supremacy over this earth to its ocean bounds, having conquered it, not by the courage, not by the sword, but by righteousness.

(3) Now, brethren, after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years, king Strongtyre command a certain man, saying:

“Thou shouldst see. Sir, the Celestial Wheel has sunk a little, has slipped down from its place, bring me word.”

Now after many many hundred years had slipped down from its place On seeing this he went to King Strongtyre and said: “Know, sire, for a truth that the Celestial Wheel has sunk, has slipped down from its place.”

The king Strongtyre, brethren, let the prince his eldest son be sent for and spake thus:

‘Behold, dear boy, my Celestial Wheel has sunk a little, has slipped down from its place. Now it has been told me; If the Celestial Wheel of a wheel turning King shall sink down, shall slip down from its place, that king has not much longer to live. I have had my fill of human pleasures; ‘It’s time to seek after divine joys, Come, dear boy, take thou charge over this earth bounded by the ocean. But I, shaving hair and beard, and donning yellow robes, will go forth from home into the homeless state.

So brethren, King Strongtyre, having in due form established his eldest son on the throne, shaved hair and beared, donned yellow robes and went forth from home into homeless state. But on the seventh day after the royal hermit had gone forth, the Celestial Wheel disappeared.

(4) Then a certain man went to the King, and told him, saying: Know, O King, for a truth, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared !

Then that King, brethren, was grieved thereat and afflicted with sorrow. And he went to the royal hermit, and told him, saying: Know, sire, for a truth, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared.

And the anointed king so saying, the royal hermit made reply. Grieve thou not, dear son, that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared, nor be afflicted that the Celestial Wheel has disappeared. For no paternal heritage of thine, dear son, is the Celestial Wheel. But verily, dear son, turn thou in the Ariyan turning of the Wheel-turners. (Act up to the noble ideal of duty set before themselves by the true sovereigns of the world). Then it may well be that if thou carry out the Ariyan duty of a Wheel-turning Monarch, and on the feast of the moon thou wilt for, with bathed head to keep the feast on the chief upper terrace, to the Celestial Wheel will manifest, itself with its thousand spokes its tyre, navel and all its part complete.

(5) ‘But what, sire is this Ariya duty of a Wheel-turning Monarch?’

This, dear son, that thou, leaning on the Norm (the law of truth and righteousness) honouring, respecting and revering it, doing homage to it, hallowing it, being thyself a Norm-banner, a Norm-signal, having the Norm as thy master, shouldest provide the right watch, ward, and protection for thine own folk, for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for brahmins and house holders, for town and country dwellers, for the religious world, and for beasts and birds. Throughout thy kingdom let no wrong doing prevail. And whosoever in thy kingdom is poor, to him let wealth be given.

‘And when dear son, in thy kingdom men of religious life, renouncing the carelessness arising from intoxication of the senses, and

devoted to forbearance and sympathy, each mastering self, each claiming self, each protecting self, shall come to thee from time to time, and question thee concerning what is good and what is bad, what is criminal and what is not, what is to be done and what is to be left undone, what line of action will in the long run work for weal or for woe, thou shouldest hear what they have to say and thou shouldest deter them from evil, and bid them take up what is good. This, dear son, is the Ariyan duty of a sovereign of the world.'

'Even so,' sire, answered the anointed king, and obeying, carried out the Ariyan duty of a sovereign lord. To him, thus behaving, when on the feast of the full moon he had gone in the observance with bathed head to the chief upper terrance the Celestial Wheel revealed itself, with its thousand spokes, its tyre, its naval, and all its part complete. And seeing this is ocured to the king: 'It has been told me that a king to whom on such a occasion the Celestial Wheel reveals itself completely, becomes a Wheel-turning monarch. May I even I also become a sovereign of the world.'

(6) Then brethren, the king arose from his seat and uncovering his robe from one shoulder, took in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand sprinkled up over the Celestial Wheel, saying: 'Roll onward, O Lord Wheel! Go forth and overcome, O Lord Wheel!'

Then, brethern, the Celestial Wheel rolled onwards towards the region of the East, and after it went the Wheel-turning king, and with him his army, horses and chariots and elephants and men. And in whatever place, brethren, the wheel stopped, there the king, the victorious war-lord, took up his abode, and with him his fourfold army. Then the all, the rival kings in the region of the East came to the sovereign king and said 'Come, O mighty king! Welcome, O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty King! Teach us, O mighty king!'

The king, the sovereign war-lord, spake thus: 'Ye shall slay no living thing. Ye shall not take that which has not been given. Ye shall not act wrongly touching bodily desires. Ye shall speak no lie. Ye shall drink no maddening drink. Enjoy your possessions as you have been want to do.'

(7) Then, brethern, the Celestial Wheel, plunging down to the Eastern ocean, rose up out again, and rolled onwards to the region of the south.... (and there all happened as had happend in the East). And in like manner the Celestial Wheel, plunging into Southern ocean, rose up out again and rolled onward to the region of the West... and of the North; and there too happened as had happened in the Southern and West.

Then when the Celestial Wheel had gone forth conquering over the whole earth to its ocean boundry, it returned to the royal city, and stood, so that one might think it fixed, in front of the judgement hall at entrance to the inner apartments of the king, the Wheel-turner, lighting up with its glory the facade of the inner apartments of the king, the sovereign of the world.

(8) And a second king, brethern, also a Wheel-turning monarch;... and a third... and a fourth... and a fifth... and a sixth... and a seventh king, a victorious war-lord, after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years, command a certain man, saying :

‘If thou should’est see, sirrah, that the Celestial Wheel has sunk down, has slid from its place, bring me word.’

‘Even so, sire,’ replied the man.

So after many years, after many hundred years, after many thousand years, that man saw that the Celestial Wheel had sunk down, had become dislodged from its place. And so seeing he went to the king, the war-lord, and told him.

Then that king did (even as Strongtyre had done). And on the seventh day after the royal hermit had gone forth the Celestial Wheel disappeared.

Then a certain man went and told the King. Then the King was grieved at the disappearance of the wheel, and afflicted with grief. But he did not go to the hermit-king to ask concerning the Ariyan Duty of sovereign war-lord. But his own ideas, forsooth, he governed his people; and they so governed differently from what they had been, did not prosper as they used to do under former kings who had carried out the Arivan duty of a sovereign king.

Then, brethren, the ministers and courtiers, the finance officials, the guards and door keepers and they who lived by sacred verses came to the King and spake thus :

‘Thy people, O king, whilst thou governest them by thine own ideas, differently from the way to which they were used when former kings were carrying out the Arivan Duty prosper not. Now there are in thy kingdom ministers and courtiers, finance officers, guards and custodians, and they who live by sacred verses—both all of us and others—who keep the knowledge of the Ariyan duty of the sovereign king. Lo ! O king, do thou ask us concerning it; to thee thus asking will we declare it.’

9. Then, brethren, the king, having made the ministers and all the rest sit down together, asked them about the Ariyan duty of Sovereign war-lord, And they declared it unto him. And when he had heard

them, he did provide the due watch and ward protection, but on the destitute he bestowed no wealth and because this was not done, poverty became widespread.

When poverty was thus become rife, a certain man took that which others had not given him, what people call by theft. Him they caught, and brought before the king, saying: 'This man, O king has taken that which was not given to him and that is theft'.

Thereupon the king spake thus to the man. 'Is it true sirrah, that thou hast taken what no man gave thee, hast committed what men call theft.'

'It is ture, O king.'

'But why?'

'O king, I have nothing to keep me alive.' Then the king bestowed wealth on that man, saying: 'With this wealth sir, do thou both keep thyself alive, maintain thy parents, maintain children and wife, carry on thy business.'

'Even so, O king,' replied the man.

10. Now another man, brethern, took by theft what was not given him. Him they caught and brought before the king and told him, saying: 'this man, O king, hath taken by theft what was not given him'.

And the king (spoke and did even as he had spoken and done to the former man.)

11. Now men heard brethren, that to them who had taken by theft what was not given them, the King was giving wealth. And hearing they thought, let us then take by theft what has not been given us.

Now a certain man did so. And him they caught and charged before the king who (as before) asked him why he had stolen.

'Because, O king I cannot maintain myself'.

Then the king thought: If I bestow wealth on anyone so ever who has taken by theft what was not given him, there will be hereby and increase of this stealing. Let me now put final stop to this and inflict condign punishment on him, have his head cut off!

So he bade his man saying: 'Now look ye! bind this man's arms behind him with a strong rope and tight knot, shave his head bald, lead him around with a harsh sounding drum, from road to road, from cross ways to cross ways, take him out by the southern gate and to the south of the town, put a final stop to this, inflict on him uttermost penalty, cut of his head.'

'Even so , O king' answered the men, and carried out his commands.

12. Now men heard, brethren, that they who took by theft what was not given them were thus put to death. And hearing they thought:

Let us also now have sharp swords made ready for themselves, and them from whom we take what is not given us—what they call them—let us put a final stop to them, inflict on them uttermost penalty, and their heads off.

And they got themselves sharp swords, and came forth to sack village and town and city, and to work highway robbery. And then whom they robbed they made an end of, cutting off their heads.

13. Thus, brethren, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute poverty grieve rife; from poverty growing rife stealing increased, from the spread of stealing violence grew space, from the growth of violence the destruction of life common, from the frequency of murder both the span of life in those beings and their comeliness also (diminished).

Now among humans of latter span of life, brethren, a certain took by theft what was not given him and even as those others was accused before the king and questioned if it was true that he had stolen.

‘Nay, O king,’ he replied, ‘they are deliberately telling lies.’

14. Thus from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty grew rife... stealing... violence... murder... until lying grew common.

Again a certain man reported to the king, saying: ‘such and such a man, O king! has taken by theft what was not given him’ —thus speaking evil of him.

15. And so, brethren, from goods not being bestowed on the destitute poverty grew rife... stealing... violence... murder... lying... evil speaking grew abundant.

16. From lying there grew adultery.

17. Thus from goods not being bestowed on the destitute, poverty... stealing... violence... murder... lying... evil speaking... immorality grew rife.

18. Among (them) brethren, three things grew space incest, wanton greed and perverted lust.

Then these things grew apace lack of filial piety to mother and father, lack of religious piety to holy men, lack of regard for the head of the clan.

19. There will come a time, brethren, when the descendants of those humans will have a life-span of ten years. Among humans of this life-span, maidens of five years will be of a marriageable age. Among such humans these kinds of tastes (savours) will disappear; ghee, butter, oil of tila, sugar, salt. Among such humans kudrusa grain will be the highest kind of food. Even as to-day rice and curry is the highest kind of food, so will kudrusa grain will be then. Among such humans the ten moral courses of conduct will altogether disappear, the ten

immoral courses of action will flourish excessively; there will be no word for moral among such humans, the ten moral courses of conduct will altogether disappear, the ten immoral courses of action will flourish excessively, there will be no word for moral among such humans—far less any moral agent. Among such humans, brethren, they who lack filian and religious piety, and show no respect for the Head of the clan—'tis they to whom homage and praise will be given, just as to-day homage and praise are given to the filial minded, to the pious and to them who respect the heads of their clans.

20. Among such humans, brethren, there will be no (such thoughts of reverence as are a bar to intermarriage with) mother, or mother's sister, or mother's sister-in-law, or teacher's wife, or father's sister-in-law. The world will fall into promiscuity, like goats and sheep, fowls and swine, dogs and jackals.

Among such humans, brethren keen mutual enmity will become the rule, keen ill-will, keen animosity, passionate thoughts even of killing, in a mother towards her child, in a child towards its father, in brother to brother, in brother to sister, in sister to brother. Just a sportsman feels towards the game that he sees, so will they feel.

This is probably the finest picture of what happens when moral force fails and brutal force takes its place. What the Buddha wanted was that each man should be morally so trained that he may himself become a sentinal for the kingdom of righteousness.

#### VIII WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE

The Communists themselves admit that their theory of the State as a permanent dictatorship is a weakness in their political philosophy. They take shelter under the plea that the State will ultimately wither away. There are two questions which they have to answer. When will it wither away ? What will take the place of the State when it withers away? To the first question they can give no definite time. Dictatorship for a short period may be good and a welcome thing even for making Democracy safe. Why should not Dictatorship liquidate itself after it has done its work, after it has removed all the obstacles and boulders in the way of democracy and has made the path of Democracy safe. Did not Asoka set an example ? He practised violence against the Kalingas. But thereafter he renounced violence completely. If our victors to-day not only disarm their victims but also disarm themselves there would be peace all over the world.

The Communists have given no answer. At any rate no satisfactory answer to the question what would take the place of the State when it withers away, though this question is more important than the

question when the State will wither away. Will it be succeeded by Anarchy ? If so the building up of the Communist State is an useless effort. If it cannot be sustained except by force and if it results in anarchy when the force holding it together is withdrawn what good is the Communist State.

The only thing which could sustain it after force is withdrawn is Religion. But to the Communists Religion is anathema. Their hatred to Religion is so deep seated that they will not even discriminate between religions which are helpful to Communism and religions which are not. The Communists have carried their hatred of Christianity to Buddhism without waiting to examine the difference between the two. The charge against Christianity levelled by the Communists was two-fold. Their first charge against Christianity was that they made people otherworldly and made them suffer poverty in this world. As can be seen from quotations from Buddhism in the earlier part of this tract such a charge cannot be levelled against Buddhism.

The second charge levelled by the Communists against Christianity cannot be levelled against Buddhism. This charge is summed up in the statement that Religion is the opium of the people. This charge is based upon the Sermon on the Mount which is to be found in the Bible. The Sermon on the Mount sublimates poverty and weakness. It promises heaven to the poor and the weak. There is no Sermon on the Mount to be found in the Buddha's teachings. His teaching is to acquire wealth. I give below his Sermon on the subject to Anathapindika one of his disciples.

Once Anathapindika came to where the Exalted One was staying. Having come he made obeisance to the Exalted One and took a seat at one side and asked 'Will the Enlightened One tell what things are welcome, pleasant, agreeable, to the householder but which are hard to gain.'

The Enlightened One having heard the question put to him said 'Of such things the first is to acquire wealth lawfully.'

'The second is to see that your relations also get their wealth lawfully.'

'The third is to live long and reach great age.'

'Of a truth, householder, for the attainment of these four things, which in the world are welcome, pleasant agreeable but hard to gain, there are also four conditions precedent. They are the blessing of faith, the blessing of virtuous conduct, the blessing of liberality and the blessing of wisdom.

The Blessing of virtuous conduct which abstains from taking life, thieving, unchastity, lying and partaking of fermented liquor.

The blessing of liberality consists in the householder living with mind freed from the taint of avarice, generous, open-handed, delighting in gifts, a good one to be asked and devoted to the distribution of gifts.

Wherein consists the blessing of Wisdom? He know that an householder who dwells with mind overcome by greed, avarice, ill-will, sloth, drowsiness, distraction and flurry, and also about, commits wrongful deeds and neglects that which ought to be done, and by so doing deprived of happiness and honour.

Greed, avarice, ill-will, sloth and drowsiness, distraction and flurry and doubt are stains of the mind. An householder who gets rid of such stains of the mind acquires great wisdom, abundant wisdom, clear vision and perfect wisdom.

Thus to acquire wealth legitimately and justly, earn by great industry, amassed by strength of the arm and gained by sweat of the brow is a great blessing. The householder makes himself happy and cheerful and preserves himself full of happiness; also makes his parents, wife, and children, servants, and labourers, friends and companions happy and cheerful, and preserves them full of happiness.

The Russians do not seem to be paying any attention to Buddhism as an ultimate aid to sustain Communism when force is withdrawn.

The Russians are proud of their Communism. But they forget that the wonder of all wonders is that the Buddha established Communism so far as the Sangh was concerned without dictatorship. It may be that it was a communism on a very small scale but it was communism without dictatorship a miracle which Lenin failed to do.

The Buddha's method was different. His method was to change the mind of man: to alter his disposition: so that whatever man does, he does it voluntarily without the use of force or compulsion. His main means to alter the disposition of men was his Dhamma and the constant preaching of his Dhamma. The Buddha's way was not to force people to do what they did not like to do although it was good for them. His way was to alter the disposition of men so that they would do voluntarily what they would not otherwise to do.

It has been claimed that the Communist Dictatorship in Russia has wonderful achievements to its credit. There can be no denial of it. That is why I say that a Russian Dictatorship would be good for all backward countries. But this is no argument for permanent Dictatorship. Humanity does not only want economic values, it also wants spiritual values to be retained. Permanent Dictatorship has paid

no attention to spiritual values and does not seem to intend to. Carlyle called Political Economy a Pig Philosophy. Carlyle was of course wrong. For man needs material comforts. But the Communist Philosophy seems to be equally wrong for the aim of their philosophy seems to be fatten pigs as though men are no better than pigs. Man must grow materially as well as spiritually. Society has been aiming to lay a new foundation was summarised by the French Revolution in three words, Fraternity, Liberty and Equality. The French Revolution was welcomed because of this slogan. It failed to produce equality. We welcome the Russian Revolution because it aims to produce equality. But it cannot be too much emphasized that in producing equality society cannot afford to sacrifice fraternity or liberty. Equality will be of no value without fraternity or liberty. It seems that the three can coexist only if one follows the way of the Buddha. Communism can give one but not all.

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