



Ambedkar Times

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Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Poona Pact and the Current Situation

Prem K. Chumber (Editor-in Chief)

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Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar devoted his entire life for the emancipation and empowerment of the Scheduled Castes of India who for centuries have been compelled to live in deplorable situations. He tried different ways for this noble cause while setting the goal of annihilation of caste. First, he did his best to improve upon the situations through reforms within Hinduism. But soon, he realized that reforms within Hinduism will not work for the annihilation of caste because without caste the whole structure of Hinduism would come down like a house of cards and that would not be acceptable to its protagonists at all. Annihilation of caste at the first instance requires doing away with the Hindu Sastras (sacred scriptures/law books), which Hinduism would never agree to comply with. Thus the other way and rather the only way open to seek casteless social order was to say good bye to Hinduism and construct a new society under a different religion for the Ex-Untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar finally left Hinduism and established a new social-religious order popularly known as Navayan-Buddhism (Buddha and His Dhamma) where no one is subjected to any social discrimination based on ascriptive and primordial notions of caste and creed. In between, Dr. Ambedkar battled many struggles for the betterment of living conditions of the Scheduled Castes. Poona Pact was one of such major struggles.

It was through this historic Pact that Dr. Ambedkar got voice for his people in the provincial legislative structures in the form of certain fixed number of seats. That was 1932. A lot has changed now in 2014. State in India is fast withdrawing from its responsibilities towards the people. It firmly believes that market can save them from all the hardships they face. In other words neo-liberalism is being projected as the messiah of the Scheduled Castes. In such a changed scenario downtrodden has to rethink rather critically about the nature of struggle that they have to wage for the acquisition and protection of their rights. Quite interestingly, there is also fast emerging a viewpoint from within the academic circles of the Scheduled Castes which says that neo-liberal market economy offers lots of opportunities to the former untouchables who no longer face any social exclusion in the aftermath of 1991 Globalizing India. This view-point also talks about Dalit billionaires and their own chambers of commerce. What it forgets is that in the free market economy only those are welcome who have the capital to invest. And the capital in India used to be the prerogative of the upper castes only. Lower castes were deliberately kept out of reach of the capital by all possible means under the garb of a discriminatory and hegemonic religious social order. What about the millions of lower castes who do not have requisite capital to enter into the so-called non-discriminatory market economy in India. Would they be not discriminated in this new economic order? Neo-liberalism is no more different from capitalism. We must not forget that the two main enemies of the lower castes are, as cautioned by Babasaheb Dr B. R. Ambedkar, Capitalism and Brahmanism. Both of them are once again busy in fashioning new permutations and calculations to keep their hold intact. Thus to face the realities of current situation in contemporary India, the teachings of Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar are of utmost value as they have been ever.

Efforts to purchase Dr Ambedkar former Residence in London for an Ambedkar Memorial

London (Ambedkar Times News Bureau)- Efforts are being made to convert the former London residence of Dr B.R. Ambedkar into an Ambedkar memorial. He lived at 10 King Henrys Road London in 1921-22 during his higher studies in the London School of Economics. English Heritage has already recognised the historicity of 10 King Henrys Road, NW3 by installing a 'blue plaque' on the property. This was installed with the efforts of FABOUK and unveiled in December 1991 by Roy Hattersley MP, the then Deputy Leader of Labour Party. In this house where he lodged, Dr Ambedkar enriched his academic studies and strengthened his resolve to challenge the impact of the Caste System and British Rule in India. The owner has put this 2,050 sq ft property on sale. The Federation of Ambedkarite and Buddhist Organisations (FABO) availed this timely opportunity and approached the Government of Maharashtra for a grant of 4 million

pounds to purchase the property. "I am delighted that the Government of Maharashtra has supported the FABO, UK's initiative to purchase the house where Dr Ambedkar lodged while he was studying at the London School of



Economics," said Santosh Dass President of FABO,UK.

"We are still awaiting official confirmation," she said. Total cost includes the current asking price for the property as advertised at 3.1 million pounds, an estimated 2, 17,000 pounds as stamp duty (payable at 7 per cent on the eventual purchase price), legal costs, house insurance costs and necessary renovations to the property. "The

proposed memorial will be a cultural and educational centre that generations of Indians in the UK and visitors interested or inspired by Dr Ambedkar's key roles in furthering social justice, human rights and equal treatment issues can visit. The bedrooms would be ideal for some students from Dalit background from India who complete their post graduate education in the UK and visitors to London as part of Dr Ambedkar missions worldwide," said Arun Kumar, General Secretary of FABO, UK. Efforts of Dr. Nitin Raut- Cabinet Minister Government of Maharashtra (GOM), Mr. R K Gaikwad IAS (Indian Administrative services), Ex Secretary & Commissioner Social Justice Department, Mr. Ramesh Katke Deputy Registrar GOM, Dr Vijay Kadam, Social Activist, Mr. Siddharth Kharat Private Secretary to Dr. Raut, Mr. Lalit Khobragade Officer on Special Duty to Minister are much appreciated who gave their unflinching support for this dream project.

100 DAYS OF MODI POINTS TO EMERGENT DISASTER

ECONOMY, RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS AREAS OF BIGGEST CONCERN

The Ghadar Alliance, a US-based educational/watchdog coalition created by concerned citizens in the wake of the BJP victory, today released a comprehensive '100-day report' evaluating the performance of the Modi government's first 100 days in office.

The report, titled "Fast Track to Troubling Times," (modifacts.org) is being released as Modi prepares for his first visit to the US as India's Prime Minister. Modi's US tour begins on September 26th. The report is the first independent 'people's' report to be published since Modi came into office, and identifies the economy, religious extremism and human rights as grave areas of concern. "We have been very careful and meticulous in collecting data only from public sources to build an evidence-based and fully data-driven report," said Raja Swamy, economic anthropologist and one of the authors of the report. "When it comes to the economy, our report shows that the new administration wants to eliminate all democratic protections in favor of corporate giveaways and ripoffs. One example of this are the amendments that the Modi regime has proposed to the Land Acquisition Act of 2013 that do away with meaningful safeguards for those losing land, especially for India's poor, marginal peasantry and indigenous peoples. The proposed amendments accept in-

toto all corporate demands and eliminate existing safeguards. From the evidence available, can we not conclude that the minimal protections for ordinary people are being wiped out to favor corporations?" he added.

The report is replete with such detail as it compares the Modi budget with the previous United Progressive Alliance budget, and points to such facts as the BJP government's plan to raise four times more money through the 'sale of State assets' than the previous government did. The report highlights the empowerment of violent gangs of the supremacist Hindu Right under the Modi dispensation. In the three months since Modi took charge, there have been over 600 cases of anti-minority violence in one single state, Uttar Pradesh (a state in the North), and several cases of forced 'reconversion' of Dalits (India's so-called untouchable castes) to Hinduism. "If there is one thing that is clear already it is that under Modi, Hindu supremacist gangs will virtually rule the streets. There is a palpable sense of insecurity today among minorities, Dalits and women as non-state actors have turned hyper-aggressive, and Modi, through his consistent silence and refusal to hold offenders accountable, has given tacit approval" said Anu Mandavilli of the San Jose Peace and Justice Center and a cofounder of the Ghadar

Alliance.

"The privileging of economic growth as the primary goal functions to dictate an amnesia about Modi's Gujarat record with US investors eager to capitalize on the Indian market," added Professor Snehal Shingavi, also a co-founder of the Ghadar Alliance. "And for many of us born and raised in a racialized US context, the targeting of minorities in India by Hindu reactionaries uncomfortably corresponds to our own experiences with anti-immigrant racism here."

The report compares the first 100 days of the new government with Modi's 12 years of rule in Gujarat. "Examining Modi's first 100 days in the context of his record in Gujarat reveals a number of disturbing parallels, and these parallels legitimize the report's predictive capacity," said Mandavilli.

The report is the first in a series of actions that the Ghadar Alliance is initiating to keep a consistent and critical focus on the BJP/RSS from outside India.

The Founding Committee of the Alliance is intergenerational, of multiple faiths, of diverse professions and geography.

"We represent the true diversity of India rather than the narrow homogeneity of Modi supporters lining up to welcome him here in the US," said Dr. Swamy.

For more information www.ghadaralliance.org

COMMUNAL DECISION

1. In the statement made by the Prime Minister on 1st December last on behalf of His Majesty's Government at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference, which was immediately afterward endorsed by both Houses of Parliament, it was made plain that if the communities in India were unable to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties on the communal questions which the Conference had failed to solve His Majesty's Government were determined that India's constitutional advance should not on that account be frustrated, and that they would remove this obstacle by devising and applying themselves a provisional scheme.

2. On the 19th March last His Majesty's Government, having been informed that the continued failure of the communities to reach agreement was blocking the progress of the plans for the framing of a new constitution, stated that they were engaged upon a careful re-examination of the difficult and controversial questions which arise. They are now satisfied that without a decision of at least some aspects of the problems connected with the position of minorities under the new constitution, no further progress can be made with the framing of the Constitution.

3. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided that they will include provisions to give effect to the scheme set out below in the proposals relating to the Indian Constitution to be laid in due course before Parliament. The scope of this scheme is purposely confined to the arrangement to be made for the representation of the British Indian communities in the Provincial Legislature, consideration of representation in the Legislature at the Centre being deferred for the reason given in paragraph 20 below. The decision to limit the scope of the scheme implies no failure to realise that the framing of the Constitution will necessitate the decision of a number of other problems of great importance to minorities, but has been taken in the hope that once a pronouncement has been made upon the basic questions of method and proportions of representation the communities themselves may find it possible to arrive at a modus vivendi on other communal problems, which have not as yet received the examination they require.

4. His Majesty's Government wish it to be most clearly understood that they themselves can be no parties to any negotiations which may be initiated with a view to the revision of their decision, and will not be prepared to give consideration to any representation aimed at securing the modification of it which is not supported by all the parties effected but they are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement should such happily be forthcoming. If, therefore, before a new government of India act has passed into law, they are satisfied that the communities who are concerned are mutually agreed upon a practicable alternative scheme, either in respect of any one or more of the Governor's Provinces or in respect of the whole of British India, they will be

prepared to recommend to Parliament that alternative should be substituted for the provisions now outlined.

5. Seats in the Legislative Councils in the Governor's Provinces, or in the Lower House if there is an Upper Chamber, will be allocated as shown in the annexed table.

6. Election to the seats allotted to Muhammadan, European and Sikh constituencies will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates covering between them the whole area of the Province (apart from any portions which may in special cases be excluded from the electoral area as "Backward").

Provision will be made in the Constitution itself to empower a revision of this electoral arrangement (and the other similar arrangements mentioned below) after 10 years with the assent of the communities affected, for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised.

7. All qualified electors, who are not voters either in a Muhammadan, Sikh, Indian Christian (see paragraph 10 below), Anglo-Indian (see paragraph 11 below) or European constituency, will be entitled to vote in a general constituency.

8. Seven seats will be reserved for Mahrattas in certain selected plural members general constituencies in Bombay.

9. Members of the "Depressed Classes" qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the table. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the "depressed classes" electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the depressed classes are most numerous, and that, except in Madras, they should not cover the whole area of the Province.

In Bengal it seems possible that in some general constituencies a majority of the voters will belong to the Depressed Classes. Accordingly, pending further investigation, no number has been fixed for the members to be returned from the special Depressed Classes constituencies in that province. It is intended to secure that the Depressed Classes should obtain not less than 10 seats in the Bengal Legislature.

The precise definition in each province of those who (if electorally qualified) will be entitled to vote in the special Depressed Class constituencies has not yet been finally determined. It will be based as a rule on the general principles advocated in the franchise committee's report. Modification may, however, be found necessary in some provinces in Northern India where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result, in a definition unsuitable in some re-

spects to the special conditions of the Province. His Majesty's Government do not consider that these special Depressed Classes constituencies will be required for more than a limited time. They intend that the constitution shall provide that they shall come to an end 20 years if they have not previously been abolished under the general powers of electoral revision referred to in paragraph 6.

10. Election to the seats allotted to Indian Christians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It seems almost certain that practical difficulties will, except possibly in Madras, prevent the formation of Indian Christian constituencies covering the whole area of the Province, and that accordingly special Indian Christian constituencies will have to be formed only in one or two selected areas in the Province. Indian Christian voters in these areas will not vote in a general constituency. Indian Christian voters outside these areas will vote in a general constituency. Special arrangements may be needed in Bihar and Orissa, where a considerable proportion of the Indian Christian community belong to the aboriginal tribes.

11. Election to the seats allotted to Anglo-Indians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It is at present intended, subject to investigation of any practical difficulties that may arise, that the Anglo-Indian constituencies shall cover the whole area of each Province, a postal ballot being employed, but no final decision has yet been reached.

12. The method of filling the seats assigned for representatives from backward areas is still under investigation, and the number of seats so assigned should be regarded as provisional pending a final decision as to the constitutional arrangement to be made in relation to such areas.

13. His Majesty's Government attach great importance to securing that the new Legislatures should contain at least a small number of women members. They feel that at the outset this object could not be achieved without creating a certain number of seats specially allotted to women. They also feel that it is essential that women numbers should not be drawn disproportionately from one community. They have been unable to find any system which would avoid this risk, and would be consistent with the rest of the scheme for representation which they have found it necessary to except that of limiting the electorate for each special woman's seat to voters from one community. The special women's seats have accordingly been specifically divided as shown in the table, between the various communities. The precise electoral machinery to be employed in these special constituencies is still under consideration.

14. The seats allotted to "Labour" will be filled from non-communal constituencies. The electoral arrangements have still to be determined, but it is likely that in most province the Labour constituencies will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies as recommended by the Franchise

Committee.

15. The special seats allotted to Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting will be filled by election through Chambers of Commerce and various Associations. The details of the electoral arrangement for these seats must await further investigation.

16. The special seats allotted to Landholder will be filled by election by special Landholders constituencies.

17. The method to be employed for election to the University seats is still under consideration.

18. His Majesty's Government have found it impossible in determining these questions of representation in the Provincial Legislatures to avoid entering into considerable detail. There remains, nevertheless, the determination of the constituencies. They intend that this task should be undertaken in India as early as possible.

It is possible that in some instances delimitation of constituencies might be materially improved by slight variations from the numbers of seats now given. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to make such slight variations, for such purpose, provided that they would not materially affect the essential balance between communities. No such variations will, however, be made in the case of Bengal and Punjab.

19. The question of the composition of Second Chambers in the Provinces has so far received comparatively little attention in the constitutional discussions and requires further consideration before a decision is reached as to which Provinces shall have a Second Chamber or a scheme is drawn up for their composition. His Majesty's Government consider that the composition of the upper house in a province should be such as not to disturb in any essential the balance between the communities resulting, from the composition of the Lower House.

20. His Majesty's Government do not propose at present to enter into the question of the size and composition of Legislature at the Centre, since this involves among other questions that representation of the Indian States which still needs further discussion. They will, of course, when considering the composition, pay full regard to the claims of all communities for adequate representation therein.

21. His Majesty's Government have already accepted the principle that Sind should be constituted a separate Province, if satisfactory means of financing it can be found. As the financial problems involved still have to be reviewed in connection with other problems of federal finance, His Majesty's Government have thought it preferable to include, at this stage, figures for a Legislature for the existing Province of Bombay, in addition to the schemes for separate Legislatures for Bombay Presidency proper and Sind.

22. The figures given for Bihar and Orissa relate to the existing province. The question of constituting a separate Province of Orissa is still under investigation.

23. The inclusion in the table of (Continued on page 3)

Communal Decision

(Continued from page 2)
figures relating to a Legislature for the Central Provinces including Berar does not imply that any decision has yet been reached regarding the future constitutional position of Berar.

London 4th August, 1932.

Allocation of seats in provincias legislatures ਦੇ ਚਾਰਟ ਬੱਲੇ (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) ਆਦਿ ਦਾ ਮਤਲਬ explain ਕੀਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ।
The composition of the bodies through which election to these seats will be conducted, though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian, will not be statutorily

fixed. It is accordingly, not possible in each Province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians respectively will be returned. It is however expected that, initially, the numbers will be approximately as follows :- Madas, 4 European, 2 Indians ; Bombay (including Sind), 5 Europeans, 3 Indians, Bengal, 14 Europeans, 5 Indians, United Provinces, 2 Europeans, 1 Indian, Punjab, 1 Indian, Bihar and

Orissa, 2 Europeans, 2 Indians, Central Provinces (including Berar), 1 European, 1 Indian, Assam, 8 Europeans, 3 Indians ; Bombay (without Sind), 4 Europeans, 3 Indians, 1 European, and 1 Indian.

b. Seven of these seats will be reserved for Mahrattas.

c. As explained in paragraph 9 of the statement, the number of special Depressed Class seats in Bengal -

which will not exceed 10 - has not yet been fixed. The number of general seats will be 80, less the number of special Depressed Class seats.

d. One of these seats is a Tumadar's seat. The four Landholders' seats will be filled from special constituencies with joint electorates. It is probable, from the distribution of the electorate, that the members returned will be one Hindu, one Sikh and two Muhammadan.

e. This woman's seat will be filled from a non-communal constituency at Shillong.

ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਵਿਚ ਪੂਨਾ ਪੈਕਟ

Telegram from Government of Bombay,
Dated 24th September, 1932

S.D. 6125. Text of agreement arrived at between the leaders of the Depressed Classes and of the rest Hindu community, together with covering letter signed by Pandit Madan Malaviya, is as follows. The signatories to agreement are Pandit Malaviya, Jayakar, Sapru, Chunilal Mehta, Ambedkar, Rajah, Solanki, Rajagopalachariar, Birla and 20 others.* The agreement is not signed by Gandhi, but the signatories state that he has accepted it :-

"I have the honour to enclose the agreement which has been arrived at between the leaders of the Depressed Classes and of the rest of the Hindu community in connection with the representation of the Depressed Classes in the Legislatures and to request you to arrange for its transmission to His Excellency the Viceroy, the Secretary of the State for India and the Prime Minister. We request that in view of Mahatama Gandhi's present condition immediate action may be taken to enable him to break his fast."

The following agreement has been arrived at between leaders acting on behalf of the Depressed Classes and of the rest of the Hindu community regarding the representation of the Depressed Classes in the Legislatures and certain other matters affecting their welfare :-

"1. There shall be seats reserved for ther Depressed Classes out of general electorate seat in the Provincial Legislatures as follows : Madras, 30 ; Bombay with Sind, 15 ; Punjab, 8 ; Bihar and Orissa, 18 ; Central Provinces, 20 ; Assam, 7 ; Bengal, 30 ; The United Provinces, 20 ; total 148. These figures are based on the total strength of the Provincial Councils announced in the Prime Minister's decision."

"2. Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates, subject, however, to the following procedure : All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the De-

pressed Classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote and four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate."

"3. The representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in clause 2 above for their representation in the Provincial Legislatures."

"4. In the Central Legislature 18 per centum of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said Legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes."

"5. The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures as herein before mentioned shall come to an end after the first 10 years unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provisions of clause 6 below."

"6. The system of representation of Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses 1 and 4 shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement."

"7. The franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee report."

"8. There shall be no disabilities attaching to anyone on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any elections to local bodies or appointment to the public services. Every endeavour

shall be made to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the public services."

"9. In every Province out of the educational grant an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities for the members of the Depressed Classes."

* It appears from an unofficial telegram that the signatories were : Madan Mohan Malaviya, T. B. Sapru, M. R. Jaykar, B. R. Ambedkar, R. Srinivasan, C. Raja Gopalacharia, Chunnilal Mehta, M. C. Rajah, P. G. Solanki, V. I. Muniswamy Pillay, V. Dharmalingham, Pillai Hari Das, N. Shivaraj, G. D. Birla, Rajendra Prasad, A. V. Thakkar, H. M. Jagannathan, S. N. Shiv Tarkar, B. H. Verale, R. R. Bakhle, P. Baloo, Rajbhoj, N. S. Kajrolker, G. A. Gavai and apparently five other unnamed.

Poona Pact

The following statement by His Majesty's Government will be announced in the Indian Legislature on the morning of Monday, 26th September :

His Majesty's Government has learnt with great satisfaction that an agreement has been reached between leaders of the Depressed Classes and of the rest of the Hindu community regarding the representation of the Depressed Classes in the new Legislatures and certain other matter affecting their welfare.

In place of the system of general constituencies combined with special Depressed Classes constituencies contained in the Government's Com-

munal Award of 4th August last, the agreement provides for general constituencies within which seats are reserved for the Depressed Classes, subject to important conditions as to the manner in which the reserved seats are filled. The Government, in their Award which was given in the absence of agreement between the communities, were solely concerned, in relation to the Depressed Classes, to provide adequate security that the interests of these classes should be observed by the new Legislatures. As the representatives of the Depressed Classes and other Hindus acting together believe that the scheme now forwarded by them to His Majesty's Government is adequate for that purpose, the Government, in accordance with the procedure which they laid down in paragraph 4 of their Award, will recommend to Parliament in due course the adoption of the clauses of the agreement dealing with representation in the Provincial Legislatures in place of the provisions in paragraph 9 of the Award. It will be understood that the total number of the general seats including those reserved for Depressed Classes under the agreement, will in each province remain the same as the number of general seats plus the number of special Depressed Class seats provided in their decision. His Majesty's Government note that the agreement deals also with certain questions outside the scope of their Award of 4th August. Clauses 8 and 9 deal generally with points, the realisation of which will be likely to depend in the main on actual working of the Constitution but His Majesty's Government take note of these clauses as a definit (Continued on page 4)

Allocation of Seats in Provincial Legislature (Lower House Only)														
Province	General	Depressed Classes	Depressed from Backward	Sikh	Muhama- mmadan	Indian Cristians	Anglo Indians	Europeans	Europeans	Commerce and In- dustry, Mining+ Planting Special (d)	Land Holders Special	University Special	Labour Special	Total
Madras	134 inc. 6 women	18	1	0	29 inc 1 women	9 inc 1 W	2	3	3	6	6	1	6	215
Bombay including Sind)	97(B) inc 5 women	10	1	0	63 inc. 1 women	3	2	4 inc 5 W	4 inc 5 W	8	3	1	8	200
Bengal	80(C) inc. 2 women	(C)	0	0	119 inc. 2 women	2	4	11	11	19	5	2	8	250
United Provinces	132 inc. 4 women	12	0	0	66 inc. 2 women	2	1	2	2	3	6	1	3	228
Punjab	43 inc. 1 women	0	0	32 inc 1 W	86 inc 2 women	2	1	1	1	1	5 (d)	1	3	175
Bihar and Orissa	99 inc. 1 women	7	8	0	42 inc 1 W	2	1	2	2	4	5	1	4	175
Central Provinces Inc. Berar	77 inc. 3 women	10	1	0	14	0	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	112
Assam	44 inc. 3 women	4	9	0	34	1	0	1	1	11	0	0	4	108
North West Frontier Provinces	9	0	0	3	36	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	50
Bombay without Sind	109 inc 5 women	10	1	0	30 inc. 1 women	3	2	3	3	7	2	1	7	175
Sind	19 inc 1 women	0	0	0	34	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	1	60

ਚਾਰਟ ਦੇ ਬੱਲੇ (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) ਆਦਿ ਦਾ ਮਤਲਬ explain ਕੀਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ।

The Parvati Satyagrah of Pune: Breaking a 180-year old tradition

The Parvati temple entry satyagrah that was organised by a few Depressed Class and caste Hindu leaders on 13 October 1929 to secure entry for the Depressed Classes to the temple at Pune was a part of the initial awakening of untouchables at the beginning of the 20th century.

The Parvati temple, located in the southern part of Pune, is actually a complex of four temples dedicated to different Hindu deities- Shiva, Ganesh, Kartikeya and Vitthal. Of these the one dedicated to Lord Shiva, also known as Devadeveshwara (Lord of Lords), is the most prominent one. It was constructed in 1749 by Nansaheb Peshwe or Balaji Bajirao, one of the Peshwas (Brahmin Prime Ministers) who came to wield enormous power during the tenure of Shahu Sambhaji Raje Bhosale (1708-1748), the grandson of the founder of the Maratha Kingdom, Chhatrapati Shivaji. Under the Peshwas, from 1713 till their defeat in 1818 at the hands of the British, the Brahmin culture and influence thrived and reached its peak. It was little

and let the temple open for darshan to them. Since the appeal evoked little response from the trustees, the local depressed class leaders supported by a group of a few caste Hindu leaders too decided to join the demand and formed a Satyagraha Committee with Shivram Janba Kamble and P. N. Rajbhoj as respectively its Chairman and General Secretary. The Committee served a public notice to the temple trustees on 2 October 1929 drawing their attention to the fact that the temple was open to all Hindus as per the order issued on 15 March 1842 by the Collector. As such, the notice said, the trustees were not within the law if the untouchables being Hindu were disallowed temple entry. The notice wanted the

who numbered around 150 were vastly outnumbered by the orthodox Hindus who overpowered the satyagrahis and prevented them from entering the main temple gates by pelting stones and brickbats at them. The supporting caste Hindu leaders received serious injuries in the confrontation and had to be taken away for medical treatment.

While Dr Ambedkar supported the satyagraha, he was not present at the protest because of his preoccupation with other work or because it was dominated by the caste Hindu leaders. However, in a detailed analysis of the incident in the article in Bahishkrit Bharat mentioned above, he made following points:

1. The physical assault on satya-

grahis who were very few and protesting in a very non-violent way was a 'demonic' act. If the opponents of temple entry continue to react in violence, it would not be long before the untouchables too do so.

2. The behaviour of the caste Hindus associated with the satyagraha was little short of hypocrisy. The caste Hindus initiated the satyagraha move with an open letter in the press. Yet it was the same people who completely dissociated themselves from the event on the very day the trustees of the temple gave out a public vindication of their stand in the local newspaper. The coincidence clearly indicated prior secretive understanding on the issue between the Sangh and the temple trustees.

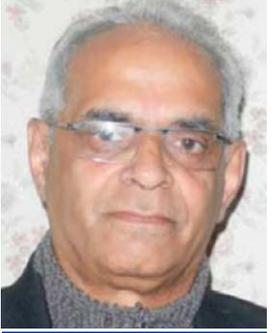
3. The withdrawal of support at the last moment by as many as 60 to 65 untouchables themselves was most unfortunate and was without doubt engineered by the so-called sympathisers of the movement. The untouchables therefore need to guard themselves against the apparent supporters of any of their movements.

4. While a change in public opinion is important for a movement, it would be unwise to wait for it to come about of its own. It is immensely important to undertake deliberate and planned efforts to bring it about. The satyagraha is the most effective instrument to mould the public opinion and as such is a supportive complement to the attainment of the objectives of a movement. It would be therefore unwise to give up on satyagraha and wait for a gradual change of public opinion of its own against untouchability.

5. It is wrong to exhort the untouchable community to defer the question of untouchability till the attainment of freedom and put up a united front against the British. On the other hand it is important to support the movement against untouchability and win over the untouchables to the side of freedom fighters. It would be a

more effective strategy to create a more consolidated and united counterforce against the British. The Parvati satyagraha could not succeed and increased the distrust between Dr Ambedkar and his followers on the one hand and the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi on the other. It was a part of the general awakening among untouchables in the initial years of the last century and despite failure strengthened further the faith of untouchables in the united fight against obnoxious Hindu practices.

It did provide inspiration to the untouchables in various parts of the country to pursue their effort for temple entry in their respective areas and to that extent instilled confidence in the movement of untouchables.



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Members of the Parvati Satyagraha Committee-

Sitting: Shivram Kamble (Chairman) &

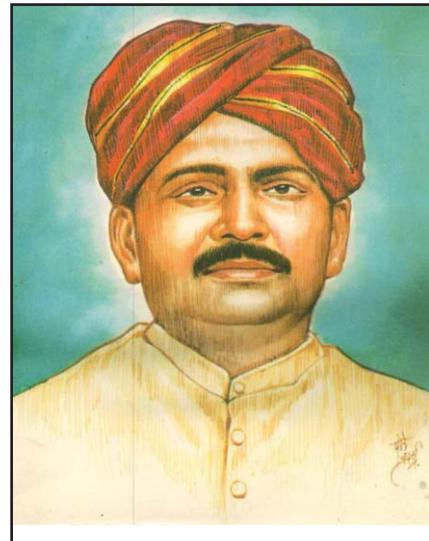
Keshavrao Jedhe (Vice Chairman, Assistant Committee))

Standing: S. R. Thorat (Vice Chairman),

R. S. Ghatage (Secretary & Treasurer), K. M. Patade (Accountant)



The Parvati Temple constructed in 1789 during the heyday of the Peshwa rule



Shivram Janba Kamble (1875-1942) who chaired the Parvati Satyagraha Committee worked as a butler and organised many petitions, conferences and temple and hotel entry movements in the Pune area from 1903 to 1930.

wonder therefore that the untouchables, regarded as the lowest in the caste hierarchy, were disallowed the entry to a temple, constructed by a powerful Brahmin.

The Parvati Satyagrah, following on the heels of the Mahad Satyagrah of 1927, thus was an attempt to break a 180-year old tradition. Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar in an editorial in Bahishkrit Bharat (15 November 1929) traces the origin of the satyagraha to a meeting of a few Pune Brahmins, called to deliberate on efforts they could undertake to mitigate the problem of untouchability. The meeting ended with a decision to let the Hindu temples in various areas of the city open to the untouchables. Following the meeting, an open letter was written to the trustees of the Parvati temple making an appeal to end the discrimination against the untouchables within the temple precincts

This left the trustees with no alternative but to take a public stand on the issue.

The trustees however held 'that the temple is a private property and was constructed by Nansaheb Peshwe through his private fund. While the temple is a Hindu place, allowing the untouchable classes to approach the deity as close as the caste Hindus would be the violation of the original intentions and the trustees have no authority to do so.'

This was thus an outright denial of the acceptance of the demand of the satyagrahis who were left with little option but to go ahead with their action.

The satyagraha was led by two prominent depressed class leaders, Shivram Janba Kamble and P. N. Rajbhoj, and was supported among others by a few noted caste Hindu leaders like N. V. Gadgil and Keshavrao Jedhe. The satyagrahis

ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਰਿਕਾਰਡ ਵਿਚ ਪੂਨਾ ਧੈਕਟ

(Continued from Page 3)

pledge of intention of caste Hindus toward Depressed Classes.

There are two other points outside the scope of their

Award : (1) The Agreement contemplates that the franchise for the Depressed Classes should be that recommended by the Franchise (Lord Lothians) Committee. It is obvious that the

level of the Franchise for Depressed Classes (indeed, for Hindus generally) must be determined at the same time as that for other communities is being settled, and the whole subject is under consideration by His Majesty's Government ;

(2) The Agreement also provides for a particular method of electing Depressed Class representatives for the

Legislature at the Centre. This again is a subject (outside the terms of their Award) which is under investigation as part of the whole scheme for election for the Legislature at the Centre, and no piecemeal conclusion can be reached. What has been said on these two points should be regarded as implying that His Majesty's Government are against what is proposed in the

Agreement, but that these questions are still under consideration.

To prevent misunderstanding it may be explained that the Government regard the figure of 18 percent, for the percentage of British India general seats at the Centre to be reserved for Depressed Classes as a matter for settlement between them and other Hindus.