

Appendix - I

Text of Poona Pact

The following is the text of the agreement :-

- (1) There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the general electorate seats 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; 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 the members of the Depressed Classes, registered in the General Electoral Roll in a constituency, will form an Electoral College, which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats, by the method of the single vote; the four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election, shall be candidates for election by the General Electorate.

- 3) 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, eighteen per cent 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 hereinbefore mentioned, shall come to an end after the first ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of Clause 6 below.
- 6) The system of representation of the 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 the settlement.

- 7) 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 any one 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 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 to the Members of the Depressed Classes."

"Before signing the pact, the representatives of Untouchables from Madras insisted that they would not allow Rao Bahadur Rajah and his followers to sign the pact. And, if at all they were allowed, Dr. Ambedkar and his followers would not sign the pact. Accordingly Dr. Ambedkar and his followers signed the Pact. Thereafter Dr. Ambedkar was requested to make arrangement to obtain the signatures of Mr. Rajah and his followers. After lengthy discussions, it was decided that they would be allowed to sign the pact at the end of the document and in their individual capacities. Accordingly they signed. But it was a matter of great surprise that although Mr. Rajah had to sign at the end of the document, he interpolated his signature in between the signatures of Jaikar and Sapru."

"Signatories to Poona Pact, 24-9-1932, (Epic Fast, PP. 153 - 154)

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1) Madan Mohan Malaviya | (12) B.S. Kamat |
| 2) Tej Bahadur Sapru | (13) G.K. Deodhar |
| 3) M.R. Jayakar | (14) A.V. Thakkar |
| 4) B.R. Ambedkar | (15) R.R. Bakhale |
| 5) Shrinivasan | (16) P.G. Solanki |
| 6) M.C. Rajah | (17) P. Baloo |
| 7) C.V. Mehta | (18) Govind Malaviya |

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 8) C.Rajagopalachari | (19) Devdas Gandhi |
| 9) Rajendra Prasad | (20) Biswas |
| 10) G.D. Birla | (21) P.N. Rajbhoj |
| 11) Rameshwar Das Birla | (22) Gavai G.A. |
| | (23) Shankarlal Bankar |

While signing the pact, "Rajagopalachari was so much over joyed that he exchanged his fountain-pen with Dr. Ambedkar.

The following signatures were added in Bombay at the final sitting of the Hindu Conference on September 25 :-

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) Lallubhai Samaldas | (10) P.Kodandrao |
| 2) Hansa Mehta | (11) N.V. Gadgil |
| 3) K. Natarajan | (12) Manu Subhedar |
| 4) Kamakoti Natarajan | (13) Avantikabai Gokhale |
| 5) Purushottamdas Thakurdas | (14) K.J. Chitalia |
| 6) Mathuradas Vassanji | (15) Radhakant Malaviya |
| 7) Walchand Hirachand | (16) A.R. Bhatt |
| 8) H.N. Kunzru | (17) Colam |
| 9) K.G. Limaye | (18) Pradhan" |

Appendix - II

MINORITIES PACT

Provisions for a Settlement of the Communal Problem, put forward jointly by Muslims, Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

CLAIMS OF MINORITY COMMUNITIES

1. No person shall by reason of his origin, religion, caste or creed, be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, or with regard to enjoyment of his civic rights and the exercise of any trade or calling.
2. Statutory safeguards shall be incorporated in the constitution with a view to protect against enactments of the Legislature of discriminatory laws affecting any community.
3. Full religious liberty, that is, full liberty of belief, worship observances, propaganda, associations and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities subject to the maintenance of public order and morality.

No person shall merely by change of faith lose any civic right or privilege, or be subject to any penalty.
4. The right to establish, manage and control, at their own expense, charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments with the right to exercise their religion therein.
5. The constitution shall embody adequate safeguards for the protection of religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of education, language, charitable institutions of the minority communities and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State and by the self-governing bodies.
6. Enjoyment of civic rights by all citizens shall be guaranteed by making any act or omission calculated to prevent full enjoyment an offence punishable by law.
7. In the formation of Cabinets in the Central Government and Provincial Governments, so far as possible, members belonging to the Mussalman

community and other minorities of considerable number shall be included by convention.

8. There shall be Statutory Departments under the Central and Provincial Governments to protect minority communities and to promote their welfare.
9. All communities at present enjoying representation in any Legislature through nomination or election shall have representation in all Legislatures through separate electorates and the minorities shall have not less than the proportion set forth in the Annexure but no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even an equality. Provided that after a lapse of ten years it will be open to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal and any minority communities in any other Provinces to accept joint electorates, or joint electorates with reservation of seats, by the consent of the community concerned. Similarly after the lapse of ten years, it will be open to any minority in the Central Legislature to accept joint electorates with or without reservation of seats with the consent of the community concerned.

With regard to the Depressed Classes, no change to joint electorates and reserved seats shall be made until after 20 years' experience of separate electorates and until direct adult suffrage for the community has been established.

10. In every Province and in connection with the Central Government, a Public Services Commission shall be appointed, and the recruitment to the Public Services, except the proportion, if any, reserved to be filled by nomination by the Governor-General and the Governors, shall be made through such commission in such a way as to secure a fair representation to the various communities consistently with the considerations of efficiency and the possession of the necessary qualifications. Instructions to the Governor General and the Governors in the Instrument of Instructions with regard to recruitment shall be embodied to give effect to this principle, and for that purpose to review periodically the composition of the Services.
11. If a Bill is passed which, in the opinion of two-thirds of the members of any Legislature representing a particular community, affects their

religion or social practice based on religion, or in the case of fundamental rights of the subjects if one-third of the members object, it shall be open to such members to lodge their objection thereto, within a period of one month of the Bill being passed by the House, with the President of the House who shall forward the same to the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, and he shall thereupon suspend the operation of that Bill for one year, upon the expiry of which period he shall remit the said Bill for further consideration by the Legislature. When such Bill has been further considered by the Legislature and the Legislature concerned has refused to revise or modify the Bill so as to meet the objection thereto, the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, may give or withhold his assent to it in the exercise of his discretion, provided, further, that the validity of such Bill may be challenged in the Supreme Court by any two members of the denomination affected thereby on the ground that it contravenes one of their fundamental rights.

SPECIAL CLAIMS OF MUSSULMANS

- A. The North-West Frontier Province shall be constituted a Governor's Province on the same footing as other Provinces with due regard to the necessary requirements for the security of the Frontier.

In the formation of the Provincial Legislature, the nominations shall not exceed more than 10 percent. of the whole.

- B. Sind shall be separated from the Bombay Presidency and made a Governor's Province similar to and on the same footing as other Provinces in British India.
- C. Mussulman representation in the Central Legislature shall be one-third of the total number of the House, and their representation in the Central Legislature shall not be less than the proportion set forth in the Annexure.

SPECIAL CLAIMS OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

- A. The constitution shall declare invalid any custom or usage by which any penalty or disadvantage or disability is imposed upon or any discrimination is made against any subject of the State in regard to the enjoyment of the civic rights on account of Untouchability.
- B. Generous treatment in the matter of recruitment to Public Services and the opening of enlistment in the Police and Military Service.
- C. The Depressed Classes in the Punjab shall have the benefit of the Punjab Land Alienation Act extended to them.
- D. Right of Appeal shall lie to the Governor or Governor General for redress of prejudicial action or neglect of interest by any Executive Authority.
- E. The Depressed Classes shall have representation not less than set forth in the Annexure.

SPECIAL CLAIMS OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

- A. Generous interpretation of the claims admitted by Sub Committee No. VIII (Services) to the effect that in recognition of the peculiar position of the community, special consideration should be given to the claim for public employment, having regard to the maintenance of an adequate standard of living.
- B. The right to administer and control its own educational institutions, i.e. European education, subject to the control of the Minister.

Provisions for generous and adequate grant-in-aid and scholarship on the basis of present grants.
- C. Jury rights equal to those enjoyed by other communities in India unconditionally of proof of legitimacy and descent and the right of accused persons to claim trial by either a European or an Indian jury.

SPECIAL CLAIMS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

- A. Equal rights and privileges to those enjoyed by Indian-born subjects in all industrial and commercial activities.
- B. The maintenance of existing rights in regard to procedure of criminal trials, and any measure or bill to amend, alter, or modify such a procedure cannot be introduced except with the previous consent of the Governor-General.

Agreed by :-

His Highness the Aga Khan (Muslims)

Dr. Ambedkar (Depressed Classes)

Rao Bahadur Pannir Selvam (Indian Christians)

Sir Henry Gidney (Anglo-Indians)

Sir Hubert Carr (Europeans).

Appendix – III

Fresh Write-up

Chapter- I

Section- II

Overview of Literature:

In the book "Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission" (Popular Prakashan, 1954, Bombay), D. Keer has studied the multi-dimensional personality of Dr. Ambedkar. This is considered to be a full-length and authoritative biography of Dr. Ambedkar. It is a story of a person who, in the face of many challenges, rose to the highest position to deliver the nation a fundamental document – the Constitution for free India.

M.L. Ranga in his edited volume "B.R. Ambedkar: Life, Work and Relevance" has studied Ambedkar's contributions and its relevance in the contemporary Indian situation.

Another work "From Periphery to Centre Stage", K.C. Yadav deals with three themes:

- a) Dr. Ambedkar as the Central figure in the making of modern India;
- b) 'Ambedkarism' as a creed for the development of the down-trodden people; and
- c) Ambedkar as a propagator of 'Dalit' equality.

S.K. Agarwal has discussed the religious stand of Dr. Ambedkar in his book 'Dr. Ambedkar on Muslim Fundamentalism'. This is an important contribution so far as Ambedkar's views on religion is concern. He launched a relentless struggle against religious fundamentalism of any brand throughout his life. This appears to be an important contribution.

W.N. Kuber in his work "B.R. Ambedkar" mentioned that Ambedkar has spoken a lot about the empowerment and emancipation of women and in this effort, he considered education to be the strongest weapon.

Dr. D.V. Rao in his book "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: Champion of Human Rights" has examined Ambedkar's contribution from a broader perspective. In most of the works, Ambedkar has been projected as the upholder of the causes of the depressed classes. But he could easily cross such a boundary and became a soldier for the protection of human rights of all people, irrespective of their social status, religious affiliation or economic condition.

V.T. Patil's edited volume "Studies in Ambedkar" contains a number of papers which discuss different aspects of Ambedkar's life and mission. The main thrust of the book is to situate Ambedkar in the broader Indian socio-political and economic perspective.

"B.R. Ambedkar: The Quest for Social Justice" by A.M. Rajasekhariah is a significant contribution in the field of the study of Ambedkar and his views on social justice. In fact, Ambedkar's ideas on Social Justice leading to his goal of a 'Just Society' has been analysed in great details.

C.D. Naik's "Thoughts and Philosophy of B.R. Ambedkar" is a critical examination of Dr. Ambedkar's political ideas and social thoughts. The author has tried to find out the philosophical foundation of Dr. Ambedkar's thought process.

Md. Shabbir in his edited volume "B.R. Ambedkar: Study in Law and Society" contains a number of papers dealing with Ambedkar's views on law and society. This is an important study as it explains the legal position that Ambedkar took in removing illegal practices from the Indian society.

On Ambedkar's views on and scheme for the Indian Constitution, Kusum Sharma's "Ambedkar and the Indian Constitution" has made a significant contribution. It is known to everybody that Ambedkar is in the real sense, the

architect of the Indian Constitution. But any study of the Constituent Assembly debates will show that on many points, he had to face many challenges and had to make many compromises just to accommodate the views of his opponents.

I.S. Vidyasagar in his book "Concept of Humanism of Dr. Ambedkar" is another work which discusses the role and contribution of Dr. Ambedkar from a broader humanistic point of view.

Anyama Thorat has discussed the whole range of society, economy and polity of the Indian context in the light of Ambedkar's views in the book entitled "Ambedkar in Restrospect: Essays on Economics, Politics and Society".

Eleanor Zelliot's two works "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and the Mahar Movement" and "From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on Ambedkar Movement" deal with the nature, course and direction of social movements launched by Dr. Ambedkar for achieving his ultimate goal - a Just Society.

D.S. Chandrakant in his book "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's political philosophy", as the name suggests deals with the political ideas of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Since the book deals with only Ambedkar's political ideas, the book is unidimensional and narrow in its scope.

C. Jaffrelot's work "Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability: Analysing and Fighting Caste" is a critical examination of Dr. Ambedkar's socio-political movement against on caste-ridden society. The author has examined the nature of social movements of Ambedkar from a broader perspective.

Another work by Dinkar Khabde, a Ph.D. thesis of Pune University under the title "Dr. Ambedkar and Western Thinkers" is a significant contribution. It has analysed the influence of Western philosophical ideas on Dr. Ambedkar and the extent these helped Ambedkar in removing social inequalities from the Indian society.

These review of literature is by no means exhaustive but illustrative in nature. Many works are there and new works are being done on such a multi-dimensional personality. Only these works have been reviewed which have their relevance in the present study. A detailed list of works have been included in the section on 'Select Bibliography'.

Fresh Write-up

Chapter- I

Section- III

Research Questions:

- i) What has been the meaning of 'Just Society' in Ambedkar's View?
- ii) What are the factors that had led Ambedkar to think in terms of 'Just Society'?
- iii) To what extent, the concept of the 'Just Society' is in agreement with the except of the egalitarian society?
- iv) How and in what way did Ambedkar seen to achieve this goal?
- v) To what extent did the western ideas on justice as well as equality exert this influence on the ideas of Ambedkar?
- vi) What were the historial and contextual parameters which were the prime moving forces behind the formation of the socio political views of Ambedkar?
- vii) What were the ideas, vision and policy prescriptions of Ambedkar for the realization of his social and political goals?
- viii) What were the efforts of Ambedkar towards in institutionalization of his policy prescriptions on the creation of a 'Just society'?

Fresh Write-up

Chapter- I

Section- IV

Methodology:

As the present study seeks to understand the basics of Ambedkar's philosophy, vision and efforts towards the creation of a 'Just Society', attempts have been made to identify the forces and factors that have a profound bearing on the formulation of thought process of Ambedkar. Needless to mention, Ambedkar has been looked upon as a fighter for the depressed classes in India. But beyond that he was a social reformer and tried to build a society where justice and equality would prevail for all. So it has been imperative to examine the social forces that played important part during this period. So methodologically, a sociological interpretation of these events have been made.

Since this study is exploratory in nature primary forms has been fixed on both primary and secondary sources. A critical analysis has been made of his writings and speeches; references have been made to biographical writings on him.

Essentially, the methodology applied is historical-analytical in nature. Proper care has been taken to make an objective assessment of the contribution of Ambedkar

towards the creation of a 'Just Society'. For the purpose of situating these ideas in the proper context, elaborate theoretical /conceptual framework has been developed.

Fresh Write-up

Chapter- VI

Conclusion:

Thus viewed, Dr. Ambedkar can very well be described as a fighter, as a visionary and as a social reformer who devoted his entire life for the creation of a Indian society which will be egalitarian in the true sense of the term. Considering the socio-economic setting in which Dr. Ambedkar was born and brought up, it may be said that he was destined to be a leader by his own right. As a creative thinker and activist, he identified the social evils and sought to provide the ways and means to solve them.

His understanding of the Indian social system was clear and deep rooted and he could realize the evils of social injustice, economic oppression and denial of human dignity. That is why, it is seen that his primary objective was to create a 'just' and 'human society' – a social order free from artificially created barriers on the basis of religion, caste and other factors. He realized the value of education, liberal in context and nature, in such a society when he wrote:

“Let your mission, therefore, be to educate and preach the idea of education to those who are near to God in close contact with you”.

At this point, one may refer to the description of Ambedkar by a noted scholar Upendra Baxi who in his paper entitled “Emancipation of Justice: Legacy and Vision of Dr. Ambedkar” where he has made six stages of Ambedkar’s growth and development as a leader and a visionary:

- (1) The first Ambedkar – A student under the pressure of social evils.
- (2) The second Ambedkar – a Student scholar in search of the causes of social evils.
- (3) The third Ambedkar – a militant Ambedkar to remove social injustice.
- (4) The fourth Ambedkar – a fighter for reconstructing the Hindu society.
- (5) The fifth Ambedkar – A challenger against established social leadership.
- (6) The Sixth Ambedkar – A builder of modern India through proper institutionalization of his ideas in the contribution of the free nation.

Ambedkar is better known as the believer of ‘self-respect’ model of man which puts emphasis on education, self-help, self-assertion and self-organization. Apparently on this count one may find his close approximation with

Gandhi although on many issues thus had been fundamental differences between them.

It will be pertinent to state at this point that Ambedkar preferred the term "Depressed Classes" as its coverage is wide and includes all those who are down-trodden for any reason whatsoever. He was all the eradication of evils –social or otherwise from the society. His deep insight convinced him that the Indian society, in general, was suffering from many contradictory and conflictual limitations which could be removed only by the active participation of an 'operative man' – the man who can take an active and decisive part in the process of social transformation.

At this point, it will be meaningful if one can recall what professor K. Raghavendra Rao, a noted social scientist, remarked:

" We are now taking trouble of looking at Ambedkar's theory and thought as an almost ritualistic exercise....prompted by the emergence of increasingly aggression 'Dalit' power, This applies to the entire Indian intellectual system – its institutional channels, its prophets and its practioners We as a nation should feel ashamed that we have condemned to silence one of the brilliant and concerned voices of modern India. Nevertheless it is never too late to make amends",

(K. Raghavandra Rao, Baba Saheb Ambedkar: History, Society and Polity: An Exploration in Indian Theory, New Delhi)

To Ambedkar, society is an organization based on some human attitudes. To Ambedkar, men constitute a society because they have things they pass in common. His concept of 'Just Society' should not and cannot be viewed in isolation. It has to be understood in the context of wider social reality. It may not be an exaggeration to say he symbolizes Gramsci's formulation of 'Praxis'--- a perfect combination between theory and practice. His political philosophy has a deep faith in the fundamentals of human rights, in the equal rights, dignity of the individual, in the social and economic justice. His concept of a 'Just Society' stands for a synthesis of idealism and realism, empiricism and rationalism, naturalism and humanism, materialism and spiritualism, individualism and society. Herein probably lies the justification and relevance of Ambedkar's notion of 'Just Society'.

Badal Sarkar
19.8.11

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