

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.”¹

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.”²

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

¹: Khairmode, Vol. 10, P. 147.

²: 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"¹

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

¹: 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, empiristic 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 Kashmir) 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 :-

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| 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 Insurance 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-

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|--|----|--------------------------|
| (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.