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REFERENCES OF POONA PACT IN KANNADA LITERATURE



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Abstract: The Poona Pact of 1932 actually is an agreement between the Hindu leaders and the Dalit representatives. It took place on 24th September, 1932 at Yerwada Central Jail in Pune. The British Government which thought of giving independence to India invited the delegates of India from various classes to assemble at the London's Round Table Conference. In the first Round Table Conference Gandhi and Congress hadn't participated and therefore the British Government organized the second Round Table Congress which involved their participation. The participants of this conference were Gandhi, Ambedkar, Nehru, Madan Mohan Malviya, Rajgopalachari and others. But in this conference the actual representative on behalf of Dalits was only Ambedkar. Due to this, a inbred theoretical conflict emerged between Ambedkar and the other delegates of the conference.

Keywords:References , Poona Pact , agreement , delegates.

INTRODUCTION:

In this conference, the concept of providing separate electorates in legislative sessions for Muslims, Sikhs and Christians was finalized. But Gandhiji vehemently opposed the decision of extending the same provision for Dalits and he also intimidated that he will go for fasting if provided so. Despite of Gandhiji's intimidation, the British Government agreed with the Ambedkar's strong contention in favour of dalits. On 17th, August 1932, the British Prime-minister Ramsay Macdonald through the Communal Award, however tried to meet the demands of Ambedkar and tried to overcome the anxiety of Gandhiji. It brought the provision of two votes for dalits. With the help of one vote, the Dalits can elect their own representative and with the help of another vote, they can elect other representative. But this kind of special electorate facility for dalits was not liked by Gandhiji who feared that this might disintegrate the Hindu religion. Therefore on 20th September 1932, Gandhiji started his indefinite hunger strike in Pune's Yerwada Jail. Ambedkar also argued on the fact that despite of the background of the social status of Dalits, is the separate electorate facility in the political sphere enough for the development of Dalits. But this argument was difficult to be reconciled under this kind of uncertain situation, as it might substantiate Gandhiji's argument. Due to this dilemma, Ambedkar therefore took back his argument slightly. The final agreement was therefore made on 14th September 1932, which refused the provision of giving joint electorates in legislative sessions and to provide separate electorates for dalits. This was further signed by Madan Mohan Malviya - the representative of Hindu leaders and Ambedkar - the representative of Dalit. Later this agreement came to be known as "Poona Pact". Gandhiji had proposed that he was the real leader and

representative for Dalits during the Second Round Table Conference, but after this pact it was finally agreed that Ambedkar was the real leader and representative for Dalits. It looks like the repercussions of the Poona Pact are still seen across the different places of the nation. The situation of Political leaders not safeguarding the interests of Dalits is just one part of the Poona Pact. Every phases of the Poona Pact is a worrisome fact for the intelligent and progressive Dalits. The contour arguments made by Gandhiji on Ambedkar's assertion of providing separate electorates to Dalits are still inflicting wounds in parliament elections that are being conducted. The preclusion of Ambedkar that the political vicariousness will be faced by the real Dalit representatives in electoral areas ruled by upper caste is predominantly becomingly true nowadays in each moment. Ambedkar himself has become a victim of such political vicariousness. In the news paper Vijaya Karnataka dated 22 January 2011, Dr. Ravi Krishna Reddy has made a mention that "the preclusions made by Ambedkar with regard to Poona Pact are happening today and whatever Gandhiji aspired to happen is not happening today." Therefore in the light of these aspects, the following article seeks to make encounter the Poona Pact in present situations and to make a research article pertaining to the study of Poona Pact made in the available Kannada literature.

REFERENCES IN KANNADA LITERATURE:

The following are some of the Kannada literature related to Poona Pact which has been taken up for the perusal of this research article.

- 1)Dr. M.P. Bhuvaneshwar Prasad's "Dalita Jwale" (2009)
In the above Kannada literature cited, various segments of Poona Pact and the various comments that emerged with

regard to this pact is being illustrated and explained. As per the Communal Award, 148 seats were granted instead of 78 seats in provincial legislature. The dissatisfaction expressed by the Dalits is explained in this literature. The reason being that as per the Communal Award, the right of two votes was to be given, but one vote was refused. Further to enforce the Joint electorate service, the right of one vote was granted, and the other vote was refused. The cost of that one vote which was refused can't be valued and the right of that vote is very precious. The views regarding the ways in which the loss of this one vote can be paid is expressed in this article. If they had retained the system of Double Voting and had allotted lesser seats, then it would have benefitted the Dalits. Because it would become impossible for Hindus to ignore dalit as every dalit would have obtained the right of implementing his vote with Hindus. But Dalits can't reap any kind of benefit through the Joint Electorate system. This situation is clearly indicated in this literature. In totality with regard to Poona pact, this literature has tried to integrate the various preferences and disliking of both Hindus and Dalits and how these arguments are been augmented in 1935's Government of India Act has been explained. The context of various phases under which the Poona Pact was agreed upon is certainly not implemented and it has led to predicament of Dalits. The views on the ground that Poona Pact has paved one way for the Hindus to ill treat the Dalits in a due course of time is also dealt in this literature.

2) Editor Dr. J. Somashekar's "Abhimukhi" (2005)

With regard to Poona Pact, Dr. J. Somashekar through the following article has tried to describe about the increase in the seats of Provincial legislature due to Joint electorate system that has replaced the separate electorate system. Further he has focused on the existence of quality aspect of the Poona Pact despite the increase in the seat allotment. The Dalit politicians are trying to represent themselves rather than to represent the people. The views on Ambedkar thought to restore balance in terms of equality scale are also expressed here. But his dream is seen melting.

3) V.M. Inamdaar's "Dr. Ambedkar Vyakti mattu Vichara" (2009)

In the following article, the author is describing the views of Ambedkar on the situation after the Poona Pact, wherein the Hindus provided the access to few temples for Dalits. Ambedkar pointed out that gaining access into few temples can't resolve your problems; rather you should struggle for improving your economic and political progress. This article also describes about how Poona Pact was shunted on November 1932. It also focuses on Ambedkar's reply on when he was asked to accord support to the Temple Entry Bill of Ranga Iyer. He had answered that when Dalits progress in social, economic and political spheres, then the smaller problems like gaining access to temples will be automatically solved. The author also mentions about how there was no change in the mindset of Hindus due to which the Poona pact was shunted by those persons who once agreed to the terms put forth in Poona Pact and how the Bengal Assembly decided to nullify the Poona Pact, is also mentioned here. Further he talks about an incident which

happened in January 1934, wherein a journalist asks Ambedkar about the forthcoming government and he gets a reply from Ambedkar that "Whatever that comes will be accepted now and for other extra things we will struggle". The author also has said about how the Hindu leaders demanded to rectify the Poona Pact and how the Samyukta Samithi didn't agree to bring about the change in Poona Pact. The author makes a mention that "It is a shameful matter for them because on one hand they did not keep up their promises as laid down in Poona Pact, and on the other they do not want to rectify the Poona Pact." He has proposed his views on how Gandhiji adhered strictly to the terms of Poona Pact and how the Hindu leaders wanted to rectify it.

4) Editor Dr.T.R. Chandrashekar's "Dalita Adhyayana" (2005)

In this article, the author has tried to describe about how the Leftist and Communist parties laid their policies with regard to dalits after the Poona Pact. Further the author has explained on how the Leftist and Communist parties objected to the Ambedkar's views on isolating Dalits from Hindus and how Dalits alone should select their representatives. He also has spoken about how the Communist tried to place and involve Dalits along with the workers, exploited and the poor classes in Akhila Bharatha Mahasabhe. This article has also shed light on how the Communists didn't give importance to Caste and how the Marxist didn't thought of the Disparity that was based on the religion acquired at the time of birth. Furthermore the author has focused on how the Communists looked at the problems of Dalits and the Untouchables under the boundary of Hindu religion and Hindu nationalism. The author has also criticized on Communist belief which stated that, "More than the Ambedkar's thinking, if productive powers are organized in a variant way, the problems faced by the Dalits and the practice of untouchability can be wiped out. It also included the explanation on how the Gandhi's thought was incorporated within the framework of Communists. He further says that According to Gandhi, it was the duty and responsibility of Hindus and Hindu religion to wipe out or to efface the problems of Dalits and the practice of untouchability. Further the Dalit nationalism is injured deeply with that of the 1932's Poona Pact. This article has described about the political setback on Ambedkar's view on how Dalits should themselves select their representatives and on how Ambedkar tried to meet his stance through the other way. Ambedkar therefore tried to overcome the political setback in a religious manner is being discussed here.

5) Mangalore Vijay: Sangharsha Ambedkar Jeevana mattu Sadhane (2005)

In this article, the author has expressed his views on how the rights of the two groups (Hindus and Dalits) were lost in Poona Pact. Whenever Gandhi took part in politics actively, the nation witnessed the creation of grounds-swell type of condition. During the Round Table Conferences, whenever Gandhi showed his political activism in the context of Poona Pact, Ambedkar was forced to setback against the walls without any opportunity of self-defense and

Gandhiji would therefore gain his political win.

6) Editor Dr.V. Munivenkatappa's "Ambedkar Vaada" (2000)

The following article has described about Ambedkar's continuous efforts of proposing his views and the result of which was the historical Communal Award that came in August 1932 by the British Government. This assured Dalits to lead their life honorably under the Indian governance, but Ambedkar has to taste defeat due to Gandhi's persistence. In 24th, September 1932, there came the Poona Pact which was declared as the gloomy day in the history of Indian Dalits. Like Ambedkar, one more contemporary Dalit politician M.C.Raj thought that due to help provided to other classes, will that benefit the Dalit class in any way. He also says that Dalits are undervalued, because some think that after they take the benefit, they might leave the hands in the midst of the way.

After the Poona Pact, the Hindu leaders who established their supremacy over Congress started to suppress the talented and honest Dalit representatives. Besides this Dalits were made to join with Congress, because Hindus made false promises to Dalit community. Due to this Dalits were weakened. The political organization of Dalits was also broken. At last the versatility of Dalits became to roam around by tying their hands to tails of Congress. This has been explained by M.C.Raj. Later it is expressed that the reason behind the failure of 1936's Labour Party, 1942's Caste federation scheduled by Akhila Bharath and R.P.I. Party was the Poona Pact.

7) Dr. Arvind Maalagathi's "Poona Pact mattu Dalitaretta Saagabeku" (1997)

The author has considered views by different persons on Poona Pact in history of Dalits. Some say it is the most prominent day for Dalits. Other say that in one sense, it is the start of Dalit era or some call it as Wound inflicting Day of Dalit's era. In some context, Khansiram has said that it is the start of day in which the time of Indians becoming the blind followers has started.

Ambedkar tried to resolve the problem of untouchability by adopting the ways of political orientation. The result of which was the Poona Pact, where in the demand for the facility of separate electorate for Dalits was proposed. As this demand was not met, therefore it is termed as Wound inflicting Day of Dalit's era. This day would have termed as Start of a New Era for Dalits, if they were provided reserved seats based upon separate electorate system. Keeping in the mind, the negotiation that took place between Ambedkar and Gandhi in regard to this pact, Khansiram has tried to view it as the start of day in which the time of Indians becoming the blind followers has started.

This article has described that Ambedkar's thinking pattern that was evolved in Poona Pact was stood on the principle of Dalits – From Dalits – For Dalits. There was no second thought that Dalits life history would have become different, if separate electoral facility was enforced within a period of ten years.

This article also spoke about the implementation of separate electorate system for Dalits in today's context and

how it would turn into a debate of how this system needs to be enforced. One has to observe that the situation of India in 1932 and in today's context is quite different.

8) N.R. Shivaram's "Dr.Ambedkar Darshana" (2005)

The following article has made a reference with regard to Poona Pact. It has focused on the separate political rights of Dalits that was proposed by Ambedkar and how Gandhi went against these rights and called for the hunger strike in order to stop this. Further the author says that the Poona pact is a setback in struggling life of Ambedkar and setback of political rights among Dalits. Further the author says that the Poona Pact is being included in the pages of history as a dismal and gloomy event.

9) M.N. Jawarayya's "Ambedkar Vichara Sahitya Samagra Adhyayana" (1991)

This article has expressed the fact that the self-esteem, self-respect and equal opportunity of Dalits is struck in the hands of Hindu voters and further the Dalits have been struck in the brutal fists of Hindus sympathy and pity. Further this article has commented on the views of contemporary journalist Kuldeep Nayar on Poona Pact. Furthermore it says that the practice of untouchability against Dalits should be curbed, particular seats should be reserved for them. This article has also described his views that there is no improvement in conditions of Dalits. The untouchability practice against Dalits that was carried by the upper caste Hindu people during several decades back is still continuing today.

In this article, the views of newspapers with regard to Ambedkar's policies and the policies of Congress leaders have been discussed. In other words, it has focused on those newspapers that were in the clutches of Congress party and upper caste people and which criticized Ambedkar's views.

10) Editor Dattathreya Ikkalaaki's "Ambedkar Chintane" (2007)

This article explains about the Ambedkar's failure in 1932's General Elections and 1934's Bye Elections and his decision of forming Republican Party of India constituting Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes and Minorities. Further the author has discussed about the long term effects of Poona Pact.

11) Dr. H.T. Pote's "Ambedkar Samvedhane" (2007)

This article has discussed about the Poona Pact. It speaks about Ambedkar's aim of fighting for eradication of Dalit's socio-religious, political and economic inequality through political freedom. It was possible to improve the plight of Dalits if separate electorate system was provided, because the political authority is very strong and a more powerful force in democratic dominance. If the authority of political freedom was given, then static development of Dalits was possible. But the Hindus showed their interest in such a way that this kind of improvement should not happen and they changed the mind of Ambedkar in this regard. All these things are discussed in this article.

12) Dr. Siddalingayya's "Janasamskruthi" (2007)

This article argues that, "If separate political authority is given to the Untouchables, who are socially detached from the Hindu religion, is their development possible?". On the other hand Gandhi had expressed his view that if separate political authority is given to the Untouchables, then they will be separated from the Hindu religion. Both of these views have been expressed in this article. Further this article describes an incident in which Gandhi had kept fasting. Lot of arguments took place. Ambedkar had to face a dilemma of choosing a decision of safeguarding nation's interest or Dalits interest. But atleast Ambedkar sacrificed the Dalits interest and safeguarded the nation's interest i.e., he saved Gandhi's life.

13) Anthology, Sosale Ganghadhar's "Manava Udhhdhara Babasaheb Dr.Ambedkar (2009)

The following article talks about how Ambedkar's dream of Dalit's political empowerment was made to fail by Congress and Gandhi. Further this article makes a point of how the common Dalit people were made afar from the elite and intellectual society.

This article examines how Ambedkar organized the downtrodden and the most downtrodden people after his political crisis and how Ambedkar set an alternative solution by creation of 1936's independent Labour party for the purpose of Congress to carry out their politics. In the 1937 General Elections, the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe members that were selected by the Congress showed no opposition towards the injustice faced by Dalits. This was identified by Ambedkar and he tried to provide political authority to the Dalits in the legislative sessions. This incident has been discussed in this article. Further it also speaks of the Dalit leaders that were a part of Congress and how they became slavish to Congress and Gandhi. It also discusses on how to reform Scheduled Caste people into a one strong political power by setting up of "Akhila Bharatha Scheduled Caste Union". In totality, we can find the parts of continuous struggle of Ambedkar with the Congress after the completion of Poona Pact in this article.

14) Dr. Arvind Maalagathi's "Bhimanadeya Belaku" (2009)

This article has shed a light on the result of Ambedkar's thinking which turned out to be Poona Pact with regard that the social problems of the Dalits can be resolved only when the political authority is guaranteed. And the Poona Pact has resulted in bringing opportunities to Dalits. This article has expressed the view that the gain of reservation policy in favour of Dalits is one big achievement, but its not equivalent to that of the separate electorate system.

CONCLUSION

Keeping in mind the Ambedkar's effort and effect, the politicians and Government servants belonging to different sectors that are elected based upon the reservation needs to listen to their inner conscience. It can be noticed that an immediate action in the present situation is required with regard to Dalits who can or cannot answer to the questions that are associated with their life and inner conscience.

In totality, still there are after effects of Poona Pact. In this regard not only those who are aware but those who experience should try to become like Ambedkar. Poona Pact has become one the disastrous principle in the pages of history. If separate electorate system was given, then Ambedkar and the Dalit leaders who were on the track with Ambedkar's thinking wouldn't have failed in the General Elections of 1932. But in the existing situation, one can notice that the Dalit politicians are more focused on their own personal interests rather than safeguarding the interests of Dalits. Due to this they are undervaluing the society. With regard to Poona Pact, Devanuru Mahadeva has expressed his views that Ambedkar and Gandhi are like mother and father. If mother wants to join his child to the English medium, then the father desires to join his child to Kannada medium. But in total, they both are looking after the child's interest. Though the aim and objectives of Ambedkar and Gandhi was same, but the ways to achieve it was quite different.

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- IX.M.N. Jawarayya's "Ambedkar Vichara Sahitya Samagra Adhyayana" , Pg.No. 117,186 & 187
- X.Editor Dattathreya Ikkalaaki's "Ambedkar Chintane" Pg.No. 70-71
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