

without being dogmatic in order to make it alive to the dangers arising from the inauguration of the Federal Scheme. This is the task I had set before myself in preparing this address. Whether I have failed or succeeded, it is for you to say. If this address has length which is not compensated by depth, all I can say is that I have tried to do my duty according to my lights.

I am not opposed to a Federal Form of Government. I confess I have a partiality for a Unitary form of Government. I think India needs it. But I also realize that a Federal Form of Government is inevitable if there *is to be* Provincial Autonomy. But I am in dead horror the Federal Scheme contained in the Government of India Act. I think I have justified my antipathy by giving adequate reasons. I want all to examine them and come to their *own* conclusions. Let us however realize that the case of Provincial Autonomy is very different from that of the Federal Scheme. To those who think *that* the Federation should become acceptable, if the Governor-General gave an assurance along the same lines as was supposed to be done by the Governors that he will not exercise his powers under his special responsibilities. I want to say two things. First I am sure the Governor-General cannot give such an assurance because he is exercising these powers not merely in the interest of the Crown but also in the interest of the States. Secondly, even if he did, that cannot alter the nature of the Federal Scheme. To those who think that a change in the system of State representation from nomination to election will make the Federation less objectionable, I want to say that they are treating a matter of detail as though it was a matter of fundamental. Let us note what is fundamental and what is not. Let there be no mistake, let there be no fooling as to this. We have had enough of both. The real question is the extension and the growth of responsibility. Is that possible? That is the crux. Let us also realize that there is no use bugging to Provincial Autonomy and leaving responsibility in the Centre hanging in the air. I am convinced that without real responsibility at the Centre, Provincial Autonomy is an empty shell.

What we should do to force our point of view, this is no place to discuss. It is enough if I have succeeded in giving you an adequate idea of what are the dangers of this Federal Scheme.

FRUSTRATION

The Untouchables are the weariest, most loathed and the most miserable people that history can witness. They are spent and sacrificed people. To use the language of Shelley they are—

“pale for weariness of climbing heaven, and gazing on earth,
wandering companionless Among the stars that have a different
birth”

To put it in simple language the Untouchables have been completely overtaken by a sense of utter frustration. As Mathew Arnold says mk:@MSITStore:C:\Important\Writing_Of_Babasaheb.chm::/60. Frustration.htm - _msocom_1 “life consists in the effort to affirm one's own essence ; meaning by this, to develop one's own existence fully and freely, to have ample light and air, to be neither (.) mk:@MSITStore:C:\Important\Writing_Of_Babasaheb.chm::/60. Frustration.htm - _msocom_2 nor overshadowed. Failure to affirm one's own essence is simply another name for frustration. Its non fulfilment of one's efforts to do the best, the withering of one's faculties, the stunting of one's personality.”

Many people suffer such frustrations in their history. But they soon recover from the blight and rise to glory again with new vibrations. The case of the Untouchables stands on a different footing. Their frustration is frustration for ever. It is unrelieved by space or time.

In this respect the story of the Untouchables stands in strange contrast with that of the Jews.

Their captivity in Egypt was the first calamity that visited the Jewish people. As the Bible says

[Quote Childem's Bible-39] (Quotation not recorded—ed.)

Ultimately Pharaoh yielded. The Jewish people escaped captivity and went to Canaan and settled there in the land flowing with milk and honey.

The second calamity which overtook the Jews was the Babylonian Captivity. (Some pages are missing—ed.)

We can now explain why the Untouchables have suffered frustration. They have no plus condition of body and mind. They have nothing in their dull drab deadening past for a hope of a rise in the future to feed upon. This is due to no fault of theirs. The frustration which is their fate is the result of the unpropitious social environment born out of the Hindu Social Order which is so deadly inimical to their progress.