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PRESERVATION OF SOCIAL ORDER

[These are four handwritten pages of the manuscripts by Dr. Ambedkar with extracts from scriptures typed intermittently. The first page is numbered 56, which shows that the earlier part is not available. So also later portion is missing Title of the Chapter is suggested—ed.]

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> XII, 100. "Command of armies, royal authority, power of inflicting punishment, and sovereign dominion over all nations, he only well deserves, who perfectly understands the Veda Sastra. (i.e. one who is a Brahmin) (**Manu Smriti**)

The second technique devised for the maintainance and preservation of the Established Order is quite different from the first. Really speaking it is this which constitutes a special feature of the Hindu Social Order.

In the matter of the preservation of the Social Order from violent attack it is necessary to bear in mind three considerations. The outbreak of a Revolution is conditioned by three factors. (1) The existence of a sense of wrong, (2) Capacity to know that one is suffering from a wrong and (3) availability of arms. The second consideration is that there are two ways of dealing with a rebellion. One is to prevent a rebellion from occurring and the other is to suppress it after it has broken out. The third consideration is that whether the prevention of rebellion would be feasible or whether the suppression of rebellion would be the only method open, would depend upon the rules which govern the three prerequites of rebellion.

Where the Social Order denies oppurtunity to rise, denies right to education, and denies right to use arms it is in a position to prevent rebellion against the Social Order. Where on the other hand a Social Order allows oppurtunity to rise, allows right to education, and permits the use of arms it cannot prevent rebellion by those who suffer wrongs. Its only remedy to preserve the

Social Order by suppressing rebellion by the use of force and violence. The Hindu Social Order has adopted the first method. It has fixed the social status of the lower orders for all generations to come. Their economic status is also fixed. There being no disparity between the two there is no possibility of a grievance growing up. It has denied education to the lower orders. The result is that no one is conscious that his low condition is a ground for grievance. If there is any consciousness it is that no one is responsible for the low condition. It is the result of fate. Assuming there is a grievance, assuming there is consciousness of grievance there cannot be a rebellion by the lower orders against the Hindu Social Order because the Hindu Social order denies the masses the right to use arms... Social Orders such as use of . . . . . follow the opposite course. They allow equal opportunity to all. They allow freedom to acquire knowledge, they allow the right to bear arms and take upon themselves the odium of suppressing rebellious force & violence. To deny freedom of oppuortunity, to deny freedom to acquire knowledge, to deny the right to arms is a most cruel wrong. Its result to . . . . . .and man. The Hindu Social Order is not ashamed to this. It has however achieved two things. It has found the most effective even though it be the most shamless method of preserving the established Order. Secondly notwithstanding the use of most inhuman means of killing manliness, it has given to the Hindus the reputation of being a very humane people.

Another special feature of the Hindu Social Order relates to the technique devised for its preservation.

The technique is twofold.

The first technique is to place the responsibility of upholding and maintaining the social order upon the shoulders of the King. Manu does this in quite express terms.

> VIII. 410. "The king should order each man of the mercantile class to practice trade, or money-lending, or agriculture and attendance on cattle ; and each man of the servile class to act in the service of the twice-born."

VIII. 418. "With vigilant care should the King exert himself in compelling merchants and mechanics to perform their respective duties ; for, when such men swerve from their duty, they throw this world into confusion."

Manu does not stop with the mere enunciation of the duty of the King in this behalf. He..... to ensure that the King shall at all times perform his duty to maintain and preserve the Established Order. Manu therefore makes two further provisions. One provision is to make the failure of the King to maintain the Established Order an offence for which the King become liable for prosecution and punishment like a common man. This would be clear from the following citations from Manu—

VIII. 335. "Neither a father, nor a preceptor, nor a friend, nor a mother, nor a wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest must be left unpunished by the king, if they adhere not with firmness to their duty."

VIII. 336. "Where another man of lower birth would be fined one pana, the king shall be fined a thousand, and he shall give the fine to the priests, or cast it into the river, this is a sacred rule."

The other provision made by Manu against a King who is either negligent or opposed to the Established Order is to invest the three classes, Brahmins, Kshatriya and Vaishya with a right to rise in armed rebellion against the King.

VIII. 348. "The twice-born may take arms, when their duty is obstructed by force ; and when, in some evil time, a disaster has befallen the twice-born classes."

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