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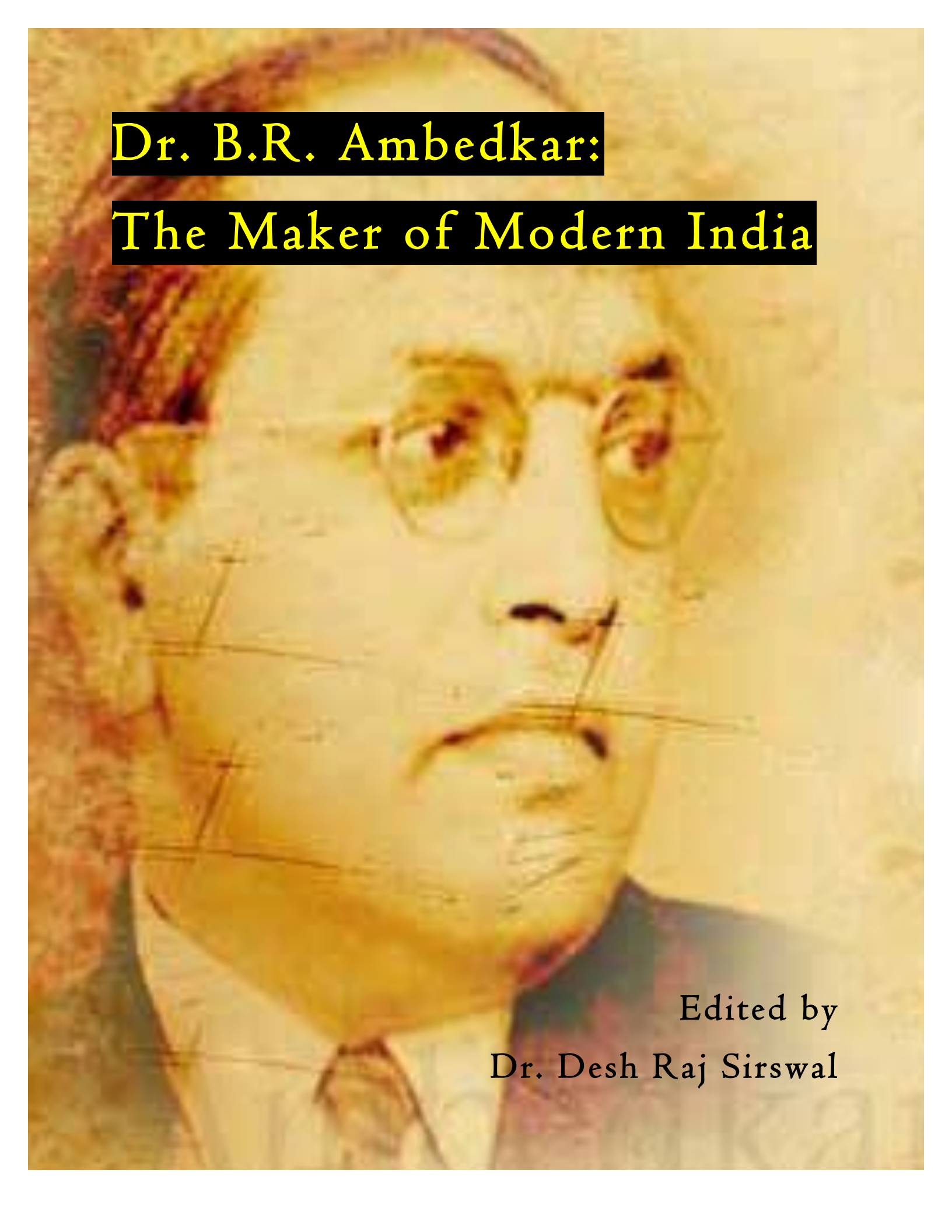
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Dr. B.R. Ambedkar:

The Maker of Modern India

Edited by
Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal

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Centre for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies (CPPIS),
Milestone Education Society (Regd.), Pehowa (Kurukshetra)-136128
(HARYANA)

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: The Maker of Modern India

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This book is dedicated to
The Greatest Indian Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

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Editor's Note

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is one of the most eminent intellectual figures of modern India. The present year is being celebrated as 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Educationist and humanist from all over the world are celebrating 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar by organizing various events and programmes. In this regard the Centre for Positive Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies (CPPIS) Pehowa (Kurukshetra) took an initiative to be a part of this mega event by organizing an national level essay competition for students, publication of books, posters and research journals on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's ideas, writings and outlook could well be characterized as belonging to that trend of thought called Social Humanism. He developed a socio-ethical philosophy and steadfastly stood for human dignity and freedom, socio-economic justice, material prosperity and spiritual discipline. He showed the enlightening path for Indian society via his ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity and made India a democratic country.

The complete works of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar published by the Governemtn of Maharastra and it has taken about 25 years to complete this initiative in 21 Volumes with the name, "Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writing and Speeches" and covers 14000 pages. In the words of Trilochan Sing, "Above all, Dr. Ambedkar is a philosopher. Those who read his books cannot be failed to be impressed with steadffastness with which he pursues truth; and only those who have dispassionately read his books can frame true estimate of the greatness of the man". These 21 Volumes includes books published by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar himself and unpublished writings and speaches too.

The present volume entitled "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: The Maker of Modern India" contains 12 research papers on the different aspects of philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar written by academicians from different branches of knowledge. You can find a variety of dialogues and concen about the theme of the book here. We are not defending this book as a highly an

intellectual work but a smaller step to know the various aspects of this great personality and is a start to study his vast wisdom. Your suggestions and comments are welcome to its first hand review version.

I am thankful to all the contributors for their excellent contributions and for their patience while the book was completed. I would like to thank the extremely helpful crew of CPPIS including Dr. Merina Islam, Dr. Vijay Pal Bhatnagar, Ms. Poonama Verma, Mr. Vikram Lohat and Vipin Sangar and the members of Milestone Education Society (Regd.) Pehowa (Kurukshetra) for their valuable suggestions and positive assistance towards CPPIS works.

14th April, 2016

Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal

I.

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY: DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR'S PERSPECTIVE

Jayadev Sahoo

Abstract

The concept of Human Dignity plays a pivotal role in Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's philosophy. Human Dignity means one is entitled to have respect by virtue of human nature. Since the Dalits have been dominated by the upper caste Hindus for the centuries, Ambedkar has given his heart and soul for the upliftment and dignity of the Dalits. The 'Untouchables' have to face a lot of social, economic and educational discrimination on account of their birth status. Whenever an upper caste Hindu deliberately did any harm towards the Dalits, the state machinery becomes ineffective. No one is ready to file a case against the upper caste Hindus. Ambedkar was disappointed with the Hindu hierarchy based caste system. He envisaged that annihilation of caste is the only solution to give dignity to the Dalits. Ambedkar held: "It is not possible to break Caste without annihilating the religious notions on which it, the Caste system is founded." Again, Ambedkar failed to realize the dream of annihilating the caste system owing to the opposition of the mighty Hindus. Therefore, he thought to convert the religion. He thinks that the conversion of the religion is the only way to rescue the Dalit community. Finally, I have highlighted that what are the contributions of Ambedkar towards the upliftment and dignity of Untouchables. In this paper, I have concluded that the struggle will continue unless and until the mighty Hindu castes are ready to embrace the Dalits into the Hindu fold and treat them on par with them.

The concept of Human Dignity plays a pivotal role in Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's philosophy. Human Dignity means one is entitled to have respect by virtue of human nature. Since the Dalits have been dominated by the upper caste Hindus for the centuries, Ambedkar has given his heart and soul for the upliftment and dignity of the Dalits. The 'Untouchables' have to face a lot of social, economic and educational discrimination on account of their birth status. They have neither self-respect nor self-dignity. They are treated as slaves and worse than the beasts. I have tried to highlight how Ambedkar struggled with the upper caste Hindus for the basic and fundamental rights of the Dalits. And what he did in order to have self-respect and dignity for the Dalits? This paper also raises the very pertinent questions regarding the relationship between the Hindus and the Untouchables. Why has Untouchability not vanished? Why does the Hindu regard

lawlessness against the Untouchables as legitimate and lawful? Why does the Hindu feel no qualms of conscience in his dealings with the Untouchables?

What the Untouchables have to face?

The 'Untouchables' have to face a lot of social, economic and educational discrimination on account of their birth status. Whenever an upper caste Hindu deliberately did any harm towards the Dalits, the state machinery becomes ineffective. No one is ready to file a case against the upper caste Hindus. If an Untouchable goes to a police officer with a complaint against the upper caste Hindu, instead of receiving any protection he will receive plenty of abuses. Either he will be driven away without his complaint being recorded or if it is recorded, it would be recorded quite falsely to provide a way of escape to the Touchable aggressors. If he prosecutes his offenders before a Magistrate the fate of his proceedings could be foretold. The Untouchables will never be able to get Hindus as witnesses because of the conspiracy of the villagers not to support the case of the Untouchables, however just it may be. If he brings witnesses from the Untouchables, the Magistrate will not accept their testimony because he can easily say that they are interested and not independent witnesses, or if they are independent witnesses the Magistrate has an easy way of acquitting the accused by simply saying that the Untouchables compliment did not strike him as a truthful witness. He can do this fearlessly knowing full well that the higher tribunal will not reverse his findings because of the well-established rule which says that an appellate court should not disturb the finding of the trial Magistrate based upon the testimony of witness whose demeanour he had no opportunity to observe:

Even Congressmen have practiced such a kind of discrimination. The annual Report of the Tamil Nadu Harijan Sevak Sangh for the year ending 30th September 1937 says:¹

“The political consciousness of the Harijans having been roused by the rights in the remotest villages where it is only the policeman that reign, it is not always possible for the Harijan to do this, for the assertion of his rights means a clash between him and the castemen, in which it is always the latter that have the upper hand. The natural consequences of this scuffle are a complaint either to the police or the Magistrate. The latter course is beyond the means of a Harijan while the former resort is worse than useless. The complaints are in many cases not inquired into at all, while in others a verdict favourable to the castemen is entered. Our complaints to the Police also meet with similar fate. The trouble seems to us to be that there is no change in the

mentality of the lower policeman. Either he is unaware of the rights of the Harijans of which he is supposed to be the guardian or he is influenced by caste men. Or, it may also be that he is absolutely indifferent. In other cases, corruption is responsible for his taking the side of the richer castemen.”

This shows how the Hindu official is anti-Untouchable and Pro-Hindu. Whenever he has any authority or discretion, it is always exercised to the prejudice of the Untouchables.

The police and the Magistrate are sometimes corrupt. If they were only corrupt, things would not perhaps be so bad because an officer who is corrupt is open to purchase by either party. But the misfortune is that the Police and Magistrates are often more partial than corrupt. It is this partiality to the Hindus and his antipathy to the Untouchables, which results in the denial of protection, and justice to the Untouchables. There is no cure for this partiality to the one and antipathy to the other, because it is found in the social and religious repugnance, which is inborn in every Hindu. The Police and the Magistrates by reason of their motives, interest and their breeding, do not sympathise with the living force operating among the Untouchables. They are not charged with the wants, the pains, the craving and the desires, which actuate the Untouchables. Consequently, they are openly hostile and inimical to their aspirations, do not help them to advance, disfavour their cause and snap at everything that smacks of pride and self-respect. On the other hand, they share the feelings of the Hindus, sympathise with them in the attempt to maintain their power, authority, prestige and their dignity over the Untouchables. In any conflict between the two, they act as the agents of the Hindus in suppressing this revolt of the Untouchables and participate quite openly and shamefacedly in the nefarious attempt of all Hindus to do everything possible by all means, fair or foul, to teach the Untouchables a lesson and hold them down in their own places.²

The worst of it is that all this injustice and persecution can be perpetrated within the limits of the law. A Hindu may well say that he will not employ an Untouchable, that he will not sell him anything, that he will evict him from his land, that he will not allow him to his cattle across his field without offending the law in the slightest degree. In doing so, he is only expressing his right. The law does not care with what motive he does it. The law does not see what injury it causes to the Untouchable. The police may misuse his power and his authority. He may disclose evidence to the side in which he is interested. He may refuse to arrest. He may do a hundred and one things to spoil the case. All this he can do without the

slightest fear of being caught. The loopholes of law are many, and he knows them well. The Magistrate has vested in him an enormous amount of discretion. He is free to use it. The decision of a case depends upon the witnesses who can give evidence. But the decision of the case depends upon whether the witnesses are reliable or not. It is open to the Magistrate to believe one side and disbelieve the other side. He may be quite arbitrary in believing one side, but it is his discretion, and no one can interfere with it. There are innumerable cases in which the Magistrates to the prejudice of the Untouchables have exercised this discretion. However truthful the witnesses of the Untouchables the Magistrates take a common line by saying "I disbelieve the witnesses", and nobody has questioned that discretion. What sentence to inflict is also a matter of discretion with the Magistrate? There are sentences, which are non-appealable. An appeal is a way of getting redress. But a Magistrate may block this way by refusing to give an appealable sentence.³

If the Hindu society plays its part in maintaining the Established Order, so does the Hindu officials of the State. The two have made the Established Order impregnable.

It is a pity to mention that even the food which has been cooked by a host of Dalit women, for school children, became Untouchable. It is published in The Hindu, dated on 4th September, 2012 entitled, **"Now, the food they cook is untouchable."**⁴

SALEM: A host of Dalit women, who cook food for children at noon meal centres attached to schools in various villages in Kadayampatti Union in Salem district, said that they are facing a social boycott. Caste Hindus in a few villages are preventing their children from having the noon meal cooked by Dalit women cooks, claiming that it is "a sin to eat food cooked by them..." "I feel like dying", said S. Sundaravanitha, a Dalit woman cook, who had been facing boycott since her appointment on 16th August, 2012...

The second news published in The Hindu, dated on 9th September, 2012, entitled, **"Dalit women begin fast-unto-death."**⁵

VILLUPURAM: The women's wing of the Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi began an indefinite fast at Seshasamudram in Sankarapuram block near here on Saturday, demanding the right of way for their temple car procession. According to Thamayandhi, leader of the Mahalir Viduthalai Iyakkam, the protest was being organized to urge the authorities to enable the Dalits at Seshasmudram to take out a temple car procession without interruption

through the main thoroughfare. She said that 2000 caste Hindu families and 70 Dalit families were residing at Seshasamudram. During the annual Mariamman temple festival, each community used to take out a separate car procession on mutually agreed dates... “Moreover, with the transfer of Mr. Vivekanandan, the Dalits could not come across any government official who is ready to redress their grievances. Hence, the women have undertaken fast-unto-death till their demand is conceded,” Ms. Thamayandhi said.

Lawlessness against the Untouchables

It has become crystal clear that as far as human dignity is concerned, the Dalits have been underestimated, overlooked and simply ignored. In order to establish the already established order, the Hindus could go to any extent. The Hindus are prepared to use every means to suppress the Untouchables whenever the Untouchables try to upset it even in the slightest degree. The ordinary non-violent Hindu will not hesitate to use the utmost violence against the Untouchables. There is no cruelty, which he will not practice against them to sustain the established order. Not many will readily believe this. But this is a fact. For those who have any doubt on the point, I have given below some cases of tyrannies and oppressions practiced by the Hindus against the Untouchables, which have been reported from time to time in the newspapers.

2.1 The following news item appeared in “The Hindu”, dated on 9th September, 2012.

“A Dalit woman was assaulted, tortured and tonsured in Jayaghanta village under the Dhama police station limits of Odisha’s Sambalpur district. Locals held her responsible for the death of a youngman named Sudam Mahananda. The Dalit woman’s 18 year old daughter had eloped with Sudam. Unfortunately, Sudam died on the way. The villagers held that the Dalit woman and her family were responsible for Sudam’s death. That is why; they did this brutal act against the woman.”

2.2 What happens to an Untouchable if he remains seated on a cot in the presence of a Hindu can be seen from the following incident in ‘Jiven’ of July 1938.

“Nanda Ram and Mangali Prasad of village Pachhahera, Police Post Margaon, Tehsil and District Sitapur, invited their friends and relatives for a communal feast. When the guests were sitting on cots and smoking, Thakkur

Sooraj Baksh Singh and Harpal Singh, Zamindars of the village, came there, sent for Nanda Ram and Mangali Prasad and asked who the people sitting and smoking there and why they were sitting on cots. Mangali Prasad said that they were his friends and relatives and asked if only Thakkurs could sit on cots. Enraged by this, the Thakkurs beat both the brothers and their men beat the guests severely as a result of which one man and one woman became senseless and others sustained serious injuries.”⁶

2.3 Some of the Untouchables are Hindus. They are also citizens with the same civic rights. But the Untouchables cannot claim the right of the citizenship if it conflicts with any rules of the established order.

For instance, no Untouchable can claim lodging in an inn even though it be public. In ‘Jiven’ of August 1938, is reported the experience of an Untouchable named Kannhaiya Lal Jatav of Fetegarh.

“When I went to stay in Dharmashala near Allahabad Junction on 15th August 1938 at 10.00 p.m. there was no difficulty and I laid down on a cot after paying an advance of one rupee. But at 11.00 p.m. when the lodgers went to the manager of the Dharmashala to note down their addresses, and while noting down my address I put down my caste as Jatav, the Manager got wild and said that the Dharmashala was not meant for the stay of low caste people and asked me to get out at once. I pointed out to him that according to the rules of the Dharmashala, it was meant for Hindus only and there was no ban on Untouchables. So I am entitled to stay here. Then why are you asking me to leave. I also pleaded that being resident of Farrukabad and not acquainted with anyone in Allahabad there was no place where I could go at 11.00 p.m. On this, the Manager got furious and repeating the couplet from Ramayan (Shudras illiterate, cattle and women all these deserve to be beaten) said that in spite of being a low-caste he dared to talk about rules and law and will not get out unless he is beaten. Then suddenly he got my bedding etc., threw out of the Dharmashala and lay down on a plank of wood in front of shop facing the Dharmashala and had to pay annas 2 as rent to the shopkeeper for a night. I therefore, appeal to my Scheduled Caste brethren to hold meetings everywhere and request government to construct separate

Dharmashalas for our people in every town or to get all the existing Dharmashalas opened for us.”⁷

2.4 Under the Established Order, the work of lifting and removing dead cattle as well as doing the scavenger’s work is beneath the dignity of the Hindus. It must be done by the Untouchables. The Untouchables have also begun to think that it is derogatory to their status and are refusing to do it. The Untouchables, however, are forced by the Hindus to do it against their will. The ‘Jiven’ of June 1938 reports:

“One day, in May 1938, Bhajju Ram Jatav of village Bipoli, police post Barla, district Aligarh was sitting in his house at about 11.00 a.m. When some Brahmins namely Prithik, Hodal, Sita Ram, Devi and Chuni, all of whom had lathis came and tried to force him to lift dead cattle; and when he refused saying that he was not used to that work and asked them to go to someone who does that sort of work, he was mercilessly belaboured with lathis.”

The same journal in its issue of October 1938 gives the following news item:

“On 24th October, 1938, some cattle of a Brahmin of village Lodhari, Tehsil Sadabad, District Muttra, died. The Scheduled Caste people of the village who were asked to lift it refused to do so. This enraged the caste Hindus so much that they have asked the Scheduled Caste people neither to go their fields for ablutions nor to allow their cattle to graze in their (caste Hindus) fields.”⁸

Annihilation of Caste

Ambedkar was fed up with the upper caste Hindus regarding the lawlessness against the Untouchables and the unbearable pain, which the Dalits had to face. He pondered how to rescue the Dalit community from the clutches of the mighty Hindus. He realized that unless and until the hierarchy based caste system is abolished; it is only a day-dream for the Dalit to have dignity and self-respect. Therefore, he envisaged that annihilation of caste is the one and only one way to liberate the Dalits from the dominant upper caste Hindus. Ambedkar held: “It is not possible to break Caste without annihilating the religious notions on which it, the Caste system is founded.”⁹ Further, caste has become the biggest monster for Indian society, he feels. The caste system has broken the backbone of the Hindus. It creates inequality and repulsion towards each other. There is lack of unity among the Hindus because of the caste system.

The Hindu caste system has been divided into water-tight compartments. There is no unity among the Hindus unless and until there is a communal violence between the Hindu and Muslims. One Hindu is different from another Hindu although they belong to the same caste. Their way of living differs from each other. There is no associated bond among the Hindus. This makes the Hindu cowardice and they are in a state of timidity. On the other hand, the Sikhs and Mohammedans have shown an uncanny ability and associated bond to cope with the adversities. They could defend the enemy quite comfortably. The question naturally arises: From where does the Sikh or the Mohammedan derive his strength, which makes him brave and fearless?¹⁰ I am sure it is not due to relative superiority of physical strength, diet or drill. It is due to the strength arising out of the feeling that all Sikhs will come to the rescue of a Sikh when he is in danger and that all Mohammedans will rush to save a Muslim if he is attacked. The Hindu can derive no such strength. He cannot feel assured that his fellows will come to his help. Being one and fated to be alone he remains powerless, develops timidity and cowardice and in a fight surrenders or runs away. The Sikh as well as the Muslim stands fearless and gives battle because he knows that though one he will not be alone. The presence of this belief of the one helps him to hold out and the absence of it in the other makes him to give way. If you pursue this matter further and ask what is it that enables the Sikh and the Mohammedan to feel so assured and why is the Hindu filled with such despair in the matter of help and assistance you will find that the reasons for this difference lie in the difference in their associated mode of living. The associated mode of life practiced by the Sikhs and the Mohammedans produces fellow-feeling. The associated mode of life of the Hindus does not. Among Sikhs and Muslims there is social cement which makes them Bhais. Among Hindus there is no such cement and one Hindu does not regard another Hindu as his Bhai. This explains why a Sikh says and feels that one Sikh, or one Khalsa is equal to Sava Lakh men. This explains why one Mohammedan is equal to a crowd of Hindus. This difference is undoubtedly a difference due to caste. Therefore, for the betterment of the Hindus, caste system should be annihilated.

Is Hindu religion is a missionary religion or not? It is a controversial and debatable issue. Some hold the view that it was never a missionary religion. Others hold that it was. That the Hindu religion was once a missionary religion must be admitted. It could not have spread over the face of India, if it was not a missionary religion. That today it is not a missionary religion is also a fact which must be accepted. The question, therefore, is not whether or not the Hindu religion was a missionary religion. The real question is why did

the Hindu religion cease to be a missionary religion? This is my answer. Hindu religion ceased to be a missionary religion when the Caste System grew up among the Hindus. Caste is inconsistent with conversion. Inculcation of beliefs and dogmas is not the only problem that is involved in conversion. To find a place for the convert in the social life of the community is another and a much more important problem that arises in connection with conversion. That problem is where to place the convert, in what caste? It is a problem which must baffle every Hindu wishing to make aliens converts to his religion. Unlike the club the membership of a caste is not open to all and sundry. The law of caste confines its membership to person born in the caste. Castes are autonomous and there is no authority anywhere to compel a caste to admit a new-comer to its social life. Hindu society being a collection of castes and each caste being a close corporation there is no place for a convert. Thus it is the caste which has prevented the Hindus from expanding and from absorbing other religious communities. So long as caste remains, Hindu religion cannot be made a missionary religion.¹¹

The effect of caste on the ethics of the Hindus is simply deplorable. Caste has killed public spirit. Caste has destroyed the sense of public charity. Caste has made public opinion impossible. A Hindu's public is his caste. His responsibility is only to his caste. His loyalty is restricted only to his caste. Virtue has become caste-ridden and morality has become caste-bound. There is no sympathy to the deserving. There is no appreciation of the meritorious. There is no charity to the needy. Suffering as such calls for no response. There is charity but it begins with the caste and ends with the caste. There is sympathy but not for men of other caste.

Religious Conversion

Ambedkar failed to realize the dream of annihilating the caste on account of the strong oppose of the mighty Hindus. In order to give up the Hindu religion, he neither embraced Christianity nor Islam. He maintains that Buddhism is the viable and feasible solution to rescue the Dalit community. Hence, he embraced Buddhism on 14th October, 1956 at Nagpur, Maharastra before he died on 6th December, 1956.¹² On the same day, around 8, 00000 lakhs of supporters embraced Buddhism. This was the largest conversion in a single day in the world. By the influence of Ambedkar, most of them gave up meat eating and even gave up degrading occupations and drowned their Hindu household gods and goddesses. It was the spontaneous act and understandably so, but they had no idea what it meant to be a true Buddhist, for Dr. Ambedkar's revolution was a counter revolution, an

effort to establish an alternative society to that of Hindu society which was based on inequality, which ranged one community above the other, thus holding downtrodden communities in slavery, the worst kind of which was the mental slavery, with no urge to develop but to languish in the state which was not of their making but of the making of the high-caste Brahmins.

In May 1956, a talk by Ambedkar titled “Why I like Buddhism and how it is useful to the world in its present circumstances” was broadcast from the British Broadcasting Corporation, London.¹³ In his talk Ambedkar said: I prefer Buddhism because it gives three principles in combination, which no other religion does. Buddhism teaches prajna (understanding as against superstition and supernaturalism), karuna (love), and samata (equality). This is what man wants for a good and happy life. Neither god nor soul can save society. In his last speech delivered in Bombay on 24th May, 1956 in which he declared his resolve to embrace Buddhism, Ambedkar observed:” Hinduism believes in God. Buddhism has no God. Hinduism believes in soul. According to Buddhism, there is no soul. Hinduism believes in Chaturvarnya and the caste system. Buddhism has no place for the caste system and Chaturvarnya.¹⁴

The Contribution of Ambedkar

The contribution of Ambedkar towards the upliftment and dignity of the Dalit community is remarkable and phenomenal. The amount of injustice, cruelty, oppression and suppression had given to the Dalits, is simply unbelievable and unforgivable. No one try to wipe out this sheer injustice? Ambedkar was a God gift to the Dalit community. He was the only person, who not only tried to wipe out this caste system, but also did his level best to eliminate the hierarchy based caste system. Ideas of high and low had crept into the Hindu society; Ambedkar suffered because of this; he also fought hard against such differences; later he became the first Law Minister in free India. The credit for making a Law and creating the necessary atmosphere to wipe out ‘Untouchability’ goes to Ambedkar.

The ‘Untouchables’ are Hindus. Therefore, the doors of temples should open to them. If the Hindus can touch the Christians and the Muslims, why should they not touch the people who are themselves Hindus and who worship the Hindu Gods? This was Ambedkar’s argument.¹⁵ He gave a call that people who practice and support ‘Untouchability’ should be punished. Some people argue that the ‘Untouchables’ were not yet fit for equality. The Hindus say that they want independence and democracy. How can a people who have temple upon all the liberties of a backward group aspire to democracy?

Ambedkar argue like this and thundered that these people had no right to speak of justice and democracy.

In 1927 there was a big conference. It resolved that there should be no caste differences in the Hindu Dharma and that people of all castes should be allowed to work as priests in temples. The Chowdar Tank dispute went to the court. The court decided that tanks are public property. The 'Untouchables' who have been subjected to humiliation for hundreds of years should find justice. For this purpose Ambedkar indicated a few clear steps. No section of the Hindus should be kept out of temples. There should be more representatives of the 'Untouchables' in the legislatures. The government should not nominate these representatives. The people should elect them. The government should employ the 'Untouchables' in larger numbers in the army and the police department.¹⁶

Those who suffer in the Hindu society should get justice. This was Ambedkar's rocklike decision. He was prepared to oppose anybody to reach his goal. The British Government invited several Indian leaders to discuss the problems of India. The conferences were held in London; they were called the "Round Table Conference". Gandhiji also took part in them. At the Round Table Conference, Ambedkar spoke angrily against the government. He said that the backward sections did not enjoy equality with other sections, even under the British Government; the British had just followed the ways of the other Hindus.

That was a time when Gandhiji was very popular in India. Millions of people followed his footsteps with devotion. Ambedkar openly opposed Gandhiji's views on how justice should be secured for the 'Untouchables'. He supported the views which seemed right to him. Ambedkar secured for the Harijans (the Untouchables) 'separate electorates' at the Second Round Table Conference in 1931.¹⁷ As a result, the Harijans could elect their representatives separately. But Gandhiji could not agree with Ambedkar.

Conclusion

From the above analysis, it shows that Ambedkar has tried his level best to give dignity to the Dalit community and at the same time, how to rescue the Dalits from the clutches of the mighty Hindus. He framed certain rules and regulations to safeguard the Dalits. He also opened a new window for the Dalits to convert into the Buddhism, where there is no caste, inequality, and no one is above or below the other. Every human being has self respect and dignity. There is equality between men and women. He challenged the

upper caste Hindus, the struggle for human dignity will continue unless and until the mighty Hindu castes are ready to embrace the Dalits into the Hindu fold and treat them on par with them.

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2.

B.R. AMBEDKAR'S IDEAS ON EGALITARIAN SOCIETY AND HINDU SOCIAL SYSTEM: THE CIRCULATION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN 21ST CENTURY

Deepesh Nandan

Abstract

In spite of development in social-economic and political sectors in our country, still there are caste violence and discrimination exist among the Dalits and Women, which challenges the human dignity of these weaker section. As a result, they have remained excluded from the benefits of education and jobs, also the economically, political socially life has been ruined. Ambedkar being a rationalist thinker critically see the Hindu's traditional social system in order to build a just and egalitarian society. Ambedkar's philosophy revolved around how to avail the social justice for various sections of the Indian society as he tried to achieve it through the socio-economic and political participation among the depressed castes. As a result, He argues that without any political rights we could not change the society and gain social justice for all. So, he emphasizes not only between different castes of Hindu social order but also with in the Human civilisation. In the 21st century as our nation is witnessing the inequality, injustice, economic backwardness etc. are mostly fuelled by the caste discrimination and caste violence among the various castes. To eradicate all these social evils, Ambedkar's work on build a just and egalitarian society is more necessary for not only to understand the social orders but also for remove the present day's social evils of the Indian society.

Keywords: Social Justice, Counter Revolution, Discrimination, Rights and Humanity

Introduction

India is one of the largest social democratic countries in the world. Also, its Constitution gives emphasis for the democratic nation and safeguards of the each and every human being. This article focuses on the issue of discrimination against depressed caste by social system. As the constitution of India defines that the marginalized castes must be secured, but, the one section is facing atrocities and exploitation in the various corners of the country in modern period. Further, the violation of human rights and atrocities against Dalits, it raises question about the government's role and theory of social justice. It is an

attempt to identify the reasons for perpetuation of violence on Dalits in spite of various safeguards provided under the Constitution and legislations enacted by the Parliament over a period of time. In contemporary period, human being reached in 21st century and India has been developed in various perspectives (economic, political, and social). Further the importance of social Justice for development of Dalits, if Indian Constitution provides Social Justice for all. Then, what are the real limitations to see the Hindu social system Social and Justice? In this regard, it is imperative to conceptualise the term of social justice.

Social Justice: Concept and Issues

The ideas of social justice applied solely to a particular people or nation with the intention of redressing effects of hierarchical inequalities, particularly inherited inequalities. 'What is justice?' Perhaps since then, this has been one of the most vital questions of social and political ethics. In other hand, the social justice being a multi-dimensional concept, it has been viewed by scholars of law, philosophy and political science with differences. The term social justice is quite comprehensive. The Social justice is a bundle of rights, it is Ambedkar's Vision: Social Justice balancing wheel between upper to down. It is a great social value in providing a stable society and in securing the unity of the country. In legal point of view, Social justice may be defined as "the right of the weak, aged, destitute, and deprived, women, children and other under-privileged castes". As a result, most moral and political philosophers are treating injustice as the simple absence of justice: as Justice in the time of transition a kind of situation, where the principles of justice are premeditated to manage or eradication of injustice. Plato defined Social Justice as, "the principle of a society consisting of different types of men... who have combined the impulse of their need for one another and their concentration on their combination in one society and their concentration on their separate function, have made a whole which is perfect because it is the product of image of the whole of the human mind (Annas 1981)" it means, his theory of Justice is based upon equal treatments for all human beings but in Indian scenario it is very complex about Justice for the Downgraded Castes because Indian society is based upon the grading system. In this regard, it is critical to conceptualise the term of Egalitarian society and Hindu Social system.

An Egalitarian Society and Hindu Social System: Its revolution and counter-revolution

The caste system is the result of the Hindu belief in Vedas, Smartis, Ramayana, Mahabharata and Geeta. The four castes eventually developed into a social assortment of

thousands sub castes, with the Untouchables at the end of the list or more precisely outside the grade. Such a rigid caste system is not found anywhere in the world outside India. A person is born into a caste. Once born in that caste, his status is determined and absolute. The birth decides one's status and this cannot be altered irrespective of any talent that a person may develop or wealth a person may collect. The Hindu Social is based up on the tow pillars, first is that Caste, and second major pillars that known as Chaturvarnya. It means Hindu social system is based upon the grading which is doing one thing divided to the human society that based on the caste system and killing human spirit (Ambedkar 1936).

In worldwide, the personalities like Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King, and Mandela tried their best at least to minimize the injustice that had been unleashed towards the downtrodden sections. In India, Gauttam Buddha, Mahavira, Kabir, Nanak and Ravidas played their social and religious role at some time or the other to reform the Indian society. Besides these, numerous socio-religious reform movements had deep linkages with the cause of the untouchables who were labelled with a serious stigma in the name of Hinduism. All these personalities are focuses morality and humanity that means everybody having equal participation in the world in all the fields. It is to note that almost all reform movements who tried to liberate the untruly from the stigma of caste system. Mahatma Jyotiba Phule was the father of Non-Brahmin Movement in India. He had greatly contributed to the emergence of independent labour, peasant, Dalit and women upliftment movements in India. Thus, his movement was against the practice of untouchability and Casteism and caste and class, he restlessly fought against the gender. He gave organizational structure to his movement and has created mass scale awakening among the Shudras and Ati-Shudra non-Brahmins. Even, he launched movement against widow practices and opened widow rehabilitation centres (Ashrams). He also had fought for the safeguard the interests and rights of the women, depressed castes peasants and landless labours. He had opened schools for women, Shudra and untouchable communities in Poona and around Poona. Subsequently, Jyotiba Phule declared a social revolution against the Upper castes and he was the first reformer in India who belonged to Non-Brahman and had developed a mass awakening. He also established a new platform for his ideology from Sathya Shodhak Samaj (Truth Seeking Society) in 1873 at Pune in Maharashtra and also he started many branches in other parts of the country. Thus, they had brought revolutionary transformation ideas among the Depressed Castes (Begari 2010:414).

In the context, further, Phule's ideas forwarded by B. R. Ambedkar. He developed new egalitarian values like, equality, liberty, fraternity and democracy. He believed the Social justice from the perspective of Indian society and the function of its institution on the moral grounds. Further, B. R. Ambedkar argues that the social justice means equal opportunity for all and no discrimination based on caste, sex, religion, gender and region. However, Indian society is based upon the Verndharma. According to Ambedkar,

"...My ideal would be a society based on the liberty, equality and liberty and fraternity... what objection can there to be fraternity? I cannot imagine any. Ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts" (Ambedkar 1987:18).

Further, he especially emphasis on rationality of Hindu social order, which completely negated equality, liberty and fraternity, and also justice for the marginalities groups. Ambedkar argues that Hindu society does not have the specification to be called as a society, because Hindu social system is based upon the caste system and laws of *Mnausmarti* (Zelliot 1992:80). So, the main problem is the caste system that preventing common activity and it has prevented the Hindu from becoming a society with a unified life and consciousness of its own. Hindu society based upon the isolation and exclusiveness and this is a main feature of the Hindu social system and its main objective is that to prevent to the solidarity of human-hood (Ambedkar 1936). Moreover, the caste system is killing to sense of humanity. In this contrast, M. K. Gandhi was opposing the Untouchability but he did not oppose the Caste system and established to Verna system. Whereas, M. K. Gandhi's interested was to preserve the traditional social order. Thus, Ambedkar's project rested on questioning the traditionally Hindu social system in system to bullied a just an egalitarian society (Ambedkar 1943:12).

In this regard, the caste system only creating discrimination, violence, crime and inferiority between human beings. In other word, the Hindu Social system is destroying the sprit of welfare and sprit of humanity (Ambedkar 1936). Even in modern India, those problems are continuing in different forms. It is only favour in inequality and exploitation of society and no space for humankind and social justice for human beings. Subsequently, the Hindu Social system is deciding work basis on birth neither quality of human and also doing narrow-down rights of women and Dalits. In this regard, the *Mnausmarti* said that the women never be free, as she in early stage live under his father and during young age under his husband and old age under his son. It is not only stopped here, *Manusmarti*

forbidden their rights to to read and live the life happily. If examine to the Egalitarian society, it is based on humankind and welfare for all and no space for any discrimination, inequality and grading system. Ambedkar says “*Even Though, I am born a Hindu but I will not die a Hindu (1935)*” As a result, Ambedkar wanted to annihilate the caste system it means; he wanted annihilation to the Hindu social system and want to establish a new egalitarian society. Today, India is a democracy country as it is based upon the Social Egalitarian philosophy of B. R. Ambedkar.

Rights, Discrimination and Humanity

Although, Indian Constitution is based upon on equal participation and social justice for all and no discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, birth, language and place etc. But, reality is totally different, if we examine on the grassroots level, there are many social problems for one section which bases on caste and religion in 21st century also in modern India. Indian Constitution is describing rights for citizen as freedom of speech, equal treatment, right to religion, right to education and right to vote etc. there are emphases on the humanity and also maintain socio-economic & political participation for all. It is common experiences that discrimination and crimes going on one section which are associated with Hindu social System. Because, it philosophy is based upon the hierarchy which is fixed by the birth. Subsequently, Ambedkar argued that Hindu Law is established the Brahmanical philosophy. The Untouchables had nothing to do and accept and respect it. The Untouchables have no right against the Upper Castes. For them there is no equal right, no justice, which due to them and nothing is allowed to them excluding what the dominant castes are prepared to grant.

The Situation of Social Justice in 21st Century

The achievement of social justice implies the removal of the inequalities in social, political and economic life and the creation for a just society. It has taken on a specific meaning in the context of Indian society, where it has been come to for justice for those social groups to whom it had been systematically denied in the past. Ambedkar envisioned that social justice could be brought about only when political democracy is extended into the social and economic fields as well. However, he insisted that breaking the monopoly of the one-time political and social elites has to be done through constitutional means. Ambedkar was also aware of the existing corruption and prejudices in the Indian administrative and judiciary system. He believed in right of equal participation, and that the

assimilation of the objectives of the marginalized groups of society in rules and policy is not sufficient to ensure social justice, but that the incorporation of individuals from these groups in the administration is also a necessary condition for distributing justice. In this context Ambedkar while advocating for special treatments for the social justice to depressed caste in Indian government, he argued that

“The power to administer laws is not less important than the power make to laws. And the spirit of the legislation may easily be violated if not nullified by the machinery of the administrators (Ambedkar 1979:256).”

Dalits are more nomadic than Upper Castes in the country today, and they have been trying to assert their rights and establish their own identity in society. This does not mean that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar tried to uplift the Dalits only; on the contrary he was interested in the creation of an egalitarian society without any caste discrimination and untouchability. His important contribution was that he strived to reform restructure and transform contemporary Indian society. Vivek Kumar argues that Ambedkar’s theory of justice is intersected by Plato, Hobs, J.S. Mill and Rawls etc. (Jogdand 2008:20). However, his philosophy is based on social justice and he is the first person who created a new approach for justice for depressed castes in India. Even today, theory of justice could not apply on Indian society, because, the Indian society is based on grading (Caste) system. Verna System is a setting of reservation for Upper caste and denied all rights for Dalits in India.

Conclusion

Despite decades of struggle and conflict, Dalits are facing widespread discrimination and inhumane treatment from a society in 21st century in India. They are calling to them Panchmas, Untouchables, Harijans or Dalits. Human beings are essentially social animals. They are by nature interrelated and interdependent. A person can develop his or her personality only in the human society. For this purpose every human being, above all, needs the recognition that befits a human being. Caste society cannot provide the atmosphere and space required for authentic human development.

As a result, B.R. Ambedkar called upon the Hindus to annihilate the caste system, which is a great hindrance to social solidarity, humanity, and to set up a new egalitarian social order based on the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity in consonance with the principles of democracy. In 21st century, the untouchables are usually regarding as objects of political participation but political parties ignore them as they are not interested to protect

their political participation and social justice. The importance and necessity of communal and adequate representation of Dalits is beyond question. Ambedkar's socio-economic and political thoughts were primarily based on the social ground realities of Indian society. He was the prominent advocate of social justice and welfare of all, which is the foundation of national governance and social democracy.

Ambedkar provides a new dimension to social philosophy and making modern India. He strongly advocated that untouchability is not a religious system but an economic system which is worse than slavery. He had a distinctive approach to the oppression of women and Dalits in India. Ambedkar's commencement of emancipatory politics proceeded beyond a comprehensive name of oppression, which is another name of untouchability. India can never be truly free until the last Indian segment of Dalits and STs are free. Ambedkar wanted that Dalits, backwards, minorities and women to look back to their history and re-establish their supremacy by defeating the counter revolutionary forces led by the champions of Brahmanism. Ambedkar came to the right conclusion that the teachings of Buddha could elevate the status of India. Fighting these evil forces with determination and strengthening the unity of democratic and secular forces were therefore, the best way in which we can uphold the social philosophy of Ambedkar and pay our tribute to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who shines as the symbol of uprising against all unjust structures of the Hindu social system. At last, He was also India's first thinker who played important role to make the point clear that India is not yet a nation, but a nation in the creation.

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3.

NEW CONCEPTUALISATION OF MAN AND SOCIETY: ROLE OF DR.B.R.AMBEDKAR

Bhumika Sharma

V. R.Krishna Iyer, “Ambedkar was a great dissenter against the unjust social order but the value of his dissenting voice was not negative. His protest was positive and a vote for the construction of a just system where everyone had the freedom to assert his views.”

In 1990, after 34 years of his leaving body, he was resurrected into new life on the national scene, by being conferred the highest civil award- Bharat Ratna Award, posthumously. Both Ambedkar and Gandhi had come to be considered as the ideals by different sections of population, divided on traditional lines. He became the first man in history to correctly diagnose the ills of Indian society in the context of Hindu religion. Instead of suggesting to others, he himself raised the banner of social, political , economic and religious revolution.

The present paper aims to highlight the role of Dr.Ambedkar in giving two new concepts- new concept of man i.e. Samatagrahi and the new concept of society i.e. Samata Samaj. He laid emphasis on the part to be played by Samatagrahi in uprooting social evils and reforming the society.

Man as Samatagrahi

Man himself is the creator of his own social being including the resultant virtues and evils. Man is the creator, reformer and also rebellious by nature. The existence of human beings lies in reform and rebellion against exploitation, oppression, injustice and other social evils. He believed in Trinity principles and that their collective pursual would enable man to retain his natural character of reformer, rebel and creator. Such a man aims at the establishment of a Samata Samaj . Thus the follower of the trinity principles becomes a Samatagrahi. Samatagrahi must be committed to bring Equality among the people and throughout his life; he is determined to work for it.

Relationship between Man and Society

His concept of and society upheld the human tradition with new insight in a different human situation. Ambedkar put better social sense in the efforts for winning the

freedom and for restoration of human rights. His approach to life was empirical and realistic. He honestly described the human situation as it had apparently existed before his eyes. He regarded human society as mobile where one change is communicated to the other parts of the society. There must be social endosmosis i.e. varied and free points of contact with other modes of association. Though individuals form a society, yet they have to work in the depths of the social being. For him, the social structure is permeated with an intelligent co-operation on the part of its people and it continues through the communication of feelings of equality and fraternity. The society is a subtle web of inter-individual relationship.

His vision of a new social order is obviously in contrast to the Gandhian and eco-romanticist position. His vision is more in conformity with Marx. He believed that human history is a history of progress, a forward movement. Dr. Ambedkar literally stands on the highest pedestal, symbolized by his statues depicting him standing high holding ---- He taught lessons of morality, unity and equality. As a humanist, he was a believer in the balanced growth of all sides of man's life. According to him, human life cannot be divided into water-tight compartments. There is a close coordination among all the aspects of human life- social, political, economic, moral, religious. His humanism thought of man only as an empirical subject – man who lived in human society. It proceeded from his deep reactions to sorrow and suffering of the lowly and the poorest in Indian society. As a democratic humanist he believed in three fundamental standards for governing the individual and social life. The standards are liberty, equality and fraternity. The inherent dynamic humanism in his ideas and concepts lays stress on the need of egalitarian principles and social justice.

Conclusion

Unlike a drop of water which loses its identity when it joins the ocean, man does not lose his being in the society in which he lives. Man's life is independent. He is born not for the development of the society alone, but for the development of his self. A great man is different from an eminent one in that he is ready to be the servant of the society. Thus the role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar lies in the fact that he believed in inter-dependence between man and society. The purpose of human life is incomplete unless he finds his role in the society. The growth of individual is actually the growth of the society.

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SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR BEHIND EDUCATION

Harmandeep Kaur

Abstract

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar said that every educational institute from primary school to University College should be an agency of change. Ambedkar strongly held that education should be a priority for the society and utilised for growth of individuals with character. This paper focuses on the philosophical thoughts of Ambedkar in context to education. Ambedkar wanted a type of education that not only inculcates awareness and fulfilment of human rights among citizen but also teaches human dignity and justice in India. According to him Education could open the eyes and encourage the oppressed ones to fight and remove injustice and exploitation they are suffering from ages. He recognized that, lack of education was the main cause for the backwardness of poor people. He preferred humanistic education which enables a man to rediscover himself and ensure freedom rather than being a student of the church, school or the state. He put all his efforts to ensure the educational opportunities to all the citizens of independent India without any discrimination, for which he framed some rights in Indian Constitution.

Key words: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Education and Social Justice

Introduction-

Dr. B.R Ambedkar was not only the father of Indian Constitution but was a great freedom fighter, political leader, philosopher, thinker, writer, economist, editor, and a revivalist for Buddhism in India. His Educational philosophy stresses on development of persons and their environment. Ambedkar strongly believed that education should be provided without any discrimination to all the citizens of independent India.

“Education is something which ought to be brought within the reach of every one.” was the fundamental thought of Dr. B.R Ambedkar.

Ambedkar believed in liberal education and based on religious inspiration of non -theistic nature. Education according to Ambedkar was a blend of pragmatism of Dewey and ‘dhamma’ of Buddha. He thought that education would enlighten his people and bridge the gap between the higher classes and untouchables.

The Purpose of Education according to Ambedkar

“The object of primary education is to see that every child that enters the portals of a primary school does leave it only at a stage when it becomes literate and continues to be literate throughout the rest of his life.” -B.R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar identified two purposes of knowledge: first, to acquire it for betterment of others and secondly to use it for one's own betterment. Ambedkar has also argued against professional learning (The British Educational System) which aims at creating a clerical nature of workers. Ambedkar emphasized on secular education for social emancipation and freedom.

Education has the sole purpose to enlighten the depressed classes so as to enhance their cause of social, economic and political upliftment. The social and ethical philosophy of Ambedkar aimed at making the depressed people aware to change their thoughts and old behavior-patterns and to move forward in the direction of unity and freedom through education. The basic theme of his philosophy of education was to inculcate the values of liberty, equality, fraternity, justice and moral character among the boys and girls of all religion, region, class and caste.

Ambedkar listed these three components as objectives for policy makers:

- 1) Recasting the aims and purposes of education,
- 2) Education as an instrument of substantive equality,
- 3) Women's education (Velaskar, 2012).

Meaning of Social Justice according to Ambedkar

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar held that every citizen of India must be treated equally and should not be deprived of any opportunity and equality based on gender, work and caste differences. Therefore, the social justice for him is associated with social equality and individual rights. He wanted to establish a society in which an individual is the centre of all social purposes, a society which is based on equality, equity of opportunities, liberty and fraternity.

Education as a tool to ensure Social Justice

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar wanted an educational system which would serve all. Ambedkar educational model was a socialist one based on Buddhist ideology. According to Ambedkar, the society must be based on reason, and not on traditions of caste system.

"The backward classes have come to realize that after all education is the greatest material benefit for which they can fight. We may forgo material benefits, we may forgo material benefits of civilization, but we cannot forgo our right and opportunities to reap the benefit of the highest education to the fullest extent. That is the importance of this question from the point of view of the backward classes who have just realized that without education their existence is not safe." (BAWS- Vol.2, 1982). Ambedkar's ideas for the untouchables was to raise their educational standards so that they may know their own condition, have aspirations and rise to the level of higher class and be in the position to use political power as a means. Educate, agitate and organize are three final words of Ambedkar to Untouchables to raise themselves in the society.

He believed that liberation of depressed classes is based on education as an educated person can assert their rights and be motivated for development. It not only trains the human mind to think but also to take the right decision to ensure social justice.

"It is the education which is the right weapon to cut the social slavery and it is the education which will enlighten the downtrodden masses to come up and gain social status, economic betterment and political freedom" - Dr. B.R.Ambedkar

Ambedkar awaked the Dalits regarding the injustice – social, economic and political and make them aware of the possibilities of establishing a society in which they could be given equal rights, respect and opportunities and regarded as equals.

Educational Rights given to Depressed Class and Women

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, tried an adequate inclusion of women's and depressed classes rights in the constitution of India. He looked upon law as the instrument of creating a just social order. He incorporated the values of liberty, equality and fraternity in the Indian Constitution.

To ensure equal rights of education to depressed class, special provisions are given which includes-

Article 30(1) which gives the linguistic or religious minorities the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Article 30(2) bars the state, while granting aid to educational institutions, from discriminating against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a linguistic or a religious minority. Article 29 (2) of the Constitution of India defines the protection of interest of minorities and ensures that no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. Article 46 directs the state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker section of the people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Relevance of Dr. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Education

Dr.B.R. Ambedkar had constantly fought to eradicate birth-based oppression where the basic amenities like education, employment, housing, equal opportunities are restricted for the benefit and development of the few upper classes. Equality in every aspect is reflected in the constitution and proves to be an important element in its composition.

The NCERT says, "Across the country, enormous strides towards establishing schools within the reach of every habitation have been made. Attempts to put larger number of children through schooling have proved to be successful. But pockets of children still remain to be reached- children from the socially weaker sections, those belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes, those belonging to the minority groups, and particularly girls, in each of these groups. The need of the hour is to identify the extraordinary socio-cultural circumstances which restrict these children from accessing schools." Hence despite of making constitutional legal rights, the children and youth of depressed classes are not able to enjoy the equal and quality education. In the Indian society, people are illiterate and they are not aware about education as well as their basic rights of the life, still people are facing caste discrimination in society.

The education system projects itself as a tool for empowerment, upliftment and equality for depressed sections. But social perspective has not changed its image. Dalit students in

today's knowledge and technological laden era, are still facing the rejection from their teachers who give priority to so called upper caste students. The lower castes are still sidelined from the learning process and are harshly treated. Although for economic upliftment of these students government but maximum students are giving scholarships under various schemes are devoid of awareness about these scholarships.

Conclusion

For Ambedkar, education was the main key to open the doors of light, vision and wisdom. Ambedkar had taken education as the main tool to bring social change. He believed that education can act as an change agent to bring equality in the society. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had done plentiful to awake the depressed class, to make them aware of their situation, to raise their voice and showed them education as a path for their political, economical and social upliftment. He motivated the Dalits to merge with the upper caste in social, economic and political aspects through the slogan of educate, agitate and organise. Also he ensured educational rights of all sections of Indian society by providing certain rights under the Article 30 and 29 in Indian constitution.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR AS A SOCIAL REFORMER

Hiralal Mahato & Urmi Saha

There are many famous people in the world. Some are well known in their own community, city, or country. Others are known worldwide. However, just knowing the name of some famous does not mean that you truly know him. It does not mean that you know details about his background and what he is really like as a person. Some people around the world heard something about Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, even thought he lived in India during this period of the late 18th and the middle of the 19th century. Yet, many are confused about who Dr. B.R. Ambedkar really was. Some say that he was merely a good man. Others claim that he was nothing more than a Dalit Leader. Still others believe that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is the father of the Indian Constitution. But we personally felt after reading some books on his works and his vision towards India, he has a versatile genius as he was also a serious scholar, good teacher, efficient lawyer, devoted leader, committed writer, distinguished educationist, social rebel, powerful debater. He was an authoritative constitutionalist, an able administrator, liberal emancipator, master statesman, daring liberator of the downtrodden masses and a fearless fighter for human rights.

We can proudly say Bharata Ratna Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a man of versatile personality, the great economist, constitutional, social reformer, political thinker, defender of the oppressed and, above all, a great humanist. Throughout his life he fought to establish the basic principles - liberty, equality and fraternity in all areas of life in society. To achieve these use their mental caliber and followed constitutional methods. His whole life was a struggle for the emancipation of the exploited. He had taken the utmost care to write the liberal Constitution so that the citizens of this country to enjoy fundamental rights without discrimination of caste, color and creed, place of birth, religion or sex. His notion of democracy made him stand unique among modern thinkers of democracy. For him, democracy is "a way of life in which the revolutionary changes in the socio-economic code of life of people who are taken without bloodshed". This itself is a testament to his belief in the establishment of a system liberal democratic. This system must end all forms of discrimination and thus establishing a casteless society believes that caste is an obstacle to the growth of the person and the democratic system.

Popularly known as Dr. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar was born April 14, 1891 in Mhow, a city of military cantonment then Central Province India. His father, Ramji Sakpal Maloji was a Subedar in the army and her mother Bhimabai Sakpal was a housewife. Babasaheb belonged to the Mahar called lower caste who were treated as untouchables. I had faced and have seen various types of social discrimination since childhood. But his father was an army officer was able to arrange a good education for their children, despite several resistances society. Ambedkar was treated as untouchable in school with other children Dalits. They were not allowed to sit with other so-called upper-caste children, and were allowed to drink water from common water vessel. Ambedkar was very meritorious in studies and after completing his early education in Bombay moved to the United States for graduate studies and research; did his graduate and doctorate from Columbia University, New York. He also studied at the London School of Economics and completed master's and doctorate from there too.

Contribution:

Great people who gave their significant contribution to the welfare of human beings, helped to improve the situation of Dalits and the oppressed. He fought for human rights. Therefore, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, despite several possibilities has the best excellent education institutions in the world because of his unique talent and merit. He also received a law degree.

His greatest contribution to the eradication of social evils was fighting for the rights of people called lower castes and untouchables. At the time of preparing the Government of India Act of 1919, advocated independent untouchables and others from the lowest castes constituencies. He demanded reservation for these communities. Ambedkar started several publications as Mook Nayak, a weekly newspaper; Bahishkrit Bharat, a newspaper to raise awareness and fight for the rights of low castes and untouchables. He founded Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha on July 20, 1924 in Bombay with the aim of creating political and social awareness among the untouchables, and also to make government responsive to their problems; He urged the Dalits and the untouchables "educate, agitate and organize" for their rightful place in society. He began releasing public movements against discrimination faced by untouchables as the opening of public water resources for the untouchables, burning Manusmriti, an ancient Hindu text that gives sanction the caste system and the rights of people of the lowest to enter Hindu temples caste. In 1932, after the Third Round Table Conference in Britain, where Dr. Ambedkar part, the British announced the

prize infamous Community according to which there was a provision of separate electorate in British India to different communities; Therefore, besides also considered as another independent voters; meant that for the choice of seats reserved for untouchables only people who could vote were untouchable. The scheme is vehemently opposed by Gandhi and other Congress leaders as Community and divisive in nature that divides Hindus in two separate groups. But Dr. Ambedkar was in his favor, as it was of the opinion that has more independent voters and would be more number of elected legislators "depressed class". After long and tedious discussions between Ambedkar and congressional leaders Pact Poona was reached on September 25, 1932, according to which the separate electoral system was abolished, but the reservation of seats for the depressed class remains the same; therefore untouchable would not be independent of the Hindus, but the seats are reserved for them. It was an important recognition of the political rights of the untouchables into the fold of Hindu society step. In the same vein, the Constitution of India in 1950 gave benefits reserved for scheduled castes and tribes were referred to earlier as "depressed classes. Dr. Ambedkar greater contribution to the development of modern India was his momentous effort as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution; the most important feature of the Constitution of India is its special focus on justice and socio-political and economic equality; strongly advocated for the rights of women and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and OBC; Special provisions for lifting and to eradicate the various forms of discrimination they face added. Later in his life, Dr. Ambedkar converted to Buddhism after tiring of the caste system, superstitions, rituals and discriminatory practices of Hinduism. Therefore, throughout his life, both socially and politically, Babasaheb fought against social evils prevailing in our country; its contribution to making oppressed people acquire self-esteem and rightful place is immeasurable. It was truly one of the great personalities of being born in India; Babasaheb died on December 6, 1956 in New Delhi after a prolonged illness due to diabetes.

“Dr. Ambedkar is my Father in Economics. He is true famous champion the underprivileged. He deserves more than what he has achieved today. However, it was highly controversial figure in his home country, though not the reality. His contribution in the field of economics is wonderful and will be remembered forever”.- Amartya Sen

Ambedkar had made a thorough study of Indian agriculture, wrote research papers, seminars and conferences organized in order to solve the problems of agriculture and farmers, also led the movement of farmers. His thoughts on agriculture found in his article "Small investments in India and remedies" (1917) and "state-minority" (1947).

Said tenure for some people is a serious problem of Indian agriculture has several disadvantages, such as difficulties in the cultivation and use of resources and rising costs, low productivity, inadequate incomes and poor living standards. According to Dr. Ambedkar agricultural productivity is related not only to the size of land ownership, but also other factors such as capital, labor and other inputs. So if capital or labor, etc., are not available in adequate quantity and quality, then even a large can become unproductive. For a small part of the earth be productive if they are available in abundance of these resources. With this thought in the 'Land Ceiling Act' she passed after independence.

He also mentioned about slavery and exploitation of limited work under the caste system is very bad for the economy and fought for its abolition development. His other suggestion to solve the problems of agriculture are collective agriculture, economic participation of the earth or the equitable distribution of land, large-scale industrialization, Provision of money, water, seeds and fertilizers by the government, the cultivation of waste land by allocating idle land to landless workers, minimum wage jobs, control and regulation of private lenders of loans to farmers.

Ambedkar's main concerns was the nature of land tenure, especially its fragmentation and division in productive and economically viable structure. It criticized the existing definition of economic exploitation is defined from the standpoint of consumption rather than production. said "any definition, therefore, based on consumption errors nature of economic exploitation, which is essentially a production company. What is most important for the purpose of the production process of combining factors production." The basic problem of Indian agriculture was that it was unable to generate surpluses that ultimately led to a shortage of capital. This resulted in an inefficient use of resources, surplus labor and superfluous to raise the cost of production employment resulted in low agricultural productivity. Therefore, the process of global economic growth is adversely affected. Ambedkar was of the view that the consolidation of participation could eradicate the evil effect of participation uneconomical and make way for the departure of growers. He favored the successful growth of industrialization and describes how agriculture is enhanced by the reflection effect of industrialization. He said: "The industrialization facilitates consolidation is a barrier against future subdivision and consolidation.".

Ambedkar was of the opinion that the state should acquire all agricultural land in private hands and the owners, lessees or mortgages and pay compensation equivalent to the value of the land. The State must provide the necessary land in farms of standard size and

must leave the farms for the cultivation of the residents of the villages. Ambedkar thoughts have an important role in the current system of Indian currency impact. Under British rule in India Govt. I had problems with the value of the Indian rupee fall, Ambedkar in 1923 wrote "The problem of the rupee, its origin and its solution. His studies and research on the condition of the Indian currency in British India will be focused. He wrote research thesis about it. In his thesis, he argued that the gold standard is unstable. Countries like India in development can not afford gold exchange standard, and besides that, it also increases the risk of inflation and rising prices. The data and reasons demonstrated how the Indian rupee has lost its value and therefore the purchasing power of statistics the fall of the rupee. He suggested that govt. The deficit should be regulated and the money should have a circular flow. Also He suggested that more attention should be given to price stability to the stability of the exchange rate.

Ambedkar believed to be impossible the rapid development of India without industrialization. According to him, the creation of jobs on a large scale produces essential goods for mass consumption. Use raw materials; reduce external dependence and increasing the safety of labor, ultimately leading to overall economic development. The private sector industries cannot do great industries for lack of large-scale investments. Therefore, the government must present to start large industries. The small scale industries should remain in the private sector. Transport and insurance companies should be nationalized. Rights for the strike must be given to workers. After the independence of the industrial policy of the government of India is in line with expectations of Ambedkar. He believes that the strategy for the economic development of India should be based on the Eradication of eliminating inequality of property and to end the exploitation of the masses. He emphasized the exploitation has many dimensions In fact, in India, social or religious exploitation is no less oppressive than the economic exploitation and should be removed. Ambedkar wanted the state socialism that is included in the constitution so that no legislature could change or reject it. But he could not come into existence as the committee rejected Constitution. It is suggested that the working conditions, farmers and the poor would be different if this has not been rejected. Pretty amazing Ambedkar had already suggested free economy, globalization, liberalization and privatization and in 1923, the Indian government has recently adopted this policy. In this sense Ambedkar was a century a head. He had insisted that the value (price) of a rupee should remain stable if the policy of free economy is to succeed. Ambedkar said that you cannot control the economy if the population is not controlled. Hence the force advocated population control and family planning in India.

Later, according to their views of the Council of India it has adopted the family planning as a national policy. Ambedkar's contribution to economic development and progress of women is significant. According to him, it is not possible the participation of women in economic development without development of their social status and equality. But due to poor economic conditions of women in India it is hampered economic progress of India. Therefore, it is important to improve the economic situation of women and give them equal rights and freedom of occupation.

Ambedkar argued that the concept of human capital in India is useless if the poor and down trodden dalits other classes do not recognize untouchables as human beings with equal social status and religious basis. It is therefore impossible to use this human capital in the economic development of India.

Ambedkar was truly a builder of a nation and a global leader rather than just a Dalit leader. He is the one who gave the principles of social justice. Babasaheb is one of those who had built India in their early days. They fought to liberate India and then tried to build the India of his dreams. To remember this great man, Ambedkar Jayanti is celebrated throughout the country, especially the one that follows. Today India needs more leaders like him to compete and stay ahead globally.

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DR. BHIM RAO AMBEDKAR AND HIS EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Sanjeev Kumar

Abstract

Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar was a well-known teacher himself. He established People's Education Society in Bombay and Aurangabad to educate the students of Dalit community. His educational philosophy is reflected in his lectures, his published articles in various magazines and his work in the educational institutions. The present paper is concerned with his educational philosophy. According to him school is a holy institution where the minds of students are made well cultured. School is a factory of making good citizens. Education is a lifelong continuous process and teacher is the major part of it. The education of women is also important like the education of men. Education is the way of freedom from exploitation. It awakens the society and helps to make it self-dependent and self-confident. The researchers tried to discuss the educational philosophy of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar in the form of his ideas about school and educational institution, education and students and role of teachers in the education of students.

Key Words: Education, School, Students, Teacher.

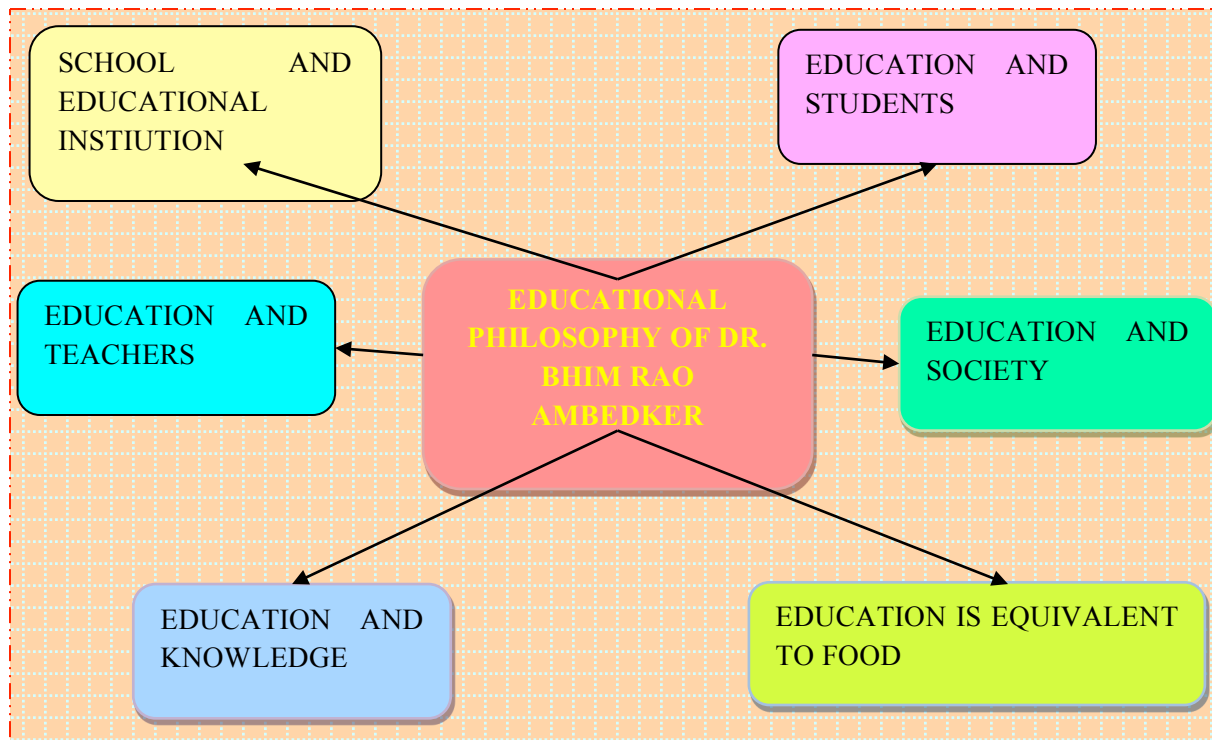
Introduction:

Education is the process by which man has made the great positive changes in the society and the lifestyle. The importance of education cannot be stated enough. It is a self-enlightening process. It is crucial to the overall development of an individual and the society at large. Education for all means has been the most important debate in all stages of society, progress and development. This might build in you the question as to why everyone is running behind education? What is it that makes us bind to education and makes it the centre of attraction to all the aristocrats, lawmakers, parents and elders? Education isn't about my marks or your standard; it's about knowledge and how well you are aware of the happenings around you. A person who is awakened knows what's best for him/her, knows the difference between right and wrong and that's when he is known as educated (Waghmare, S., 2015). Without education Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar could not become a Doctor and could not write constitution of India. Education can build a character of a person. It can help ones country to further to the future, like our great heroes did. Named,

legend Dr. B. R. Ambedkar sets a good example by taking a higher education to solve these legend cannot put his footsteps in front of this issue then may be the problem of dalits and also on untouchability. He is one of such great thinker, leader and intellectual of its time in India who has not only changed the life of millions of untouchables but shaped India as a biggest democratic nation in the world by writing its constitution. Education is most important among all of us. Education plays a very important role in our life. For living a luxurious life or for living a better life, you should be educated. Education is that which transforms a person to live a better life and even in a social well-being. Education is the one that doing something constructive in our near future. Education plays a vital role in success in the personal growth. The more you have knowledge the more you grow. Being educated and earning a professional degree prepares you to be a part in reputed organizations, companies or institutions. A person who gets good education will become good citizen.

Education is Important, Why ?

We live in an ever progressing and developing society. Education in this society is not only a demarcation of the wealthy and poor but also of the uneducated and educated. The reputation of the person depends upon the educational qualifications. Society being a cluster of different types of people and to deal with each one needs the knowledge of the system as well as rights & duties which are known through the medium of education (Meshram, N. U. 2015). If we will not educate the child he will harm the social life and society. By education he learns to live in the society, the ways and means of the life style and the value system. The society and nation expect remarkable contribution from the hands of highly qualified and educated person. The foundation of higher education is laid in our elementary schools. So, elementary schools should be strengthened by material and manpower to produce good material for higher educational institutions. The higher qualified people are the foreman of educational factory.



School and Educational Institution:

According to Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedker, “School is a holy institution where the minds of the students are cultured”. The regular working in the schools should be organized in a disciplined manner. School is the factory of making good citizens. The skilled foreman of this institution converts the raw material into a good quality product. Babasaheb started the model educational institution by establishing People’s Education Society. The preference should be given to higher educational qualifications irrespective of caste and creed while appointing the teachers in the educational institutions. He given importance to the admissions of students belonging to dalit community in his institution but, the teacher of the school should be higher qualified belonging to any caste or category. He supported the co-education by saying that women should be given equal opportunity along with men to educate themselves.

Education and Students:

Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedker had served in various educational institutions as professor till years. So, he had deep understanding of the minds of the students. He said that the self confidence of the students should be raised through education and the students should not lose their self confidence at the time of examination or using the learned skill. He stressed

the value education and said that students should self reliant the knowledge, intellect, politeness and strict discipline into their behavior and character. Politeness is required along with the knowledge and knowledge without politeness is useless. He also said that social emotions should also be incorporated in the students through educational process. According to Babasaheb, "To score good marks in the examinations and to get the degree is a separate issue, but, to be cultured, knowledgeable and educationist is totally different. The teacher should understand the basic problems and loopholes in the education of the students. The ability to create something new, to find the answer of questions in a logical way, to express oneself with confidence, to put the inner ideas properly in front of audience and the basic knowledge of the concepts are absent in the students." (Bhagayaya, 2015). The students should be shaped as per the need and requirement of the society and nation. The curriculum and teaching material should be framed by taking into consideration the culture, customs, duties, economy, historical perspectives, knowledge about the various societies and logical thinking in the students.

Education and Teachers:

Babasaheb himself was innovative and creative teacher. According to him education is a continuous process and the teacher provides the real base to it. Therefore, education and ability depends entirely upon authentic knowledge, self reliance, learning attitude and delivering skill of the teacher. He adopted the triangular formula of 'वाचन-मनन, चिन्तन और अध्ययन' in his teachings. Due to this formula he himself became a good teacher and in broader sense a social teacher. A teacher should be multifaceted. He should be sharp minded and choosy character. He is the national builder because education is in the hands of teacher and the development of a nation depends upon educated manpower. So, every educational institution should have intellectual, positivist and kind hearted teachers to teach the poor and baseline students.

Education and Knowledge:

The view of Dr. Ambedker about the knowledge is quite broader and ideal. Knowledge means light. This light should become the base of social, economic and moral development of man. The context of knowledge should be social and education is the weapon by which man can be free from exploitation raise the revolution against slavery. He says that intellect is like a sword and every society and group recognizes the man bearing it. The cleverness and intellectuality need good character and politeness. If the people become

educative without these then the nation and society will be destroyed. The education is that which builds man and unique combination of knowledge and intellect is equal to education. The achievement of self-reliance through the knowledge is the main purpose of education.

Education is Equivalent to Food:

Babasaheb says by stressing on progress of literacy and development that to admit a child in a school is not surety of his being literate. The development of the ability to make him literate and educate till whole of the life is the purpose of the school or educational institution. The child should not drop out of the system till the achievement of the basic goal. Education is equivalent to food which is needed daily till whole of our life.

Education and Society:

Social change is a continuous process. The way of social change is processed through education. Bhim Rao Ambedker says in this context that it is important to have the strong attitude of accepting the changes in the society for giving speed to the process of change. पढ़ो और पढ़ाओ is reflected in the social educational philosophy of Babasaheb. No society will be awakened without the process of education. He stressed that the social and behavioural inequalities in the society can be removed through the medium of education. Babasaheb says that the socialization and moralization of man is the purpose of education because education lays the foundation of culture and civilization.

Conclusion:

Take education, be united and do the struggle' is the main message of Babasaheb to the society and nation. Education keeps at the first place in this message. He says that education and society have a bounded relationship because the progress and development of society is possible only through education. The power of making the man free from exploitation and slavery comes from education. He has discussed about elementary education, higher education and university education, the progress of literacy and importance of education for all. He has given importance to behavioral aspect of education along with the structure of education. The epistemological, axiological, sociological, responsibilities of students, role of teachers, eligibility for teachers and responsibilities of schools and colleges and the reservation in education are reflected in his lectures. The broad-based attitude of education for all the communities is clear in his philosophy.

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Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR'S THOUGHTS ON SOCIAL REFORMS AND JUSTICE

Anu Khanna

Abstract

India is a land of many leaders, saints and sages but among them some are remembered as the messiah of humanity who lived and died for the cause of mankind. Dr. Ambedkar is one of them who worked for the downtrodden and untouchables tirelessly throughout his life. His own life experiences, which he had throughout his life being a member of low caste, inspired him to work for abolishing the prevailing caste system and untouchability in Hindu religion. He considered the caste system as the greatest evil in Hindu religion. He wanted to reform restrictive Hindu social system, which ascribes status to a man on basis of his birth in a particular low or high caste. He was not against Hindu society but opposed caste system vehemently. He was of the opinion that caste inhibits the social and economic organization of the society. So, they must be broken. Being inspired by this feeling he accepted Buddhism. Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social reform stands for liberty, equality and fraternity of all human beings. He stood for a social system, which is based on right relations between man and man in all spheres of life. He was true rationalist and humanist, didn't approve any type of hypocrisy, injustice and exploitation of man by man in name of religion. He stood for a religion, which is based on universal principles of morality and applicable in to the all times, to all the countries and to all the races. He has a deep faith in man and in his powers. According to him he himself is responsible for his miseries. As a responsible human being it is his duty to mitigate his own woes, slavery and poverty. Today our nation is engrossed with communalism, terrorism, separatism, corruption, inequality that every stream of development has been hindered. So there is a great need to understand and implement the ideas of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar.

“A people and their religion must be judged by social standards based on social ethics. No other standard would have any meaning if religion is held to be necessary good for the wellbeing of the people.” These are the words of Dr. Ambedkar for the ideal society for which he strived his whole life. He waged a war against the unjust Hindu social structure. The Hindu social structure was based on the theory of Chaturvarna that divides the Hindu society into four parts namely, Brahmins, Kashastriyas, Vashiyas and Shudras. The system of Chaturvarna limits the opportunities a person have for earning an honorable living. According to Hindus, the four castes came from different parts of Brahman. The

highest castes are Brahmins were created from the head of Brahman. They study and teach the Vedas. In Hindu society they are considered the best of humankind. The next caste is kashastriyas, who are created, as they say, from the shoulders and hands of Brahman. They protect the creatures created by God. The Vasihtyas were created from the thighs of Brahman. They are expected to meet the material needs of the community. The shudras were created from the Brahman's feet and they are supposed to serve all other groups. The people who came after Shudras are called Antyaja. They are namely shoemakers, jugglers, the basket and shield makers, the sailors, fisherman, the hunters of animals and of birds and weavers. They render various kinds of services to the caste Hindus. The four caste Hindus do not live together with them in one place. The people called Hadi, Candala, Badhatau are not reckoned among any caste. They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They are considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by occupations. In fact they are considered like illegitimate child.

Henceforth, different profession, barriers of provinces, varying ways of living, different superstitions, and customs broke up the main four castes and further led to sub-castes. The untouchables were from the lowest strata of Hindu society and were condemned as untouchables by caste Hindus down the century. Ambedkar himself was brought up in the surrounding of an orthodox and rigid Hindu family that was divided on religious, castes, communal, and regional lines. He complained that Hindu society was just like a tower, which had many storeys without a ladder or an entrance. One was to die in the storey in which he was born.

Ambedkar made ceaseless efforts for the removal of untouchability and material progress of untouchables. From 1924 onwards, he led the movements of untouchables till the end of his life. He dared to burn Manusamriti the most religious book of Hindus to establish the right of untouchables to take water from cawdar tank on December 20th, 1927 at Mahad. Then again he motivated them to refuse the duty of carrying the dead animals and removing their skin. The minor and major motive of these resolutions was to foster among touchables self-esteem self respect and to strike a blow at Hindu social order. It aimed at making Hindus do their dirty jobs themselves. The history of revolt against the established social order of Hindus originated in Bombay, but it spread to all parts of india. He carried out his fight on political as well as religious fronts. He wanted the untouchables to have the right to enter a Hindu temple. In 1929, the Parvati temple entry Satyagrah was organized at Poona wherein the unarmed untouchables and caste Hindu participants were attacked and injured. After this there was a famous Kalaram temple entry at Nasik. This

satyagrah was carried out from 1930 to 1935, but when obduracy of the orthodox Hindu did not relent, Ambedkar made his resolve before the public though he was born a Hindu, he would not die as a Hindu. He fulfilled this promise by embracing Buddhism till his death. The main aim of the temple entry Satyagraha was to make the entry possible in the temple for untouchables. He firmly believed that the progress of the nation could not be realized without first removing untouchability.

How can untouchability be removed? Untouchability is the indication of slavery of entire Hindu society. If the untouchables find themselves chained by the caste Hindus, the caste Hindus themselves live under the slavery of scriptures. Therefore emancipation of untouchables automatically involved emancipation of Hindu society as a whole. Ambedkar warns nothing worthwhile can be created on the bases of caste. We can build neither a nation nor morality on this basis. Therefore, a casteless society must be created. Ambedkar believed that education would greatly contribute to improvement of the untouchability. He always exhorted his followers to reach excellence in the field of knowledge. Knowledge is liberating force. Education makes man enlightened, makes him aware of his self-respect and also enables him to live his life better materially. One of the causes of the degradation of the untouchables was that they were denied the right of education. Ambedkar criticized the British policy on education for not adequately encouraging education among lower castes. He felt that even under the British rule education continued mainly to be an upper caste monopoly. Therefore, he mobilized the lower castes and the untouchables to attain education. They were given scholarships for education abroad. He wanted that they should be given both liberal and technical education. He was opposed to education under religious auspices. He warned that only secular education could instill the values of liberty and equality among the students.

Another very important remedy, which Ambedkar upheld, was that untouchables should free themselves of the village community and its economic bondage. In the traditional setup the untouchables were bound to specific occupations. They were dependent upon the caste Hindus for sustenance. Even for the meager returns they had to submit themselves to the domination of the caste Hindus. Ambedkar was aware of the economic dimension of their servitude. Therefore he always insisted that they should stop doing the traditional work. Instead they should acquire new skills and start new professions. Education would enable them to get employment. There was no point in remaining dependent on village economy. With the growing industrialization, there were greater opportunities in the cities. Once their dependence on caste Hindus is over, they can easily

throw away the psychological burden of being untouchables. In realistic evaluation of the villages, Ambedkar graphically describes them as a 'sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism'.

Therefore, the earlier the untouchables become free of village bondage, the better. Even if they had to live in villages, they should stop doing their traditional work and seek new means of livelihood. The mainstay of Ambedkar argument was that the oppressed classes must generate self-respect among themselves. The best policy of their uplift was the policy of self-help. He did not believe in social reform on the basis of humanitarianism, sympathy, philanthropy etc. Equal status and just treatment was a matter of right and not of pity. The downtrodden should assert and win their rights through conflict. His advice to his people was "no lasting progress can be achieved unless we put ourselves through a threefold process of purification. We must improve the general tone of our demand, retune of our pronunciation, and revitalize our thoughts. We will attain self elevation only if we learn self help, regain self respect and gain self knowledge." As a step in this direction, Ambedkar attaches much importance to political participation of oppressed classes. He repeatedly emphasized that in context of colonialism it had become imperative that untouchables gain political rights by organizing themselves politically. He claimed that by attaining political power, untouchables would be able to protect safeguards and sizeable share in power, so that they can force certain policies on the legislature. Therefore he formed political organization of the untouchables. His writings and activity greatly contributed to the resurgence of the untouchable community. He created a sense of political awareness among the downtrodden. This resulted in emergence of dalit power in Indian society. He established an organization the Bahishkrit Hitkarni Sabha. The key words of his organization were "Educate, Agitate and Organize". The aims of the sabha were four in number as follows:

1. To promote the spread of education among the depressed class.
2. To promote the spread of culture among the depressed classes.
3. To advance and improve the economic condition of the depressed classes.
4. To represent the grievances of depressed classes.

Another landmark in the history of the untouchables was with the foundation of a new political party by the name of Independent Labour Party. The purpose was to strengthen the position of untouchables in the politics. Pleading for his community's share in political power and swaraj he said, "We ourselves cannot remove grievance unless we get political

power in our hands it is only in swaraj constitution that we stand any chance of getting the political power without which there is no salvation for us". As a leader of opposition Dr. Ambedkar played a very important and constructive role in Bombay Legislature. With his ardent efforts and even standing against Gandhi he was able to get the most historical pact the Poona pact. According to this depressed classes were who were deprived of separate electorates and the double vote and its place a joint electorate of a single vote was adopted. The poona pact settled the very important controversy about leadership. This pact brought Ambedkar in the limelight and as great leader.

Not only had he worked hard for untouchables but also for the betterment and progress of women also. Dr. Ambedkar criticized the traditional and conservative values. He strongly criticized the degradation of women in Indian society. He believed that women should be entitled to equal status with men and they must have right to education. He lamented that the Hindu religion had deprived women of the right to property.

All his efforts and dream came true when he was appointed as chairman of the constitution's drafting committee after independence. Ambedkar's struggle bore fruit in his own life time. Dr. Ambedkar's most important contribution to Indian constitution may be seen in the area of fundamental rights, strong central government and protection of minorities. He attempted to incorporate many safeguards for the minorities, including definite representation in executive. He was successful in creating provision regarding political reservations in legislation and the appointment of special officer for scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. Even in Hindu code Bill which he prepared he took care that a women should get a share in parents property and even provision for divorce.

Ambedkar was not only a political leader and social reformer but also a scholar and thinker. His thinking was based on deep faith in the goals of equality and liberty. Ambedkar's personal suffering, his constant attention to the problem of bringing about equality for the downtrodden and untouchables forms the basis of his writings and his work.

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8.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DR. B.R.AMBEDKAR

Devinderjit Kaur

Social justice is the fair and just relation between the individual and society. This is measured by the explicit and tacit terms for the distribution of wealth, opportunities for personal activity and social privileges. The fair and proper administration of laws conforming to the natural law that all persons, irrespective of ethnic origin, gender, possessions, race, religion, etc., are to be treated equally and without prejudice. Scholars from different viewpoints have viewed social justice being a multi-dimensional concept. Social justice is a bundle of rights. It is the balancing wheel between the 'haves' and 'have nots'. The term social justice is comprehensive having a great social value in providing a stable society and in securing the unity and integrity of the country. In general, Social justice may be defined as *"the right of the weak, aged, destitute, poor, women, children and other under-privileged persons"*.

According to DIAS, Justice is not something, which can be captured in a formula once or for all; it is a process, which is complex and shifting balance between many factors. Justice may be natural justice or distributive justice. Social justice is basically a term, which provides sustenance to the rule of law. It has a wider connotation in the sense that it includes economic justice also. The tasks of justice is *"just allocation of advantages and disadvantages, preventing the abuse of power, preventing the abuse of liberty the just decision of disputes and adapting to change"*. The aims of social justice is to remove all kinds of inequalities based on the parameters of caste, race, sex, power, position, wealth and to bring about equal distribution of social justice is a balance between social rights and social controls and providing equal opportunities to all citizens in social and economic affairs . According to *Utilitarian*, social justice is being one of the dimensions of justice which stands for fraternity; with a view to create such human social conditions which ensure free and fair development of all human beings. According to *John Rawls*, the concept of social justice is "all social primary goods-liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the basis of self respect are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to the advantage of the least favoured".

Justice Krishna Iyer, a former judge of the Supreme Court of India says, “*Social Justice is not cant but conscience, not verbal borrowing from like documents but the social force of the supreme law*”. Social justice is people oriented; legal justice is canalized, controlled and conferred by law. It is the product of social injustice and seeks to remove social and economic inequalities and ensure equality of status, equality of opportunity. Social Justice of today becomes the legal justice of tomorrow. The Supreme Court has explained the concept of social justice i.e. “*the Constitution commands justice, liberty, equality and fraternity as supreme values to usher in the egalitarian social, economic and political democracy*”. Social justice, equality and dignity of persons are cornerstones of social democracy. The concept of “social justice” which the Constitution of India engrafted consists of diverse principles essential for the orderly growth and development personality of every citizen. Social justice is thus an integral part of justice in the generic sense. Justice is a genus of which social justice is one of its species. Social justice is a dynamic device to mitigate the suffering of the poor, weak, dalits, Tribes and deprived sections of the society .

Dr. Ambedkar was the chief architect of the Indian Constitution and is also one of the advocate of social justice in modern India. He tried to achieve social justice and social democracy in terms of one man-one value. He treated social justice as a grass-root for patriotism and nationalism. According to Ambedkar, the term “social justice” is based upon equality, liberty and fraternity of all human beings. The aim of social justice is to remove all kinds of inequalities based upon Caste, race, sex, power, Position and wealth. The social justice brings equal distribution of the social, political and economical resources of the community. He was fully aware of the pattern and problems of the Indian society. Ambedkar did not acknowledge the theories of social justice as propounded by the Varna system, the Aristotelian order, Plato’s scheme, Gandhian sarvodaya order and not even the proletarian socialism of Marx . The contents of Ambedkar’s concept of social justice included unity and equality of all human beings, equal worth of men and women, respect for the weak and the lowly, regard for human rights, benevolence, mutual love, sympathy, tolerance and charity towards fellow being. Humane treatment in all cases dignity of all citizens, abolition of Caste distinctions, education and property for all and good will and gentleness, He emphasized more on fraternity and emotional integration. His view on social justice was to eradicate man-made inequalities of all shades through law, morality and public conscience; he stood for justice for a sustainable society.

Dr. Ambedkar was of the considered view that the root cause of social injustice to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is the Caste system in Hindu society. He

observed, Castes are enclosed units and it is their conspiracy with clear conscience that compels the ex-communicated to make themselves into a Caste. The logic of their obdurate circumstance is merciless and it is in obedience to its force that some unfortunate groups find themselves closed out with the result that now groups by a mechanical law are constantly being converted into Castes in a widening multiplicity. He further maintained that the root of untouchability is the Caste system and the root of the Caste system is religion, the root of the Purohit religion attached to varnashram and the root of the varnashram is the Brahminism, the root of Brahminism lies with the political power. Dr. Ambedkar's social vision is reflective in his own words. As an economic system permits exploitation without obligation untouchability is not only a system of unmitigated economic exploitation, but it is also a system of uncontrolled economic exploitation. That is because there is no independent public opinion to condemn it and there is no impartial machinery of administration to restrain it, there is no check from the police or the judiciary for the simple reasons that they are all down from the Hindus, and take side of exploiters.

Dr. Ambedkar's real democracy was a social democracy. According to him, it is essential to realize that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy. He pleaded the realization of economic and social democracy in India, for political democracy was unreal preceded by economic and social democracy. Dr. Ambedkar said, we must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian society, One of these equality is on the social plane. We have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which means elevation for some and degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty-How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril, we must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy. His philosophy was occupied with social amelioration, political enlightenment and spiritual awakening. For this it attached due importance to the economic well-being of the masses. To him, Political thought embodied a social dynamism because of man's attitude animal and social being. He had deep faith in fundamental human rights in the equal rights of men and women, in the dignity of the individual in social economic justice in the promotion of social progress and better standards of life with peace and security in all spheres of human life. His study of social facts enriched his political philosophy. Dr. Ambedkar was dead against the Hindu Caste

structure as he was of the view that this structure has been primarily responsible for committing all sorts of atrocities on the various sections of the society particularly the weaker sections Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. Ambedkar was against Manu smriti as it gives a blank Cheque to the Brahmins to commit all sorts of atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and defend their evil designs.

On August 15, 1947 India gained the status of independent and sovereign state after a long struggle and sacrifices. On August 29, 1947 Dr. Ambedkar was appointed the Chairman of the Drafting Committee that was constituted by Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for independent India. The draft Constitution was the result of the collective efforts of a galaxy of great leaders and legal scholars in the Constituent Assembly such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, B.R. Ambedkar, Sardar Patel, B.N. Rao, Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar etc. We adopted Constitution on November 26, 1949 which came in enforcement on January 26, 1950. Indian Constitution is considered as one of the gigantic constitutions in the world which establishes a democratic state. The Indian Constitution in 1950 was a significant event in the history of social justice and human rights. With the enforcement of the Constitution it opened up new avenues of human welfare and development in the Indian subcontinent by providing equal rights, privileges and treatment to the citizens at large. Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar has been considered as the Chief Architect of the Indian Constitution. The text prepared by Ambedkar offered a wide range of constitutional safeguards and guarantees to all citizens. With great efforts of Dr. Sahib, socio-economic rights, civil liberties, freedom of religion, the abolition of untouchability and the prohibition of all forms of discrimination among others have been provided in the constitution. He favored for economic and social rights for the depressed classes. In addition to constitutional rights, Dr. Ambedkar succeeded in introducing a system of reservations in the civil services, schools and colleges for members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He was a spirited fighter for the cause of social justice and equality who emerged as a leader of the socially depressed classes. He worked throughout his life for the upliftment and welfare of the weaker section of the society and depressed classes. When drafting of the Constitution of India was embarked upon, Jawahar La Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel thought of inviting and consulting Sir Ivor Jennings, and internationally known constitutional expert of those times. When approached for advice in the method, Gandhi told them that there was no need to look for foreign experts when they had within India and outstanding legal and constitutional expert Dr. Ambedkar. B. R. Ambedkar believed that Constitution is not just a written text but it can be an effective tool to ensure justice

and equality to all the sections of society especially to the weaker sections of society. Ambedkar had very commitment for the social causes, and he remained committed throughout his life for the upliftment of deprived sections of society. He was known as the pioneer of the idea of social justice in India. He succeeded to arrange certain provisions in the Indian Constitution for ensuring justice to the oppressed sections.

Dr. Ambedkar played a significant role in the framing and drafting of the Indian Constitution. B. R. Ambedkar borne the responsibility to fight against the untouchability and exploitation based on Hindu caste system, and struggled for the untouchables' rights , their upliftment and stamped for them a place in the Constitution of India. Ambedkar vowed to demolish untouchability and slavery. Ambedkar observed, "If I fail to do away with abominable thralldom and human injustice under which I was born has been groaning, I will put an end to my life with a bullet". Untouchability in India meant pollution by touch. From the disgrace, discrimination and severe social handicap that Dr. Ambedkar suffered right from his early life for being born to a so called untouchable family, he came determined to liberate the depressed classes from this inhuman social system and endless tale of misery till the last breath of his life. Ambedkar wanted to annihilate the caste system in order to social equality for oppressed sections of the Hindu society. Ambedkar wanted specific legal protection and safeguards to make members belonging to the untouchable community to get education, change the hereditary occupations and raise their standard of living and live with dignity in the society.

Dr. Ambedkar's substantial and significant contribution is reflected in the protective discrimination scheme of the government envisaged under some provisions of Part III and Part IV dealing with the constitutional mandate to revolutionize the condition of the weaker section of the society i.e. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the other backward classes. Provisions like Article 17 prohibiting untouchability, Article 30 dealing with the protection of minorities are some of the notable examples. Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of Part III and Part XI, and Schedule V and VI dealing with the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and Schedule Tribes speak clearly about the real contribution of Ambedkar for the upliftment and development of depressed section of the society. To uplift the untouchables and depressed section of the society from the unequal position of inferiority to that of equal position of parity in socio-economic status with high-caste Hindus and provide them a place in the society to live with dignity was the mission of Dr. Ambedkar. For achieving this goal he advocated and introduced reservation policy or the

scheme of protective discrimination to ameliorate the conditions of the various depressed and downtrodden sections of caste dominated society.

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DEMOCRACY IN INDIA: PERSPECTIVES OF DR. B.R.AMBEDKAR

Ritika

Abstract

Democracy is a system within government in which all the people of a state are involved in making decisions about its affairs, typically by voting to elect representatives to a parliament or similar assembly. The term democracy is derived from the Greek words 'demos' and 'Kartos', the former meaning the people and the later power. People choose their representative through casting of votes. The people from other countries also speak with great proud about Great Indian democracy and in democracy about the Role of Prime Minister. It is also supposed that if in any country where Parliament exist which is normally elected by the people or adults above the age of 18 and the laws are made by the Representatives of the people's who are in Parliament elected after few years, there is democracy. In other words, democracy is understood to be a political instrument and where this political instrument exists, there is democracy. The actual roots of democracy do not lie in the form of Government or Parliament. A democracy is more than this. It is not just a form of Government. It is actually a mode of associated living. Associated living means a life where people form relationship with other people. The roots of Democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in the terms of associated life between the people who form a society. Society does not consist of only a few individuals. It consists of collection of castes which are exclusive in their life and have nothing common between them to share and have no bond of sympathy. Democracy is another name for equality.

Keywords: Democracy, People, Power, Parliament, Government, Society.

Introduction:

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision about democracy was closely related to his ideology of a "Good Society". He did not leave room for any ambiguity regarding the nature of this ideal. On many different occasions, Dr. Ambedkar stated that he envisaged a good society as one based on "liberty, equality and fraternity". Democracy, as he saw it, was both the end and the means of this ideal. It was the end because he ultimately considered democracy as coterminous with the realisation of liberty, equality and fraternity. At the same time,

democracy was also the means through which this idea was to be attained. Dr. Ambedkar's notion of "democratic government" went back to the fundamental idea of "government of the people, by the people and for the people". But "democracy" meant much more to him than democratic government. It was a way of life: "Democracy is not merely a form of government. It is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards other people." Another crucial feature of Dr. Ambedkar's conception of democracy is that it was geared towards the social transformation and human progress. Conservative notions of democracy, such as the idea that it is mainly a device to prevent bad people from seizing power, did not satisfy him. In one of the most inspiring definitions of the term, he defined democracy as "a form and a method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed". For this to happen, it was essential to link political democracy with economic and social democracy. Indeed, Dr. Ambedkar's vision of democracy was inseparable from his commitment to socialism. Sometimes he referred to this combined ideal as "social democracy", in a much wider sense than that in which the term is understood today. The neglect of economic democracy was, in his view, one of the chief causes of "the failure of democracy in Western Europe". As he put it: "The second wrong ideology that has vitiated parliamentary democracy is the failure to realize that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social or economic democracy... Social and economic democracies are the tissues and the fibre of a political democracy. The tougher the tissue and the fibre, the greater the strength of the body."

General Implication of Democracy:

Democracy is the most valued and also the indistinct political terms in the modern world. The ancient Greek word 'democracy' means rule by the demos, which can be translated as either 'the people; or 'the mole' depending on one's ideological preference. By itself, democracy means little more than that, in some undefined sense, political power is ultimately in the hands of the whole adult population and that no smaller group has the right to rule. Democracy can only take on a more useful meaning when qualified by one of the other word with which it is associated, for example, liberal democracy, representative democracy, participatory democracy or direct democracy. Although all free societies are democratic, democracies can fail to protect individual freedom. Countries are generally considered democratic to the extent that they have fair and frequent elections in which nearly all adults have the right to vote, citizens have the right to vote, citizens have the right

to form and join organizations and to express themselves in alternative sources of information existed. Architects of democracy must determine the constitutional structure that best suits the needs of a particular country, alternative forms of constitutional democracy include parliamentary versus presidential forms of government, plurality versus proportional representation system and federal versus unitary systems. In a Parliamentary system, the Prime Minister is elected by the parliamentary process and can be removed from office by a vote of no confidence from the Parliament. Executive and legislative powers are fused in a Parliamentary System. In a Presidential system, the President is elected directly by the people and there is a formal separation of powers.

B.R. Ambedkar's Idea of Democracy:

B.R. Ambedkar stood apart from his well-known famous contemporaries of India in many respects. Very First being a great scholar, social revolutionary and statesman, he had in himself a great combination of these attributes that anyone else rarely possesses which made Dr. B.R. Ambedkar distinguished from other intellectual personalities of that very time. As an intellectual, huge personality and a creative writer, he possesses knowledge that was truly encyclopaedic. The range of topics, width of vision, depth and sophistication of analysis, rationality of outlook and essential humanity of the arguments that he came-up with made him very different from his contemporaries at that point of time.

Second thing that make him different from others was that, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar never wrote only for literary purpose. In his intellectual and literary pursuit as in his other political activities, he was driven by a devotion to comprehend the vital issues of that time and to find solutions of those problems of Indian society. With this motivation, he involve, at times decisively in shaping the social, economic and political development of the nation during its development stage. There was not any big issue that arose between the early 1920s to the mid of 1950s in India to which Dr. Ambedkar did not apply his strong analysis, whether it was the question of minority communities, reorganization of different states, partition, constitution or the economic and political framework for an independent India.

The third very important aspect of Dr. Ambedkar lies with the nature and kind of questions he look into. What is probably the most important in any thinker and intellectual is not so much on what answer they provide but what question they raised. Dr. Ambedkar

raised those questions that were simultaneously most relevant at that time and were too uncomfortable to digest. Relevant as they were critical for the nation-in the formation and uncomfortable as very few people were willing to acknowledge the existence of those issues. Ambedkar raised certain issues in his very unique style that no one was willing to take up or deal with.

- ✓ The concept of power contained in his thinking has a direct relationship between social and political power. He was very much conscious of the social and economic inequalities which lifted the national consciousness of the Indian people. Ambedkar said, “We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy very much depends upon social democracy because political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the lease of it social democracy”.
- ✓ Dr. Ambedkar thinks of democracy from the viewpoint of practical life. He belongs to the much realistic school of political scientists. He was not bothered about the principles and theories of political study. During the national improvement, his only aim was to have justice and freedom for the people in the actual sense. He aspired for having a government of the people, for the people and by the people. According to Dr. Ambedkar, democracy means no master, no slavery, no caste, no threat and no Violence. He wants freedom of thoughts and a choice and capacity to live and let live, which in his conscience, would be the right path towards democracy. Dr. Ambedkar says “Democracy is a actual mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched only in social relationship, in terms of the associated life between the individuals who form the society”.
- ✓ According to Dr. Ambedkar, the actual aim of democracy is essentially need for the interest of society as a whole, and not for any particular class, group or community. Therefore, Dr. Ambedkar, while speaking on “conditions precedent for the successful working of Democracy”, at one event emphasized that, “The very first condition precedent for the successful working of democracy is that there must be no excessive unfairness in the society. There must not be any destitute or oppressed class. There must not be a any suppressed class. There must not be a class which enjoys all the privileges and a class which has got all the burdens to carry. Such a thing, such an organization of society has within itself the germs of a bloody revolution and perhaps it would be very impossible for democracy to cure these germs.” To Dr. Ambedkar, real democracy is opposed to the suppression of minorities. The suppression and exploitation of minorities in any form is the

negation of democracy and humanism. If suppression is not stopped, then democracy degenerates into tyranny.

Conclusion:

The main goal of the study is to analyze and evaluate critically the idea of Dr.B.R Ambedkar regarding great Indian democracy and to capture the position of Ambedkar on issues whose relevance is felt even today's time. A detailed analysis of Dr. Ambedkar's life and mission reveals that Dr. Ambedkar held the basic and fundamental norm, to be equality- social, economic and political, from which he proceeded to lay down a collection of 'ought' propositions; in this hierarchy of 'ought', the initial fundamental 'ought' on which the validity of all the other ultimately rests, the fundamental norm seems to be the social equality, the justification for the rest of the legal reforms and changes he persistently fought for. It was a society full of social inequalities in which Dr. Ambedkar was born. The humiliation he himself experienced in such an impartial society bore on effect in all thought his life. As discussed earlier, Dr. Ambedkar had a visionary cognition of democracy, which needs to be "retrieved" today. But going beyond that, we must also augment this vision in the light of recent developments. While Dr.B.R Ambedkar was far ahead of his time in stressing the link between political and economic democracy, perhaps he failed to visualize the full possibilities of political democracy itself. He thought that in the absence of economic democracy, common people would be powerless. Also, he thought of political democracy mainly in terms of parliamentary and electoral processes. In both respects, his valuation was highly significant at that time. Today, however, we are constantly exploring new forms of democratic practice, in which people are often able to participate even if economic democracy is nowhere near being realised. This ability to participate arises from the fact that economic privilege is not the only basis of advantage in democratic politics. Money power certainly helps, but this advantage is not always decisive. Much depends also on organisational activism, the weight of numbers, the strength of arguments, the force of public opinion, the use of communication skills, and other sources of bargaining power. Aside from bargaining power, social ethics can also come into play in a democracy where there is room for what Dr. Ambedkar called "morality".

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B.R.AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON LIBERTY AND EQUALITY- A STUDY

M.Sampathkumar

Introduction:

A civilized society is based on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's concept of the ideal society is most relevant to a civilized society and suited to the needs of modern Indian society. Hence this attempts to bring out his contributions towards the attainment of their two human ideas in the society by democratic process. Knowledge about liberty and equality is essential to analyses the social ideology of B.R.Ambedkar and his services to the society. So the researcher tries to examine the same.

Concept of Liberty:

The concept of liberty' denotes a very important principle of political philosophy. Liberty is sometimes regarded as the distinctive principle of liberalism. The term 'liberty' means freedom from captivity, imprisonment and slavery or despotic control.¹ It is clear from this dictionary meaning, that these two terms are synonyms. However 'freedom; has been widely used and is acclaimed as a universal principle. Different schools of thoughts differ on the means and mode of realizing freedom.

While the privileged classes are challenged to such excellence, the challengers are stamped as the champions of 'liberty'. Liberty has inspired many revolutionary struggles against despotism and foreign regimes. Generally, two opposing sections are involved in the struggle for liberty. They are the oppressed and oppressor. Either peasant revolts or national struggles of independence, the oppressed challenge the alleged superiority of their oppressors over them. They demand equality on the universal principle of human equality.² It reveals that the struggle for liberty is always based on the philosophy of equality. It is also clear that liberty is related to the principle of equality. As distinguished from other living beings evolves institution to secure a happy life on earth. Since he has an aim in his life he has created the whole complex of institution, civilization and cultures in séance of his aim. However, the selfish strong and clever men have managed to assume dominant position and acquire special privileges in society. This privileged class assumes power over the lives of others. It always strands against change in the society.

So the subject class rises in revolt against injustice and oppression of the privileged class. It demands the privileges of the dominant class and raises the slogan of liberty to press its claim of equality. It is evident from this that liberty is a force behind social change. The voice of the oppressed tries to re establish human values lost in the society. In the enjoyment and administration of liberty, the individual, society and state are involved. The liberty of individuals has to be restricted by a measure of equal liberty to be enjoyed by others. An individual is expected to behave as a 'rational being'. Then each individual shall pursue his happiness in consonance with the happiness of society. As a result, an individual's good will become an integral part of the social good. In the real world as individuals are not perfect, the regulation of liberty becomes necessary to safeguard liberty itself.³ The relative liberty between the individual and society is regulated by the laws of the state, conventions of the society and moral principles of the individuals. The violent revolution such as the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution popularized the term 'liberty' in politics. On the other hand the term 'freedom' has been widely used on various fields. Freedom of expression and freedom of worship are some of the terms for such usages. Another word 'right' is also associated with 'freedom'. The terms 'human rights' and 'civil rights' refer a man's freedom to express, to preach and to live as he desired.⁴ Thus, the words 'liberty' 'freedom' and 'rights' are relatively applied in political as well as social contexts.

Concept of Equality:

Equality is a prominent political ideal of the present day democratic world. It is an essential ingredient for social justice. It constitutes the voice of the oppressed against injustice for changing unfair social conditions. In this sense it is complementary to the principle of liberty. It is essential to understand the nature and essence of equality in order to determine its proper relationship with the principle of liberty.

The problem of equality and inequality had figured in political thought since earliest times. Aristotle thought that inequality was the cause of rebellion in many states.⁵ The modern idea of equality seeks the correction of the prevailing inequalities insofar as they can be proved to be unjust according to the prevailing social consciousness. The modern idea of equality is derived from the theory of rights. The term equality has its root in 'Latin'.⁶ It refers the sameness in quantity, quality, size and rank for one thing or a person. It has uniformity in application or effect. In other words a person or thing possesses same rank and status to another. This explanation reveals that equality is a prescriptive term. As man is

a rational being, he is endowed with the faculty of 'reason'. By creation all men are equal. Naturally the physical, emotional and intellectual needs of all men are similar. Hence, they are entitled to equal rights and treatment in all institutions. However, it has certain limitation in its applications and enforcements because nature has created all things unequal.

Equality makes the content of liberty more relevant and substantive. The principle of equality is invoked to prevent some section of society from acquiring unlimited money, power or prestige. It is only intended to restrict the element of 'exploitation' so that other sections of society are not deprived of their due share in these advantages. Further, it aims at widening the base of social benefits lest these benefits are cornered by a small and vocal minority impoverishing the rest of the community.⁷ it is evident that liberty and equality are human rights which do not emanate from very different sources. They are based on the same logic and they are intended to serve the same social purpose.

History of Social Awakening:

The struggle for freedom and equality has been continuing even in the civilized societies from ancient time. The rules of 'struggle for existence' and 'survival of the fittest' divided the society into two sections namely stronger and weaker. The fittest is the one physically strongest and mentally clever. The Tamil poet Thiruvalluvar in his work 'Thirukkural' put forth the truth that all men are equal even in the first century of B.C. Further, he emphasized that specialty and greatness would not be given to a person for doing a particular profession or trade according to its grade.⁸ It reveals that the ancient Tamil society was lack of equality. Similarly in ancient Greece 'slavery' system was practiced by the society.⁹ However, the struggle was tame and dormant for the rest of the centuries.

Revolutionary Movement:

French philosopher Rousseau was a Naturalist. As a protagonist of freedom he proclaimed the three terms 'Equality, Liberty and Fraternity' which had revolution France in 1789-¹⁰ This trinity principle seems to be very simple and apparent. But it is actually complex and comprehensive in its ramifications. Though it has its own historical background new meaning and values emanate from it in new circumstances. Each part of this principle is different from the other. Yet all the three are closely related to one another. Each one is dependent on the other, and in the social context, the relevance of all the three parts is universal and perpetual. They have their own limitations, yet their implications are varied and valuable. Therefore, before knowing when and why B.R. Ambedkar had adopted the

first trinity principle, it is necessary to understand its background and circumstances, which made the principle of liberty, equality and fraternity possible as a password of social change.

The Impact of Revolutionary Movements:

The French Revolution had made an impact on the people of the world. It also had fostered the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity and made them popular among the people. The revolutionaries accepted these principles as the highest ideals of human life.¹¹ The ideals Liberty, Equality and Fraternity carried the following means: (a) The main aspect of liberty is political. its concept is the declaration of modern political democracy. (b) Equality is supplementary to the political democracy. Before law all must be treated as equals. There is no discrimination in any form. (c) The feeling of Fraternity turns into an ideal of nationality and patriotism. The people of a country are related to each other. They being together in unity form a nation and the future of the nation depends upon the fraternal feelings they develop and nourish for themselves.

Research Scholar:

Undoubtedly B.R. Ambedkar had studied deeply and widely the backgrounds and circumstances not only of the French Revolution but also of the radical changes that had taken place in all other countries. The French Revolution had a special appeal to him because irrespective of differences in periods and lands, the 18th century Indian society was much more in bad condition than the French society. In fact the entire administration worked under the rigid rules of caste system. The Brahmins and Kshatriyas were in the ruling clique. Being in minorities, they were enjoying a number of privileges. There were wide spread feelings of low and high castes. In justice, discrimination, religious intolerance and antagonism were prevalent every where. Castes had destroyed the unity of Indian social life. Caste had dominated the entire behaviors of people.

The social, economical and religious conditions of the lower caste people were pitiable. Up to the fourth decade of 20th century they were like those of half man and savages, because they did not have any human right to enjoy their life as man.¹² They were labeled as 'untouchables' and kept on the lowest rung of ladder in the society. As a sociologist and great scholar B.R. Ambedkar had evolved his own philosophy. According to him any philosophy be it political, social or economic, has to be essentially related to actual human problems and issues. His philosophy was a bridge to the gulf between theory and practice. It was intended to be problems oriented and conflict resolving phenomenon. He

naturally developed his own view of man and society as part of such a philosophy.

Philosopher:

Man constitutes the focal point of Ambedkar's philosophy and man in the chief subject and object of his study. He developed an unfailing faith in man demonstrated fullest sympathy towards society. He declared that every man should have an opportunity to live a dignified life. According to him life without self-respect is disgraceful. It is so vital to honourable life. Merely survival without culture is not worthwhile. To him it is useless for man to be satisfied with the fact that he and his society have survived.

What he (the man) must consider

Is the quality of his survival. It he

does that, I am sure he will cease

to take pride in the mere fact

of survival.¹³

It is evident from this that an ideal life needs self-respect, justice and equality. B.R. Ambedkar holds a dynamic view of life. According to him 'man is what his mind makes him'.¹⁴

Reformer B.R.Ambedkar:

B. R. Ambedkar was the only reformer intellectual who not only saw from close quarters the pitiable social condition, poor economic position, unjust judiciary system, orthodox religions discrimination towards the untouchables, but also experienced himself the hurdles and hardships caused by caste and untouchability.¹⁵ As he was always a staunch supporter of freedom of thought, he became a mirror of new ideas of Indians in general and the untouchables in particular. He designed and executed the programmes to highlight the grievances of the untouchables and to restore their lost rights. He used his skill in establishing organizations, positions conducting agitations and occupying government positions.

Writings:

B. R. Ambedkar was an able critic and powerful advocate not to be cowed by the Hindu propagandists. He produced a type of literature, which expressed the real situation and truth before people. He emphasized in his writings that the mission of man's life should be one of fighting all forms of tyranny, injustice, superstition, falsehood and tradition, which are against the mankind. As a result he was a messiah of social revolution. His books became the instruments of change and revolt. It is to be noted here that he had burnt the 'Manusmriti'.¹⁶ His teachings were well-versed in constrictive approach. He provided an ideological framework to the Dalits. It is evident from the above discussion that man is the most important component of society and focal point of his social and political philosophy.

B. R. Ambedkar began to write against caste system even as he was a research scholar in USA. In May, 1916 he read of paper on 'The castes in India, their Mechanism, Genesis and Development' at the Anthropology seminar sponsored by Dr. Goldon Weiser.¹⁷ As a revolt against the caste Hindus he founded a weekly Newspaper *Mooch Nayak* in 1920, another half-monthly newspaper *Bhashkrit Bharat* in 1924, and a weekly magazine known as *Jana* in 1930 and he attempted to highlight the evils of caste system and demanded equal social, economic religious political rights for the downtrodden and the oppressed section of the society. B.R. Ambedkar published a book entitled 'Annihilation of Caste' in 1936, He described at length the caste system and condemned the evils of the system in it. In this book, he expressed the following:

The organization of Hindu society on

the basis of four classes is harmful,

because It is the result of a

system, wherein people are de

moralized by not all allowing

them equal opportunity and they

become mentally disturbed by

Not allowing them to hold arms¹⁸.

It is inferred from the facts mentioned above that his writings brought out to light the just causes of the untouchables. With rare and matchless wisdom, honesty and devotion he guided the depressed classes.

Organizations:

B. R. Ambedkar prioritized a society which is a self-conscious dignified social identity, a commitment to end the oppressive social order and a hope for the establishment of an equal and libertarian society, become the basic tenets of the social movement in India¹⁹. He planned to start organizations to achieve freedom for the depressed classes. His great organizing ability was clearly demonstrated by the 'Associations' founded by him. In July 1924 he started an organization in Mumbai named the 'Bahishkrit Hitkarini Saba' for the moral and material progress of the untouchables. In September 1927, he formed the 'Samaj Sameta Sangh' for preaching social equality among the Depressed classes and the caste Hindus. He founded the Independent Labour Party of India in October 1936. In April 1942, he formed the Scheduled Castes Federation as an all India Political party.²⁰

Agitations :

B. R. Ambedkar did not content with mere preaching and writing to secure justice for the untouchables. So he took to the path of fighting in the form of agitation. In December 1927, he had an agitation to establish the civic rights of untouchables to draw water from a public tank "Chavdar Talen" at Mahad, District Kolaba. In connection with this Satyagraha a conference was convened in which B.R. Ambedkar moved a resolution to burn the Manusmriti. The resolution was passed Accordingly Ambedkar and his followers publicly burnt Manusmriti on 25th December 1927²¹. It was a very land mark in Ambedkar's career as well as in the social reform movement of India.

Conclusion:

B.R. Ambedkar entered in the public life in 1920. He devoted his life to the service of the depressed classes. He wanted India's freedom from the British. The Indian National Congress party was leading a mass movement to free India. Not agreeing with the principles of the Indian National Congress party B.R. Ambedkar did not join in it. However, he thought that friendly with the government he could achieve the rights of the depressed

classes. So, he was not hesitant to accept the positions and posts awarded by the government. B.R.Ambedkar in 1920 accepted the invitation of Maharaja of Kollaur and participated in two conferences. In 1927 he became member of the Bombay legislative council by nomination.²³

B. R.Ambedkar attended the three Round Table conferences convened by the British government in London as the leader of the untouchables from 1930-1932. He presented the inhuman conditions of the untouchables in India and lambasted the British government for its failure to protect them. His demand for separate electorates for the depressed classes which resulted in signing the poona Pact. This Pact ensured a fair and equitable deal for Dalits in any future set up of India²⁵. The draft prepared by the drafting committee headed by him was appreciated, applauded and approved by the Constituent Assembly on November 26, 1949. It is to be observed here that the noble ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity are enshrined in it by the efforts of him. He also served as Law Minister in Nehru's Cabinet. He softened his attitude towards the congress and Gandhiji to build up a new India where the people of the depressed classes would really be free. Thus, B.R.Ambedkar attempted all the possible methods and strategies to awaken the untouchables towards liberty and equality.²⁶

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लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के संघर्ष में डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर का योगदान

डॉ. देशराज सिरसवाल

शोध-सारांश

लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकार वर्तमान समय का महत्वपूर्ण और प्रासंगिक प्रश्न बन चुका है। देश के भौतिक और आर्थिक विकास की कीमत आम लोगों के लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के हनन के द्वारा दी जा रही है। वर्तमान परिस्थितियाँ किसी सम्भावित सामाजिक क्रांति की ओर अग्रसर कर रही हैं। पिछली शताब्दी की जिस सामाजिक क्रांति की बदौलत भरत में आज हम स्वतन्त्रता, समानता, भ्रातृत्व की बात करते हैं, उसमें साहूजी महाराज, ज्योतिबा फुले, नारायण गुरु और डॉ. अम्बेडकर का बहुत बड़ा योगदान रहा है। इन तमाम महापुरुषों के संघर्ष के परिणाम स्वरूप ही हमें बोलने की, लिखने की, अपनी मर्जी से पेशा चुनने की, संगठन खड़ा करने की व मीडिया चलाने की आजादी मिली है अन्यथा जातिगत भेदभाव को गलत नहीं माना जाता, छुआ-छुत को कानून में अपराध घोषित नहीं किया जाता, स्त्री स्वतन्त्रता की बात कौन करता? राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के संघर्ष पर हमें बहुत कुछ पढ़ने और सुनने को मिलता है लेकिन जब भी हम भारत के विद्वानों की तरफ देखते हैं तो आमतौर पर डॉ. अम्बेडकर जी को केवल दलितों के मसीहा और संविधान का रचयिता भर कह कर बात खत्म कर दी जाती है। चाहे हम इसे लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकार कहें या मानवाधिकार कहें, डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर एक ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जिनके सामाजिक योगदान को हम नकार नहीं सकते क्योंकि उनके विचारों और संघर्ष का प्रभाव आज हम भारतीय समाज पर निर्विवाद देख सकते हैं। प्रस्तुत लेख का मुख्य उद्देश्य डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर जी के योगदान को वर्तमान लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के संघर्ष के इतिहास के संदर्भ में अध्ययन करना है।

परिचय

सामान्य लोग या किसी एक विशेष क्षेत्र से जुड़े लोग लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के बारे में जानना चाहते हैं। लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों से तात्पर्य उन अधिकारों से है जो कि हमें भारतीय संविधान के द्वारा दिए गये हैं। आमतौर पर इन अधिकारों का सम्बन्ध शहरों में रहने वाले पढ़े-लिखे लोगों से लिया जाता है जो अपने विशेष अधिकारों के लिए आवाज उठाते हैं, लेकिन इसमें उन सभी प्रयासशील लोगों को सम्मिलित किया जा सकता है जोकि लोगों को उनके अधिकारों के प्रति

जागरूक करते हैं, विशेष अभियान चलाते हैं, रिपोर्ट या जागरूकता सम्बन्धी साहित्य का प्रकाशन करते हैं। भारत में लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों का संघर्ष लगभग उपनिवेशक समाज में स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम के समय में ही शुरू हुआ, जब राजनीतिक शक्ति ब्रिटिश शासन से भारतीयों की तरफ अग्रसर हुई। बेशक 24 अगस्त 1936 को “आल इण्डिया सिविल लिबर्टीज” के रूप में लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों का संघर्ष संगठित रूप में हमारे सामने आता है लेकिन इनकी जड़ें हमें 19वीं शताब्दी के शुरुआत में मिलती हैं, जब विचार प्रकट करने की स्वतन्त्रता और प्रेस की स्वतन्त्रता, कानून के समक्ष समानता और रंगभेद पर आधारित असमानता की मुहीम शुरू हुई।¹

एक लोकतान्त्रिक समाज में यह स्पष्ट होता है कि सभी नागरिकों को समान लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकार प्राप्त हों। लेकिन भारतीय समाज की वर्तमान स्थिति इसके बिल्कुल विपरीत है, क्योंकि सामाजिक स्थिति के साथ ही अधिकार भी बदल जाते हैं, बेशक हमें कानूनी रूप से देश द्वारा समान अधिकार का दावा किया जाता है। लेकिन सामाजिक अवधारणाएं, सामाजिक अंधविश्वास, सामाजिक अशुभों के जकड़े लोग जोकि देश की ज्यादातर शक्ति पर अपना वर्चस्व रखते हैं, सभी को इन अधिकारों से वंचित कर देते हैं। भ्रष्टाचार, हिंसा, गंदी राजनीति, गरीबों का शोषण आदि कार्यों द्वारा ये निरंकुश शक्तियाँ देश के संविधान और न्याय व्यवस्था को ठेंगा दिखाकर लोकतन्त्र को कमजोर कर रही हैं। महिलाओं, दलितों, कमजोर और आदिवासियों आदि पर किये जाने वाले शोषण में लगातार वृद्धि हो रही है।

भारतीय संविधान एवं लोकतान्त्रिक कानून

वर्तमान समय में लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों की स्थिति पर कृष्ण सिंह टिप्पणी करते हैं, “आजादी के बाद हमने जो संविधान अपनाया और बाद में उसमें समय-समय पर जो संशोधन किए उसे वास्तविक अर्थों में समानता पर आधारित एक लोकतान्त्रिक समाज की ओर मजबूती से बढ़ते हुए अब तक जाति, संस्कृति और धर्म के तमाम दबावों से मुक्त हो जाना चाहिए था। स्वतन्त्रता के इन 67 वर्षों में दलितों, आदिवासियों, गरीबों, महिलाओं और अल्पसंख्यकों की स्थिति के मद्देनजर क्या यह कहा जा सकता है कि सचमुच में हमारा समाज और व्यवस्था एक उदार एवं लोकतान्त्रिक है? क्या हम कह सकते हैं कि हमारी लोकतान्त्रिक व्यवस्था महज चुनाव करवाने तक सीमित नहीं है? और सीमावर्ती राज्यों खासकर जम्मू-कश्मीर और पूर्वोत्तर में लोकतन्त्र की वास्तविक स्थिति क्या है? समाज के सबसे निचले पायदान पर खड़ी व्यापक आबादी के लिए भारतीय लोकतन्त्र के क्या मायने हैं? भारतीय समाज में पहले से मौजूद साम्प्रदायिकता जिस तेजी से अपनी जड़ें मजबूत कर रही है और

शहरों से लेकर अब गाँवों और कस्बों में बहुत गहरे तक अपनी पैठ बना रही है। पिछले दिनों पश्चिम उत्तरप्रदेश में हुए व्यापक और सुनियोजित दंगे इसका ताजा उदाहरण हैं। यह प्रवृत्ति धर्मनिरपेक्षता को नेस्तनाबूद करने पर तुली है।¹² आगे वह लिखते हैं, “अगर हम अपनी वर्तमान लोकतान्त्रिक व्यवस्था को देखे तो इसने अपने ही नागरिकों के एक व्यापक हिस्से के लिए समान नागरिक अधिकारों के उनके मूलभूत अधिकार को असंभव बना दिया है। आखिर यह किस तरह का लोकतन्त्र है जहाँ लोकतन्त्र के नाम पर सशस्त्र बल विशेषाधिकार कानून के जरिए विभिन्न सीमांत क्षेत्रों में नागरिक अधिकारों के लिए संघर्ष कर रहे लोगों का दमन किया जाता हो या आतंकवाद से लड़ाई के नाम पर अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय को प्रताड़ित किया जा रहा हो। आखिर यह कैसी लोकतान्त्रिक व्यवस्था है जो साम्प्रदायिकता को ‘विकास’ के पर्याय में बदल देती हो?”¹³

अभिषेक श्रीवास्तव भारत की वर्तमान स्थिति का विश्लेषण करते हुए कहते हैं, “भारत में जो संवैधानिक प्रशासन का मॉडल स्वीकार किया गया है, उसे बुर्जुआ लोकतन्त्र कहते हैं। यह भीतर से ही बुर्जुआ के हितों की सेवा करने की ओर ही प्रवृत्त है जो कि जनता के प्रबंधन का एक उपकरण है। इस प्रक्रिया में जनता को लाभ तो अवश्य मिलता है, लेकिन ऐसा विशुद्ध पूंजीवादी रणनीति के तौर पर ही होता है जिसमें दूसरों के मुकाबले अपने मजदूरों को बेहतर मजदूरी दी जरूरी है ताकि लम्बे समय तक अपना मुनाफा बना रहे। इसके साथ ही मालिक मजदूरों में विभाजन भी पैदा करता है ताकि उनके भीतर सामूहिक मोलभाव की ताकत पैदा न हो सके। बुर्जुआ लोकतन्त्र ऐसे ही काम करता है। भारत में यह मॉडल ‘प्रबंधन’ की इस रणनीति के पार जाता है और इसे अपनी सामंती विरासत का इस्तेमाल करते हुए निचले वर्गों के खिलाफ होने में कोई दिक्कत नहीं आती। जिस तरीके से नीतियों को बुर्जुआजी के पक्ष में धोखे से इस्तेमाल किया है, जिस तरीके से संविधान के माध्यम से इसने लोगों को सपना दिखाया और जिस तरीके से इसने जनता के प्रतिरोध को कुचल दिया, यह इसकी सामंती प्रकृति को दिखाता है। इसने बेशक जातियों को बनाए रखने और पहचान की राजनीति को हवा देने का षड्यंत्र किया है। जाहिर तौर पर नवउदारवादी नीतियों से बुर्जुवा लोकतन्त्र की तमाम प्रचलित बुराइयों को बड़े पैमाने पर बढ़ा दिया है।”¹⁴

वर्तमान समय में लागू कानून भी उपरोक्त स्थिति को मजबूत कर रहे हैं। भारतीय संविधान 26 नवम्बर 1950 को लागू हो गया था किन्तु ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य द्वारा बनाए गये कानूनों को अभी तक प्रतिस्थापित नहीं किया गया है। मणिराम शर्मा के अनुसार, “हमारे संविधान के लोकतान्त्रिक प्रावधानों को मूर्तरूप देने के लिए पुराने सम्राज्यवादी कानूनों व नए न्यायिक दृष्टान्तों की समीक्षा कर नए कानून

बनाए जाने चाहिए थे। बहुत से प्रावधान अभी भी हमारे संविधान तक ही सीमित हैं व कोई संसदीय कानून उनकी व्याख्या नहीं करते हैं जिससे न्यायपालिका को मनमानी व्याख्या करने का खुला अवसर उपलब्ध होता है। देश में न्यायिक जगत् में नियन्त्रण एवं अनुशासन का अभाव स्पष्ट है। ब्रिटिश कानून इस दृष्टिकोण से बनाये जाते थे कि विदेशियों द्वारा देशी लोगों पर शासन करना तथा सम्राज्य का खजाना भरना आसान हो सके। हमारी लोकतान्त्रिक व्यवस्था ने भी इसी परम्परा का निर्वाह कर सत्तासीन लोगों के लिए स्वच्छन्दता को आसान बनाया है। यद्यपि दण्ड प्रक्रिया संहिता का नवीनीकरण किया गया है किन्तु इसमें मौलिक परिवर्तन नहीं किया गया है, यह मूलतः दण्ड प्रक्रिया संहिता 1898 पर ही आधारित है। भारतीय गणराज्य की शासन व्यवस्था व कानून एवं न्याय प्रणाली में अभी भी साम्राज्यवाद की छवि दिखाई देती है। हमारी संसद समयानुकूल कानूनों का निर्माण करने में विफल है। अतएव हमें पुराने साम्राज्यवादी कानूनों से ही काम चलाना पड़ता है। हमें समस्त पुराने कानूनों की समीक्षा करनी चाहिए कि क्या ये संविधान के अनुरूप हैं?’¹⁵

लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के संदर्भ में मणिराम आगे कहते हैं, “यद्यपि इसी अवधि में इंग्लैंड ने (सम्राट के अधीन होते हुए भी) कानून में संशोधन कर लोकतान्त्रिक मूल्यों का संरक्षण किया है और हमने पूर्णतः स्वतन्त्र एवं संप्रभू होकर भी न तो नए कानूनों का निर्माण किया और न ही इंग्लैंड के नए कानूनों का अनुसरण करना सीखा है। जबकि इंग्लैंड आज हमसे काफी आगे निकल गया है। व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता जीवन का अमूल्य अधिकार है तथा संविधान के अनुच्छेद 20 से 22 तक में इसका प्रावधान है किन्तु इन अमूल्य मूलाधिकारों की व्याख्या पर संसद ने आज तक कोई व्यापक कानून का निर्माण नहीं किया है। परिणामस्वरूप न्यायाधीश, वकील एवं पुलिस अपनी सुविधानुसार इनकी व्याख्या करते रहते हैं। आज आपराधिक न्याय तन्त्र में गिरफ्तारी एवं जमानत भ्रष्टाचार का सबसे बड़ा स्रोत है। हमारे राष्ट्रीय पुलिस आयोग की तीसरी रिपोर्ट में भी कहा गया है कि 60% से अधिक गिरफ्तारियां अनावश्यक होती हैं तथा वह पुलिस में भ्रष्टाचार का सबसे बड़ा स्रोत है तथा इन गिरफ्तारियों पर जेलों में कुल बजट का 43.2% भाग व्यय होता है। खेद का विषय है कि 11-07-1978 को प्रस्तुत इस रिपोर्ट पर हमारी माननीय संसद द्वारा आज तक गम्भीर चिंतन कर कोई कानून नहीं बनाया गया है जबकि इंग्लैंड में जमानत के विषय में 75 धाराओं वाला अलग से - एक व्यापक संहिताबद्ध कानून जमानत अधिनियम 2000 बनाकर न्यायलय एवं पुलिस को सीमित कर दिया गया है। यद्यपि भारतीय उच्चतम न्यायलय ने जोगिन्द्र कुमार (1994) के मामले में कहा है कि जघन्य अपराध को छोड़कर पुलिस को गिरफ्तारी को टालना चाहिए तथा मजिस्ट्रेट को इन निर्देशों की

अनुपालना सुनिश्चित करनी चाहिए। किन्तु व्यवहार में पुलिस अनावश्यक गिरफ्तारियाँ करती है और मजिस्ट्रेट फिर भी जमानत से इंकार कर अभिरक्षा में भेजते रहते हैं। यदि स्वयं गिरफ्तारी ही अनावश्यक एवं अन्यायपूर्ण हो तो अभिरक्षा किस प्रकार न्यायोचित हो सकती है। हमारे संविधान के अनुच्छेद 20 (3) में अभियुक्त व्यक्ति को स्वयं के विरुद्ध साक्ष्य न देने का संवैधानिक अधिकार है किन्तु पुलिस यातनाएं एवं इस अधिकार का उल्लंघन आज देश में सर्वविदित है। हमारी संसद ने इस दिशा में किसी कानून का निर्माण नहीं किया है। यद्यपि कुछ न्यायिक दृष्टान्तों में इस अधिकार को माना गया है किन्तु न्यायिक दृष्टान्त किसी अधिनियमित कानून का स्थान नहीं ले सकते तथा उन पर मतभेद रहता है।...आज पुलिस अभिरक्षा में मृत्यु, यातनाएं व अमानवीय व्यवहार एवं फर्जी मुठभेड़ में मृत्यु हमारे यहाँ बहुत ही सामान्य बातें बन गयी हैं जिनके विषय में अलग से संहिताबद्ध कानून की आवश्यकता है।... हमारी लोकतान्त्रिक व समाजवादी सरकार को चाहिए कि उक्त विदेशी कानूनों का भारतीय संदर्भ में लाभप्रद अध्ययन कर समुचित कानून बनाये।”⁶

भारत में मानवाधिकारों की स्थिति के बारे में राजकिशोर जी इस प्रकार सचेत कर रहे हैं, “भारत का शक्तिशाली वर्ग कागज पर या भाषणों पर मानव अधिकारों के प्रति चाहे जितनी प्रतिबद्धता जाहिर करे, वास्तविक जीवन में यह प्रतिबद्धता बहुत ही कम दिखाई देती है, यहाँ तक की सामान्य शिष्टाचार का भी पालन नहीं किया जाता। ऐसे माहौल में मानव अधिकावादी सहज ही सामाजिक कौतुहल का विषय बनता है, जब वह पुलिस हिरासत में मौत, कैदियों के साथ दर्व्यवहार और आतंकवाद से मुठभेड़ के नाम पर की जाने वाली गैरजरूरी हिंसा और दमन का विरोध करता है। अपराधी या अभियुक्त को भी सहानुभूति की नजर से देखा जा सकता है या देखा जाना चाहिए तथा सेना और पुलिस को क्रूर, निर्दयी और अराजक नहीं होना चाहिए। यह विचार तीसरी दुनिया में अभी लोकप्रिय नहीं हो पाया है, हाँ आन्दोलनकारियों के साथ की जाने वाली सरकारी हिंसा के प्रति असंतोष जरूर बना हुआ है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि तीसरी दुनिया में मानव अधिकारों की वकालत करने वाले लोग सिर्फ दमन और अत्याचार के खिलाफ ही आवाज नहीं उठाएंगे, बल्कि वंचित लोगों के आर्थिक, राजनीतिक तथा सामाजिक अधिकारों की भी लड़ाई लड़ेंगे।”⁷

उपरोक्त समस्याओं की सम्भावनाओं को देखते हुए डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने गम्भीर चेतावनी देते हुए कहा था, ‘26 जनवरी 1950 को हम विरोधाभासों के क्षेत्र में प्रवेश करने जा रहे हैं। एक तरफ जहाँ हमारे राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में समानता होगी, वहीं हमारी परम्पराओं के कारण सामाजिक और आर्थिक जीवन में असमानता बनी रहेगी। हमें इस अन्तर्विरोध को शीघ्रातिशीघ्र दूर करना होगा अन्यथा इस

असमानता के शिकार लोग मुश्किल से बनाए गये इस राजनीतिक लोकतन्त्र को ध्वस्त कर देंगे।' आगे हम डॉ. अम्बेडकर के कुछ ऐसे ही महत्वपूर्ण विचारों का अध्ययन करेंगे।

भारतीय लोकतन्त्र और डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के विचार

एस.आर. दरापुरी के अनुसार डॉ. अम्बेडकर प्रत्येक नागरिक की मूलभूत आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति किसी भी लोकतन्त्र का प्रथम कर्तव्य मानते थे। वे सम्राज्यवाद और पूंजीवाद के खुले विरोधी थे। उनकी सोच में कार्ल मार्क्स और गौतम बुद्ध के चिचारों का अद्भुत समन्वय है। वे पक्के यथार्थवादी थे। उनकी मान्यता थी कि मानव समाज में पूर्ण समानता नहीं लायी जा सकती। इसीलिए वे धन-दौलत एवं अन्य प्रकार की सामाजिक-शैक्षिक असमानताओं को ही क्रमिक और तार्किक ढंग से दूर करना चाहते थे। डॉ. अम्बेडकर का दृढ़ मत था कि 'हमें अपने लोकतन्त्र को सामाजिक और आर्थिक लोकतन्त्र बनाना चाहिए, क्योंकि इसके बिना राजनीतिक लोकतन्त्र अधिक दिनों तक नहीं चल सकता।⁸ कार्ल मार्क्स ने मानव इतिहास को वर्गों का इतिहास बताया है, किन्तु शोषण और दमन के कुछ दूसरे औजार भी कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं रहे हैं। ऐसा ही एक औजार है कुछ समूहों द्वारा दूसरे मानव समूहों की समान मानवीयता के अस्वीकार में हो रहा है, तो वे मानव समाज की इस 'हम बनाम वे' की समस्या को ही सामने रखते हैं। एक ओर वह जातीयता का दम्भ है और दूसरी ओर है मौजूदा औद्योगिक दृष्टि से पिछड़े देशों में जीवन विरोधी स्थितियों का तेजी से विकास हो रहा है यह भी वस्तुतः दुनिया का एक प्रकार का नस्लीय विभाजन ही है।.. भारत में मानवाधिकार की लड़ाई सामाजिक न्याय और समता की लड़ाई भी है।'⁹ डॉ. अम्बेडकर की यह भी मान्यता थी कि सामाजिक और आर्थिक मुक्ति के बिना जीवन और राजनीतिक स्वतन्त्रता का कानून एवं संविधान द्वारा संरक्षण बेमानी हो जाता है। डॉ. अम्बेडकर का राजनीतिक दर्शन मूलतः सामाजिक-आर्थिक दर्शन है। उनके निम्नलिखित विचारों से हम उनकी समाजवादी सोच का सही अनुमान लगा सकते हैं और जो भी उन्होंने भारतीय संवैधानिक व्यवस्था में दिया है उसी के आधार पर आज हम अधिकारों की बात कर पा रहे हैं:

- "मेरे विचार में लोकतन्त्र की सफलता की पहली शर्त है कि समाज में घोर असमानताएं न हों। वहाँ पर कोई शोषित और दलित वर्ग न हो। वहाँ पर न तो कोई सर्वाधिकार सम्पन्न वर्ग और न ही कोई सर्वथा वंचित वर्ग हो। अन्यथा ऐसा विभाजन, ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ तथा ऐसा सामाजिक

संगठन हमेशा हिंसक क्रांति के बीज संजोये रहता है और लोकतन्त्र द्वारा इसका निदान असम्भव हो जाता है।”

- “संवैधानिक विशेषज्ञ यह मान लेते हैं कि स्वतन्त्रता की सुरक्षा हेतु मौलिक अधिकारों को दे देना ही पर्याप्त है। उनकी मान्यता है कि जब सरकार व्यक्तिगत, सामाजिक और आर्थिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप नहीं करती तो व्यक्ति की स्वतन्त्रता सुरक्षित रहती है। किन्तु आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि न्यूनतम सरकारी हस्तक्षेप को कायम रखते हुए वास्तविक स्वतन्त्रताओं को बढ़ाया जाये। स्वतन्त्रता को केवल सरकारी हस्तक्षेप से पूर्ण मुक्ति के संदर्भ में ही परिभाषित नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। इससे स्वतन्त्रता की समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो जाता। सरकारी हस्तक्षेप के बिना जंगल राज अर्थात् जिस की लाठी उसकी भैंस वाला समाज होगा।”
- “हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि लोग, दलितों सहित केवल कानून और व्यवस्था पर जीवित नहीं रहते, उन्हें तो रोटी चाहिए।”
- “बेरोजगार लोगों से पूछिये की उनके लिए मौलिक अधिकारों की क्या उपयोगिता है? यदि किसी बेरोजगार व्यक्ति को अनिश्चित घंटों वाली संवैधानिक नौकरी और किसी मजदूर यूनियन में शामिल होने, संगठन बनाने अथवा धार्मिक स्वतन्त्रता के अधिकार के बीच चुनने के लिए कहा जाये तो क्या उसके चुनाव के बारे में कोई शक हो सकता है? वह दूसरी चीज कैसे चुन सकता है? भूखमरी, घरविहीनता, दरिद्रता, बच्चों को स्कूल से दूर रखने जैसी परिस्थितियाँ किसी भी व्यक्ति को अपने मौलिक अधिकार छोड़ने के लिए बाध्य कर सकती है। इस प्रकार बेरोजगार लोग काम तथा जीवन निर्वाह के लिए मौलिक अधिकारों को तिलांजलि देने के लिए मजबूर होंगे।”
- “स्पष्टतया यह स्वतन्त्रता जमींदारों को लगान बढ़ाने, पूंजीपतियों को काम के घंटे बढ़ाने और कम मजदूरी देने की छूट देने वाली होगी। यह ऐसी ही होगी।”
- “यह अत्यन्त असंतोषजनक स्थिति है कि अधिकांश लोगों को अपनी जीविका कमाने के लिए भार ढोने वाले पशुओं की तरह 14-14 घंटे पसीना बहाना पड़ता है और इस प्रकार वे मनुष्य की अमूल्य धरोहर मस्तिष्क एवं मन का प्रयोग करने के अवसरों से सर्वथा वंचित रह जाते हैं। पूर्व में कैसा भी रहा हो, परन्तु वर्तमान समय में वैज्ञानिक और तकनीकी प्रगति ने इसे सम्भव बना दिया है। कुछ लोगों द्वारा दूसरों का शोषण इसलिए सम्भव हो पा रहा है कि उत्पादन के साधनों, भूमि और उद्योगों पर समाज का नियन्त्रण नहीं है। जब यह सम्भव कर दिया जायेगा, तो मैं इसे वास्तविक क्रांति मानूंगा।”

डॉ. अम्बेडकर संवैधानिक व्यवस्था में विश्वास रखते थे और उन्होंने राजशक्ति की सृजनात्मक भूमिका पर जोर दिया। सही मायने में लोकतान्त्रिक राज लोक कल्याणकारी होगा। उनका मानना था कि ऐसे राज का उपयोग जमींदारों और पूंजीपतियों जैसे निहित स्वार्थों को अनुशासित करने और उनके सामाजिक-आर्थिक आधार को खत्म करने के लिए किया जा सकता है। इनके अधिकारों को सीमित किये बगैर आमजन को स्वतन्त्रता नहीं दी जा सकती। अतः डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने कहा, “एक अर्थव्यवस्था, जिसमें लाखों मजदूर उत्पादनरत हो, समय-समय पर किसी न किसी को नियम बनाने पड़ेंगे ताकि मजदूरों को काम मिल सकें और उद्योग चलते रहे, अन्यथा जीवन असम्भव हो जायेगा। राजकीय नियन्त्रण से स्वतन्त्रता का मतलब होगा व्यक्तिगत मालिकों की तानाशाही।”¹⁰

डॉ. अम्बेडकर का चिंतन हमेशा गरीब लोगों के अधिकारों के लिए लड़ते रहे, लेकिन उन्हें पता था कि मात्र स्वतन्त्रता से ही भारत की सामाजिक व्यवस्था को बदला नहीं जा सकता बल्कि इसके लिए एक लोकतान्त्रिक व्यवस्था भी जरूरी थी, ताकि निम्न वर्ग को ओर जुल्म न सहने पड़े। “डॉ. अम्बेडकर नहीं चाहते थे कि केवल वर्ग विशेष के हाथों में सत्ता शक्ति केन्द्रित हो जो वर्ग अल्प शक्ति के दुरुपयोग से अछूतों पर जुल्म करता है वह वर्ग अधिक सत्ता सम्पन्न होने पर नहीं करेगा, इसकी क्या गारंटी थी? मामूली हथियारों से अछूतों को घायल करने वाले स्वराज की तलवार मिलने पर उनकी गर्दन काटेंगे। इसीलिए वे स्पृश्य हिन्दुओं में बिना सुधार के अंग्रेजों को स्पृश्य के हाथों स्वराज सत्ता हस्तांतरण के पक्ष में नहीं थे।”¹¹

भारत में धर्म का मुद्दा शुरु से ही लोगों के शोषण का एक मजबूत आधार रहा है लेकिन डॉ. अम्बेडकर जी के विचारों ने तत्कालीन धार्मिक व्यवस्था के लिए भी चुनौतियाँ खड़ी कर दी थी जिसकी भरपाई तथाकथिक शोषक वर्ग आज तक नहीं कर पाया है। “डॉ. अम्बेडकर जिस समाजवाद की बात करते हैं उसकी सबसे बड़ी जरूरत भारत के दलित वर्ग को ही है। समाजवाद दलित वर्गों की मुक्ति का दर्शन है। हिन्दूवादी और पूंजीवादी दोनों शक्तियाँ दलित वर्गों से इसलिये भयभीत हैं कि वे उनके सम्राज्य के लिए खतरा बन सकते हैं, इसीलिए वे इस खतरे से सावधान होकर अपने सारे संसाधन धर्म के प्रचार में झोंके हुए हैं। दलितों और आदिवासियों को इसी और मुस्लिमान बनने से इसलिए रोकते हैं क्योंकि इससे उनके “राष्ट्रवाद का सिद्धान्त” खतरे में पड़ जाता है।... आज 21वीं सदी में धर्म का शोर इसलिए ज्यादा है, क्योंकि शोर मचाने वाले लोग उनकी अप्रासंगिकता को जानते हैं। जरूरत है, देश की जनता भी इस अप्रासंगिकता को समझे।”¹²

लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों का संघर्ष करने वाले को आम आदमी की लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के अर्थ और महत्व के बारे सामाजिक आन्दोलनों के द्वारा शिक्षित करना चाहिए। उन्हें लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के संघर्ष के प्रति ही संगठित और तत्पर रहना चाहिए। सार्वजनिक, सामाजिक आन्दोलनों के द्वारा ही हम लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों को प्राप्त कर सकते हैं और समाज में अस्थिरता अन्याय फैलाने वाले तत्वों के प्रति जागरूक रहकर, उन्हें शासन और सरकार द्वारा किये गये जनता विरोधी कानूनों और निर्णयों का पूरा विरोध करना चाहिए तभी वह अपने लक्ष्य की ओर अग्रसर हो सकते हैं। संवैधानिक, कानूनी और शासन व्यवस्था में सुधार लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों का मुख्य लक्ष्य होता है और वह तभी प्राप्त किया जा सकता है जब हम सार्वभौम न्याय व्यवस्था के प्रति विश्वासी और प्रयत्नशील रहे, बेशक वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में हमें अपना उद्देश्य दुरुह लगे लेकिन यह असम्भाव्य नहीं है, क्योंकि हर एक प्रयास एक सपने से ही शुरू होता है। लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकार संविधान-व्यवस्था से ही मिलते हैं और नागरिकों को उस व्यवस्था में विश्वास रखते हुए अपने आन्दोलन को आगे बढ़ाना चाहिए तथा राज्य द्वारा किये जा रहे अधिकारों के हनन के प्रति एकजुट रहकर संघर्ष करना चाहिए।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर के चिंतन में समाजवाद की रूपरेखा बहुत स्पष्ट और गहरी थी। भारत के सामाजिक रूपान्तरण और आर्थिक विकास के लिए वे इसे अपरिहार्य मानते थे। इसलिए हम कह सकते हैं कि केवल अधिकारों पर जोर देना ही पर्याप्त नहीं है। एक व्यक्ति के अधिकार दूसरे के लिए तभी आकर्षण या सम्मानजनक होंगे जब उनका उपयोग रचनात्मक ढंग से किया जाये और सभी के सामाजिक हितों का भी ख्याल रखा जाये, क्योंकि अधिकारों की गरीमा भी तभी बनती है जब कर्तव्यों का भी उचित ढंग से पालन किया जाये। अतः लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों की प्राप्ति किसी भी समाज में लोकतन्त्र की सही स्थापना के लिए अपने आप में एक महत्वपूर्ण और अनिवार्य शर्त है और डॉ. अम्बेडकर का हर प्रयास इसी तरफ था ना कि किसी विशेष वर्ग के हितों का ध्यान रखकर उन्होंने संघर्ष किया। भारतीय समाज में उनका चिंतन एक आदर्श है जिसे हम जाति, वर्ग, धर्म की विशेष परिधि में नहीं बांध सकते हैं, इसीलिए भारत में लोकतान्त्रिक अधिकारों के संदर्भ में उनका योगदान अमूल्य है।

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12.

डॉ भीमराव अम्बेडकर के धार्मिक विचार

डॉ मधुबाला कुमारी

आधुनिक भारतीय राजनीति में डॉ अम्बेडकर दलितों के नेता के रूप में जाने जाते हैं । उन्होंने जीवन प्रयन्त दलितों को समाज में उचित स्थान दिलवाने और उनके अधिकारों के लिए संघर्ष किया । वे स्वयं महार जाति के एक अछूत परिवार से थे जिसके वजह से दलित वर्ग के कठिनाईयों को उन्होंने काफी करीब से महशुस किया था । किन्तु वे अपने वर्ण के अन्य व्यक्तियों से इस रूप में भिन्न थे कि उन्होंने अन्य लोगों की भाँति दलितों के साथ होने वाले अन्याय को चुपचाप सहन न करके, अन्याय का विरोध किया । जवाहरलाल के शब्दों में, “वे हिन्दू समाज के अत्याचार पूर्ण तत्वों के प्रति विद्रोह के प्रतीक थे । उन्होंने हिन्दुओं में अछूत मानी जाने वाली जातियों के उद्धार का प्रयत्न किया तथा दलित वर्ग को आत्म सम्मान दिलाने हेतु, आन्दोलन का सूत्रपात किया ।”

डॉ भीम राव के पिता फौज में अध्यापक थे, उनकी माता का देहावसान तो उनके बाल्यकाल में ही हो गया था किन्तु उनके पिता ने उनकी शिक्षा दीक्षा में कोई कमी नहीं की । और अपने परिवार में धार्मिक वातावरण बनाए रखा । वे हमेशा बच्चों को कबीर के दोहे तथा बुद्ध और अन्य महात्माओं की शिक्षा का उपदेश देते रहते थे जिसका भीम राव पर काफी गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा । अपने पिता के नेक स्वभाव, मितव्ययीता, कठोर श्रम, सेवा भाव, धार्मिक प्रवृत्ति और शिक्षा प्रेम से वे बड़े प्रभावित रहते थे ।

अपने पिता के इसी प्रभाव का असर था कि वे धर्म को जीवन का एक अपृथक अंग मानते थे और साथ ही समाज के अस्तित्व के लिए भी वे इसे एक अनिवार्य आधार मानते थे । उनका मानना था कि समाज और शिक्षा में धर्म की अहम भूमिका होती है । इससे वैयक्तिक शुद्धता तथा सामाजिक सुदृढता बढ़ती है । वे कहते थे कि धर्म हमेशा सामान्य जन के भलाई के लिए अग्रसर रहता है बर्शाते कि वह सच्चा धर्म हो न कि सिर्फ दिखावा मात्र । उनकी मान्यता थी कि धर्म के अभाव में मनुष्य मानवोचित व्यवहार नहीं कर सकता । वे धर्म को एक प्रकार का सदाचार मानते थे जो मनुष्य और मनुष्य के बीच मानवीय संबंध स्थापित करता है । धर्म का लक्ष्य मानव कल्याण होता है । उन्होंने धर्म को परलोक के साथ कभी नहीं जोड़ा । उनका मानना था कि सच्चा धर्म वह है जो नियमों और कानूनों पर आश्रित न होकर आध्यात्मिक सिद्धान्तों पर आधारित हो और यह सब पर सामान्य रूप से लागू हो । उन्होंने सच्चे धर्म की दो खास विशेषताओं की चर्चा की –

1 धर्म को नैतिकता के रूप में मानव समाज का आधार होना चाहिए

2 धर्म को विज्ञान अथवा भौतिक तत्व पर आधारित होना चाहिए ।

अम्बेडकर ने उर्पयुक्त विशेषताओं से युक्त धर्म को धम्म की संज्ञा दी । उन्होंने धर्म और धम्म में अन्तर को रेखांकित किया । उनके अनुसार परम्परागत दृष्टि से जिसे धर्म कहा जाता है वह ईश्वर, आत्मा, लोक, परलोक, स्वर्ग, नर्क आदि बातों पर आधारित होता है । धर्म वैयक्तिक है जबकि धम्म का आधार नैतिकता है । धम्म अनिवार्य रूप से सामाजिक होता है, जिसमें कर्म काण्ड, तीर्थ स्थान, प्रार्थना और उत्सवों के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं होता है ।

डॉ अम्बेडकर राज्य और धर्म में धनिष्ठ संबंध मानते थे । उनका मानना था कि धर्म सम्पूर्ण समाज का धारण करता है, जिसमें राज्य का काम धाम का संचालन सुचारु रूप में होता है । इसलिए राज्य का यह कर्तव्य है कि वह धर्म के प्रति न तो कठोर बने और न ही धर्म विशेष का पक्षधर । उनका मानना था कि राज्य के सभी नागरिकों को विश्वास और धर्म की स्वतंत्रता तो मिलनी ही चाहिए, उनको धर्म प्रचार और धर्म परिवर्तन की भी स्वतंत्रता कानून तथा नैतिक व्यवस्था की सीमाओं के अन्तर्गत होनी चाहिए, ¹

उनका मानना था कि धार्मिक स्वतंत्रता भारतीय संस्कृति की आत्मा है, अतः नागरिकों को ऐसी स्वतंत्रता देना अनिवार्य है । यदि कोई व्यक्ति अन्तर्मुखी है, तो धर्म उसे आन्तरिक सुख शान्ति प्रदान करता है और अगर कोई व्यक्ति बहिर्मुखी है तो धर्म उसे सामाजिक सेवा के लिए प्रेरित करता है । अतः मनुष्य के विकास के लिए धार्मिक स्वतंत्रता आवश्यक है । वे मानते थे कि जब तक बच्चा समझदार नहीं होता है, उसके धार्मिक शिक्षा का भार उसके माता पिता पर होना चाहिए ।² किन्तु बड़ा होने पर उसे पूर्ण रूप से स्वतंत्र छोड़ देना चाहिए कि चाहे वो जिस धर्म को अपनाए, या जिस धर्म का त्याग करे । यद्यपि उनका मानना था कि, “धर्म किसी के सामाजिक उत्तराधिकार का अंग है । उसका जीवन तथा गरिमा और मान उसके साथ जुड़ा हुआ है । अपने धर्म का परित्याग करना कोई आसान काम नहीं है ।”³

डॉ अम्बेडकर एक मानववादी विचारक होने के नाते, धर्म की स्वतंत्रता एवं धार्मिक संस्थाओं के प्रबल समर्थक थे । धार्मिक संस्थाएँ, जैसा कि उनका विश्वास था, राज्य के उद्देश्य की पूर्ति में बहुत कुछ सहायक हो सकती हैं । धार्मिक संस्थाओं को कानून तथा राज्य व्यवस्था के अनुसार ही अपना कामकाज करना चाहिए । डॉ अम्बेडकर की दृष्टि में, सभी धार्मिक संस्थाएँ अपने सदस्यों पर कुछ आर्थिक योगदान करने के लिए नियम बनाने में स्वतंत्र होनी चाहिए । उन्होंने यह भी माना कि किसी भी व्यक्ति को, यदि वह नहीं चाहता है, उस धार्मिक संस्था को, जिसका वह सदस्य नहीं है, आर्थिक योगदान करने के लिए बाध्य नहीं किया जाना चाहिए ।

डॉ अम्बेडकर ने धर्म की राज्य और जीवन में अनिवार्यता और स्वतंत्रता के साथ ही साथ यह भी महत्वपूर्ण माना कि लोग धर्मान्धता और कट्टरता का त्याग करें । धार्मिक भेदभाव, दबाव तथा धर्मान्धता का, जो कि भारतीय समाज की मुख्य बुराईयों में से एक है, उन्होंने कड़ा विरोध किया । बहुत से लोग अपने धर्म की रक्षा और शान के लिए अपनी जान दे देते हैं, किन्तु स्वयं धर्मानुसार आचरण नहीं करते, इसे उन्होंने कतई पसन्द नहीं किया और ऐसे आचरण को उन्होंने धर्म के प्रति ‘दोगलापन’ धोषित किया । उनका मानना था कि धर्म मनुष्य के लिए है, न कि मनुष्य धर्म के लिए । अतः धर्म का काम शुद्धाचरण सिखाना है, मन की पवित्रता स्थापित करना है, न कि समाज में विद्वेष फैलाना । वे कहते थे कि ऐसे लोग, जो सच्चे धर्मानुसार आचरण करते हैं, सामाजिक एकता और सामाजिक स्थिति को सुधारने में सहायक सिद्ध होते हैं । वे अन्ततः राज्य के लिए अच्छे तथा निष्ठावान नागरिक सिद्ध होते हैं । व्यक्तियों के मन की पवित्रता, शुद्धाचरण और शीलाचरण राज्य की सुदृढता और एकता के लिए परमावश्यक है ।

धर्म के मामले में डॉ अम्बेडकर राज्य का हस्तक्षेप बिल्कुल नहीं चाहते थे बशर्ते कि कोई धार्मिक कृत्य तथा नियम मानव हित में न हो अथवा राष्ट्र के कानूनों के प्रतिकूल हो ।⁴ उन्होंने हमेशा ही राज्य के धर्म निरपेक्षता के आदर्श को महत्वपूर्ण स्थान दिया । उन्होंने कहा कि “राज्य को किसी भी धर्म को राजधर्म धोषित नहीं करना चाहिए ।”⁵ डॉ अम्बेडकर ने धर्म निरपेक्षता के आदर्श को न तो जटिल बनाया और न ही उसे ‘सभी धर्म समान है’ के संदर्भ में विश्लेषित किया । उन्होंने बड़े ही स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा कि, “एक धर्म निरपेक्ष राज्य का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि हम लोगों की धार्मिक भावनाओं की ओर ध्यान नहीं देंगे । वह सब

कुछ जिससे धर्मनिरपेक्ष राज्य का अर्थ है कि यह संसद किसी एक विशेष धर्म को अन्य सभी लोगों पर थोपने में सक्षम नहीं होगी। यही एक मात्र सीमा है जिसे संविधान स्वीकार करता है।¹⁶ इससे स्पष्ट है कि हमारा संविधान धर्म विराधी नहीं है। वह धार्मिक स्वतंत्रता और धर्माचरण का अधिकार सभी नागरिकों को प्रदान करता है। अतः धर्मनिरपेक्षता को राज्य संविधान के संदर्भ में देखा जाना चाहिए, न कि किसी धर्म विशेष के पक्ष में।

हिन्दू धर्म में व्याप्त कुरीतियों का विरोध –

डॉ अम्बेडकर की धर्म संबंधी अवधारणा नैतिकता समानता और तर्क युक्त समझ पर आधारित था न कि अंधविश्वास और कर्मकाण्डों पर। उनका मानना था कि जो धर्म नैतिकता और समानता पर आधारित न हो तो वो सही धर्म नहीं हो सकता। उनका मानना था कि हिन्दू धर्म असमानता और परतंत्रता के विचारों का पोषक है। हिन्दू धर्म के विषय में उनका कहना था कि इसमें समानता का सिद्धान्त नहीं है तथा यहाँ कर्मकाण्ड की प्रधानता है। उनका कहना था कि जिस धर्म में मनुष्य मनुष्य में भेद हो, मनुष्य को अछूत और पशु को छूत समझा जाए, जिस धर्म में एक वर्ग को विद्याध्ययन और दूसरे को उससे वंचित रखा जाए वह धर्म धर्म नहीं बल्कि मानव के साथ खिलवाड़ है। वे कहते थे कि चूँकि हिन्दू धर्म की परम्परागत व्यवस्था का आधार मनुस्मृति है, जहाँ विभिन्न वर्गों और जातियों के लिए भिन्न नियम का विधान है, वैसे धर्म को धर्म नहीं बल्कि पागलपन ही कहेंगे। यही कारण था कि डॉ अम्बेडकर ने हिन्दू धर्म का धोर विरोध किया था और यहाँ तक कि उन्होंने अपने नेतृत्व में मनुस्मृति को जलवाने का भी प्रयास किया था। हिन्दू धर्म के आक्रोश के कारण ही उन्होंने अक्टूबर 1935 को येवला (नासिक) दलित वर्ग सम्मेलन में यह धोषणा की थी, “मैं हिन्दू धर्म में पैदा हुआ हूँ क्योंकि यह मेरे हाथ की बात नहीं थी लेकिन मैं हिन्दू धर्म में मरूँगा नहीं।”¹⁷

डॉ अम्बेडकर का मानना था कि हिन्दू धर्म के अन्तर्गत दलितों की उन्नति सम्भव नहीं है। अम्बेडकर के हिन्दू धर्म के प्रति इस प्रकार के विचार का आधार यह था कि उनके मत में हिन्दू धर्म में सहानुभूति, स्वतंत्रता और समानता के तत्व नहीं पाए जाते। इन तत्वों के अभाव में व्यक्ति की आत्मोन्नति संभव नहीं है। इसीलिए उन्होंने हिन्दू धर्म में सुधार के कुछ सुझाव दिए थे जिससे अछूत वर्ग का उत्थान सम्भव हो सके। सुधार के उनके सुझाव निम्न थे –

1. हिन्दू धर्म का केवल एक ही प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थ हो जिन्हें सब स्वीकार करें।
2. पुरोहित का कार्य परम्परागत न होकर योग्यता पर आधारित होना चाहिए ताकि सभी वर्गों को पुरोहित बनने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके। उन्होंने एक ऐसे कानून निर्माण की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया जिसके द्वारा किसी हिन्दू को राज्य द्वारा निर्धारित परीक्षा पास किए बिना पुरोहित का पद प्राप्त न हो।
3. जिस पुरोहित के पास राज्य का प्रमाण पत्र न हो, उसके द्वारा कराया गया संस्कार मान्य नहीं होना चाहिए। इसप्रकार अम्बेडकर ने पुरोहितवाद को लोकतांत्रिक बनाने का पक्ष लिया।

डॉ अम्बेडकर इस बात से भली भँति परिचित थे कि वर्षों से जकड़ी हिन्दू धर्म की परम्पराओं में परिवर्तन लाना आसान काम नहीं, इसमें व्याप्त कुरीतियों और अंधविश्वासों को परिवर्तित करने में वर्षों लग जाएंगे, इसलिए उन्होंने हिन्दू धर्म की मान्यताओं में परिवर्तन के साथ-साथ दलितों के उत्थान हेतु, उनमें आत्मविश्वास और स्वाभिमान जगाने हेतु कई सुझाव दिए तथा कई प्रकार के आन्दोलनों का सूत्रपात किया

। समाज से अस्पृश्यता को दूर करने के लिए उन्होंने जातिप्रथा की समाप्ति को आवश्यक माना । इसके लिए उन्होंने कई प्रकार के कार्यक्रमों का सूत्रपात किया । अन्तर्जातीय विवाह उसी की एक कड़ी के रूप में देखा जा सकता है । उनका मानना था कि केवल रक्त संबंध ही अलगाव की भावना को समाप्त कर सकता है । इसीलिए उन्होंने अन्तर्जातीय विवाह को महत्वपूर्ण माना । उनका मानना था कि इसके द्वारा जाति बंधन ढीले होंगे । अन्तर्जातीय विवाह को व्यावहारिक बनाने के लिए अम्बेदकर ने धर्म सूधार पर बल दिया । हिन्दुओं का धर्म हिन्दुओं में जातिवाद उत्पन्न करता है अतः उनका सुझाव था, “शास्त्रों की पवित्रता की भावना को नष्ट करो, शास्त्रों तथा वेदों का सत्ता, दैविकता और पवित्रता का विनाश करो । प्रत्येक स्त्री पुरुष को शास्त्रों तथा वेदों की दासता से मुक्त करो, वे किसी से कहे बिना, निर्भय होकर अन्तर्जातीय विवाह करने लगेंगे ।”

डॉ अम्बेडकर समाज में समता के सिद्धान्त को वैचारिक एवं व्यावहारिक दोनों रूप से महत्वपूर्ण मानते थे । यही वजह है कि जीवन पर्यन्त वे दलितों को उनका सम्मान और अधिकार दिलाने के लिए लड़ते रहे । इसीलिए उनके धार्मिक विचार का भी मुख्य आधार बिन्दू समानता ही था । और इसी वजह से वे हिन्दू धर्म का धोर विरोध करते थे क्योंकि उसमें जात-पात, छुआ-छूत, उँच-नीच, जन्म आधारित प्रतिष्ठा तथा असमानता कुट-कुट कर भरी हुई थी ।

बौद्ध धर्म के प्रति निष्ठा –

डॉ अम्बेडकर ऐसे धर्म के समर्थक थे जिसमें वर्ण-भेद, छुआ-छूत, अन्धविश्वास एवं पाखण्ड न हो, जो धर्म बुद्धि पर आधारित हो तथा जिसमें स्वतंत्रता, समानता और भातृत्व के सिद्धान्तों का समावेश हो । वे बौद्ध धर्म के सिद्धान्तों से प्रभावित थे क्योंकि बौद्ध धर्म में छुआछूत, अन्धविश्वास और पाखण्ड का अपेक्षाकृत अभाव था । इसीलिए उन्होंने सन् 1945 में एक बौद्ध सम्मेलन में भाग लिया । सन् 1950 में दिल्ली में आयोजित आधुनिक बौद्धों की शोभा यात्रा में भी उन्होंने भाग लिया । दिसम्बर 1954 में उन्होंने तीसरे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय बौद्ध धर्म में दीक्षा लेने की घोषणा की । और 14 अक्टूबर 1956 को दशहरे के अवसर पर नागपुर में अपने पाँच लाख अनुयायियों के साथ हिन्दू धर्म को त्याग कर बौद्ध धर्म की दीक्षा ली । 1956 में बौद्ध धर्म ग्रहण करते हुए उन्होंने यह तर्क दिया कि इसमें स्वीकृत धम्म में ईश्वर के स्थान पर नैतिकता की स्थापना की गई है । इसमें सब लोगों को समान माना जाता है इसलिए वे इसे पूर्ण मानवता का धर्म मानते हैं । बौद्ध धर्म में करुणा एवं दया को महत्व दिया गया है । उनका मानना था कि बौद्ध धर्म भारतीय संस्कृति का अभिन्न अंग है । बौद्ध धर्म केवल धर्म ही नहीं वरन् एक महान सामाजिक सिद्धान्त भी है ।

बुद्ध का यह विचार कि ‘उनके अनुयायी उनका अन्धानुकरण करने की अपेक्षा अपने विवेक से कार्य करें’, वे बहुत प्रभावित हुए थे । उनका मानना था कि बौद्ध धर्म केवल बौद्धिक जगत में आस्था रखता है । इसलिए यह आदर्शपरक न होकर वस्तुनिष्ठ है । हिन्दू धर्म और बौद्ध धर्म में अन्तर का उल्लेख करते हुए अम्बेडकर ने कहा कि हिन्दू धर्म आत्मा, परमात्मा एवं वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्था में विश्वास करता है, जबकि बौद्ध धर्म में आत्मा, परमात्मा तथा वर्णाश्रम धर्म के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है ।

निष्कर्ष –

डॉ अम्बेडकर मानववादी मूल्यों के प्रबल समर्थक थे । उनके धार्मिक चिन्तन में एक ओर वर्णवाद, जाति प्रथा, अस्पृश्यता, असमानता और अन्याय के प्रति जहाँ धोर विद्रोह था वहीं स्वच्छन्द, मानववादी, व्यावहारिक

एवं तर्क आधारित अध्यात्म का प्रभाव भी था । डॉ अम्बेडकर का समस्त धार्मिक चिन्तन कुछेक त्रयी आदर्शों में अन्तर्निहित रहा है । अपने प्रारम्भिक सामाजिक जीवन से ही वह स्वतंत्रता, समता तथा भ्रातृत्व और शिक्षा, संगठन एवं आन्दोलन के दो त्रयी आदर्शों को अछूतों के बीच, उनके सामाजिक उत्थान और मानवी गौरव के लिए प्रसारित करते रहे । इन्हीं के साथ डॉ अम्बेडकर ने एक अन्य त्रयी आदर्श – बुद्ध, धम्म एवं संध को भी जोड़ा । इन तीनों त्रयी आदर्शों का समन्वित रूप उनके सामाजिक चिन्तन का मूलाधार है, जो बड़ा ही व्यापक और कल्याणकारी है । उन्होंने तृतीय त्रयी आदर्श को ज्ञान, कर्तव्य और संगठन के रूप में ग्रहण किया । उनका यह त्रयी दर्शन पूर्णतः मानववादी है । इन आदर्शों से उद्भूत होने वाले मूल्य केवल दलितों एवं अछूतों तक ही सीमित नहीं है, अपितु सभी मानव प्राणियों से उनका सीधा संबंध है । ये ही आधारभूत 'नव-रत्न' डॉ अम्बेडकर के त्रयी दर्शन का निर्माण करते हैं और उनका समस्त सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, नैतिक एवं धार्मिक चिन्तन इन्हीं की पूर्ण अभिव्यक्ति है ।⁸

इस प्रकार हम कह सकते हैं कि डॉ अम्बेडकर का धर्म दर्शन उस आत्म-प्रेरणा, आत्म-विश्वास और सामाजिक समता का मार्ग है, जहाँ भाग्यवादिता तथा ईश्वरीय चमत्कार का कोई स्थान नहीं है । उनका हिन्दूवाद तथा गीता-दर्शन के प्रति विद्रोह इसका प्रतिक है कि वे मनुष्य को ही अपनी स्थिति का नियामक मानते थे और परमात्मा, स्वर्ग, नर्क जैसी सत्ता को अस्वीकार कर मनुष्य को स्वयं का अपने कर्मों के आधार पर अपने भाग्य का निर्माता मानते थे । उनका मुख्य लक्ष्य समाज से मानव – मानव के भेद को समाप्त कर नैतिकता और समानता पर आधारित धर्म को स्थापित करना एवं समाज में शोषित एवं उत्पीडित जन – समूह को उनकी समस्याओं से मुक्ति दिलाकर एक स्वस्थ, स्वच्छ और समानता पर आधारित समाज की स्थापना करना था ।

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